

De mortuis nil nisi bonum dicendum: An Exploration of Semantic Prosody in Obituary Discourse

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Abstract

Motivation for this research project stems from the paradox inherent in obituary discourse: the simultaneous expectation of praise for the deceased and the potential for subtle criticism veiled beneath genre conventions. This paper investigates the semantic prosody of the evaluative items *chameleon* and *chameleon-like* in opinative obituaries, aiming to uncover the extent to which such terms may carry covert attitudinal implications. This study is important as it addresses the gap in corpus-based prosodic research applied to the obituary genre and sheds light on how appraisal and social norms interplay in memorialising the dead. The study examines whether these items display genre-exclusive prosodies and how intuitive reader interpretations align with actual prosodic patterns. An interdisciplinary methodology drawing on corpus linguistics, discourse analysis, Systemic Functional Linguistics, and pragmatics underpins the study. A triangulated approach was used to analyse three data sources: a purpose-built obituary corpus, the iWeb corpus for cross-genre reference, and an intuition diagnostic survey administered to native English speakers. Findings reveal that these terms overwhelmingly attract a favourable SP within obituaries, contrasting with both the more neutral prosody found in the multi-genre iWeb corpus and survey respondents' predominantly negative interpretations. These results suggest that obituary writers may subtly shape evaluative meaning while maintaining interpretive ambiguity. This raises questions about the effort required by obituary readers to reconcile intuitive evaluations with the more favourable prosodic patterns embedded in the discourse. The study concludes that genre context significantly influences prosodic perception, with collostructional patterns playing a key role in shaping evaluative meaning.

Keywords: Semantic prosody, Obituary discourse, Evaluative language, Genre analysis,

Corpus linguistics, Pragmatic inference, Genre-specific prosody

1. Introduction

1.1 *Obituaries as a 'Special Text'*

The 'obituary', from the Latin 'obitus' meaning 'departure' (see Ondimu, 2014) is a 'socio-rhetorical activity of writing' (see Swales, 1990, 8-10) and its publication affords the living the chance of remembering the dead (Eid, 2002). From a Hallidayan perspective, such a writing activity may be deemed an illustration of functional discourse, its 'communicative purpose' (Swales, 1990) or 'telo' (Martin, 1992) clearly being that of announcing a death and eulogising the dead. As a genre, it therefore constitutes what Miller (1984) terms 'social action.' In their seminal article, Moses & Marelli (2004, p.123) hail the obituary as a 'special text' since its subject matter is limited to the appraisal of a single human being. Fernández (2006, p.105) differentiates between two types of obituaries, the informative obituary and the opinative one. While the informative obituary is usually succinct, minimalist in information, objective, locutionary in function and employs an uncommitted language, the opinative obituary disseminates a more verbose, subjectively charged and emotive discourse which renders it a colourful and attitudinal showcase 'of different types of ... laudatory tactics' (Fernández, 2007, p.8). It is on the latter that we shall focus in this paper.

Opinative obituarists are driven by a socially-conditioned 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1967) to revere the deceased and extol their virtues as per the dictum *De mortuis nil nisi bonum dicendum* (see Jalilifar et al., 2014 & Ondimu, 2014). Obituary discourse thus operates under the curtailments of genre-imposed constraints which ensure that the discourse conforms to the overall expectations of the members of the parent discourse community (see Swales, 1990 & Bhatia, 2004). In this respect, opinative obituaries may well qualify as a type of promotional discourse along with other forms of 'suasive writing' (Louw, 1993, p.163) such as brochures, hotel websites and propaganda billboards (see Van Dijk, 2016). In fact, Afful (2012) defines obituaries as a paid advertisement of demise.

Therefore, at the heart of such discourse may lie Shaw's (2006) notion of 'interestedness.' Interested genres are essentially 'hybrid genres' which employ a persuasive discourse of publicity on one end and an experiential discourse of information on the other (Hernando, 2001). Emotion and a supposed objectivity are thus made to cohabit, at times rather uncomfortably, within the confines of the same 'communicative event' (Swales, 1990, p.58). In opinative obituaries, emotion takes precedence over impartial discourse for the rhetorical purposes of sketching a 'super positive portrayal' and a quasi-hyperbolic (Marzá, 2011) 'aestheticization' (Fairclough, 2003) of the deceased. Explicit markers of evaluation positively disposed towards the construction of the identity of the departed participate in this 'perlocutionary' (Fernández, 2006, p.105) function of opinative obituaries, that is, in the sale and promotion of the decedent's extraordinariness; an inflated extraordinariness which is accentuated to conveniently sanitise or background any shortcomings. Such adherence of evaluative expression to genre conventions and situational dimensions has also been shown in other genres such as academic ones (see Salager-Meyer, 2001).

While fully appreciating Stubbs (2001b, p.107) assertion about the 'great limitations on how reliably evaluative meaning can be identified', a corpus-driven approach into the evaluative phenomenon of semantic prosody (henceforth SP) within the context of opinative obituaries

should make for an interesting line of enquiry.

1.2 *The Suitability of Chameleon and Chameleon-Like as Candidates for a SP Analysis*

Chameleon-like and *chameleon* lend themselves to a SP analysis because lexical items such as ‘attitudinal epithets’ (Halliday, 1994, p.184) and nouns with an adjectival status - White (2004, p.235) labels such nouns as ‘attitudinal triggers’- of which the items under study are an example, are unequivocally evaluative in nature, evaluation asserting itself as their ‘chief function and meaning’ (Thompson and Hunston, 1999, p.14). Swales and Burke (2003, p.2) also posit that evaluative adjectivisation is ‘one of the most prototypical and canonical exponents of evaluation.’ A judgement adjective and an attitudinal noun were specifically chosen for purposes of this linguistic enquiry as opposed to other evaluative devices such as modal adverbs, modal adjectives and evaluative circumstantials for two salient reasons. Firstly, the copious use of such explicit indexers of evaluation in obituaries highlights the important role they play in the genre. Secondly, the relative ease with which a purpose-built, untagged home-grown corpus coupled with the use of freely available concordancing software could enable the computational identification, exploration and observation of such devices in the co-text within which they operate, also makes them an attractive choice for the analyst.

Moreover, while putting a lot at stake evaluatively, *chameleon* and *chameleon-like* have not reached a point where decontextualised instances of their use immediately connote positive, neutral or negative evaluative judgements. In other words, the items themselves have not been indelibly ‘tainted’ (Partington, 1998) by an explicitly polarised prosodic meaning stemming from a predictable typicality of positive or negative co-occurrences. This runs counter to loaded items such as *SKINNY* (see McGee, 2012), *CAUSE* (Stubbs, 1995) and *COMMIT* (Stubbs, 1995; Partington, 1998) which are diachronically at a stage where their mere mention spawns negative evaluation, although syntactically and lexically nothing deprives these items from collocating with overtly positive collocates. It must be stated however, that although a degree of semantic neutrality or semantic uncertainty surrounding the lexical items chosen as subjects for an SP analysis is usually encouraged, such apparent neutrality is not a *sine qua non*. First and foremost, deciding what constitutes an evaluative or a non-evaluative item is in itself a highly subjective process (Thompson & Hunston, 1999). Secondly, in essence ‘language is never neutral’ as ‘all selections are ideological’ (Stubbs, 1998, pp.371-372). Testament to the possibility of conducting a just as insightful SP analysis on polarised items is Channell’s (1999) investigation of the negatively loaded and prejudice-laden descriptor *FAT* which yielded an intuitively-defamiliarising positive polarity when the evaluated referent premodified by *FAT* was an animal and not a human or inanimate entity. Whitsitt (2005, p.295) would probably argue otherwise as he is adamant that if word-forms are already ‘full’, the very concept of SP would be undermined given that this would hinder the ‘spillover of meaning’ (Sinclair, 1996, 115) from collocates to the already saturated word-form.

1.3 *Why Chameleon and Chameleon-Like?*

Investigations are not triggered by a mental *tabula rasa*. Linguists themselves cannot escape the ‘stranglehold of intuition’ (Sinclair, 1991, p.7) they themselves denigrate and call ‘chancy and unreliable’ (Channell, 1999, p.39). Such cognitive introspective triggers are perfectly

permissible and provide the analyst with the necessary impetus to engage in corpus linguistics in the first place (Whitsitt, 2005; Stewart, 2010). After perusing hundreds of obituaries as part of the background research, it was noticed that the items under study occur frequently and rather ambiguously. In addition, a reading of Chalabi's (2013) *The Guardian* article where she lambasts obituaries as characterised by a pseudo-devotion brought out by the 'standard hollow obituary adjectives' exploited to present 'an exemplary model of a life well-lived' (Barry, 2008) only strengthened my resolve to undertake this study.

2. Literature Review

2.1 *Studies on Obituaries*

Obituaries have featured extensively in a plethora of cross-cultural sociolinguistic studies. The vast majority of studies have focused on the schematic structure of obituaries enumerating a series of obligatory and optional moves within a genre analysis framework proposed by Swales (1981). Interestingly, most studies of this nature where the obit is viewed as a 'template text' (Enkvist, 1987) have been conducted for the most part in African (see Matiki, 2001 for Malawian obituaries; Ondimu, 2014 for Kenyan obituaries; Afful, 2012 for Ghanaian obituaries), Arabic (see Al-Ali, 2005; Al-Khatib & Salem, 2011 for Jordanian obituaries) and Persian societal contexts (see Jalilifar et al., 2014; Elekai et al., 2015 for Iranian obituaries).

Apart from their componential elements, investigations into the obituary genre have also revolved around their use of semiotic devices (Anderson & Han, 2008) as well as their usage of conceptual metaphors, hedging devices, hyperbole, euphemisms (Silaški, 2011) and evaluatively loaded lexis for which they have proven to be a fertile breeding ground (e.g. Cheung & Ho, 2004; Dieltjens & Heynderickx, 2012). More recently, Komninos (2025) adopted corpus-based methods within Bhatia's (1993) seven-step genre analysis framework to analyse obituaries with respect to lexical density and diversity, readability, syntactic complexity, and other related linguistic variables. Studies have also been undertaken on the obituaries of minority social groups such as homosexuals or AIDS-afflicted individuals (e.g. Nardi, 1990; Cameron & Cameron, 2005) while numerous so-called 'gendered discourse' (Hunt, 2015) studies have investigated the differences between male and female obituaries (e.g. Rodler et al., 2001) in an effort to reveal whether the obituary is a 'sexed text.' (see Baker, 2008).

Notwithstanding the breadth of studies on obituaries and the application of SP analysis to other text types such as political speeches (Isama et al., 2014) and church documents (Kamasa, 2013), a SP analysis of evaluatively loaded items in obituaries was not encountered in the research leading up to this paper. However, it must be mentioned that an overall dearth of SP studies in specialised corpora is prevalent. (Louw & Chateau, 2010). This paper might therefore begin to fill a lacuna. Handford (2010, p.256) encourages the synergistic cross-pollination of corpus and genre in discourse analysis stating that the linguistic features which belong to specific intrinsic 'contextual entities' remain 'under-exposed.'

In the next subsection it is the concept of SP that we shall turn to.

2.2 *The Not So Straightforward Conceptualisation of SP in the Literature*

The concept of SP has long been a controversial one in corpus linguistics (Tang and Liu, 2018). Its elusiveness - the propensity of SP to evade description and observation is

well-documented (Sinclair, 2004) - does little to mitigate such contentiousness. Moreover, the fact that SP is often defined in figurative terms does not seem to help its cause either. Stewart (2010) remarks on its penchant for metaphorization and abstraction stating that metaphors are drawn to SP as moths are attracted to light bulbs.

The most oft-cited working definition remains that of Louw (1993, p.157) who defines SP as a 'consistent aura of meaning by which a form is imbued by its collocates.' Sustaining the metaphor of spirituality further, Louw's ethereal notion of 'aura' morphs into an evaluative 'halo' of meaning in Bublitz's (1996) take on SP. In this context of saintliness, words are regarded as being historically pure, 'innocent' and 'empty', their meaning suspended in some 'linguistic paradise' (Sinclair, 1996, p.113) before succumbing to the corrupting influence of a bad semantic company whereby they 'fall' from grace and are consequently destined to an eternity of evaluative 'promiscuity' from which they cannot easily be redeemed (Whitsitt, 2005, pp.284-292). Once given free rein in discourse, these contaminated items subsequently set about rubbing off their undesirableness onto virgin semantic environments in an effort to 'colour' (McEnery et al., 2006, p.84; Adolphs & Carter, 2002, p.11) such environments with a new 'reflected meaning' (Leech, 1981, p.16). Once the 'infec[tion]' (see Ullmann, 1962) takes hold, the 'contagion' (Bréal, 1897) spreads out uncontrollably beyond single words to weave an ever-growing 'mutually supporting web' (Channell, 1999, p.44) of consistent evaluative meaning over units and across discourses. This snowball effect of SPs priming other SPs is captured in Louw's (1993, p.172) imagistic portrayal of SPs collectively 'hunt[ing] in packs and potentiat[ing] and bolster[ing] one another.' Such is the language one has to contend with when dealing with SP.

In this regard, Morley and Partington (2009) underscore the theoretical importance of the notion of SP as the mechanism in place which ensures that the realisation of discourse retains intertextual cohesion and consistency in evaluation through the node's uncoincidental proximity to a 'consistent series of collocates' (Louw, 2000, p.57). Indeed, undermining the intratextual discursive evaluative harmony through a 'prosodic clash' (Louw, 1993, 167) or 'semantic reversal' (Sinclair, 2004, p.134) instantiates irony, comedy, literariness or may well index the user's 'real attitude' (Louw, 1993, p.157) even when the user is painstakingly endeavouring to suppress it.

2.3 Contradictions, Conflations and Overlaps

It may be pertinent to point out that positive prosodies do exist, but unfavourable ones clearly get the lion's share of attention in the literature (Stubbs, 1995, Louw, 1993). Stewart (2010, p.47) mentions *PROVIDE* which although formerly attached itself to an unsavoury company has now been purged of an unfavourable 'pragmatic meaning' (Channell, 1999) by steadily co-occurring with a 'morally' exemplary set of collocates via which it has been evaluatively edified. This evolution in a word's prosodic profile is in fact one of the many contradictions in the theorisation of SP that Whitsitt (2005) particularly takes umbrage against. He argues that while as a phenomenon it is an essentially diachronic process, the analyses persistently continue to be conducted via synchronic corpora.

Another apparent contradiction that problematises SP is couched within the nomenclature itself. Notwithstanding the semantic emphasis its nomenclature would automatically suggest, Sinclair (1996) comments on its marked leaning towards the pragmatic end of the

semantic-pragmatic continuum rendering it an attitudinal form of meaning. Partington (2004, p.149) is in concord with Sinclair and states that SP ‘evaluates the topic’ leading to the functional interpretation of the utterance. In fact, in keeping with its evaluative expression, Stubbs (2001a) suggests the denomination ‘pragmatic prosodies’ but eventually settles for the wider embracing ‘discourse prosody.’ Some prosodists have in fact altogether strayed away from the term SP opting for other expressions like ‘evaluative polarity’ in the case of Channell (1999).

To further compound matters, semantic prosodists also have a tendency of conflating the related notions of semantic preference and semantic prosody (see Hoey, 2005; Sorli, 2013; McEnery & Hardie, 2011). Bednarek (2008, p.131) takes a vociferous stand against such blatant blurring of preference and prosody positing that the rationale governing most analyses is the following over-simplification: ‘lexical item *x* occurs with negative items; ergo it has a negative semantic prosody.’ This apparent co-occurrence-prosody automatisisation resulting from this collocation-based approach has been refuted on the basis of lemmas such as *ALLEVIATE*. While denotationally positive, cotextually its collocates are even more unfavourable (e.g. suffering, hardship) than those identified for the prosodically notorious phrasal verb *SET IN* (e.g. rot, decay). In this case, if SP ascription were to be informed solely by the observation of the node’s collocates without qualitatively assessing whether the logical node-collocate relation is one of attraction or detraction (see Partington, 2014), the empirical error of according *ALLEVIATE* a negative prosody is a likely one. In this light, Louw’s (2000, p.20) view of SP as being a ‘strongly collocational’ phenomenon might need to be reworked. This emergence of a node’s resistance to staining itself with the negative evaluation of its collocates also openly negates the Firthian (1968 in Tognini-Bonelli, 2004, p.20) postulation underlying the very foundation of SP that ‘you shall know a word by the company it keeps.’ The semantic transfer of meaning, a requisite condition of SP, clearly cannot be said to have occurred in the case of *ALLEVIATE* which remains inherently favourable evaluatively (Whitsitt, 2005). Bednarek (2008) therefore contends that lemmas like *ALLEVIATE* have a negative preference but a positive prosody. However, in this regard, Stewart (2010) further muddies the waters by inserting the just as controversial notion of ‘connotation’ into the equation, which whilst sharing considerable overlap with SP is not interchangeable with it (Alcaraz-Mármol & Soto Almela, 2015). He argues that *ALLEVIATE* resulting from SP’s contingency on co-text, might well carry a negative prosody but such prosody will be carried simultaneously with positive connotations. SP’s overlap with connotation is evoked in McGee’s (2012, p.172) description of SP as a type of ‘collocational connotation’ and Stubbs’ (2001b, p.202) account of SP as ‘prosodic connotation.’

SP’s slipperiness also lies in its inaccessibility to the dictates of *a priori* intuition which have been shown to tell ‘outright lies’ (Hoey, 2005, p.133). It is only ‘attested data’ (Stubbs, 1995, 24) made possible by the ‘empirical renaissance’ (Church, 2001, p.1) of corpus data which can reveal ‘unexpected features ... unheralded by intuition’ and provide incontestable proof as to how language is used (Francis & Sinclair, 1994, p.191).

3. Research Questions and Research Hypothesis

3.1 Research Questions and Rationale Governing Such Questions

RQ1 Could the SP of the evaluative items *chameleon-like* and *chameleon* directed towards

deceased human actors in obituaries be exploited to subliminally impart evaluative meaning of a condemnatory nature?

Rationale:

This study aims to investigate whether amid this socio-cultural tendency to hagiographically inundate obit discourse with positively-charged items, obituarists, in their communicative interaction with obit consumers may in fact be covertly conveying attitudinal assessment of a less laudatory quality via a subconscious (see Hunston, 2002 & Partington, 2004) recourse to the more ‘hidden ...unconscious nature’ (Stewart, 2010, p.30) of SP which operates on the subtle levels of inference from experience (Sinclair, 2004), implicature and what Louw (1993, p.159) labels ‘transference of meaning’. Rühlemann (2010) does comment on the diagnostic potential of prosodies in the adjudication of implicit speaker meaning. In this respect, Mey’s (1991, p.245) definition of pragmatics as ‘the art of the analysis of the unsaid’ makes perfect sense.

RQ2 Is there a SP of *chameleon* and *chameleon-like* which is exclusive to the obituary genre or do the interpersonally-charged items under study display a tendency to keep a consistent collocational company across other genres and registers?

Rationale: It would be insightful to know whether the ‘familiar and habitual company’ (Firth, 1968) the items under study keep is dependent upon the genre in which they occur. Philip (2010, p.1) posits that SPs are ‘inconstant friends.’ while Partington (2004, p.153) makes the claim that the ‘quality and strength’ of the prosody of a significant number of items varies ‘from genre to genre or from domain to domain’. O’Holloran (2007) concurs when he states that some prosodies may be relative to the register in which they are manifested and goes as far as to coin the terms ‘genre prosody’ and ‘register prosody’ respectively. In the same vein, Tribble (2000, p.86) puts forward the concept of ‘local semantic prosodies’ which he claims restrict themselves to specific genres or ‘analogues of these genres.’ This accords with Halliday’s and Matthiessen’s (2004, pp. 27-28) view of register as born of ‘the outcome of a set of selections from a more general language system.’ So, while fully acknowledging that the linear, cross-segmental semantic environs do contribute to a word’s prosodic profile, a comprehensive understanding of the semantico-pragmatic variation of the evaluative lexical items under study may perhaps only be fully brought to the fore via a cross-genre analysis of the multiple co-texts across the different text-types in which such items are embedded.

RQ3 What general linguistic intuitions does a potential obituary consumer have of the pragmatic meaning of *chameleon-like* and *chameleon*?

Rationale: Fairclough (1989) concedes that some lexical items constitute a site of struggle for value and meaning. Hoey (2004, p.13) advocates that heterogeneous ‘cumulative’ contextual encounters with a lexical item cement our knowledge of that item’s likely semantic attractors. Items thus come to contract what Bublitz (1996) calls a ‘syntagmatic predictability’ and consequently, by association, a SP which settles and congeals as part of a cognitive-affective schemata which feed into our intuitions.

The literature is replete with examples demonising the mental faculty of intuition and its imperceptibility in the regard of SP. Louw (1993, p.173) claims that the empirical production of concordances might unsurprisingly reveal how ‘humbling’ our intuitions are. It would be interesting to see whether the ingrained intuitive perceptions a potential obit reader has of the

items under study actually accord with the dominant SP revealed by the *obit* and *iWeb* corpora.

3.2 Research Hypotheses

- (1) The obit corpus will reveal a dominating favourable SP of commendation. *Chameleon-like* and *chameleon* both acquire a ‘hue’ (Munday, 2011) of unhedged positivity bar a few tangential tokens showing a negative prosody of condemnation. Nelson (2006) also asserts that specialist linguistic habitats are characterised by words which boast a more fixed collocational accompaniment. In this respect, it is expected that a formulaic or semi-fixed lexicogrammatical clustering of positivity will repeatedly co-occur in the vicinity of the node.
- (2) A number of empirical studies already confirm the existence of local semantic prosodies. Partington (2004, pp.153-154) exemplifies prosodic inconstancy across text types when he shows that the adjective LAVISH, while having a largely ‘neutral-to-good prosody’ comes to be associated with an unpleasant state of affairs in journalism. Within subgenres themselves (academic weblog entries and academic weblog comments), evaluative phraseological patterns have also been shown to differ (see Luzón, 2012). So, whilst appreciating Tribble’s (2000) cautionary note that one is not to expect every key word in specialist genres to exhibit a local SP, nonetheless, the copious examples of such SPs documented in the literature are testament to the fact that there is nothing as such precluding *chameleon* and *chameleon-like* from potentially also displaying an obit-exclusive prosody of their own.
- (3) This research question will be addressed under the working hypothesis that native speakers have a negative ‘mental lexical entry’ (Channell, 1999, p.55) for both items under study as per the denotational meaning captured in reputable dictionaries and the contextualised exemplifications such dictionaries provide:

Changing one’s opinions, behaviour or appearance according to the situation:

‘they had grown disenchanted with chameleon-like politicians’

(bab.la [powered by Oxford Languages]).

A person who changes his or her opinions or behaviour to please others:

Opponents called him a political chameleon for shifting his position on a range of issues.

(Cambridge Online Dictionary, 2025).

4. Methodology

4.1 Data Capture, Corpora, Concordancing Software and Other Instrumentation

The data for the Specialised Genre Corpus (hereafter referred to as the *obit corpus*) comprised a total of 276 obituaries totalling 255,381 words. ‘Data capture’ (McEnery et al., 2006, p.73) came from the digital database *LexisNexis* which also provided a breakdown of the source types from which the obituaries were retrieved. The vastest contributions came from newspapers (75.6%) followed by Newswires and Press Release (11.6%) and Web-based Publications (8.1%) respectively. The *Power Search* option facility within *LexisNexis* was selected and the *Natural language* field ticked. The combined search for *chameleon obituary* initially produced 991 hits. Manual selection of these hits led to extensive trimming of data which resulted in 276 obituaries eventually being chosen. Specific obituaries were weeded out on the basis of being duplicates or when the elements for investigation were clearly not

used evaluatively (e.g. *Chameleon band*, *Chameleon bar*). A laborious cut-and-paste procedure of these retained obituaries ensued leading to the compilation of the DIY *obit corpus*.

Following the compilation of the *obit corpus*, various readily-available concordancers were tried out to gauge efficiency and user-friendliness (e.g. *AntConc*, *Monoconc Easy*, *Monoconc Pro*). *Monoconc Easy* failed to allow me to expand on the horizontal axis of the node words and was consequently dismissed as per Louw's (1993, p.166) remark that the exercise of expansion of the concordance span is crucial in unveiling the 'subtlety and complexity of the prosodies'. Ploughing ahead without this richness of an expanded co-text would have constituted, in Stewart's (2010, pp.105-106) own words, a 'methodical madness' as decontextualisation of language is one of the major criticisms levelled at corpus use (see Widdowson, 2000). Therefore, owing to this serious deficiency on the part of *Monoconc Easy*, *Monoconc Pro* (2.2) was chosen in its stead. Once the obit corpus was uploaded, the concordancer generated a KWIC concordance output of 302 concordance lines for the string search *chameleon**. The wildcard character '*' enabled a wider casting of the net capturing both instances of *chameleon* and *chameleon-like*. The full concordance list is provided in *Appendix A*. Each numbered concordance was then analysed in terms of its overarching semantic category, its collocates, the evaluated entity and the assigned evaluative polarity (favourable SP of commendation / neutral SP / unfavourable SP of condemnation / ambiguous SP). Any examples of when the node-collocate relationship was one of negation were also noted. A table is provided in *Appendix B*.

The 14 billion reference web-based *iWeb corpus* (2018) with its own bespoke concordancing software was used to collectively investigate the SP of the items under study in multiple non-obit text types. Lee (2008) confirms that the provenance of data from large reference corpora is not based on any particular genre. This mega-corpus is informed by 95,000 highest-ranking websites in terms of traffic (Davies, 2018). The search string *chameleon** produced a staggering 22,283 tokens out of which an automatic subsample of 100 concordances was generated for analysis. However, most of this subsample picked up instances of *chameleon* in its zoological sense. It was therefore decided to use the search string *chameleon-like* which generated 710 concordances out of which a random subsample of 100 was derived for analysis (refer to *Appendix C*). A table categorising the polarity of the node words is provided in *Appendix D*.

The *intuition diagnostic survey* was created using *SurveyMonkey*. A weblink to the survey was sent out via email to 130 native-speaker friends out of which 76 respondents completed it. The first question made use of a 7-scale Likert scale format question. While it is usually suggested that a Likert scale format be comprised of a maximum of 6 scales, it was felt that an extra gradation would provide the extra nuance needed to accurately measure the respondents' inferences of the items under study. The second and final question was more open-ended and allowed the respondents the autonomy of coming up with other adjectives which they associated with *chameleon* and *chameleon-like* to corroborate their initial attitudinal assessment. The questions to the survey are provided in *Appendix E*.

It should also be noted that linguistic descriptions in the *Results and Discussion* section were carried out within a Systemic Functional Linguistics framework.

4.2 Method and Rationale Governing Procedure

The methods used were bottom up stemming from the belief that since SPs fail to emerge from just a handful of examples (Rühlemann, 2010), the ‘NeoFirthian’ (Kretzschmar, 2006) researcher must have the luxury of a vast number of examples at his disposal.

The *obit corpus* qualifies as a small corpus as it is generally agreed that a small corpus contains around 250,000 words (Flowerdew, 2004). While ‘small is not beautiful; it is simply a limitation’ (Sinclair, 2004, p.189) which might impinge on representativeness, Tognini-Bonelli (2001) claims that Corpora for Specialised Genres can still make modest generalisations as specialised language, due to its higher lexical density, can be reliably studied and represented through a smaller dataset (Gotti, 2003; Lee, 2008). The small *obit corpus* afforded the combination of both qualitative and quantitative techniques as opposed to having them ‘played off against each other’ (Mautner, 2001). The manageable size of the *obit corpus* also made possible the qualitative examination of all KWIC concordances and not merely a random sample as was done in the case of the *iWeb corpus*. Seidel (1991) harps on the importance of analysing all the data as in many cases, a single occurrence can have greater significance than numerous similar ones. Moreover, simultaneously assuming the role of both compiler and the analyst of the *obit corpus* enabled me to bring an invaluable broader socio-cultural dimension to the interpretation of data, such qualitative text-external awareness complementing the blind quantitative number-crunching frowned upon many a researcher (see Baker, 2006) as well as palliating Widdowson’s (1998, 2000) claims of decontextualisation. Such exophoric knowledge of where the discourse plays out is in fact revolutionising the field of discourse analysis (Lee, 2008). After all, ‘the complete meaning of a word is always contextual, and no study of meaning apart from a complete context can be taken seriously’ (Firth, 1935, p.37).

5. Results and Discussion

5.1 Findings From the *Obit Corpus* and the *iWeb Corpus*

In approximately 70% of the concordance lines in the *obit corpus*, the terms under study enjoy a favourable SP of commendation. Such overwhelming favourableness is however ‘smoothed’ to a more neutral prosody in the multi-genre makeup of the *iWeb corpus* (see *Table 1*). ‘Smoothing’ is the phenomenon Louw & Chateau (2010) refer to when an item loses a monolithic polarity in impersonal contexts. This dissolution into neutrality is hardly surprising given that 48% of the time, the evaluated entity in the *iWeb corpus* is inanimate as opposed to the negligible 0.9% instances of the evaluation targeting a non-human target in the *obit corpus*. In this respect, the *obit corpus* does emerge as unique both in its proliferation of positive SP and in its exclusivity of animate entities subject to evaluation. This finding also corroborates studies on lemmas such as *UNDERGO* (see Stubbs, 2001a) and *CAUSE* (see Stubbs, 1995; Bublitz, 1996) which while carrying a general unfavourable evaluation, experience a dissipation into neutrality as the co-text becomes scientific and technical.

Table 1. Findings from the obit corpus and the iWeb corpus (Appendices B and D)

<i>Obit corpus</i> (total of 302 KWIC concordances)				
<i>Nature of SP</i>			<i>Number of concordances</i>	<i>Percentage of concordances</i>
<u>Favourable</u> SP of commendation (+)			206	68.2%
<u>Neutral</u> SP (N)			23	7.6%
<u>Unfavourable</u> SP of condemnation (-)			36	11.9%
<u>Ambiguous</u> SP (AMB)			30	9.8%
Other			7	2.3%
<i>iWeb corpus</i> (subsample of 100 KWIC concordances)				
<u>Favourable</u> SP of commendation (+)			29	29%
<u>Neutral</u> SP (N)			53	53%
<u>Unfavourable</u> SP of condemnation (-)			9	9%
<u>Ambiguous</u> SP (AMB)			8	8%
Other			1	1%

The *obit corpus*' localisation also lies in its predilection for collostructions (see *Tables 2 to 5* and *Figure 1*) which Tang & Liu (2018, p.447) identify as being a 'locus' for SP which can also be regarded as constituting 'collostructional meaning.' As illustrated in *Table 2*, the head noun *chameleon* is often primed by a topical classifier which 'dynamizes meaning' (O'Holloran & Coffin, 2004, p.282) and determines the overall prosody:

Table 2. Topical and Affiliate Classifiers premodifying CHAMELEON in the Obit Corpus

topical classifier	+	head noun
<i>theatrical, artistic, comic, cultural, fashion, style, stylistic, vocal, orchestral, serial, musical, intellectual, literary, pop-music, rock and roll, professional, human, political, realpolitik, ideological, natural, social</i>	+	CHAMELEON
affiliate classifier		
<i>Canadian, Chinese</i>		

All it takes to shift the prosody from one end of the spectrum to the other is to alter the classifier (see *Figure 1*). When *chameleon* is premodified by a classifier such as *theatrical* or *artistic* the resulting sense is that of the decedent's consummate artistic and creative

Tables 4 and 5 illustrate other salient examples of collocation in the *obit corpus*:

Table 4. CHAMELEON as noun classifier premodifying head nouns in the Obit Corpus

noun as a classifier premodifier	+	head noun
CHAMELEON +		<i>powers, actor, character, knack, novelist, personality, player, singer, song-writer, voice, features, quality, figure, ability, artistry, career, gift, talent, author, temperament, comedian, entertainer, face, professionals, tendency</i>

Table 5. Post-Head Qualifiers of CHAMELEON in the Obit Corpus

head noun	+	qualifier
CHAMELEON +		<i>of many lives, of especially vivid colours, of sorts, of many lives, of a performer</i>

It is the instances where an ambiguous prosody has been assigned that are problematic for analysis. In obit concordance 110, loaded evaluators of a rather mixed prosody (*good, remarkable, wise, gangster, thugs*) rub shoulders. The same applies to obit concordance 94 (*goddess, princess, undermine, affairs, collide*). It could be argued that the obituarist could well be availing himself of the pragmatic plasticity of *chameleon* and *chameleon-like* to allow for a negative evaluation to be made but from which he chooses to distance himself placing the onus on the consumer's previous 'encounters with the word' (Hoey, 2004, p.13) to do the attitudinal work. Hauser & Schwarz (2016; 2023) do in fact conclude that items which quintessentially carry a specific valency can push that valence onto new contexts with the associated consequences of implicitly affecting evaluative judgement. Similarly, Baker & McEnery (2015) state that readers unconsciously recall that they have heard items used in unfavourable co-texts and be inclined to tag a negative meaning to them. Such distancing techniques also sometimes combine with the obituarists' use of short passivisation (*was seen as a political chameleon*: obit concordance 214) which might serve as a form of 'third party emotion' (see White, 2004, p.233) for increased writer de-emphasis.

Other times, appraisal is not left to intuitive chance. One obituary writer goes as far as to acknowledge the proclivity for polysemy that exists for *chameleon* and *chameleon-like* by explicitly specifying the evaluative appraisal he wishes to make of the deceased subject to avoid misinference or to prevent a fossilised favourable intuition obit consumers might already have of *chameleon* from being activated and applied to this instance of discourse. His 'affective stance' (Biber and Finegan, 1989) is thus made unequivocal: *One word that comes closest to describing Kashmiri politicians in general and Mufti Mohammed Sayeed in particular, is chameleon. No, it's not a kind word. I don't intend to be kind* (concordance 181). On another instance, another obituarist, aware of the negative prosodic potential of the items

under study, also feels the need to clarify the positive polarity of his evaluation and cognitively position the obit consumers accordingly whose value judgment might otherwise push them towards introspectively associating *chameleon* with opportunistic and manipulative political turncoats: *Contrary to first impressions, he was not called the chameleon because of changing political affiliations ... but the name stuck and was used to describe his ability to adapt to the changing times* (concordance 261). Another obituarist also recognises the semantic fluidity of the items under study and specifies the semantic sense he intends to convey, that of artistic and creative versatility and not mimicry and slavish imitation which is another possible sense: *Although he was a perfect musical chameleon in the way in which he could evoke any style or period of jazz, he was no copyist* (concordance 194). In the *iWeb corpus*, a metalinguistically-aware psychology forum commentator also feels the need to guide his readers toward the intended positive polarity: *I am adaptable and almost chameleon-like, but not in a sociopathic way.*

5.2 Findings From the Intuitions Diagnostic Survey

At first glance, it seems as though the majority of respondents (33.77%) ascribed a neutral prosody to the terms under study (*Appendix E*). This accords with the dominant neutral prosody identified in the *iWeb corpus*. However, when the different gradations of judgement are viewed collectively, it is clear that negative judgment is in the ascendancy (42.85%) while only 23.38% of the total respondent pool drew positive inferences. Such a high negative inference count in survey *question 1* as well as the nature of adjectives (*unpredictable, opportunistic, sly, crafty, double-faced, etc*) associated with the items under study in *survey question 2* jar considerably with the negative prosody ascription findings in both the *obit corpus* (11%) and the *iWeb corpus* (9%). This brings one to question how big a cognitive leap the average language user has to make to accommodate the more benign prosody in the obit genre. It also sets one thinking as to why the obituarist cannot just opt for more paradigmatically transparent synonyms of the intended polarity given that ‘often there are two words which indicate the same information but suggest a different attitude’ (Hunston and Thompson, 1999, p.17). The obituarist might just be hiding behind the fluidity of the items and placing the evaluative ball in the consumers’ cognitive court.

6. Conclusion

6.1 Lexicographical, Stylistic and Pedagogical Implications

Lexicographically, the implications of this study are not to be taken lightly. The insufficiency of the denotations and examples given by the dictionaries referred to in the research hypothesis to Q3 is evident. On the merits of those definitions alone, language learners looking up the items under study will be led to believe that they only belong to one semantic category (political expediency) and are characterised by an exclusive unfavourable SP. While there is a ring of truth to these definitions, there are undeniably many other ignored truths. Bednarek (2008) questions whether dictionary entries should be modified to reflect genre or register preferences and prosodies. Tribble (2000) concurs positing that signature uses of language make up important local knowledge for genre-specific authors. However, it is worth noting that most dictionaries to date fail to include any prosodic information about their

entries in the first place (Al-Otaibi, 2025), let alone address genre-specific nuances. Whitsitt (2005, p.293) might have to rethink his portrayal of semantic prosody as a somewhat lazy concept born out of one's reluctance to 'look a word up'.

From a pedagogical viewpoint, it might also be an idea worth considering to incorporate an experiential Data-Driven Language approach (DDL) in language learning where learners, in their exploration of corpora, reinvent themselves as linguists to autonomously achieve a multidimensional qualitative lexical knowledge (see Cobb, 1999).

6.2 Limitations and Research Applications

It is indeed tempting to pass off the concordance as an ambassador of 'abundance, of symmetry, of modernity ... of harmony' (Stewart, 2010, p.104). However, corpora can virtually corroborate whatever the researcher sets out to substantiate (Bernardini and Aston, 2002; Tognini-Bonelli, 2004). Although I have, to the best of my abilities, endeavoured to avoid the pitfall of what Simpson (1993, 113) calls 'interpretative positivism', the possibility always remains. Moreover, the SP accorded to the items under study in their respective concordance also emerged as an inherently biased and subjective process. Concordance analyses are by their own nature 'problematically biased' and different analysts may arrive at different conclusions in SP ascription for the same concordance (Baker & McEnery, 2015, p.9). To aim for a 'wider transparency', all the data has been submitted as an appendix to allow for research reproducibility. Moreover, whilst acknowledging that corpora provide a broad empirical base against which to test our intuitions, prior to unceremoniously dismissing our intuitions as paltry, it should be emphasised that corpora themselves are but a larger snapshot of garnered introspection. Whitsitt (2005) might also take issue with the collection of native speakers' intuition through the *Intuition Diagnostic Survey* as per his claim that once a respondent has been asked to consciously ponder a given item, it is conscious thought and not intuition one is essentially tapping into.

As possible extensions to this paper, it would be interesting to conduct similar SP analyses on other loaded adjectives which, it has been noticed, feature frequently in obituaries such as 'vivacious' and 'larger-than-life'. Moreover, given that for purposes of this study both *chameleon* and *chameleon-like* were analysed collectively on the assumption that they are truth functionally indistinguishable, the more astute prosodist might wish to explore the evaluative discursal ramifications of opting for one instead of the other. It would also be worth investigating subtler evaluative features such as whether the construal of the denotational adjective *chameleon-like* as a phrasal simile (*like a chameleon*) in obit concordance 59 serves the same evaluative function as its unwrapped denotational counterpart. Could it be argued that while sharing the same referential meaning, the evaluative choice of *chameleon-like* over the phrasal simile enables the evaluation to be assumed rather than asserted (see White, 2004) by 'packag[ing] up the similarity' (Moon, 2011, p.86) as a universal given? Moreover, should the one instance of *chameleonic* captured in obit concordance 203 be treated as evaluatively differently from *chameleon-like*? Would the very rare instances of *chameleon-like* functioning circumstantially (and not in their typical function as an interpersonal epithet) bring different implications to the evaluative table?

These are all interesting avenues for exploration in the field of SP and evaluation as ‘within texts, it’s implicitly evaluative meanings that are most coercive of the reader because they appear to pass beneath the threshold of conscious awareness’ (Macken-Horarik, 2003, p.314).

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**Appendix A. Concordances Lines for the Obit Corpus for the Search String
'Chameleon*' Sorted by First Left to the Node, Then First Right**

1. ... umé in movies and on television. "A [[chameleon]] of a performer, physically unimposing b ...
2. ... 8, 2000 Sir Alec Guinness 1914-2000: [[Chameleon]] powers of a deeply private man: Death o ...
3. ... FRSL 2003; died Paris 23 March 2008. [[Chameleon]] actor a brilliant bad guy SECTION: N ...
4. ... him. Mr. Jeffries used to say: "I'm a [[chameleon]]." The label applied on many levels. O ...
5. ... The stick cannot break in the arms of a [[chameleon]]," he liked to say, and his own swagger ...
6. ... t or am likely to meet. "He was like a [[chameleon]] - he became the character he was playin ...
7. ... tober Bowie/Prince event. "Bowie was a [[chameleon]] -- a creative genius," Waterman wrote i ...
8. ... g on moving slowly and surely -- like a [[chameleon]] -- in the running of Benin. Contrary t ...
9. ... " Mr. Lesage once said. "I have to be a [[chameleon]]." François Lesage was born on March 31 ...
10. ... r." He continued: "She has also shown a [[chameleon-like]] ability to adapt to shifting conditions ...
11. ... ave been an alien serial killer, with a [[chameleon-like]] ability to blend into the jungle backro ...
12. ... anded Cinema" events, displaying both a [[chameleon-like]] ability to transform herself into a myr ...
13. ... ground than mere nostalgia. Loss had a [[chameleon-like]] ability to adapt to changing times and ...
14. ... aucy Seaside Postcards (1976). He had a [[chameleon-like]] ability to assume the colours of other ...
15. ... e Man Who Knew Too Much, Vertigo) and a [[chameleon]] actor in bio-pics (The Glenn Miller Sto ...
16. ... ts, Primakov derived his success from a [[chameleon-like]] adaptability to embrace reform and cons ...
17. ... orecast a more difficult return. With a [[chameleon-like]] adaptation to circumstances, another 50 ...
18. ... ng is intrinsically easy. You're like a [[chameleon]], adapting yourself to various circumsta ...
19. ... on February 12, 1923. MEL POWELL was a [[chameleon]] among

musicians, straddling the worlds ...

20. ... e Lives (1929). In his prime, he was a [[chameleon]], an Antony, a Malvolio, a Hotspur, a Ta ...

21. ... Of necessity, he recalled, he became a [[chameleon]], and that led naturally to acting. Orb ...

22. ... ealing with at any given time. He was a [[chameleon]] and could change in an instant. A lot o ...

23. ... eil Diamond to Marvin Gaye. "He was a [[chameleon]] and could play in any style," jazz sin ...

24. ... e later said it forced him to become "a [[chameleon]]" and blend into his new settings. He st ...

25. ... he was tremendously diverse and quite a [[chameleon]] as an actress." She particularly enjoy ...

26. ... e 1970s, he had described himself as a "[[chameleon]]" as he promised to run the country in a ...

27. ... dy), he was in his own way as much of a [[chameleon]] as the shape-shifting Alec Guinness pla ...

28. ... ampton. "I am often accused of being a [[chameleon]]," Asmussen, who also acted and painted, ...

29. ... borate period costumes -- she was not a [[chameleon]], assuming the coloration of a character ...

30. ... at a designer "has to be something of a [[chameleon]]". Barlow, much travelled, was more cham ...

31. ... onsummate artist of the French scene, a [[chameleon]] beamed out on satellite TV, dripping wi ...

32. ... s ultimate and most giving rock star. A [[chameleon]] bearing gifts. For five decades, Bowie ...

33. ... d - the pain is still raw. I call him a [[chameleon]] because he switched loyalties like clot ...

34. ... who survives him, described hint as "a [[chameleon]], because he could always become part of ...

35. ... than back, he was often described as a [[chameleon]]. Bowie spent the greatest part of his ...

36. ... trolledly emotional, very musical and a [[chameleon]] by nature, he explored the sound medium ...

37. ... o look forward rather than back, for a [[chameleon]] changes to blend in with its surroundin ...

38. ... r, and then changed his politics like a [[chameleon]] changes colours, from Right to Left, to ...

39. ... how which transformed Gandolfini from a [[chameleon]] character actor in film roles to the un ...
40. ... lm about the fictitious Arnold Zelig, a [[chameleon-like]] character who kept popping up in the mi ...
41. ... score, no matter how familiar. He was a [[chameleon-like]] character, one minute confident and eve ...
42. ... ly amusing. She described herself as a [[chameleon]], containing something of every part she ...
43. ... NG LIKE A IMMEDIATE CHAMELEON -- LIKE A [[CHAMELEON]]. DAVID BOWIE DIDN'T BLEND IN AT ALL. HE ...
44. ... d guitarists of the 20th century, was a [[chameleon]], dividing his musical life between the ...
45. ... first Cesar --- and its two sequels. A [[chameleon]] equally at home in comedy and drama, Se ...
46. ... called the chameleon of rock. Doesn't a [[chameleon]] exert tremendous energy to become indis ...
47. ... er, performer and scene-maker. He was a [[chameleon-like]] figure - with a penchant for make-up an ...
48. ... ily and friends often compared her to a [[chameleon]] for her ability to fit comfortably in a ...
49. ... a Democrat," Turnham said. "He wasn't a [[chameleon]]. He never really changed colors. He fou ...
50. ... hn Freeman, who has died aged 99, was a [[chameleon]]: he was by turns an advertising copywri ...
51. ... ll said. "Larry was larger than life, a [[chameleon]]. He was kind to everybody. The day befo ...
52. ... about him is he can do anything. He's a [[chameleon]]. He can do bigger movies or smaller, mo ...
53. ... solutely shattered. "He was like a [[chameleon]], he became the character he was playing ...
54. ... nt person. The photographer should be a [[chameleon]]." He produced 14 photographic books an ...
55. ... the part he was playing, he was like a [[chameleon]], he would change colours." Director Ge ...
56. ... the part he was playing. He was like a [[chameleon]], he would change colors." -- Ronald Ne ...
57. ... e his appearance and personality like a [[chameleon]]. He was the dapper, alcoholic and tuber ...
58. ... O'Neal could dream up. Milosevic was a [[chameleon]]. He rose to power as

a Communist. But w ...

59. ... ery eclectic mix of blood which, like a [[chameleon]], helps you to fit in anywhere," she sai ...

60. ... port whose identity was taken over by a [[Chameleon]]. His final appearance in the series wa ...

61. ... ist Ron Kimble. "He was something of a [[chameleon]]," his brother said, "because he could b ...

62. ... ability to slip between cultures like a [[chameleon]]. In Salvador de Bahia, he lived in a fa ...

63. ... also a product of his sense of being a "[[chameleon]]": in an early poem entitled "Proteus", ...

64. ... s if that weren't enough, he was also a [[chameleon]]. In the 1950s, he portrayed a Mexican r ...

65. ... and Tv Community on the Map and Was a "[[Chameleon]]" in the Industry by Taking on Various C ...

66. ... status and style, so he had a bit of a [[chameleon]] in him." In the mayor's role in a 1989 ...

67. ... an music? A dictionary definition of a [[chameleon]] is a small lizard able to change colour ...

68. ... Australia, he needed to be a "bit of a [[chameleon]]". It meant being able to take the podiu ...

69. ... mption. Week after week, he displayed a [[chameleon-like]] knack for delivering both parent-approv ...

70. ... r-Bresson's subjects ever did. He had a [[chameleon]] knack for blending in. Average height a ...

71. ... public to know just how it felt about a [[chameleon-like]] leader who tended to keep his passions ...

72. ... imple trying to please everybody like a [[chameleon]], let them come and try and ponder the S ...

73. ... s in the House of Lords, he possessed a [[chameleon]] like quality, "fitting in" with the com ...

74. ... r but a vulnerable perfectionist with a [[chameleon-]] like gift for characterisation. Her sta ...

75. ... ed the charming gentleman thief Voss, a [[chameleonof]] many disguises who could not be hurt no ...

76. ... that a critic suggested she spoke as a [[chameleon]] might have done if given tongue. She w ...

77. ... red to his Sphinx-like aloofness. But a [[chameleon]] might be a better comparison - or a leo ...

78. ... t of actor you ever could describe as a [[chameleon]]; mostly, he played variations of the sa ...

79. ... come what Denis Sampson describes as a "[[chameleon]] novelist." Success might have brought ...

80. ... athetically unattractive ones. He was a [[chameleon]] of especially vivid colours in roles th ...

81. ... g résumé in movies and on television. A [[chameleon]] of a performer, physically unimposing b ...

82." Mr. Young said the Rev. Brown was a [[chameleon]] of sorts, who could adapt to different ...

83. ... d 12 February 1992. ROBERT BAKER was a [[chameleon]] of many lives. Born in 1909, he traine ...

84. ... ghbrow and academic a verdict on such a [[chameleon-like]] organism as Hollywood cinema as well as ...

85. ... him memories of a beautiful voice and a [[chameleon]] personality that could encompass the mo ...

86. ... of an individualist to be regarded as a [[chameleon]] player, but he could play anything. He ...

87. ... green eyes were his salvation. He was a [[chameleon]], pretending to be a Christian student w ...

88. ... style led him to change colours like a [[chameleon]], provoking classics of modernism such a ...

89. Mrs Mays said previously: "Sal had a [[chameleon-like]] quality and absorbed and adapted to the ...

90. ... Quinn was born in Mexico, but he had a [[chameleon-like]] quality that allowed him to play just a ...

91. ... pringfield], Kate was something else; a [[chameleon]], really, and very cultured, with a grea ...

92. ... r stopped trying to improve. "He was a [[chameleon]] really as a player, able to dip into an ...

93. ... onstrated the transforming ability of a [[chameleon]]. She said she usually played 16 to 18 c ...

94. ... etes and do their duty. But Diana was a [[chameleon]].She wanted the paparazzi present on Tue ...

95. ... TELINE: New York Chris Whitley, a [[chameleon]] singer-songwriter who oscillated betwee ...

96. ... ed by writer John Van Druten as "like a [[chameleon]], taking on the colours of whatever role ...

97. ... really was so versatile. He was like a [[chameleon]] that could do many

things. And that's w ...

98. ... normous talent. He did it all. He was a [[chameleon]], the real thing'

BYLINE: ALAN HUSTAK ...

99. ... duced that album, said it showed what a [[chameleon]] the singer-songwriter was. Caipo says, ...

100. ... at Grappelli later described as "like a [[chameleon]]". The Hot Club recordings have become c ...

101. ... OBITUARIES LENGTH: 532 words A [[chameleon-like]] thespian whose first love was the stage ...

102. ... usic, with EDM. You really have to be a [[chameleon]] to survive. And he did that well. He pi ...

103. ... ollywood where he assumed the role of a [[chameleon]] to fit the diverse jobs requested of hi ...

104. ... s certainly a survivor, adapting like a [[chameleon]] to the changing times." Survivor she p ...

105. ... KEENE CURTIS; DEPENDABLE ACTOR WITH A [[CHAMELEON-LIKE]] VERSATILITY BYLINE: Tom Vallance Cur ...

106. ... weighed more than 135 pounds but had a [[chameleon]] voice that could portray a heavy as wel ...

107. ... to submerge himself in characters in a [[chameleon-like]] way, believing that method acting was f ...

108. ... fference: Prince was not, like Bowie, a [[chameleon]]. While Bowie adopted and discarded diff ...

109. ... he worlds of music, fashion and film, a [[chameleon]] who achieved the rare combination of cr ...

110. ... althy elites, Humphreys said. He was a [[chameleon]] who could speak at least four languages ...

111. ... s. He was a master of self-promotion, a [[chameleon]] who changed from the youngest member of ...

112. ... ication or as tough as nails. She was a [[chameleon]] who loved to act, setting the highest o ...

113. ... may be because Vanel was something of a [[chameleon]] who was never - like Renoir and Gabin f ...

114. ... i said, "No one can hate Rene. He is a [[chameleon]] who speaks everybody's langauge ... lik ...

115. ... lained last week in Toronto. "She was a [[chameleon]] who invented and reinvented herself and ...

116. ... sion of their relationship. "Myra is a [[chameleon]], who simply reflects whatever she belie ...

117. ... ef in his own destiny was unshakable, a [[chameleon]] whose economic and political colors wer ...
118. ... nness or Peter Sellers. "He was like a [[chameleon]] you couldn't believe it was the same ma ...
119. ... gical father disagree. May is an adept [[chameleon]]: his first novel won the Wales Book of ...
120. ... a wide variety of roles and was almost [[chameleon-like]] in her characterisations. She was best ...
121. ... her characteristic Mancunian accent and [[chameleon]] features, the daughter of a railwayman ...
122. ... ot easy to define. It is fragmented and [[chameleon-like]] in its different guises of regional, lo ...
123. ... say Sihanouk's neutralist position and [[chameleon-like]] political dexterity enabled Cambodia to ...
124. ... ever met him. There are actors who are [[chameleons]], who blend so seamlessly into the role ...
125. ... ourse, we can't. Blaise was an artistic [[chameleon]], an actor who could turn his hand to an ...
126. ... 's playthings. He was truly an artistic [[chameleon]]. Bowie was born David Jones in January ...
127. ... le's Lawrence of Arabia. It was Bates' [[chameleon]] quality that kept him from being typeca ...
128. ... sand," Lesage said. "Our role is to be [[chameleons]]... We receive a sketch and it is up to ...
129. ... eemed to perfectly sum up David Bowie, "[[chameleon]], comedian, Corinthian and caricature". ...
130. ... nique style. But in addition to Bowie's [[chameleon-like]] appeal, there is another, deeper associ ...
131. ... aged 76. JOHN Wheeldon was a brilliant [[chameleon]] among grey-suited politicians, a man wh ...
132. ... ay The Bloodied Legacy of Cambodia's [[Chameleon]] King BYLINE: MARK MCDONALD SECTIO ...
133. ... 014 Tuesday Early Edition Canadian [[Chameleon]]; Canadian theatre pioneer known for sol ...
134. ... ndon) April 12, 1996 THE CHARMING [[CHAMELEON]]; Obituary: David Kelsey BYLINE: Stu ...
135. ... nt to tread the boards - and a charming [[chameleon]] of a man who, on his day, could persuad ...
136. ... University Press, including The Chinese [[Chameleon]]: an analysis of

European conceptions of ...

137. ... ren's show in New York City. Collier's [[chameleon-like]] ability to take on varied and diverse c ...

138. ... All-round Country Edition Colourful [[chameleon]] BYLINE: Philip Jones SECTION: FEA ...

139. ... y 10, 2005 Monday 7:38 AM AEST Comic [[chameleon]] Campbell McComas dies LENGTH: 236 wo ...

140. ... sistent a teacher. He proved a creative [[chameleon]] for eight decades, with work spanning s ...

141. ... d traditional skills and was a cultural [[chameleon]], at home in contrasting milieux. Convin ...

142. ... ciation column on musician and cultural [[chameleon]] David Bowie, who died this past Sunday, ...

143. ... a'changin'. Constantly. This cultural [[chameleon]] was a fine specimen of human adaptabili ...

144. ... oung actors of his generation. A daring [[chameleon]] in his choice of roles, he played Casan ...

145. ... AD-DATE: January 14, 2016 David Dukes, [[Chameleon]] of An Actor, 55 BYLINE: By EMILY EA ...

146. ... t World War. She portrayed an exquisite [[chameleon]], elusive and shape-shifting, opposite m ...

147. ... at the age of 61, was an extraordinary [[chameleon]] figure: comedian, actor, translator, jo ...

148. ... st yearly image makeovers. This fashion [[chameleon]] quality and her unusually deep voice le ...

149. ... ps the ultimate tribute to Glenn Ford's [[chameleon]] ability and quiet authenticity is the s ...

150. ... e remembered by his friends as a gifted [[chameleon]] on stage and screen. Phillip's films in ...

151. ... TV All Rights Reserved Pop's great [[chameleon]] Northern Te... Disclaimer Select Lan ...

152. ... the pack, David was the groundbreaking [[chameleon]] who impacted us all. Such a colossal lo ...

153. ... cy Ullman -- "comedic actresses who had [[chameleon-like]] qualities". Her voice talent led to som ...

154. ... ith a sort of awed admiration. With her [[chameleon-like]] ability to turn the right colour at the ...

155. ... rine her "quicksilver" daughter for her [[chameleon-like]] ability to match the moods of others. ...

156. ... r eight decades, it is a measure of her [[chameleon]] artistry that her art stands apart from ...

157. ... Capital Artist. Transforming herself, [[chameleon-like]], from a teddy girl in one album (Anita ...

158. ... asily between mediums were proof of his [[chameleon-like]] ability to make something distinctive o ...

159. ... I never be another Pran," he said. His [[chameleon-like]] ability helped Pran transform himself f ...

160. ... ignature look. It came instead from his [[chameleon-like]] ability to set the proper stage. "He h ...

161. ... 4, said: "He was like a comedy god. His [[chameleon-like]] ability to assume these characters was ...

162. ... gan to make a name for himself with his [[chameleon-like]] ability to hop from one accent and dial ...

163. ... also mourned Rickman this year for his [[chameleon-like]] acting abilities. "Alan Rickman was an ...

164. ... rdom throughout the late '60s until his [[chameleon-like]] antics finally paid off. The ever-ecce ...

165. ... is song 'Changes' perfectly sums up his [[chameleon]] career and persona. He moved from one g ...

166. ... first world war. Yet ever step of his [[chameleon-like]] career had an inevitability. He would p ...

167. ... ing his death as the final phase of his [[chameleon]] career BYLINE: By Nigel Pauley SE ...

168. ... ked Olivier's ravenous versatility, his [[chameleon]] gift to change appearance, voice or ath ...

169. ... stage where perhaps he always knew his [[chameleon]], quicksilver talent would be outweighed ...

170. ... cognised with an honorary Oscar for his [[chameleon]] talent enabling him to shine in any rol ...

171. ... ANGELES Olan Soule, who used his [[chameleon]] voice to portray villains and superhero ...

172. ... He was the most likeable of all human [[chameleons]], with a quality of astonishing innocenc ...

173. ... anded pragmatist, if not an ideological [[chameleon]], adept at maintaining his equilibrium i ...

174. ... Minister for Power, was an ideological [[chameleonwho]] continually changed his party affiliati ...

175. ... right down the middle." An ideological [[chameleon]], with a finely honed

instinct for survi ...

176. ... yndrome she explored the idiosyncratic, [[chameleon]] quality of memory, and this book was pu ...

177. ... e, Lapierre was known as a masterful if [[chameleon-like]] political operative. He spent the firs ...

178. ... IE WAS ALWAYS CHANGING LIKE A IMMEDIATE [[CHAMELEON]] -- LIKE A CHAMELEON. DAVID BOWIE DIDN'T ...

179. ... 1993. JAMES BRIDGES was an improbable, [[chameleon-like]] figure, almost unique in Hollywood hist ...

180. ... One of the nation's great intellectual [[chameleons]] has died, writes Greg Earl. P. P. McGu ...

181. ... Mufti Mohammed Sayeed in particular, is [[chameleon]]. No, it's not a kind word. I don't inte ...

182. ... ll of insights and surprises - like its [[chameleon]] author - it has been characterised as t ...

183. ... n WGST in 1954. In part, Mr. Jackson's [[chameleon-like]] career was borne of necessity. He was d ...

184. ... ted upbringing, Natasha Litvin learned, [[chameleon-like]], to fit in to any environment, adapting ...

185. ... ay First Edition Bengal's literary [[chameleon]] BYLINE: CHHANDASHI BANDOPADHAYAY Wit ...

186. ... xile has forced me to become a literary [[chameleon]]," he often said. Moore could range from ...

187. ... le exception of the tale this literary "[[chameleon]]" was working on at his death, there wil ...

188. ... orian Fernand Braudel en route. No mere [[chameleon]], however, Tilly had a central concern w ...

189. ... leon". Barlow, much travelled, was more [[chameleon-like]] than most, with work ranging from pictu ...

190. ... still captures the essence of that most [[chameleon-like]] star: not least in its description of D ...

191. ... abashedly strange music. Like a musical [[chameleon]], Bowie dipped into genres such as glam ...

192. ... ork Times wrote, "She can be a musical [[chameleon]], but her changes are not just on the su ...

193. ... s. But while he may have been a musical [[chameleon]],he was he was always a Southerner at he ...

194. ... lton. Although he was a perfect musical [[chameleon]] in the way in which he could evoke any ...

195. ... cester musician Jim Allard is a musical [[chameleon]], jumping from jazz style to jazz style ...
196. ... for "afro," Mr. Thurston was a musical [[chameleonwho]] reinvented himself over and over again, ...
197. ... Dorris Henderson, the Scottish musical [[chameleon]] Robin Williamson, and guitarists Stefan ...
198. ... mpo. "I could be something of a musical [[chameleon]]," said Bernard, "and I would always try ...
199. ... l media had been hacked, or the musical [[chameleon]] was pulling off an elaborate stunt. Al ...
200. ... l the way along.' GRAPHIC: Musical [[chameleon]]: With second wife actress Liza GoddardT ...
201. ... hange music. David Bowie was a musical [[chameleon]], Ziggy Stardust and the Thin White Duke ...
202. ... presence, Ms. Seldes was not a natural [[chameleon]]. She was at her best in the rarefied en ...
203. ... satility -- only a case of a naturally [[chameleonic]] personality. He was Julius Caesar in a ...
204. ... c. It wasn't one thing. He had a bit of [[chameleon]] in him," Happy Traum said Monday. Trau ...
205. ... ribed him in my piece, seemed a kind of [[chameleon]], posing as a southern liberal or Tory a ...
206. ... ternich. It was a remarkable display of [[chameleon-like]] versatility and theatrical presence. Tw ...
207. ... nday Australian Edition Orchestral [[chameleon]] dazzled audiences here and abroad BY ...
208. ... is an abiding trait in Nin's otherwise [[chameleon]] temperament. One friend says that she k ...
209. ... rting gift of a new album. A pioneering [[chameleon]] of performance imagery, Bowie straddled ...
210. ... s most consummate survivor, a political [[chameleon]], a quasi-mythical figure. Over almost 4 ...
211. ... ndfather was Antonio Maura, a political [[chameleon]] and free-thinker who was five times Spa ...
212. ... al to compromise in an age of political [[chameleons]], as one put it. "He knew that in the e ...
213. ... ri earned the reputation of a political [[chameleon]],capable of radical changes in policy de ...
214. ... mocrat, Specter was seen as a political [[chameleon]], changing parties to suit

his re-electi ...

215. ... r king Norodom Sihanouk was a political [[chameleon]] deft at moving with the tides that batt ...

216. ... he joined them. Nicknamed a "political [[chameleon]]" for his tendency to hop from one party ...

217. ... ritics accused him of being a political [[chameleon]], happy to make common cause with the fa ...

218. ... involvement here. "He was a political [[chameleon]] indeed," said Teodoro Casino, secretary ...

219. ... UARY Italian provocateur, political [[chameleon]]: Marco Pannella, dead at 86 By Alvis ...

220. ... : English GRAPHIC: CRAVEN: political [[chameleon]] PUB-TYPE: Paper Unclassifiable Mc ...

221. ... Workers' Union secretary. A political [[chameleon]], Walsh sided with communist unionists w ...

222. ... ed Ramodike a "puppet" and a "political [[chameleon]]". "We are disturbed by the newspaper w ...

223. ... : HONOLULU Frank F. Fasi, a political [[chameleon]] who ruled Hawaii's capital for 22 years ...

224. ... anuary 1975, it was Shelepin, political [[chameleon]], who was again tipped by Kremlinologist ...

225. ... s "Mr President". Nixon was a political [[chameleon]] who could adopt a dozen personalities b ...

226. ... he Black Panther Party, and a political [[chameleon]] whose changing personas included black ...

227. ... rica) May 6, 2012 SA's 'political [[chameleon']] dies BYLINE: Ngwako Malatji SECTI ...

228. ... Space Oddity. Over the decades the pop [[chameleon]] continued to innovate and inspire, chan ...

229. ... oint January 12, 2016 Tuesday Pop [[chameleon]] David Bowie dead of cancer two days aft ...

230. ... our as audaciously as this peerless pop [[chameleon]], never has an artist gone through so man ...

231. ... Prince, mysterious, inventive pop-music [[chameleon]], dies at 57; The enigmatic star conti ...

232. ... H: 581 words Prince, the pop-music [[chameleon]] who became a superstar in the 1980s and ...

233. ... , long-lasting career as a professional [[chameleon]]. Since the Monash hoax, McComas, 52, h ...

234. ... ds as to the possibility of publishing. [[Chameleon-like]], Jean Bruller became several personages ...
235. ... for his ability as "the quintessential [[chameleon]], effortlessly inhabiting a wide range o ...
236. ... in 2010, hailed as the "quintessential [[chameleon]]". "I've played more bandits, thieves, ...
237. ... 11. Describing him as a "quintessential [[chameleon]]", the Academy said the honorary Oscar w ...
238. ... shape-shifting monarch and realpolitik [[chameleon]] who helped to lead the global nonalign ...
239. ... music/david-bowie-dead-69-n493781 Rock [[chameleon]] and visionary David Bowie died Sunday a ...
240. ... ns Read MoreDavid Bowie, Rock and Roll [[Chameleon]], Dies at 69 As soon as his Facebook pa ...
241. ... 2010 DR ROBERTA Sykes, a self-described [[chameleon]] who defied conventions to become a well ...
242. ... triker before tasting glory as a serial [[chameleon]] with Bill Shankly's Liverpool in the se ...
243. ... uring that time he went through several [[chameleon-like]] changes, while conserving his ultra-cat ...
244. ... nes, Zeppelin). He was a shape shifting [[chameleonwho]] defined fashion and paved the way for a ...
245. ... o. Scott described his son as a social [[chameleon]] who could befriend anyone and everyone, ...
246. ... But he had always been a somewhat [[chameleon-like]] character in his political affiliations ...
247. ... Hindi. These two films reveal Sridevi's [[chameleon-like]] ability in terms of adaptability. Be ...
248. ... utes to the colourful life of the style [[chameleon]]. Some of us will get up and perform Ste ...
249. ... hese were not the output of a stylistic [[chameleon]], however, but an assured, courageous ar ...
250. ... udience through cinema and television. [[Chameleon-like]] in his ability to shape himself into a ...
251. ... an artist as much as a musician, that "[[chameleon]] ,comedian, Corinthian and caricature", ...
252. ... ridiculous. There was something of the [[chameleon]] about Di Tella, who combined intellect ...
253. ... IGH: LOS ANGELES >> Martin Landau, the [[chameleon-like]] actor who

gained fame as the crafty mas ...

254. ... E: LOS ANGELES Martin Landau, the [[chameleon-like]] actor who gained fame as the crafty mas ...

255. ... E: LOS ANGELES Martin Landau, the [[chameleon-like]] actor who gained fame as the crafty mas ...

256. ... n't a clue who Peter Sellers is.' The [[chameleon-like]] actor with the plastic face and thousan ...

257. ... e killed herself a few hours later. The [[chameleon-like]] actor with the anchorman baritone speci ...

258. ... e killed herself a few hours later. The [[chameleon-like]] actor with the anchorman baritone speci ...

259. ... The chameleon of Congolese music THE [[chameleon-like]] artistic itinerary of Papa Wemba follow ...

260. ... tend to pay their last respects to the "[[Chameleon]]", as Kérékou was known for his ability ...

261. ... irst impressions, he was not called the [[chameleon]] because of his changing political affil ...

262. ... as glam-rock idols was fleeting and the [[chameleon-like]] Bowie was soon ready to move on. On sta ...

263. ... during the 1960s, and was known as "The [[Chameleon]]" by Hollywood casting directors due to ...

264. ... poken and shy, with a reputation as the [[chameleon]] comedian: "fluent, funny, polite, infor ...

265. ... 5 Monday First Edition McComas the [[chameleon]] dies at 52
BYLINE: SELMA MILOVANOVIC ...

266. ... the Top 10 album Young Americans. The [[chameleon]] entertainer made his mark on the big sc ...

267. ... 9, 2002. Evelyn said the man with the [[chameleon-like]] eyes that wooed her during a blind date ...

268. ... om was small and slight, and he had the [[chameleon]] face and body of the true actor. He cou ...

269. ... on and served two terms. Nicknamed the [[Chameleon]] for his protean politics, Mr. Kérékou c ...

270. ... itical leaders, Kérékou was dubbed "The [[Chameleon]]" for his transformation from Marxist-in ...

271. ... er make Lawrie vice-president. Ever the [[chameleon]], he took immediately to his new environ ...

272. ... small roles so well. For example, the [[chameleon-like]] Hemming performed no less than six role ...

273. ... Zelig," said Richler, referring to the [[chameleon-]] like Woody Allen character in the 1983 ...

274. ... ough his appearances as Rollin Hand, the [[chameleon-like]] "man of a million faces", in the first ...

275. ... tle his 1998 biography Brian Moore: The [[Chameleon]] Novelist, died at his home in Malibu, C ...

276. ... es. Of course, as Brian Moore: The [[Chameleon]] Novelist makes abundantly clear, being ...

277. ... LENGTH: 573 words BRIAN MOORE: The [[Chameleon]] Novelist By Denis Sampson, Doubleday ...

278. ... n clothing, establishing himself as the [[chameleon]] of couture. In 1999, Saint Laurent and ...

279. ... always felt bemused at being called the [[chameleon]] of rock. Doesn't a chameleon exert trem ...

280. ... d make him a world class musician. The [[chameleon]] of Congolese music follows in the foo ...

281. ... e) RICHARD ROTH reporting: He was the [[chameleon]] of British character actors, a man of a ...

282. ... d make him a world-class musician. The [[chameleon]] of Congolese music THE chameleon-like ...

283. ... isable faces from TV soap-land, and the [[chameleon]] professionals of huge talent and little ...

284. ... rtegun was not without his critics. The [[chameleon]] qualities that allowed him to flit betw ...

285. ... de his mark as a player, displaying the [[chameleon]] tendency he later displayed as an offic ...

286. ... ver succumbed to the temptations of the [[chameleon]], wanting to be liked by all and sundry. ...

287. ... ranch will not break in the arms of the [[chameleon]]", which was interpreted as a warning of ...

288. ... esident Mathieu Kerekou, nicknamed "the [[chameleon]]" who ruled the tiny west African nation ...

289. ... drama. First and foremost, there is the [[chameleon-like]] woman who is the object of fascination ...

290. ... achiever, and something of a theatrical [[chameleon]], he won a scholarship to Cambridge Univ ...

291. ... ought asylum, like many Catholics. This [[chameleon]] quality may have been nurtured during G ...

292. ... [Bacall] always struck me as being too [[chameleon-like]]; it seems to me

that before marriage sh ...

293. ... actor but preferred the term "versatile [[chameleon]]". Like Joseph, he wore a coat of many c ...

294. ... eople, but at the same time he was very [[chameleon-like]]," said his brother Joe McElrath of Aust ...

295. ... nt mixer full of whiskey, and a vibrant [[chameleon]] quiff, Juhanson made his presence clear ...

296. ... vocal delivery. The great violinistic [[chameleon]] that she was, she added colour to "Over ...

297. ... o create them as well. "He was a vocal [[chameleon]]," said Kevin Gillis, an executive produ ...

298. ... an erotic falsetto. His appearance was [[chameleon-like]] and the musician also pushed the envelo ...

299. ... a rare recent revival. Krenek was [[chameleon-like]] in reacting to his surroundings. When h ...

300. ... ished the biography of Mackenzie, whose [[chameleon-like]] character he managed to convey, princip ...

301. ... scar-winning actor Rod Steiger -- whose [[chameleon-like]] skills enabled him to play a wide gamut ...

302. ... dbye, Anita; Entrancing audiences with [[chameleon]] changes through the years, Anita Mui co ...

Appendix B. Categorisation of the Evaluative Polarity of Each Concordance Line Generated by the Obit Corpus

<i>Obit corpus</i>						
concordance number/s	semantic category	lexical items occurring in close proximity to the node words	evaluated entity	node-collocate relationship one of negation	Flow of meaning	<u>Favourable</u> semantic prosody of commendation (+) / <u>Neutral</u> semantic prosody (N) / <u>Unfavourable</u> semantic prosody of condemnation (-) <u>Ambiguous</u> semantic prosody (AMB)
1	thespian versatility	performer, rich, melodic	human		»	+
2	thespian versatility	powers, theatrical legend, great, overwhelming praise	human			+
3	thespian versatility	actor, brilliant, masterful, playfulness, tireless performer, enduring family man, wonderful, successful	human			+
4	identity and racial mutability	malleable, changed, altered, stretched	human			N
5	tenacity / adaptability	adaptable	human			+
6	thespian versatility /	happiest, acting, extraordinary, tremendous	human			+

	multi-talentedness				
7	artistic and creative versatility / androgyny and sexual fluidity	creative genius, gender-bending fashion icon	human		»
8	strategist / adaptability	planning on moving slowly and surely, ability, adapt, changing, towering	human		»
9	artistic and creative versatility	couture designers, elaborate, precision, create, commanding, movie stars, jewel	human		»
10	adaptability and resilience	royal, resiliently, abiding affection, good-natured, grace, ability, adapt, shifting conditions, remarkable, knack, virtues	human		»
11	thespian versatility	ability, blend, skill, experts, top	human		»
12	thespian versatility and promiscuity	cinema. golden, glamour, ability, transform, myriad	human		»
13	artistic and creative versatility / adaptability	legend, great, golden, top, survival, topliner, ability, adapt, changing times, uncanny flare, anticipating, music, adapted	human		»
14	artistic mimicry / slavish imitation	ability, assume, writers best-selling	human		»
15	thespian versatility	actor	human		»
16	adaptability	master, influence, success, adaptability, charming, avuncular	human		»
17	adaptability	adaptation, circumstances	human		»

18	adaptability	admirers, praised, talent, stamina, discipline, writing, acting adapting, circumstances	human		»	+
19	artistic and creative versatility / multi-talentedness	composer, musician, straddling, Pulitzer prize, leading	human			+
20	thespian versatility	enthraling performances, international success	human		»	+
21	thespian versatility / adaptability	actor	human			+
22	depravity and unpredictability	fast, furious, multiple personalities, change, dual personality, deadly, abusive, demanding, strict, vicious	human			-
23	artistic and creative versatility	flawless, smooth, quick	human		»	+
24	rendering oneself inconspicuous	blend, new settings	human			N
25	thespian versatility	nominated, award, drama. Farce, incredible range, tremendously diverse, actress, praised, skilfully	human			+
26	strategist	slowly but steady	human		»	N
27	thespian versatility	shape-shifting, multiple roles	human			+
28	multi-tasking	different projects	human			+
29	thespian versatility	elaborate period costumes	human			+
30	artistic and creative versatility	designer, much travelled, ranging, picturesque, innovative	human			+
31	thespian	consummate artist, beaming	human			+

	versatility				»	
32	creative and artistic versatility / multi-talentedness / androgyny and sexual fluidity	alien balladeer, pansexual glamourpuss, rake, maestro, fashionista, freak, rock star, change, mutation, rock's greatest shape-shifter, fresh, imagination, omni-star, drifting	human		»	AMB
33	a political turncoat / manipulation and opportunism	pain, switched royalties, manipulating, engineered, discord, battered, disbanding, scrapping, weaken, smuggling, arms, drugs, terrorists	human		»	-
34	adaptability	become part, environment, mild-mannered, modest, respectful	human		»	+
35	artistic and creative versatility	iconic, influential, trends, new, avant-garde, music, fashion, popular culture, creative ingenuity, artistic metamorphoses, genius	human		»	+
36	thespian versatility / artistic and creative versatility	caring, quiet compassion, range of roles, emotional, musical, unequalled, versatility, depth, variety	human		»	+
37	polyglot / artistic and creative versatility	gregarious, entertaining, colourful, distinguished, prodigious, history, literature, ability, half a dozen languages, startling powers of memory, shrewd, charm, shape-shifting, endless innovation, restless determination	human		»	+

38	political turncoat / manipulation and opportunism	horrors, death camps, crimes, changed, traitorous	human			-
39	thespian versatility	actor, unforgettably vivid, gargantuan	human		»	+
40	NA	NA	NA			NA
41	unpredictabil y	confident, arrogant, vulnerable, uptight	human		»	-
42	thespian versatility	actress, mass recognition, convincing	human			+
43	artistic and creative versatility	changing, blend, iconic, rebel, changes	human			+
44	artistic and creative versatility	accomplished, musical, dividing, lucrative, sought-after, popular	human		»	+
45	thespian versatility / androgyny and sexual fluidity	comedy, drama, transvestite	human			+
46			human	√		-
47	artistic and creative versatility / multiplicity of roles	impresario, record producer, writer, performer, scene-maker, make-up, face paint, zelig-like ability, greatness, cult-presence, music scene, conceptualist	human		»	+
48	adaptability	ability, fit, situation	human			N
49			human	√		-
50	multiplicity of roles / multi-talentedn ess	advertising copywriter, army major, war hero, politician, minister, television interviewer	human		»	+
51	AMBIGUOUS	larger than life	human			AMB
52	thespian versatility	seriousness, professionalism, high-profile	human			+

53	thespian versatility	unique, talent, array, all-time greats, stage, screen, greatest	human			+	
54	artistic and creative versatility	photography, photographic, important, produce, range	human		»	+	
55	thespian versatility	all-time greats, wonderful, change, colours, magic, praised, most talented, respected, versatile thespian	human			+	
56	DUPLICATE CONCORDANCE						
57	thespian versatility	varied, change, appearance, personality, golden era	human			+	
58	political turncoat / manipulation and opportunism	genocidal maniac, gangster, suited, reinvented, fear, intimidation, murder, criminals, dirty, cronies, shot, death, pathetically, weak, wars, killed, arrest	human		»	-	
59	multi-ethnicity	eclectic, mix, blood, fit	human			N	
60	identity and racial mutability	taken over	human		»	N	
61	artistic and creative versatility	power, wonderful, musician, sophisticated	human			+	
62	adaptability	slip, cultures	human			N	
63	artistic and creative versatility	quick-change, artist	human			+	
64	thespian versatility	best, greatest, intelligence, portrayed, performed,	human		»	+	
65	thespian versatility	passion, theatre, prestigious, legacy, god, taking on	human			+	
66	thespian versatility	good-looking, leading-man, wonderful, comic, status, style, extraordinary, fascination,	human			+	

		infectious			
67				√	» -
68	artistic and creative versatility / multiplicity of roles / multi-talentedness	opera, ballet, musical theatre, enormous enthusiasm, wide range, all-round musician	human		» +
69	thespian versatility	comic glory, knack, stand-up	human		» +
70	rendering oneself inconspicuous	knack, blending in, anonymity	human		» N
71	indecision, pleaser	enigma, successful, accommodation, chasms, often ambiguous	human		» AMB
72	indecision, pleaser, relativism	middle way, please everybody	human		» AMB
73	comfortable with people from different social strata	exceptional statistician, quality, fitting in, stickler for detail, formidable, skilled, strong principle	human		» +
74	thespian versatility / multiplicity of roles	unselfish, natural, perfection, gift, characterisation, radio, film, television	human		» +
75	thespian versatility	glamour, self-confidence, well-known, disguises	human		» +
76	thespian versatility / vocal versatility	exceptional, actress, singer, tongue	human		» +
77	political turncoat / manipulation and	courage, opportunism, ability, both ways, trial, charges, fraud, insider-trading, political manoeuvring	human		» -

	opportunism				
78	thespian versatility	actor, variation, skill, equal adroitness	human		+
79	artistic and creative versatility	indefatigable, cultural, reinvent, novelist	human	»	+
80	thespian versatility	praised, vivid, colours	human		+
81	thespian versatility	physically unimposing, social butterfly, flamboyance, gay man, homosexuality	human	»	AMB
82	comfortable with people from different social strata / adaptability	adapt, different, situations, audiences	human		N
83	artistic and creative versatility/ multiplicity of roles / multi-talentedness	artist, ceramist, conservator, painter, sculptor, chef d'oeuvre	human		+
84	multi-faceted and multi-coloured	Hollywood cinema	non-human	»	N
85	thespian versatility	beautiful, voice, encompass	human	»	+
86	artistic and creative versatility	gifted, best, ground breaker	human		+
87	pretence	pretending	human		-
88	artistic and creative versatility	gentle, sophisticated, perfect, unabashed interest, style, change, colours, architecture	human		+
89	adaptability	quality, absorbed, adapted, wide, variety, environment	human		N

90	thespian versatility	star winning, quality, ethnicity, legacy	human	»	+
91	artistic and creative versatility	very cultured, great imagination	human		+
92	artistic and creative versatility	acclaimed, pianist, talented, musician, entrepreneur, best, dip, style, genre	human		+
93	thespian versatility	shows, pantomimes, comic imagination, transforming, ability	human	»	+
94	multiplicity of faces and personae	princess, goddess, undermine	human		AMB
95	artistic and creative versatility	singer-songwriter, oscillated	human		+
96	thespian versatility	most admired, applauded, actresses, taking on, colours	human		+
97	artistic and creative versatility/ multiplicity of roles / multi-talentedness	respectfulness, hospitality, enthusiasm, love, art, many, versatile, ballet, operas, rock and roll	human	» »	+
98	artistic and creative versatility / sexual fluidity	drag queen, enormous talent	human		+
99	artistic and creative versatility/ multiplicity of roles / multi-talentedness	singer-songwriter, performer, vocalist, crossed	human	»	+
100	artistic and creative	harmonic imagination, music-making	human		+

	versatility			»	
101	thespian versatility	thespian, well-deserved, revelation, hailed, wonderful, talent	human		+
102	artistic and creative versatility	run the gamut, pivoted, embrace, massive hit	human		+
103	thespian versatility	assumed, diverse	human		+
104	adaptability	survivor, adapting, changing times	human		N
105	thespian versatility	versatility	human	»	+
106	vocal versatility	veteran radio, television, movie actor, voice,	human		+
107	thespian versatility	most formidable, successful, maverick submerge	human	»	+
108	multiplicity of faces and personae	musical genius, range, myriad, adopted, discarded, persona, myriad, conflicting, complementary, selves, indefinable	human		+
109	artistic and creative versatility / multi-talentedness	greatest, stars, straddled, music, fashion, film, combination, acclaim success	human		+
110	polyglot / comfortable with people from different social strata / adaptability	good mafioso, multiple personalities, many facets, both worlds	human	»	AMB
111	multiplicity of roles	changed	human	»	N
112	thespian versatility	greats, act, cool sophistication	human		+

113	thespian versatility	star, complex, impressive	human			+	
114	diplomacy	politeness, elegance, quiet	human			+	
115	AMBIGUOUS	invented, reinvented	human			AMB	
116	a pleaser	reflects, kill, cold blood, rage	human			-	
117	draws mixed opinions	ire, enemies, mistrust, self-obsessed zealot, economic, political, repression, fear, controlling, messiah, ruthless, tramples, totalitarian, mistrust, despot, dictatorship, admirers, detractors	human		»	-	
118	thespian versatility	versatile, actor, superb, grief, amazing, funny	human		»	+	
119	NOT AN OBIT						
120	thespian versatility	illustrious, wide, variety, roles, one in a million, great, talent	human			+	
121	thespian versatility	genius, Baftawinning, actress, writer, charm, ground-breaking, accent, features	human			+	
122	relating to different nuances of nationalism	fragmented, guises, regional, assumed	non-human			N	
123	political manipulation and opportunism	tumultuous, flamboyant, autocratic, overthrown, subduing, political, dexterity, vanity, delusions of grandeur, monopolistic, abdication anarchy, Pol Pot, Khmer Rouge	human		»	-	
124	thespian versatility and complete absorption into the character being played	actors, powerful, moving, memorable, continuity, blend, seamlessly, role, recognise	human			+	
125	thespian versatility	tribute, talent, special, artistic, turn, great, classics, comedy,	human			+	

		farce, operetta, musical, theatre, cabaret, revue			»	
126	artistic and creative versatility / androgyny and sexual fluidity / multiplicity of faces and personae	influential, reinventing, persona, revolution, evolved	human		»	+
127	thespian versatility	actor, quality	human			+
128	artistic and creative versatility	self-professed bon-viveur, imagination, fantasies, decorator, couture, adopt	human			+
129	artistic and creative versatility / thespian versatility / sexual fluidity	comedian, Corinthian, caricature, hedonist, rock and roll lifestyle, fuelled, drink, drugs, sexual ambiguity, vigorous bisexuality	human		»	AMB
130	androgyny and sexual fluidity	praised, role model, saviour, androgynous, unique, queer, gender outlaws, gender fluidity	human		»	+
131	political ambivalence	swung, ambivalence	human			AMB
132	a political turncoat / manipulation and opportunism / political genocide	bloodied, tarnished, alliance, ravaged	human			-
133	thespian versatility	theatre, pioneer	human			+
134	economy with the truth	charming, maverick, worshipped, compulsive liar, charm, conviction, fat-thinker, blessed, wonderfully seductive	human			AMB

		voice			
135	a sweet talker	charming, persuade	human		AMB
136	ITEMS UNDER STUDY PART OF THE NAME OF A BOOK WRITTEN BY THE DECEASED				
137	thespian versatility	ability, varied, diverse, star	human		+
138	AMBIGUOUS	colourful			AMB
139	thespian versatility	gifted, brilliant, impersonator, generous	human		+
140	artistic and creative versatility / multiplicity of roles / multi-talentedness	painter, printmaker, teacher, fluid, creative, spanning	human		+
141	the embodiment of contrasting cultures	unerring, excellence, talent, vastness, cultural,	human		+
142	the embodiment of contrasting cultures	musician, cultural	human		+
143	adaptability	cultural, adaptability, remake, overhaul	human		+
144	thespian versatility	masculinity, actors, finest, daring, stardom, icon	human		+
145	thespian versatility	veteran, television, film, stage, acclaim	human		+
146	thespian versatility	exquisite, elusive, shape-shifting, opposite, greatest,, actress, complexity, goddess	human		+
147	artistic and creative versatility / multiplicity of	extraordinary, comedian, actor, translator, journalist, pseudo-diarist, novelist,	human		+

	roles / multi-talentedness	dramatist			
148	artistic and creative versatility	ever-changing, glamour, image, makeover, fashion, accomplished, actor	human		+
149	thespian versatility	ability, authenticity, moved, star, durable	human		+
150	thespian versatility	actor, brilliant, gifted, stage	human		+
151	thespian versatility	pop, greatest, stardom	human		+
152	artistic and creative versatility	champion, unparalleled, talent, impacted	human		+
153	thespian versatility	comedic, actresses, quality	human		+
154	diplomacy	invaluable, awed, ability, turn, admiration, smoothing down, success	human		+
155	empathiser / ability to attune oneself to someone's feelings	charm, distinguished, feeling, grâce enfantine, ability, match, moods	human		+
156	artistic and creative versatility	artistry	human		+
157	artistic and creative versatility	transforming, respected, generous, supreme, idol	human		+
158	artistic and creative versatility / ability to move between mediums	ability, elegant, good look, television, movie, mediums, film, stage, versatility, distinctive, class	human		+
159	thespian	ability, legendary, transform,	human		+

	versatility	acting, phenomenal, natural, pride and soul, successful			
160	artistic and creative versatility	decorator, ability, popularity, architecture, erudite, wit, well-bred, perfect	human		+
161	thespian versatility and complete absorption into the character being played	ability, comedy, god, assume	human		+
162	artistic and creative versatility / ability to mimic accents and dialects	ability, radio, hop, accent, dialect	human		+
163	thespian versatility	abilities, amazing, actor	human		+
164	thespian versatility	pop, stardom, antics, ever-eccentric, musician	human		+
165	artistic and creative versatility	pop, greatest, magician, wonderful, persona, genre, fashion, excitingly, consummate, skill, embraced	human		+
166	multiplicity of roles	insight, flexibility, intuition, powers, concentration, genius	human		+
167	artistic and creative versatility	surprises, singer, superstar, well-read, meticulous, step into	human		+
168	thespian versatility / vocal versatility	versatility, gift, change, appearance, voice, dynamism	human		+
169	thespian versatility	stage, talent	human		+
170	thespian versatility	legends, talent, shine	human		+

171	vocal versatility	voice, radio, television, movie	human			+
172	polyglot / the embodiment of contrasting cultures	many, countries, language, manners, culture, likeable, human, quality, astonishing	human			+
173	political expediency	consummate, political, survivor, ideological, equilibrium	human			-
174	political turncoat / manipulation and opportunism / sweet talker	smooth-talking, ideological, changed, affiliation	human			-
175	survivor / diplomacy	middle, ideological, survival, negotiated	human			+
176	relating to memory		non-human			N
177	political turncoat / manipulation and opportunism	masterful, political, acerbic, hotshot, colours, separatist	human			AMB
178			human	√		-
179	thespian versatility	unique, Hollywood, shows, films, plays	human			+
180	multiplicity of roles	absorbed, many, lives, university lecturer, film reviewer, economist, government adviser, newspaper columnist, public intellectual, psychiatric nurse	human			+
181	political turncoat / manipulation and opportunism	orchestrated, mobs, violent, desecrated, destroyed, pain, switched, loyalties	human			-
182	AMBIGUOUS	quirky, lively, surprises	human			AMB
183	artistic and	guitar, trumpet, piano, banjo,	human			+

	creative versatility	accordion			
184	adaptability	dislocated, fit in, environment, adapting, behaviour, accent	human		N
185	artistic and creative versatility	delving, literary genres, novels, travelogues, children's fiction, translated	human		+
186	artistic and creative versatility	master, many, literary forms, range	human		+
187	artistic and creative versatility	literary	human		+
188	multiplicity of roles	factory-hand, labourer, janitor, teaching	human		+
189	artistic and creative versatility	designer, much travelled, ranging, picturesque, innovative	human		+
190	vocal versatility	voice, drew upon, catalyse, musical, cultural, star, revolution	human		+
191	artistic and creative versatility	unmistakable, style, charismatic, inventive, music, musical, dipped, genres	human		+
192	artistic and creative versatility	repertory, eclectic, profusion, ability, get into, qualities	human		+
193	artistic and creative versatility	virtuoso, guitar, violin, harmonica player, multi-instrumentalist, gumbo, styles, unique, pitching, suit	human		+
194	artistic and creative versatility	remarkable, perfect, musical, evoke, style, period, astonishing, wide-ranging	human		+
195	artistic and creative versatility	musical, jumping, ease	human		+
196	artistic and creative	musical, reinvented, disco king,	human		+

	versatility	master, dabbled			
197	artistic and creative versatility	musical, important, biggest, illustrious	human		+
198	thespian versatility	musical, mood	human		+
199	thespian versatility	musical, pulling off, stunt	human		+
200	artistic and creative versatility	musical, varied	human		+
201	artistic and creative versatility	musical, personas, inhabited, challenge, change	human		+
202	thespian versatility	larger than life, elegant, poised, natural	human		+
203	thespian versatility	versatility, naturally, three-dimensionality	human		+
204	artistic and creative versatility	musical, sensibility, big, scope, encompassed, styles	human		+
205	pretence	posing	human		-
206	thespian versatility	firmness, patience, efficiency, tact, ability, imagination, versatility, theatrical, presence	human		+
207	artistic and creative versatility	orchestral, dazzled	human		+
208	stealth	secrecy, pudique, temperament	human		N
209	artistic and creative versatility	pioneering, drama, art, fashion, rock, pushing, boundaries, innovative	human		+
210	political resilience / political persuasion / political	consummate, survivor, quasi-mythical, suffered, wars, collapse, conflict, guerrilla, warfare, kills, battlefield	human		-

	expediency				
211	AMBIGUOUS	political, free-thinker	human		AMB
212	AMBIGUOUS	political	human		AMB
213	political expediency	political, authoritarian, radical, rivals, out-manoeuvre, consolidate	human		-
214	political turncoat / political expediency	political, changing, parties, re-election	human		-
215	political expediency	political, moving, tides, regime, war-ravaged	human		-
216	political turncoat	political, puppet, hop	human		-
217	political indecisiveness	political, turns	human		-
218	political pretence	pass himself off	human		-
219	political expediency	political, provocateur, enfant terrible, controversial, cult, maverick, larger than life. spectrum	human		-
220	AMBIGUOUS	political	human		AMB
221	political expediency	political, heretic	human		-
222	political turncoat	political, puppet, hopped	human		-
223	political turncoat / political expediency	political, maverick, suited, purposes	human		-
224	political expediency	political, feared, KGB, Stalin, crimes, abuses	human		-
225	a man of multiple personae	political, dozen, personalities	human		AMB

226	a man of multiple personae	political, changing, personas	human		AMB
227	political turncoat	apartheid, puppet, hop	human		-
228	artistic and creative versatility	pop, innovate, inspire, changing, musical, style, remarkable, look	human		+
229	artistic and creative versatility	pop, visionary, personas, trend-setting	human		+
230	artistic and creative versatility	change, colour, audaciously	human		+
231	artistic and creative versatility	mysterious, inventive, pop-music, redefine, crossed, boundaries	human		+
232	artistic and creative versatility	music, superstar	human		+
233	artistic and creative versatility	professional, great, performer, speechmaker	human		+
234	multiplicity of roles	several, personages	human		+
235	thespian versatility	quintessential, inhabiting, wide, range, inimitable	human		+
236	thespian versatility	quintessential	human		+
237	thespian versatility	quintessential	human		+
238	artistic and creative versatility / a political turncoat / manipulation and	libertine, francophile, philanderer, filmmaker, painter, serial husband, father, philanderer, cherubic, ruthless, consummate, cherubic, ruthless god king, political, consummate flip-flopper,	human		AMB

	opportunism	shape-shifting, complexity, contradictions			
239	artistic and creative versatility	rock, visionary, innovation, profound, music			+
240	artistic and creative versatility	music, reinvention, rock and roll, innovation, changing, direction			+
241	artistic and creative versatility	poet, author, defied			+
242	multiplicity of roles	serial, efficient, prolific			+
243	multiplicity of roles	minister, ambassador, reformer, image, several			+
244	artistic and creative versatility	shapeshifting, stature			+
245	social butterfly / capable of befriending everyone irrespective of age	social			N
246	a person of fluid political allegiances	colourful, charismatic, affiliations			+
247	thespian versatility	adaptability			+
248	artistic and creative versatility	colourful, style			+
249	artistic and creative versatility	stylistic, idioms, simultaneously, artist, fluid			+
250	artistic and creative versatility	accomplished, cinema, television, shape			+

251	artistic and creative versatility	polymath, artist, musician, comedian			+
252	a person of fluid political allegiances	combined, intellect, academic, penchant, ambiguous, allegiances, fluid			AMB
253	thespian versatility	fame, master, disguise			+
254	DUPLICATE CONCORDANCE				
255	DUPLICATE CONCORDANCE				
256	thespian versatility / vocal versatility	thousand, voices, plastic,	human		+
257	thespian versatility	memorable, impersonations, baritone	human		+
258	DUPLICATE CONCORDANCE				
259	artistic and creative versatility	world-class, mixing, music	human		+
260	adaptability	ability, adapt, change	human		+
261	political adaptability	ability, adapt, changing, times	human		+
262	artistic and creative versatility	reign, move, rainbow-hued, glitter	human		+
263	artistic and creative versatility / multi-ethnicity	diverse, range, characters, Hollywood, ethnic, ambiguity	human		+
264	thespian versatility	comedian, fluent, funny, polite, informed	human		+
265	artistic and creative versatility / multiplicity of roles	1800 faces, performer, impersonator, speechmaker	human		+

266	artistic and creative versatility	entertainer, mark, performances, memorable, experimented	human			+
267	relating to eye colour	eyes	human			N
268	thespian versatility	stage	human			+
269	a person of fluid political allegiances	protean, politics, guises	human			AMB
270	a person of fluid political allegiances	transformation	human			AMB
271	adaptability	took to, environment	human			N
272	thespian versatility	irrepressible, scene stealer, marvellous, actor	human			+
273	omnipresence	everywhere	human			N
274	thespian versatility / multiplicity of faces	million, faces	human			+
275	artistic and creative versatility	novelist, mastery, genres	human			+
276	artistic and creative versatility	novelist	human			+
277	artistic and creative versatility	novelist	human			+
278	artistic and creative versatility	clothing, universally, praised, couture, establishing	human			+
279	artistic and creative versatility	rock	human			+
280	artistic and	world class, musician	human			+

	creative versatility				
281	thespian versatility	thousand, faces, versatility, spanned	human		+
282	artistic and creative versatility	music	human		+
283	thespian versatility	professionals, talent, fame	human		+
284	artistic and creative versatility / adaptability	qualities, flit	human		+
285	AMBIGUOUS	tendency	human		AMB
286	a pleaser		human		-
287	a person of fluid political allegiances	political, warning, chaos	human		-
288	a person of fluid political allegiances	president, ruled	human		-
289	a person of enigma	woman, fascination	human		AMB
290	thespian versatility	theatrical, high achiever, adopted	human		+
291	diplomacy	quality, intelligence	human		+
292	deception and seduction	flashed, colours	human		-
293	thespian versatility	versatile, fine, actor	human		+
294	adaptability / comfortable with people from different social strata		human		+
295	A man who changes his	encyclopaedic, wardrobe	human		N

	clothes several times a day				
296	artistic and creative versatility	violinistic, colour	human		+
297	vocal versatility	amazing, ability, manipulate, rich popular	human		+
298	artistic and creative versatility / androgyny and sexual fluidity	musician, gender-bending, colourful, stage original, compelling	human		+
299	an artist who is receptive to his surroundings	reacting, surroundings	human		N
300	AMBIGUOUS		human		AMB
301	thespian versatility	skills, wide, gamut, roles	human		+
302	artistic and creative versatility	indomitable, generous, entrancing	human		+

Appendix C. Subsample of Concordance Lines for the iWeb Corpus for the Search String ‘Chameleon-Like’

1	canadafreepress.com	A	B	C	gold, then at least silver. Vincent DOnofrio brings his	chameleon-like	abilities (I did n't recognize him at first) to the
2	tokenrock.com	A	B	C	could, fluctuate between a human and iguana appearance through	chameleon-like	abilities - "a perfect vehicle for transforming into world
3	www.nzherald.co.nz	A	B	C	, according to The Blacklist star Harry Lennix, helps develop	chameleon-like	abilities. # "I think that being able to play multiple
4	webdesignerdepot.com	A	B	C	classic setting effortlessly, too. Its largely because of this	chameleon-like	ability that Helvetica has become so widely used. # Strengths
5	urbo.com	A	B	C	to date multiple people at the same time. While your	chameleon-like	ability to adapt to any environment helps you succeed in the
6	inmod.com	A	B	C	, but we suggest sitting on it instead! With the	chameleon-like	ability to adjust in height, the Lollipop Stool will satisfy
7	onthebox.com	A	B	C	to the beat of anothers drum and his brass neck and	chameleon-like	ability to blend into the background makes his screen presence

8	commercialtype.com	A	B	C	include an extensive set of alternates, giving the typeface a	chameleon-like	ability to change tone and personality.
9	emigre.com	A	B	C	new conceptual typefaces: Zelig " a typeface with the uncanny	chameleon-like	ability to change its appearance to something very similar to
10	imgmodels.com	A	B	C	, and strong work ethic, Jordan and Zac have a	chameleon-like	ability to channel both commercial and high-fashion styles.
11	www.ctvnews.ca	A	B	C	just get that following from being stunningly beautiful with a	chameleon-like	ability to constantly transforming her look with eyeshadows,
12	tfaw.com	A	B	C	franchise. # I continue to be amazed at Paul Tobins	chameleon-like	ability to expertly tell stories from distinct genres. Plants
13	www.irishexaminer.com	A	B	C	with Mayo in the past four years, such is his	chameleon-like	ability to fade into the background and avoid the spotlight. #
14	century21.ca	A	B	C	remedy for common complaints with interiors, offering the	chameleon-like	ability to lighten, warm, enlarge, erase, or attract
15	wonderballroom.com	A	B	C	The Replacements, and	chameleon-like	ability to meld into a

					even Crazy Horse, they have the		scene - Their songs, which continue
16	gypsysallys.com	A	B	C	Chuck Brown and, as a result, learned an almost	chameleon- like	ability to play various styles of music on piano, synthesizer,
17	vixpaulahermanny.com	A	B	C	of the most iconic of supermodels. Her quiet confidence and	chameleon- like	adaptability is recognized, sought-after and admired by many.
18	astroreveal.com	A	B	C	role play at which it can be very talented and its	chameleon- like	adaptability means that sexually Pisces can be anything you
19	musicweek.com	A	B	C	but what it lacks in character he makes up for in	chameleon- like	adaptability. Layered, it can be as hypnotic as DAngelos,
20	coda-music.com	A	B	C	15 is a top-notch performer for stage or studio. This	chameleon- like	amp creates its magic with a trio of 12AX7 preamp tubes feeding
21	positive-feedback.com	A	B	C	its sound, either. The NHB-108 is perhaps the most	chameleon- like	amplifier that I've ever heard the 108 seems to morph according

22	theconversation.com	A	B	C	a Mohawk coming a mile away. By contrast Mods were	chameleon-like	anarchists , who dressed better than their bosses, boring away
23	www.loeildelaphotographie.com	A	B	C	artist, incorporates himself and others into landscapes with	chameleon-like	and great artistic efficiency mixed with a twist of http:
24	deadline.com	A	B	C	way than the one to which he was born. His	chameleon-like	approach to life will test his nerve as he takes his future
25	www.clashmusic.com	A	B	C	and guitars entering cardiac arrest. # However, this	chameleon-like	approach to songwriting means not everything comes off.
26	eastoftheweb.com	A	B	C	of ready, but not very powerful sympathy, with a	chameleon-like	aptitude for taking on the shade and color of contiguous moods
27	seriouseats.com	A	B	C	epiphany. # " I realized that eclairs are just as	chameleon-like	as macarons, "she explains." You can inject them
28	www.avclub.com	A	B	C	movie, Liar Liar. Again, you 're kind of	chameleon-like	as the bland guy who does n't get the girl. #
29	boss.info	A	B	C	like to work on projects in a	chameleon-like	BR-800 easily transforms

					computer DAW, the		itself into a pro front-end for your
30	allempires.com	A	B	C	immediately addressed as the new emperor. Feng Dao started his	chameleon- like	career as prime minister for the Later Tang Dynasty, and,
31	soundstage.com	A	B	C	" gee whiz" bass response either. The Talons'	chameleon- like	character from the lowest octave through the upper bass
32	www.charlotteobserver.com	A	B	C	of people around him. "But we 've seen that	chameleon- like	characteristic throughout the story. He compares his own
33	artnet.com	A	B	C	The Big Lie marches on, but it changes shape with	chameleon- like	cleverness. # My point is that the theorizing of "advanced
34	audiostream.com	A	B	C	Released on Lorna Vista in March, Corpus I is a	chameleon- like	collection of songs (a "collaborative mixtape"), morphing
35	arturia.com	A	B	C	The NAMM Show 2014, the BeatStep Black Edition is a	chameleon- like	controller and sequencer that matches many musical
36	tolkienlibrary.com	A	B	C	back as any records or memories reach, hobbits have been	chameleon- like	creatures who have adopted the language of their

							immediate
37	ppg.com	A	B	C	, glass and greenery, Tustin-Fuchs explained. Taking on a	chameleon-like	effect depending on its surroundings, it appears greyer when
38	tokidoki.it	A	B	C	and glows in the dark with a phosphorescent effect. This	chameleon-like	effect is also featured on the cases decorated with graffiti.
39	dolmetsch.com	A	B	C	"the circle of sources" (in these days of	chameleon-like	efficiency every whim must be classified under a
40	moca.org	A	B	C	at the workings of art history in real time. Her	chameleon-like	embrace of other artists' art has also resulted in her being
41	plugin-alliance.com	A	B	C	brainworx have unveiled three new audio tools: # SPL's	chameleon-like	EQ Ranger Plus # The SPL EQ Ranger Plus, is based
42	birkenstock.com	A	B	C	, exciting patterns or a metallic finish: Papillio is the	chameleon-like	fashionista among our brands. Unlike BIRKENSTOCK classics,
43	thedrakehotel.ca	A	B	C	of the best bars + music venues in Toronto, its	chameleon-like	flexibility means it's an ideal spot for rock 'n'

44	commercialtype.com	A	B	C	layouts hearkening back to International Modernism. This	chameleon-like	functionalism is probably why it is one of our most popular
45	gamnesia.com	A	B	C	Aran and Ridley? Since one drawing apparently features the	chameleon-like	Ghalmanian monster seen only in Metroid: Other M, do you
46	defected.com	A	B	C	into a gold standard mixed-use arts and events venue. With	chameleon-like	grace , Oval Space morphs between legendary club dancefloor to
47	salonpricelady.com	A	B	C	two personalities with her: her own and that of her	chameleon-like	hair . It has been short, long, blue and even
48	hairstylehub.com	A	B	C	go for a trim. 25Angled Stacked Bob # This	chameleon-like	hairstyle can go from Saturday nights out to Monday mornings at
49	casebook.org	A	B	C	. It was this very mediocrity that permitted him to blend	chameleon-like	into his everyday environment, allowing him to wander at large
50	philipglass.com	A	B	C	the case. With meticulous insight, she theorizes that the	chameleon-like	killer is life-jacking assuming the lives and identities of

							his
51	historygraphicdesign.com	A	B	C	anything at all. The influence of the MTV logo's	chameleon- like	look can be seen today. # As a result of their
52	iresearchnet.com	A	B	C	. Blumers interactionism emphasizes the ever-changing,	chameleon- like	nature of the self and its tentative role in social interaction (
53	thorntomasetti.com	A	B	C	first of its kind in the world. The veil's	chameleon- like	nature would allowed it to change from opaque to transparent,
54	baume-et-mercier.com	A	B	C	collection while major actress Melanie Griffith and the	chameleon- like	Paola Cortellesi were presented with watches from Baume &
55	travelandleisure.com	A	B	C	an obligatory stop for locals and travelers alike. And its	chameleon- like	personality means that a trip is necessary both by day and by
56	earthsky.org	A	B	C	is the alexandrite. Alexandrite possesses an enchanting	chameleon- like	personality. In daylight, it appears as a beautiful green,
57	ylighting.com	A	B	C	one wants to add a lighting element with a playful and	chameleon- like	personality. # I am a huge fan of the Equilibre F33

58	agile42.com	A	B	C	and teams in their specific transformation efforts. As	chameleon-like	phenomenon , helping can take many different forms such as
59	josiemarancosmetics.com	A	B	C	loves how it goes on white and magically blends as the	chameleon-like	pigments do their work. Its a match custom-made in heaven.
60	darwin-online.org.uk	A	B	C	fluids. # This cuttle-fish displayed its	chameleon-like	power both during the act of swimming and whilst remaining
61	www.irishcentral.com	A	B	C	calls Ronan "absolutely smashing" as Abigail, mentioning her	chameleon-like	power to become invisible or radiant whenever she pleases. It's
62	guitarplayer.com	A	B	C	the lowsare at the heart of this studio-oriented devices	chameleon-like	powers . Kurt Cobain used a SansAmp onstage. # Tube Works
63	cronodon.com	A	B	C	. He is visible but of no certain colour, for	chameleon-like	puts on all colours.' Aulalucis, Thomas Vaughan,
64	lifestylebyps.com	A	B	C	you style or wear it, there's no denying the	chameleon-like	qualities of a good pair of navy chinos. If you have
65	thehome.com.au	A	B	C	've seen in interiors of late. # It boasts clever	chameleon-like	qualities that makes it an easy paint

							option to work with at
66	salesinnovationexpo.co.uk	A	B	C	the deal. Today, sales people need to possess those	chameleon-like	qualities to adapt their selling style according to the varying
67	www.eurekastreet.com.au	A	B	C	. But what does a politician do when their leader exhibits	chameleon-like	qualities , has a great public image but runs a dysfunctional
68	ziffdavis.com	A	B	C	. # For the record, the dress does not have	chameleon-like	qualities . Internet sleuths have tracked down photos of the
69	julep.com	A	B	C	the 1920s, with flaming red hair and a sassy,	chameleon-like	quality in front of the camera that allowed her to be seen
70	uic.edu	A	B	C	in that way, recognizing only that it has the marvelous	chameleon-like	quality that it can very quickly be made to substitute for a
71	designobserver.com	A	B	C	. Like memory, graphic design has an unpredictable,	chameleon-like	quality that pays scant attention to chronological time;
72	u2gigs.com	A	B	C	from a challenge, the band has managed with an almost	chameleon-like	quality to assimilate pop music's varying styles

							and forms and
73	discotech.me	A	B	C	most audacious move yet came a bold new sound and another	chameleon-like	reinvention to go with it. The three illustrious DJ residencies
74	filmsite.org	A	B	C	a 1971 novel by Jerzy Kosinski, with Sellers in a	chameleon-like	role in his second-to-last film. His role is a forerunner to
75	cjad.com	A	B	C	million to Marion Skene, Alexandria's nanny. # The	chameleon-like	star transformed the sound, and the look, of rock with
76	www.ocregister.com	A	B	C	New York, where David Bowie lived. Bowie, the	chameleon-like	star who transformed the sound - and the look - of rock
77	harpersbazaar.com	A	B	C	qwx196282 # Lesson learned: Follow suit # Tilda Swinton's	chameleon-like	style will have her look shifting from carpet to carpet, but
78	cultmontreal.com	A	B	C	Part of Cruise's true-blue movie stardom is the absence of	chameleon-like	talent. He's pretty much Tom Cruise in every movie
79	freepeople.com	A	B	C	style, though shes not quite sure what to call these-	chameleon-like	tendencies of hers. - Tracking down this Portland-based lass

80	stlawu.edu	A	B	C	, and seemingly has no reason to change, but her	chameleon-like	transformati on into "a very dignified person, with brown
81	torontoist.com	A	B	C	a similar impression, with Sophia Walker demonstrating a	chameleon-like	versatility , going from a girl mapping out her experiences on
82	divadevotee.com	A	B	C	3 octaves (BB2-Bb6) Whistle Register: NoVocal Pluses:	Chameleon-like	voice that skirts styles and genres depending on what is
83	marathonmusicworks.com	A	B	C	sound that is fully her own, characterized primarily by her	chameleon-like	voice . # She can not read music and has no understanding
84	literature-study-online.com	A	B	C	by lighting which gives a grey-green corpse-like, (and	chameleon-like) pallor to his skin. He talks frantically, not to
85	www.gq-magazine.co.uk	A	B	C	, real; James is hyper-articulate, scarily abstract and	chameleon-like	, a made-up character created out of his own ambition. #
86	astrolibrary.org	A	B	C	. Pisces is the trickiest to describe. Pisces energy is	chameleon-like	, absorbing its surroundings. Zodiac Qualities # The

87	soundstage.com	A	B	C	another. One of them that I have found to be	chameleon-like	, and therefore a good test, is Paul Simon's 1987
88	infjs.com	A	B	C	anyone (in a sense I am very adaptable and almost	chameleon-like	, but not in a sociopathic way haha), which is
89	hyperallergic.com	A	B	C	Medicis in our Western tradition, but also playing out,	chameleon-like	, in innumerable forms, worldwide, throughout ancient and
90	zonalmarking.net	A	B	C	end it becomes unbearable and the dam breaks. Then,	chameleon-like	, the door is slammed shut by any means necessary with all
91	www.entrepreneur.com	A	B	C	easily identified in any business, COOs have to adapt,	chameleon-like	, to the environment in which they find themselves." #
92	nobeliefs.com	A	B	C	, thereby continuously replacing body parts when needed.	Chameleon-like	, Zardoz can change its opacity from transparent to opaque, even
93	www.vanityfair.com	A	B	C	" blissfully incorrect." "Tatiana is so remarkable and	chameleon-like	, "Lynch says." She does what she does and
94	michellephan.com	A	B	C	allows them to feel gorgeous, powerful, and sometimes even	chameleon-like	. As the cosmetics industry has grown

							substantially over the
95	jesuswalk.com	A	B	C	Prayer # Father, the sin of greed is so	chameleon-like	. It hides under so many guises. Forgive me for greed
96	colormatters.com	A	B	C	plastic of all design elements, it is also the most	chameleon-like	. Nothing can be more frustrating than discovering that the
98	stereotimes.com (1)	A	B	C	handle on this was challenging as the 4.1 is quite	chameleon-like	. When I thought I had it pegged, another track would
99	jeffleatham.com	A	B	C	asserts that one mercurial results in the incident of another	chameleon-like	. # Exogenous cytokines can increase the release of
100	www.ft.com	A	B	C	he has a knack of deflecting attention away from himself,	chameleon-like	; he blends in, insofar as it is ever possible for

**Appendix D. Categorisation of the Evaluative Polarity of a 100-Concordance Subsample
Generated by the iWeb Corpus**

<i>iWeb corpus</i>						
concordance number/s	semantic category	lexical items occurring in close proximity to the node words	evaluated entity	node-collocate relationship one of negation	Flow of meaning	Favourable semantic prosody of commendation (+) / Neutral semantic prosody (N) / Unfavourable semantic prosody of condemnation (-) Ambiguous semantic prosody (AMB)
1	thespian versatility	class, gravitas, abilities, diverse, blend, Hollywood	human		»	+
2	relating to an alien	transform	non-human			N
3	thespian versatility	theatre, multiple characters, wig, contrivance, flair, thinker, inventor, creator	human			+
4	relating to a typeface	mood, attitude, surroundings. setting	non-human			N

5	adultery and two-timing	adept, duality, multiple	human		-
6	relating to a stool	ability, adjust	non-human		N
7	thespian versatility	multi-layered, ambiguity, ability, blend, background, screen	human		+
8	relating to a typeface	ability, change, tone, perspective	non-human		N
9	relating to a typeface	uncanny, ability, change, appearance	non-human		N
10	artistic and creative versatility	ability, channel, high-fashion, styles	human		+
11	artistic and creative versatility	stunning, beautiful, ability, constantly, transforming, beauty	human		+
12	artistic and creative versatility	amazed, ability, expertly, genres	human	»	+
13	render oneself inconspicuous	fade, background, avoid	human		N
14	relating to the versatility of a particular brand of paints	lighter, warm, enlarge, attract	non-human		N
15	artistic and creative versatility	song writing, talent, memorable, ability, meld, infinitive, transforming	human		+
16	artistic and creative versatility	ability, various, styles, music, piano, synthesizer, organ	human	»	+

17	artistic and creative versatility	iconic, supermodels, confidence, adaptability, sought after, admired	human			+
18	sexual prowess and sexual versatility	submissive, talented, adaptability, intuition, sensitivity	human			+
19	vocal versatility	adaptability, hypnotic, layered, collection, styles	human			+
20	relating to a technological device	top-notch, stage, studio, amp, creates	non-human			N
21	relating to a technological device	morph	non-human			N
22	defiance and rebellion	offend, anarchists, paradoxes, fears, violent	human		»	-
23	artistic and creative versatility	incorporates, landscapes, great, artistic, efficiency	human			+
24	AMBIGUOUS	approach	human			AMB
25	artistic and creative versatility	approach, song writing	human			+
26	when one's face mirrors one's innermost feelings	aptitude, taking on, shade, colour, mood, feelings	human			N
27	relating to eclairs	inject, decoration, play, flavours	non-human			N
28	AMBIGUOUS		human			AMB
29	relating to a	computer, transforms	non-human			N

	technological device				
30	a political turncoat / manipulation and opportunism	masterful, tumultuous, changing, disloyalty	human		-
31	relating to a technological device	character, octave, bass	non-human		N
32	adoption of another persona	taken on, idiosyncrasies, adopted	human		N
33	relating to modern art	cleverness	non-human		N
34	relating to a collection of songs	collection, songs, morphing	non-human		N
35	relating to a technological device	controller, sequencer, matches	non-human	»	N
36	ability to speak the language of others	creatures, adopted, neighbours	non-human		N
37	relating to a brand of paints	taking on, effect, appearance, seems	non-human		N
38	relating to a phosphorescent effect on the frame of a particular make of glasses	effect	non-human		N
39	AMBIGUOUS	efficiency	non-human		AMB
40	artistic mimicry / slavish imitation	embrace, overlooked, repeating	human		-
41	relating to a technological device		non-human	»	N
42	relating to a particular brand of sandals	fashionista, brands	non-human		N

43	Toronto's versatility as an entertainment value	flexibility	non-human			N
44	relating to functionalism	functionalism	non-human			N
45	a monster capable of changing its form		non-human			N
46	relating to a venue that can change its interior depending on the occasion	morphs	non-human			N
47	constant change in hair colour	short, long, blue, lime green	human			N
48	constant change of hairstyle	hairstyle	human			N
49	Rendering oneself inconspicuous to avoid detection and capture	mediocrity, prostitute, killer, victims, monster, unseen, unheard, Jack the Ripper, environment	human		»	-
50	A killer who assumes the lives and identities of his victims	serial killer, assuming, lives, identities, life-jacking	human			-
51	relating to a logo which does not stick to just one corporate look	look	non-human			N
52	relating to the fluctuating nature of the self in social interaction	ever-changing, nature, self, role, social, interaction	non-human		»	N
53	relating to a glass veil	change, allow, filter,	non-human			N

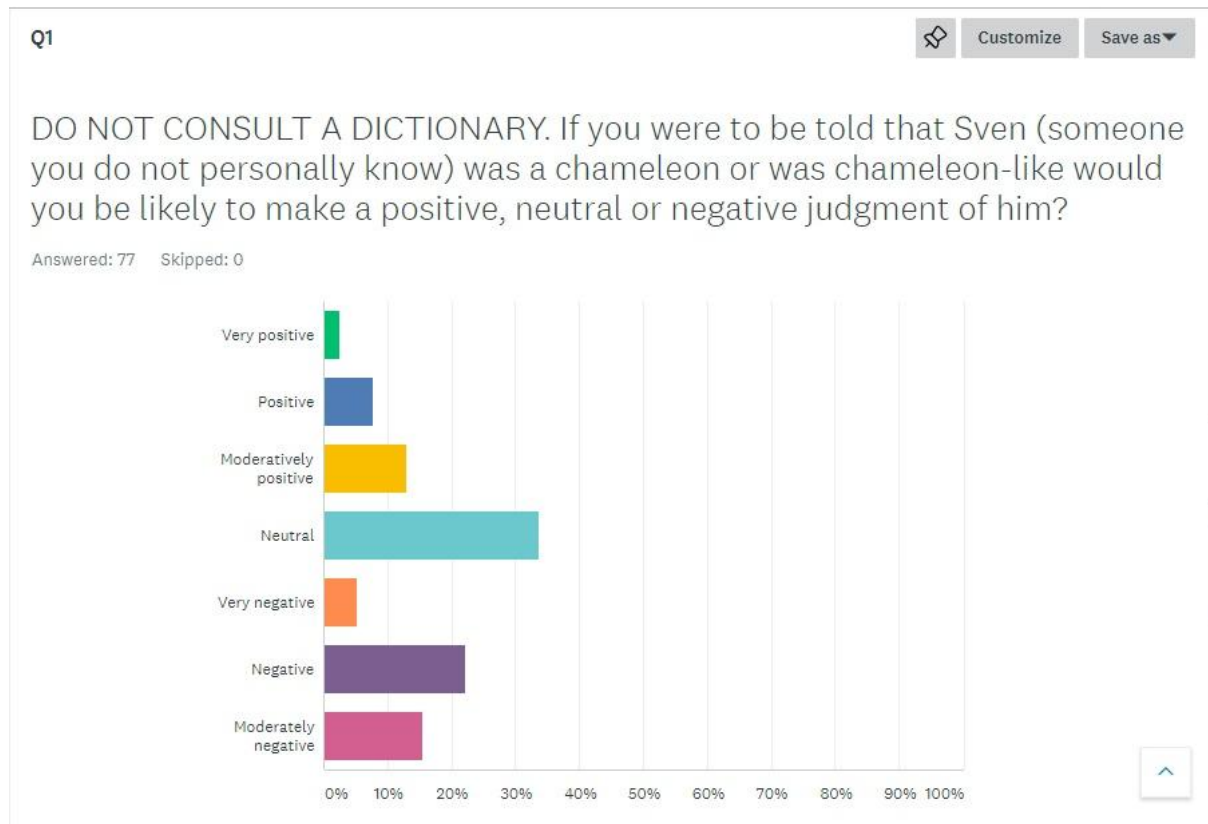
	façade capable of changing from opaque to transparent	variable				
54	artistic and creative versatility		human			+
55	city that changes its personality depending on the time of day	personality	non-human			N
56	relating to a gem stone	possesses, enchanting, personality, beautiful	non-human			N
57	relating to a lamp that can interact with the user's requirements	playful, personality	non-human			N
58	relating to the different forms coaching can take	phenomenon	non-human		»	N
59	relating to a skin foundation whose pigments change according to skin type	pigments, adjust, match	non-human			N
60	Rendering oneself inconspicuous to evade detection and capture	power, cuttlefish	non-human			N
61	artistic and creative versatility	power, become, invisible, radiant	human			+
62	relating to a technological device	power	non-human			N
63	relating to the qualities of a particular chemical substance	visible, colours	non-human			N

64	relating to trousers that can be worn to suit any outfit	style, wear, qualities	non-human		»	N
65	relating to a particular brand of paints	clever, qualities	non-human			N
66	adaptability	varying environment	human			N
67	political opportunism and manipulation	qualities, dysfunction, integrity, corruption, disdain	human			-
68	relating to a dress that changes its colour depending on viewer	qualities	non-human			N
69	artistic and creative versatility	sassy, quality	human			+
70	relating to the versatility of eBooks	marvellous, quality, substitute	non-human			N
71	relating to the fragmentary nature of graphic design	unpredictable, amorphous, nomadic	non-human			-
72	artistic and creative versatility	assimilate, styles, forms, turn, music, successfully	human			+
73	artistic and creative versatility	dj, sounds, identities, reinvention	human		»	+
74	artistic and creative versatility	role, film	human			+
75	artistic and creative versatility	sound, look, transformed	human			+
76	artistic and creative versatility	star, transformed, sound, look	human			+

77	artistic and creative versatility	style, shifting	human			+
78			human	√		N
79	artistic and creative versatility	tendencies, cutting-edge, style	human			+
80	A radical change in demeanour and appearance	change, transformation	human			N
81	thespian versatility	acting, creates, versatility	human			+
82	vocal versatility	voice, skirts, styles, genres	human			+
83	vocal versatility	music	human		»	+
84	skin that changes colour depending on the lighting	corpse-like, pallor	human			AMB
85	AMBIGUOUS	hyper-articulate, abstract, made up	human			AMB
86	relating to a type of energy which evades description	absorbing, surroundings	non-human			N
87	relating to a technological device		non-human			N
88	adaptability	adaptable, sociopathic	human			+
89	AMBIGUOUS	transitory, innumerable	human		»	AMB
90	AMBIGUOUS		non-human			AMB
91	adaptability	chief operating officer, adapt, environment	human			N

92	relating to a spaceform that can change its opacity	change	non-human			N
93	artistic and creative versatility	makeup, remarkable	human			+
94	ability to change appearances for purposes of beauty	cosmetics, gorgeous, powerful	human			+
95	relating to the multifacetedness	sin, hides, many, guises, greed	non-human			-
96	relating to the variability of colours		non-human			N
97	CONCORDANCE DID NOT GENERATE A CONCORDANCE LINE					
98	relating to a technological device	transform, impression	non-human		»	N
99	AMBIGUOUS		non-human			AMB
100	rendering oneself inconspicuous	deflecting, attention, blends	human		»	N

Appendix E. Intuitions Diagnostic Survey



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES
Very positive	2.60% 2
Positive	7.79% 6
Moderately positive	12.99% 10
Neutral	33.77% 26
Very negative	5.19% 4
Negative	22.08% 17
Moderately negative	15.58% 12
TOTAL	77

Q2



DO NOT CONSULT A DICTIONARY OR THESAURUS. What other adjectives do you associate with chameleon-like and chameleon?

Answered: 77 Skipped: 0

RESPONSES (77) WORD CLOUD TAGS (0)

Apply to Selected ▾ Filter by tag ▾

Search responses

Showing 77 responses

Opportunistic Double-check faced (maltesism?)

1/28/2019 6:34 PM

[View respondent's answers](#) [Add tags ▾](#)

Hypocrite

1/28/2019 6:30 PM

[View respondent's answers](#) [Add tags ▾](#)

Changeable, capricious, not steadfast

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