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Speciesism and Language: A sociolinguistic  
approach to the presence of speciesism in current  
British speech

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#### Abstract [EN]

This paper is an attempt to study the presence of speciesism in the British culture by analyzing its language. Being this form of discrimination still highly prevalent worldwide, the aim of the essay is to analyze to what extent the English language used in Britain is influenced by it. For this purpose, two popular forms of the language have been analyzed: insults and proverbs. The research has been based on the answers of a survey addressed to young British English speakers and the results obtained from oral entries of the British National Corpus. The results of the study have shown a high influence of speciesism in the language and how normalized it is, proving that this form of discrimination is still highly accepted in the British society and therefore present in its language.

Keywords: Speciesism, language, discrimination based on species, insults, proverbs.

#### Abstract [ES]

El propósito de este trabajo es el de estudiar la presencia del especismo en la cultura británica analizando su lenguaje. Debido al hecho de que esta forma de discriminación está todavía muy extendida alrededor de todo el mundo, este estudio pretende analizar hasta qué punto ha influenciado al inglés hablado en Reino Unido. Para esto hemos analizado dos formas populares del lenguaje: los insultos y los refranes. El estudio se ha basado en las respuestas de una encuesta completada por jóvenes Británicos y en los resultados obtenidos del análisis en entradas orales del British National Corpus. Los resultados del estudio han mostrado una alta influencia del especismo en el lenguaje y lo normalizado que está, demostrando que esta forma de discriminación todavía está ampliamente aceptada en la sociedad Británica y por lo tanto presente en el lenguaje.

Palabras clave: Especismo, lenguaje, discriminación basada en la especie, insultos, refranes.

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## 1. Introduction

The concept of speciesism might be unknown for the majority of the population. This is why it is important, first of all, to present its meaning and the context in which it was coined. Speciesism /'spi:ʃi:ziz(ə)m/ is defined by Oxford Dictionaries as "The assumption of human superiority leading to the exploitation of animals." The Merriam-Webster Dictionary defines it as "Prejudice or discrimination based on species; especially: discrimination against animals." This term was coined in 1970 by Dr. Richard D. Ryder, a British writer, psychologist and philosopher. He used it for the first time in a pamphlet against experimentation in animals when he was working as a hospital scientist. In this pamphlet, he defended that, since both human and nonhuman animals have a nervous system which allows them to feel and to suffer; making a distinction which leads to the suffering of nonhuman animals is not acceptable. His purpose was to demolish the arbitrary differentiation that human animals had made between us and all the rest of the animals. From his point of view, this differentiation granted human animals a higher position, creating the illusion that we had the right to decide on the lives of other animals and treat them as we pleased. (Ryder, "Speciesism Again: the original leaflet")

He explains that this idea came to his mind in the 1960's, when the UK population was rising awareness on discrimination based on sex and race, this is, sexism and racism. Being concerned with these issues, he felt that another alarming problem was being forgotten: discrimination based on species. In the absence of a term that referred to this systematic discrimination, he decided to call it "speciesism" and he defined it as "a prejudice based upon morally irrelevant physical differences" (Ryder, "All beings that feel pain deserve human rights").

Based on Ryder's ideas, this dissertation aims to study the reflection of speciesism from a linguistic point of view.

## 2. Theoretical Framework

The idea for this study appeared while reading an essay by the American historian Jason Hribal, titled "Animals Are Part of the Working Class: A Challenge to Labor History". In it, Hribal provides many examples of how the speciesism present in our society has shaped the English language during the last centuries as a consequence of industrialization. He mentions how before the 19th century the word *meat* "simply meant a meal or edible part of a solid food" (438). It did not have the strict meaning of the flesh of an animal, as it does today. According to Hribal, this transformation happened primarily because of the industrialization of the meat industry. Another term that illustrates how industrialization changed the view towards animals is *living stock*, which he defines as "any creature kept or dealt for profit" (435). This term he considers to be speciesist first of all because it makes reference to the exploitation that these animals suffer and because animals are considered to be living stock "only from the human point of view" (436).

From the linguistic point of view, it is important to note that Ryder also acknowledges the existence of speciesist language, in parallel to sexist and racist language, and tries not to use it. He defends that it is not correct to use the word *animal* as opposed to the word *human*. In order not to be speciesist in his way of writing, he proposes the terms *nonhuman* or *nonhuman animal*. These terms and their opposite *human animal* are the ones that he uses all along his book (*Animal Revolution: Changing Attitudes Towards Speciesism* 2).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> These terms are also the ones that are going to be used throughout this study to make reference to what are commonly called as *animals*.

Relevant to our approach, other authors have also explored how speciesism is related to sexism and racism. This is for example the case of the philosopher and activist Catia Faria, who affirms that sexism and speciesism are both equally unjustifiable forms of discrimination. In the first case, because the interests of those who do not belong to a specific gender are not taken into account. In the second one, because the interests that are not taken into account are the ones of those who do not belong to a specific species.

Joan Dunayer, being also aware of this relation between speciesism and other forms of discrimination, affirms the following: "Just as sexist language demeans women and excludes them from full consideration, speciesist language demeans and excludes nonhuman animals. When we consign other animals to the category thing, we obscure their sentience, individuality and right to autonomy" ("On Speciesist Language"). In another article, relevant for our study, she also acknowledges the use of names of nonhuman animals as insults as being an important aspect of speciesist language ("Sexist Words, Speciesist Roots").

In the English language, as well as in many other languages, names of nonhuman animals are often used as pejorative terms against people. Probably the clearest example of this in English can be *bitch*. The Oxford Dictionary offers these two different definitions of the term:

1. A female dog, wolf, fox, or otter.
2. (informal) A spiteful or unpleasant woman.
  - 2.1. A woman.

This example clearly illustrates how the names of nonhuman animals can be used as a speciesist insult, as well as sexist sometimes.

Finally, another aspect of language that could be considered to be speciesist is the appearance of nonhuman animals in proverbs. They are portrayed in situations in which they are killed or exploited by humans, which is justified and socially accepted based on the speciesist principle that humans have the right to use animals as resources or objects for their benefit or pleasure. An example of this could be 'Give a man a fish and you will feed him for a day'. This saying makes reference to a dead fish which is used for human purposes, in this case, to eat. Therefore, in this case, the interests of the human animal are considered more important than the interest of the fish.

As has been anticipated in the introduction, this study is going to examine speciesism in the English language. More specifically, it aims to analyze to what extent speciesist language is present in the language used by British speakers. For this purpose, two different aspects of the language have been taken into account: insults and proverbs.

### 3. Methodology

In order to examine how native English speakers from Great Britain use speciesist insults and proverbs in their everyday life, two different methods of data compilation have been used: a survey and an English language corpus.

The first one consists of a survey addressed to young British participants between the ages 19-29 (See Appendix A). In it, the participants were asked to answer to three different questions: First, they had to say if the following names of nonhuman animals had a positive or negative connotation when used to address a person: *bitch*, *cat*, *chicken*, *cow*, *dog*, *leech*, *pig*, *rabbit*, *rat* and *whale*.<sup>2</sup> After this, they had to explain the meaning that these names had when used for people. Finally, they were asked to fill the gaps in five proverbs that could be considered speciesist, to rate how frequently they

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<sup>2</sup> Some of these names have been taken from examples from internet blogs, some others from Joan Dunayer's *Animal Equality: Language and Liberation*.

used or heard them from 0 to 5 and to explain in which context. The proverbs are the following:

1. A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush
2. Give a man a fish and you will feed him for a day
3. Like a chicken with its head cut off
4. There is more than one way to skin a cat
5. They couldn't hit an elephant at this distance

It is important to have in mind that, since these sayings form part of oral tradition, the purpose of the study was not to see if the participants answered the exact same words, but to see if they knew them, even if there were variations. This way, it could be concluded whether these sayings are still common among young speakers or if, on the other hand, they form part of the language used by previous generations (See Appendix A).

The second source has been a British corpus which allows to make spoken language searches. It is the BYU-BNC (British National Corpus). In it, the names of the animals aforesaid have been searched, looking for sentences in which they appeared in an oral context. The reason why these entries were used is because it is more probable that these names are used to address a person in spoken language rather than in a written channel, since this use can be considered more colloquial. Then, the first 50 results that appeared for each name were analyzed. Because the results of the corpus were limited extracts from external sources, there were a few cases in which the meaning could not be figured out without a context. These cases were excluded from the research and the next ones were added until having 50 in total. In the cases when the results were less

than 50, all of them have been used. After analyzing the connotative meaning of the names in each sentence, they have been classified as positive, negative or neutral.<sup>3</sup>

#### 4. Results

In this section, the results of the survey and the corpus search will be presented.

##### 4.1. Survey

The survey was completed by 32 participants. However, the responses of two of the participants did not correspond with what was being asked and consequently, these responses have been deleted. Therefore, these results correspond to the analysis of the data provided by the remaining 30 participants.

Out of these participants 12 are male and 18 female, all of them from different parts of Great Britain, mostly from England. Their ages vary from 19 to 28.

When considering the names of these ten nonhuman animals that were presented in the survey as positive or negative, these are the results that were obtained (see table 1): Five of them were considered negative by all of the participants, namely *bitch*, *cow*, *pig*, *leech* and *rat*: The term *bitch*, apart from having been considered negative unanimously, was described as offensive exclusively towards women by 2/3 of the participants. For instance, was described as meaning 'horrible woman', 'nasty woman', 'two-faced or drama causing female' or even as 'woman who is rude or mean, usually as a way to prevent women from being vocal about their desires'. The same number of participants (2/3) described *cow* as an insult used for women, generally to say women are 'rude', 'horrible' or 'fat'. *Pig* was described as 'greedy', 'dirty' or 'fat'. *Leech* was related to 'parasite'. *Rat* made reference to people who can be considered 'ugly', 'dirty' or

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<sup>3</sup> They have been considered neutral in the cases in which they were not being used to refer to a person, but to make reference to the animal itself, to a surname, an expression or a verb (e.g. to rabbit on).

'untrustworthy'. Additionally, it might be meaningful to mention that two of the participants saw *rat* as something generally called to men.

*Whale* was the next word with the most number of negative responses, since 27 of them did so. All of the participants understood it as something said to 'fat' or 'overweight' people. *Dog* was considered negative by 26 participants. Most of them related it with being 'ugly' or 'dirty'. Then, we have *chicken*, with 24 negative responses, generally meaning 'coward'.

The last two names, *rabbit* and *cat* were the only ones which could not be considered negative like all the previous ones. *Rabbit* was considered negative by 18 participants. Most of them agreed that it is not common to use it for people and that it is not generally used. *Cat* was the only name that has received more positive than negative responses (18 positive/12 negative). In this case, participants also agreed that it is not something common to say to a person.

Table 1: Results for the connotative meaning of the animal names from the survey

Name	Positive	Negative
Bitch	0	30
Cat	18	12
Chicken	6	24
Cow	0	30
Dog	4	26
Pig	0	30
Leech	0	30
Rabbit	12	18
Rat	0	30
Whale	3	27

In the following table, we can see the results for the second part of the survey, in which the participants were asked whether they were familiar with these proverbs or not and the frequency of their usage:

Table 2: Results for the proverbs presented in the survey.

Proverb	YES	NO	Frequency (0-5)
1. A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush	21	9	1,166666667
2. Give a man a fish and you will feed him for a day	21	9	1,5
3. Like a chicken with its head cut off	13	17	1,133333333
4. There is more than one way to skin a cat	21	9	1,5
5. They couldn't hit an elephant at this distance	11	19	0,4

Number 1 ('a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush'), 2 ('give a man a fish and you will feed him for a day') and 4 ('there is more than one way to skin a cat') were known by 21 of the participants. Number 3 ('like a chicken with its head cut off') was only known by 13 of them. The only one that was known by less than half of the participants was number 5 ('they couldn't hit an elephant at this distance'), since it is only known to 11 of them. The frequency of use of all of them is relatively low, being the average of each of them lower than 2 out of 5 (see table 2).

#### 4.2. Corpus

Analyzing the use of the names of nonhuman animals in a corpus was also considered important so as to reach a wider representation of society. This showed that out of the 419 corpus entries that were analyzed, none of the names of the nonhuman animals had positive connotations when used to address a person. However, 124 were used as insults, and in 295 cases they were just used to make reference to the animal itself. With negative connotations in 98% of the entries, *bitch* is the one most used as an

insult. The next one is *cow*, used as an insult in 68% of the cases; and *pig*, with a 64%. Then we have *leech* with a 50% and finally *rat* with 20% of the cases being insults. The rest of the names (*cat*, *chicken*, *dog*, *rabbit* and *whale*) were used in all the cases as a reference to the animal itself or in other circumstances in which they were not being used to address a person (See Appendix B).

A possible interpretation of these two sets of results will be presented in the next section.

## 5. Discussion

The analysis of the results shows a significant difference between the connotative meanings of the names of the ten nonhuman animals. While some of these names have a clear negative connotation, some others are not used to address people at all. Since the purpose of the study is to examine the use of nonhuman animal names as insults, particular importance will be given to the names that most clearly have been considered derogatory terms: *bitch*, *cow*, *pig* and *rat*.

The names of some of the worst estimated animals are commonly used in order to discredit humans. As Dunayer explains, "derogatory nonhuman-animal metaphors rely on speciesism for their pejorative effect" (*Animal Equality* 157). We find that *bitch*, *cow*, *pig* and *rat* are commonly used in our society as insults towards humans. The use of these names in such way reflects a history of oppression. Bitches have been used for breeding, cows for their milk, pigs for meat and rats for experimentation. The use and abuse of certain species of nonhuman animals is generally socially accepted, which proves that we live in a highly speciesist society. Therefore, it is important to understand the predominant moral principles that enable human beings to justify it. This is a consequence of anthropocentrism; of human animals believing they are superior to

other animals. The way humans justify exploiting other species is by categorizing nonhuman animals as inferior and therefore feeling the right to subjugate them while categorizing humans as superior and therefore entitled to dominate (Dunayer, "Sexist Words, Speciesist Roots" 11)

*Bitch* is also used as an insult in almost all the corpus entries. Dunayer explains that this term "has remained female specific", as has been also seen in the responses of the survey. She affirms that "breeders [...] have always treated the female dog with contempt – as means to a useful, profitable, or prestigious litter". Her conclusions show that "familiarity with the numerous ways in which breeders have disabled dogs through inbreeding and treated them like commodities dispels any mystery as to why bitch carries contempt". The consequence, as can be seen in the results of this study, is that *bitch* has completely lost its original meaning of 'female dog' in spoken English. ("Sexist Words, Speciesist Roots" 14)

The same happens with *cow*. Cows are animals that have been used for milk, and for this they have been kept constantly pregnant, in order for humans to take the milk they produce. In this moment, when their bodies have grown and their breasts are full of milk, they are seen as *fat*. As can be seen in the results of the study, this is the meaning that the term *cow* has kept when used against a person. Like *bitch*, it is only used for women. Dunayer defends that "applying images of denigrated nonhuman species to women labels women inferior and available for abuse; attaching images of the aggrandized human species to men designates them superior and entitles to exploit" ("Sexist Words, Speciesist Roots" 11). The same can be applied to *bitch* and *cow*, since, being both of them female creatures that have been exploited by humans, this image is transferred to the women that are described through these terms. By comparing them to

these animals, they are seen as inferior and as nonhuman animals that can be exploited without consequences.

With *pig* and *rat* the difference lies in the fact that the sexist connotation is not present in these two names. As Hribal explains, since the industrialization process, nonhuman animals have been seen as objects from which humans can obtain a benefit, mostly in economic terms (436). Therefore, the production of meat changed from being home-centred, in which each family had a pig in order to sell it or kill it at the end of the year, to the enormous meat factories that we know nowadays (439). In them, pigs are kept in small cages, surrounded by their own rests of food and excrements. They are also fed big amounts of food in order to get bigger and serve to produce more meat. This was probably the reason why nowadays pigs are still seen as 'dirty' and 'fat', as the participants have described in the survey. Rats, on the other hand, are usually used for experiments in laboratories. Dunayer defends that "with contemptuous words, humans establish and maintain emotional distance from other animals. This distance permits abuse without commensurate guilt" ("Sexist Words, Speciesist Roots" 18). Therefore, it could be argued that in order to justify the exploitation of these animals, humans have projected negative characteristics on them. As a consequence, the names of these animals have been used as pejorative terms against humans. Regarding the fact that these two names do not have any sexist connotation, Dunayer explains that although not all nonhuman animal pejorative terms denigrate women, all of them denigrate nonhuman animals ("Sexist Words, Speciesist Roots" 16). Additionally, she affirms that languages, just like human way of thinking and behaving, are still more speciesist than sexist ("Sexist Words, Speciesist Roots" 17).

Regarding the proverbs, all of them present a situation in which the death of a nonhuman animal is beneficial for a human being; or if not beneficial, it is not seen as

negative. According to Dunayer, this kind of sayings "trivialize violence toward nonhuman animals" (*Animal Equality* 167). The results show that they are very clear examples of speciesist language, since most of them are known by the participants. However, when looking at the results, it can be seen that they are not commonly used. Many participants explain that they have heard them because their parents or grandparents use them, so they appear not to be common in spoken English anymore. They seem to be the remains of an oral tradition that belonged to previous generations. This does not mean that speciesism is not present in the language used by the British youth, but that it is presented in other ways, such as in insults, as have been seen before.

Even though the study has been centred in insults and proverbs, some interesting results regarding speciesist language have showed up while collecting the data. These results cannot be studied deeply due to the limitations of the study. However, it could be interesting to mention them. In some of the corpus entries, as is the case *chicken*, all of the entries make reference to dead chicken, being cooked or eaten. References to the animals being killed and eaten also appear in the entries of *cow* and *rabbit*. In the case of *rabbit*, we can also find a case in which the entry makes reference to the skin of the animal being worn by a human. References to killing rats can also be found. Taking into account that killing these animals is something humans do for self-benefit without considering the interests of the other animal, this can be considered to be speciesist too. Therefore, linguistic speciesism cannot be found only in insults, but also in the way we speak about other animals and about their deaths, as completely normalized concepts. Besides, each animal is portrayed being used for different purposes. While all the entries about chicken refer to food, all the entries about dogs refer to them as pets. The same way it is considered speciesist to make moral distinctions between human and

nonhuman animals, it is speciesist to consider some nonhuman animals superior to others, granting them more benefits.

## 6. Conclusion

The analysis of results leads to the conclusion that speciesism is still highly rooted in the English language. As mentioned before, even though speciesist proverbs are not common anymore, there are many other ways of linguistic discrimination towards nonhuman animals present in the English language. As this case study has proven, the names of these animals are still commonly used to categorize humans negatively. It can be concluded that speciesism has shaped language to the extent that some of their names have lost their original meaning and now are mere pejorative terms against humans, as is the case of *bitch*.

Therefore, as a conclusion of the study, it can be observed that English language is still highly influenced by speciesism. Additionally, as we have seen in the discussion part, speciesist language goes far beyond insults and proverbs. Dunayer considers this to be a consequence of humans having "a verbal monopoly. Our language necessarily reflects a human-centred viewpoint" ("Sexist Words, Speciesist Roots" 17). Thus, in order to take animals into consideration in our everyday speech, it is important that our viewpoint changes into a less anthropocentric one. The same can be applied to sexism and racism; in order to avoid linguistic discrimination, the consideration that some humans are inferior to others has to change.

Language is a human capacity and therefore the nonhuman animals that are disrespected in our speech cannot understand it and feel offended by it. This, in addition to the fact that the consideration of nonhuman animals as our equals represents a threat to traditional ideology, attempts to eliminate speciesist language are not generally taken

seriously. However, taking into account that our way of talking is shaped by our way of thinking (Boroditsky 65), in the moment humans stop seeing nonhuman animals as inferior beings and as objects for self-benefit, language will probably change automatically into a less speciesist one. According to Dunayer, "the way we speak about other animals is inseparable from the way we treat them" (*Animal Equality* 9). This way, the day we recognize that nonhuman animals deserve equal consideration and respect, these linguistic traits will probably be considered unacceptable by the wide majority of the people and will eventually disappear.

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## Appendix A

Age	
Gender	
Birthplace	
Place of residence	
Nationality	
Level of studies	

1. If you used these words to describe a person, would they have positive or negative connotations? Shortly state what they would exactly mean.

**1. Bitch**

Positive            Negative

Meaning:

**2. Cat**

Positive            Negative

Meaning:

**3. Chicken**

Positive            Negative

Meaning:

**4. Cow**

Positive            Negative

Meaning:

**5. Dog**

Positive            Negative

Meaning:

**6. Leech**

Positive            Negative

Meaning:

**7. Pig**

Positive            Negative

Meaning:

**8. Rabbit**

Positive            Negative

Meaning:

**9. Rat**

Positive            Negative

Meaning:

**10. Whale**

Positive            Negative

Meaning:

2. Complete these sayings. Then rate from 0 to 5 how often you use them or hear them in everyday life and explain in which context.

Example: -I use it in a colloquial context, with friends

-I have heard my grandmother use it.

- A bird in the hand (is worth two in the bush.)

0            1            2            3            4            5

Context:

- Give a man fish and you will (feed him for a day)

0            1            2            3            4            5

Context:

- Like a chicken with (its head cut off)

0            1            2            3            4            5

Context:

- There is more than one way (to skin a cat)

0            1            2            3            4            5

Context:

- They couldn't hit an (elephant at this distance)

0            1            2            3            4            5

Context:

## Appendix B

## Bitch:

1. Neil tried to commit suicide, (unclear) (SP:PS02G) She's not a (SP:PS031) (unclear) (SP:PS02G) **bitch** a bitch, I mean he left (pause) What's she doing when he's
2. to commit suicide, (unclear) (SP:PS02G) She's not a (SP:PS031) (unclear) (SP:PS02G) bitch a **bitch**, I mean he left (pause) What's she doing when he's coming out
3. on (SP:PS03W) You could of told me Tracey's on. (SP:PS03W) Yeah, that **bitch**! (SP:KBDPSUNK) Didn't mention (unclear)2. (SP:PS03W) He said (whispering) (unclear). It was er
4. said hello or nothing. I thought (pause) told Bet I thought oh you ignorant **bitch**. (SP:PS04J) She is. (SP:PS04K) Yeah. I know she is. (pause) Then she sat
5. mother is living in a fantasy world, of course, I see the stupid **bitch** prancing around Stowmarket with her silly nose in the air! (pause) She's a
6. buying and (laughing) selling and buying. (SP:PS04U) She's (pause) sh-- she's a **bitch**, she's a oh has she still got that horse? (SP:PS04Y) Oh I
7. (unclear) (SP:PS05H) conspired to change when we approached them and (pause) generally it was a **bitch** of a journey (pause) Hee hee hee hee hee. (SP:PS05E) I see your fork
8. floor and goes (pause) school, she goes I hate it! She goes you **bitch**! Then she goes (pause) then she goes erm (SP:PS06J) (laugh) (SP:PS06B) she goes I
9. (SP:PS09T) she's smacked her head (laughing) on top it's so funny, silly **bitch** (SP:PS09V) Oh, she's scatty ain't she? (pause) (SP:PS09T) Oh you know
10. put the card (unclear) morning. I says (unclear) I think she's a right **bitch**. (unclear) (SP:KC5PSUNK) (unclear) (SP:PS0AJ) Makes you feel like saying oh fuck it. (unclear)
11. . (SP:PS0BB) Well! (SP:PS0BA) They'll think bloody hell she's an ar-- argumentative **bitch**! How the fuck does he live with her! (SP:PS0BB) (laugh) (SP:PS0BA) Tt!
12. , you're horrible. (SP:PS0CG) It's not like him to grumble at a **bitch**. (SP:PS0CJ) You're horrible (SP:KC9PSUNK) Only nine months. (SP:PS0CG) Thought she was pretty
13. baby and then, then teach them how to go outside and (unclear) then the **bitch** will with her puppies (pause) (SP:PS0CH) I think I would of liked a cat (unclear)
14. Vicky about party politics! (pause) Right, cos she's such a selfish conservative **bitch** (unclear)! (SP:PS0EC) Mm. (pause) Yeah. (SP:PS0EB) Going (pause) well, I don't
15. Twisting my arm, twisting my leg! (pause) Telling me I'm a stupid **bitch** and all this lot! (SP:PS0EB) (laugh) (SP:PS0EF) Fucking turds and all (unclear)! (SP:PS0EB)
16. gon na get (unclear) (SP:PS0EF) Ah! That could have been painful that could you **bitch**. (SP:PS0EJ) Ow! It could have been. That ninety pound bill was painful
17. n't you do it, start it earlier? (SP:PS0EH) Because Debbie is a stupid **bitch**. (pause) Fact. Which now means that for the next (pause) oh and Alex
18. 's like me and you really, huh, (SP:KCEPSUNK) (unclear) (SP:PS0EB) I know I **bitch** by you (SP:KCEPSUNK) (unclear) (SP:PS0EB) I'm saying how much I hate you, just
19. have that, well she kept coming and she kept aren't I a silly **bitch**, aren't I silly bitch Bill, and he looked (unclear) she was taking

20. coming and she kept aren't I a silly bitch, aren't I silly bitch **Bill**, and he looked (unclear) she was taking the mickey out and he said
21. see Madonna in the paper yesterday, naked! (SP:PS0GF) Yeah. (SP:PS0GG) Ugly looking **bitch**! (SP:PS0GK) I'll buy it! I'll buy one of those! (SP:PS0GF)
22. ! (SP:PS0GK) I'll give you two thousand (SP:KCUPSUNK) (unclear) (SP:PS0GG) I'd be a **bitch** and sell them! (SP:PS0GJ) Each? (SP:PS0GG) No you cheeky sod! (SP:PS0GJ) (laugh)
23. , B, Jane Mansfield, her bust was forty three inches (SP:PS0GJ) Fucking lucky **bitch** (SP:PS0GF) or C, Albert Einstein his bust was forty six inches? (laugh) (SP:PS0GJ)
24. (SP:PS12C) Ah! (chairs-moving) # (SP:KCWPSUNK) What did you just call me? (SP:PS12D) A **bitch**! (SP:KCWPSUNK) Amanda! (SP:PS0H8) I think I got it. (SP:PS12E) You got it
25. (SP:PS12E) Oh well done! (SP:PS0H8) Oi! (SP:PS12E) You got him calling me a **bitch**. And you got him calling me filthy! # (SP:KCWPSUNK) You having a Polo
26. (laughing) And Joe has come into school with a (unclear)2. (SP:PS0H8) Joe's a fat **bitch**! (SP:PS129) (laugh) (SP:KCWPSUNK) Paul's (SP:PS0H8) Can I have a, an orange one
27. I'll come if I get (unclear) (SP:PS12C) No! (SP:PS129) Oh you're a **bitch**! (SP:KCWPSUNK) Michelle what are you gon na get me? (SP:PS129) No, not
28. on time (SP:PS1FC) Yeah. (SP:PS1FK) she goes, she started being a cocky little **bitch**, she's only fucking nineteen (SP:PS1FC) Yeah. (SP:PS1FK) she started being a cocky
29. she's only fucking nineteen (SP:PS1FC) Yeah. (SP:PS1FK) she started being a cocky little **bitch**, and she wears make- up, really plasters it on (SP:PS1FC) Oh yeah.
30. went off with Frank, yeah. (SP:PS0JY) (unclear)2. (SP:PS0JX) Oh she was really a **bitch**. That's all (unclear) he's taken over (unclear) place. (SP:PS0JY) (unclear)2. (SP:PS0JX)
31. though isn't she? (SP:PS0LK) Yeah. I can imagine her being a little **bitch**. (SP:KD8PSUNK) And Mrs (-----) didn't like Susan telling her (SP:PS0LK) Oh. (SP:KD8PSUNK)
32. (SP:PS1GE) Fucking gorgeous. (SP:PS1GJ) I mean not brilliantly but she's a well tasty **bitch** whoever does it. (SP:PS1GE) She used to be absolutely gorgeous. (SP:PS1GJ) And the
33. the corner (pause) and the top don't come off. It's a real **bitch** to try and get into. # (SP:PS1GE) (whistling) (SP:PS1GF) Here are Mark (pause) put
34. we played about four of this and every time this cocky little son of a **bitch** didn't get caught, he was always the last person, so we fucking
35. back to you, but this time he was a right cocky son of a **bitch**, I mean we all liked him, but he was right cocky bastard,
36. the fucking way round. There was puke all the way round. (unclear) silly **bitch**. (SP:PS1GF) I can't remember nothing about this. I can't remember (pause)
37. Basically (SP:PS0L7) that's (unclear) (SP:PS0L2) That's life then. (SP:PS0KY) Life's a **bitch** until you die (SP:PS0L7) Oh God! And then you die (pause) then you die
38. But he doesn't want to talk money (pause) he's hoping to get that **bitch** to come back and live with him (pause) and she doesn't like us!
39. . (SP:PS1HJ) That's what I said, well I says life can be a **bitch** I says. (SP:PS1HH) Aye. (pause) (SP:PS1HJ) And, ah, oh aye,

40. (-----) in the sixth form. (SP:PS0SW) Well she's meant to be a real **bitch** anyway. (SP:PS0T0) Yes she is. (SP:PS0SW) So (pause) (SP:KE0PSUNK) (unclear) I told them you
41. (SP:PS0T0) Yes she is. (SP:PS0SW) So (pause) (SP:KE0PSUNK) (unclear) I told them you can **bitch** about (unclear) found somebody at last. (SP:PS0SW) Ah yes we can bitch about (SP:KE0PSUNK)
42. you can bitch about (unclear) found somebody at last. (SP:PS0SW) Ah yes we can **bitch** about (SP:KE0PSUNK) Mr (-----) and his flat cap and his cravat. I think he
43. (SP:PS0TU) (laugh) (SP:PS0U2) The last dog in (unclear)! (SP:PS0TU) She looks like a stupid **bitch** too! (SP:PS0U2) She is! (SP:PS0U3) Stupid bitch! (SP:PS0U2) (belch) (pause) Did you
44. (SP:PS0TU) She looks like a stupid bitch too! (SP:PS0U2) She is! (SP:PS0U3) Stupid **bitch**! (SP:PS0U2) (belch) (pause) Did you go out last night? (SP:PS0TU) No, Thursday
45. much about boxing? Do I know a lot about boxing she said? Sarky **bitch**! She says my uncles were professional boxers right! And I was (pause) holding
46. sophisticated like! (SP:PS0U2) They're not bothered. (SP:PS0TW) Oh you're such a **bitch**! (SP:PS0TU) What? (SP:PS0TW) You're such a bitch! (SP:PS0TU) I'm not
47. Oh you're such a bitch! (SP:PS0TU) What? (SP:PS0TW) You're such a **bitch**! (SP:PS0TU) I'm not usually, but seeing people like that (pause) Gary and
48. there's no way I was giving her two pound (pause) so (unclear) (pause) (laughing) **Bitch** (SP:PS0TU) (unclear) bastard. (SP:KE1PSUNK) (unclear) (SP:KE1PSUNK) Yeah, seen that (unclear) (SP:KE1PSUNK) and then
49. (SP:PS0TU) What are you doing? (SP:KE1PSUNK) (unclear) physics (unclear) A C theory (SP:PS0TU) A **bitch**. (SP:KE1PSUNK) (unclear) the worst like (unclear) (SP:PS0TU) Yeah (unclear) (SP:KE1PSUNK) (laughing) A C theory
50. have you got any more money left? (laugh) Fucking slap another fiver on the **bitch** (pause) (SP:PS0X5) You'd never slap anyone (SP:PS0X2) (laugh) No it's (pause) (SP:KE5PSUNK) (unclear)

Positive: 0

Neutral: 1

Negative: 49

Cat:

1. we lived at (-----) and we moved into (-----) and we'd had this one **cat** years, it were old cat. I wouldn't say it was ready for
2. moved into (-----) and we'd had this one cat years, it were old **cat**. I wouldn't say it was ready for popping off, you know what
3. of February (pause) eight thirty (pause) A M. (pause) I'll give you some milk **cat**, but that's all you're having (pause) till I get back. I
4. then you (pause) are you ready, or what? (SP:PS01B) No, but the **cat**'s coming in. It's only twenty past. (SP:PS01A) It's no good
5. one time, didn't it? (SP:PS02D) Yeah. (unclear) hamster (pause) fish (pause) **cat** (pause) dog. (SP:PS029) (unclear) (SP:PS02D) No. (SP:PS029) (unclear) fins or anything (unclear)? (SP:PS02D)
6. No shower curtain mind you. (SP:PS02K) Even so, no room to swing a **cat**. (SP:PS6TB) Terrible. It was terrible. (SP:PS02H) Yes. This is nice though

7. (SP:PS02G) Yeah. (SP:PS02L) Just lock up and (pause) do what you like to the **cat**. You can either leave it in or out you know. Don't (unclear)
8. (unclear)2. (SP:PS02H) Right (pause) what do we need? (SP:PS02G) (unclear), mincemeat, dried **cat** food (SP:PS02H) Get mum a tin of soup (SP:PS02G) Ahhhh! (SP:PS02H) cos she ai
9. go yeah. (SP:PS02H) Course it will. (SP:PS02G) Nothing down here (pause) we want **cat** food, lard and Ryvita (pause) Ryvita will be down the bottom here, I
10. Are we gon na (SP:PS02G) it's (unclear) (SP:PS02H) are we gon na get the **cat** food from here or are we gon na get the cat food from (pause) somewhere
11. gon na get the cat food from here or are we gon na get the **cat** food from (pause) somewhere else? (SP:PS02G) Get the cat food in here, it
12. we gon na get the cat food from (pause) somewhere else? (SP:PS02G) Get the **cat** food in here, it'll be cheaper. (SP:PS02H) No I mean Julie's
13. 'm not buying (SP:PS02H) (unclear) (SP:PS02G) I'm shopping as well all we want is **cat** food (pause) do you wan na go to pet shop or (pause) (unclear) butchers along
14. (unclear) butchers along (pause) (unclear) (pause) so (SP:PS02H) Anything special (unclear) (SP:PS02G) Yes (pause) dried **cat** food. (SP:PS02H) What does it look like? (SP:PS02G) (unclear) (SP:PS02H) (unclear) get us
15. , you know (pause) as I say I've got (pause) got some fo-- (pause) **cat** food (pause) will get some dry cat food (pause) yeah (pause) Oh I cou-- sta--
16. I've got (pause) got some fo-- (pause) cat food (pause) will get some dry **cat** food (pause) yeah (pause) Oh I cou-- sta-- if I start thinking I'll I
17. Have you got (unclear) in your hand (pause) (unclear) (pause) did I say, dry **cat** food? (SP:PS02H) Dry cat food, light bulbs and mincemeat, (unclear) (SP:PS02L) Aye
18. your hand (pause) (unclear) (pause) did I say, dry cat food? (SP:PS02H) Dry **cat** food, light bulbs and mincemeat, (unclear) (SP:PS02L) Aye? (SP:PS02H) Want some ketchup
19. of flour and two pound of mincemeat in a jar. (SP:PS02G) Yeah (pause) and **cat** food and (SP:PS02H) Don't sound a lot of weight but (SP:PS02G) No I know
20. something! (pause) Burning the toast! (pause) I'll be dissuaded buying a pussy **cat** altogether now won't I? (SP:PS02H) Ha ha (pause) Yeah it is (SP:PS02G) Once
21. wanted to be in, but you not hear it (pause) no I think pussy **cat** is (pause) gon na be a no no about us (pause) you'll have to
22. get another budgie sometime (pause) get Steven's budgie or something. (SP:PS02H) Yeah a **cat**'s a little bit out on dashing upstairs now in n it really? (pause)
23. . (SP:PS02H) Good idea really. (SP:PS02G) And the microwave (pause) she's got her **cat** book, a bottle of gin and a (pause) just buy her something else to
24. 'll have a (SP:PS02G) She's (unclear) (unclear) (pause) (unclear) (pause) she's got a **cat** book. (SP:PS02H) Spend the whole lot on mine (pause) couldn't you Ann?
25. cope with litter trays for ever, would you? No. (SP:PS02H) Would rather a **cat** be out cos it wants to be out. (SP:PS02G) Yeah. (SP:PS02H) Does as
26. erm, erm (pause) it maybe greeting you and (laughing) (unclear)2. (SP:PS02H) Even a modern **cat** litter nowadays (SP:PS02G) Oh yeah? (SP:PS02H) (unclear) (unclear) (SP:PS02H) (unclear) (SP:PS02G) unpleasant. (SP:PS02H)
27. (unclear) (SP:PS02G) (unclear) remember ours, it would not be (pause) (unclear) flat smells of **cat** (pause) but not only that if it weed on me carpet as much as I
28. a (SP:PS02H) (unclear) (SP:PS02G) (laugh), er (unclear) I think it would be get your **cat** out of here (laugh)2. (SP:PS02H) Your cat of my (unclear) (SP:PS02G) Exactly (laugh), (unclear)

29. (unclear) I think it would be get your cat out of here (laugh)2. (SP:PS02H) Your **cat** of my (unclear) (SP:PS02G) Exactly (laugh), (unclear) my cat, it mine when it
30. of here (laugh)2. (SP:PS02H) Your cat of my (unclear) (SP:PS02G) Exactly (laugh), (unclear) my **cat**, it mine when it was good and yours (laughing) when it was being horrible
31. Yeah. (SP:PS02G) (laugh) (pause) no I don't think we'll have a pussy **cat** for the foreseeable future, not shut up, I say it's different if
32. cos Ann's eaten her fish and he's got (unclear)2. (SP:PS02L) Go on (pause) **cat**. (SP:PS02G) (laugh) (pause) It was a lovely bit of fish. I never had
33. to work cos he went out before I got up. (SP:PS14D) We caught a **cat** in your garden. (SP:PS14B) Hello (SP:PS14D) A ginger and white one. (SP:PS14B) A
34. sheltered from the wind. (SP:PS15U) Ooh unless the (SP:PS14B) We've made sure (SP:PS15U) cat's done something on it. (SP:PS14B) Oh God, next door's **cats**.
35. I'll have to go and do it. (SP:PS14B) oh, and er the **cat** was lurking around (pause) however, it had gone somewhere else. (pause) I ca
36. when that first came out? With the, with the erm that big white **cat** on it, what make was that? They used to advertise it with a
37. what make was that? They used to advertise it with a big white fluffy **cat** (SP:PS1MW) Not Sue and Lord (SP:PS1MY) Oh it might of been (SP:PS1MW) Mm (SP:PS1MY) do
38. n't much chance after. If you kept it up to three months there's **cat** in hell's chance you'll lose it after that. But erm if you
39. all the time. And it'll make you worse. And I had a **cat**. That was told to go out. You see what you're what you
40. and cats. And it was the corn shop that started selling the dog and **cat** biscuits. Of which there weren't too many. I think there were sufficient
41. to the people concerned but I mean, a pet's usually a dog, **cat** or bird isn't it? When you say I've got a pet,
42. . Cos you got Nagden the other side, right opposite Nagden Chorlis (SP:PS22C) The **Cat** House, where was that? (SP:PS22D) The Cat House well that's at (unclear)
43. right opposite Nagden Chorlis (SP:PS22C) The Cat House, where was that? (SP:PS22D) The **Cat** House well that's at (unclear), the Cat House, that's wher-- that
44. where was that? (SP:PS22D) The Cat House well that's at (unclear), the **Cat** House, that's wher-- that's where the house used to be, where
45. where in er (unclear) time erm, that's where they used to put a cat in the window for the smokers. (SP:PS22C) What a real **cat**? (SP:PS22D) I
46. to put a cat in the window for the smokers. (SP:PS22C) What a real cat? (SP:PS22D) I du n no whether it was a real **cat**, I do
47. What a real cat? (SP:PS22D) I du n no whether it was a real cat, I don't think so, as a matter of fact I was just
48. interesting, tell you all about the river. (SP:PS22C) Why did they put the **cat** in the window? (SP:PS22D) Well (unclear) smokers (unclear) all clear or not I do
49. you allowed to have pet-- pets here? (SP:PS1MV) Yes, I've got my **cat**, it's just gone out, yeah I've got a cat, yes
50. got my cat, it's just gone out, yeah I've got a cat, yes he's a lovely little **cat** I've got and he's just

**Positive:** 0

**Neutral:** 50

**Negative:** 0

Chicken:

1. (SP:KB0PSUNK) (unclear) (SP:PS007) er (SP:KB0PSUNK) (unclear) (pause) (unclear) (SP:PS007) and er, one of these **chicken** fillets I think please (SP:PS005) Hello (SP:KB0PSUNK) Hello (SP:PS007) Morning (SP:KB0PSUNK) Morning (pause) (SP:PS005) Ninety
2. my veg (SP:PS01V) Mm. (SP:PS01U) and then er (pause) like, they do Kentucky Fried **Chicken** in here, sixty five pence Joyce! It's like (SP:PS01V) Mm. (SP:PS01U) that
3. ! It's like (SP:PS01V) Mm. (SP:PS01U) that! Like (SP:PS01V) Mm. (SP:PS01U) half a **chicken**! All breast. (SP:PS01V) Mm mm. (SP:PS01U) Er, sixty five for breast,
4. two slices of bread and an apple afterwards (SP:PS02D) (laugh) (SP:PS029) and teatime I had **chicken**, roast chicken, roast spuds, gravy (SP:PS02D) (laugh) (SP:PS029) and then I had
5. bread and an apple afterwards (SP:PS02D) (laugh) (SP:PS029) and teatime I had chicken, roast **chicken**, roast spuds, gravy (SP:PS02D) (laugh) (SP:PS029) and then I had supper and we
6. does it! (SP:PS6TB) (unclear) (SP:PS6TB) Only five (unclear) (SP:PS02N) You know those erm (pause) **chicken** breasts (unclear) (SP:PS6TB) Oh very nice. (SP:PS6TB) Oh they're very nice, I
7. (pause) Shirley had gone somewhere Ann (pause) and er (pause) (unclear) I'll have the **chicken** kiev for me please (pause) so (pause) so I went and did it (pause) (unclear)
8. what we stop (pause) Urgh! What we did last night, stop for a **chicken** (unclear) on the way over there. (SP:PS02G) Where did you get the (unclear)?
9. do you want? (SP:PS02H) Er (SP:PS02G) Mulligatawny, American (unclear) and bacon, curried **chicken**, ham and mixed peppers (SP:PS02H) erm not sure I think (unclear) (SP:PS02G) or Batchelors
10. to eat so I said to Chris (unclear) they had this great big bowl of **chicken** tikka, ooh (SP:PS02G) It's very expensive. (SP:PS6TB) (unclear) want that bit he
11. Half a pound? (SP:PS02G) Yeah there's a lot goes in apart from the **chicken** there's a heck of lot goes in it in the (unclear) (SP:PS6TB) (unclear) (SP:PS6TB)
12. (SP:PS6TB) (unclear) (SP:PS02G) Put cream and the (unclear) expensive bits, not like the (unclear) **chicken** and the time it takes (SP:PS6TB) Oh yeah. (SP:PS6TB) Yeah, but that (unclear)
13. puts you off a bit don't like none of the (unclear) (SP:PS6TB) I like **chicken** (unclear) cos I like that. (SP:PS02G) Can't get hold of them. (SP:PS6TB)
14. 's what I mean (SP:PS02G) Depending on the time. (SP:PS02H) or I say (unclear) **chicken** alright? (pause) (SP:PS02G) Depending on how long we're gon na have to cook
15. , what do you, what have we had lately? (pause) Don't want **chicken**. (pause) Pork or beef. Whatever you like. How about that? Mm
16. covered. (SP:PS02G) Mm. (pause) (SP:PS03N) I mean (pause) people don't want the fucking **chicken**. We've had enough. We want something else for christmas. (SP:PS02H) Mm.
17. with her cholesterol, that they actually, she was so sick of turkey and **chicken**, and fish (pause) and er (pause) she's had no cream cakes. What

18. yes. (SP:PS15U) so I've cooked, I cook the (SP:PS14B) Yeah. (SP:PS15U) **chicken** (pause) in it (pause) in a casserole dish (SP:PS14B) Yes. (SP:PS15U) covered (pause) and
19. come to Net yeah? (SP:KB9PSUNK) (unclear) (SP:PS1CX) yeah (pause) (SP:PS1D1) How many packs of **chicken**? (SP:PS1CX) that means you can always have baked beans on toast at lunch time
20. have loads of fillings and you just choose what you want and there was curried **chicken**, prawns, could have salad with them or you could have a baked potato
21. manage off, oh you've got ham and (SP:PS1CY) Yeah there's ham and **chicken** and bread and for sandwiches and soup and, so they've got a choice
22. (SP:PS03S) Mm. (SP:PS03T) If I'm busy we'll have it (pause) later. (pause) **Chicken** tomorrow. (SP:PS03S) Don't you get tired of chicken? (SP:PS03T) No! We
23. it (pause) later. (pause) Chicken tomorrow. (SP:PS03S) Don't you get tired of **chicken**? (SP:PS03T) No! We've not had any since Christmas! (SP:PS03S) Mm. (SP:PS03T)
24. was having to pay (pause) on your usual (SP:PS03T) (unclear) (pause) He knows I have **chicken** some weeks so (pause) Mop all that up. Eat some bread. (SP:PS03S) The
25. like the Is and Ts crossed. (pause) What's for lunch anyway? (SP:PS03T) **Chicken**, I told you. (SP:PS03S) Oh yeah. (SP:PS03T) And the rest of that
26. fog really. (SP:PS03T) Well do you know what, I forgot to take the **chicken** out of the fridge last night so (pause) we can't have dinner so (SP:PS03S)
27. 'll do it right away I've just remembered. (SP:PS03S) Well must we have **chicken**? (SP:PS03T) Yes I haven't got anything else except t-- tins, and you
28. N-- not for breakfast. Anyway what are you going to have? (SP:PS03S) Burnt **chicken** (SP:PS03T) (unclear) no I'm talking now (SP:PS03S) chicken fricassee (SP:PS03T) I'm not talking
29. going to have? (SP:PS03S) Burnt chicken (SP:PS03T) (unclear) no I'm talking now (SP:PS03S) **chicken** fricassee (SP:PS03T) I'm not talking, that's silly. (SP:PS03S) er lightly done
30. in and they're alright. (pause) Well (pause) better go and (pause) baste the **chicken** (pause) I think. No, drink this coffee Arthur! It's no use
31. the question really. (SP:PS03T) (laughing) You have! I'm going to baste the **chicken** anyway. (SP:PS03S) Do you want this stopping now? (SP:PS03T) No you can leave
32. get your fingers in. (SP:PS03T) Mm. Right! I'll go and baste the **chicken** and put the potatoes on I think. # (SP:KBBPSUNK) I just switch this on
33. No birds about at the moment but they've had a good feed of (pause) **chicken**, but (SP:PS03S) Yeah. (SP:PS03T) they've left the bread. (SP:PS03S) Yeah.
34. 's just (SP:PS03T) I've got some ham (SP:PS03S) after Christ-- after Christmas pudding and **chicken** thank you (SP:PS03T) I know, but years ago you always used to have a
35. Don't have to be exact. (pause) I think it's worth having a **chicken** for the soup do you? (SP:PS03S) Aye lovely. (sniff) Bring the dead to
36. (unclear) (SP:PS03S) What were the birds doing? (pause) (SP:PS03T) Well they cleared all that **chicken** now I've picked all the bo-- (SP:PS03S) (unclear) with all this (pause) (SP:PS03T) (whispering)
37. (unclear) (pause) Feels as if only just gone. (SP:PS03T) Well you know all the **chicken** bones? (SP:PS03S) Mm I see they cleared it out. (SP:PS03T) They clean-- oh

38. got (SP:PS03T) didn't like, yesterday and some rice. (SP:PS03S) You've got **chicken** fricassee I suppose. (SP:PS03T) No! You've got shepherd's pie. I
39. a grill (pause) at the top he says, so if you're cooking a **chicken** (pause) instead of it coming out pale (pause) th-- the grill will come on (pause)
40. (pause) fish on a wet fish slab, and steak, and veal, and **chicken** and (pause) so there's every sort of meat you can think of, and
41. n't say she said she's not allowed er she's not allowed to have **chicken** and cucumber. (SP:PS04C) Isn't she? (SP:PS04D) Not chicken? (SP:PS04G) She has
42. not allowed to have chicken and cucumber. (SP:PS04C) Isn't she? (SP:PS04D) Not **chicken**? (SP:PS04G) She has to watch what she eats. (SP:PS04D) Ooh! I see
43. . (SP:PS04B) Mm. Yes. (SP:PS04F) Yeah but she Karen (unclear) won't eat **chicken**. (SP:PS04H) Chicken and fish. (SP:PS04B) (unclear) and fish (unclear)2. (SP:PS04H) It's the
44. . Yes. (SP:PS04F) Yeah but she Karen (unclear) won't eat chicken. (SP:PS04H) **Chicken** and fish. (SP:PS04B) (unclear) and fish (unclear)2. (SP:PS04H) It's the only stuff they
45. (unclear)2. (SP:PS04H) It's the only stuff they'll eat. No meat at all **chicken** and er fish (unclear)2. (SP:PS04F) Do you know the reason why it's not?
46. isn't it? (SP:PS04F) You can't you can't see no blood in **chicken** you can't see no blood in fish. (SP:PS04B) No. (SP:PS04F) They've got
47. . (SP:PS04H) I've gone right off (unclear). I've gone right off of **chicken**. I only have the breast. (SP:KBEPSUNK) (unclear) (SP:PS04H) If I get your (pause)
48. of (unclear) I don't, I just (SP:PS04B) I don't want turkey or **chicken**. No. (SP:PS04K) I done a great big chicken Sunday and it was a beauty
49. I don't want turkey or chicken. No. (SP:PS04K) I done a great big **chicken** Sunday and it was a beauty. (unclear). But d' you know I,
50. you know I, I didn't fancy it. (SP:PS04B) I don't like **chicken** on my dinner any more. (SP:PS04K) I no, I enjoyed it cold yesterday

Positive: 0

Neutral: 50

Negative: 0

Cow:

1. n't it. (SP:PS01B) Yeah. (SP:PS01G) (unclear) (singing) (SP:PS01B) That's not a moo **cow**. (SP:PS01A) Get down. (SP:PS01G) It is. It is. (SP:PS01A) It isn't. (SP:PS01G)
2. do. (SP:PS01A) You're crackers. (SP:PS01G) It is. It is a moo **cow**. (SP:PS01F) I mean like er, Eileen was saying summat yesterday, she said
3. things from school (SP:PS168) what is (SP:PS167) keep them clean please (SP:PS168) what is a **cow**'s (SP:PS167) Let me see your teeth, you haven't cleaned them in two
4. 's all yellow (SP:PS168) what is a (SP:PS167) teeth are yellow (SP:PS168) what is a **cow**'s favourite erm meal? (SP:PS14B) What is a cows favourite meal? (SP:PS168) Mousse
5. we turned round and all written across is (pause) Jean (-----) is a fucking fat **cow**! (laughing) Alright! (SP:PS03W) (laugh) (SP:KBDPSUNK) I mean, I mean you tried (laughing)

6. is a bit dark. You haven't got your fucking lights on you stupid **cow** he said. Put some lights on. (laugh) (SP:PS04B) Oh she said puts the
7. it's still dark I still can't see nothing. He said you stupid **cow** you got your side lights on. Puts the lights on. Next morning off
8. like (unclear) so he still didn't take no notice. (laugh) (SP:PS04B) (unclear) Stupid **cow** you ain't got your fucking lights on again have you? It's that
9. road and a lot of traffic coming up and down. He said that dozy **cow** only decided she was going to try and fucking pull out with a great big
10. 's bought. (SP:PS04B) Oh that's right. Of course. Oh you silly **cow**. (SP:KBEPSUNK) That's what he got from the post, I bet he bought
11. Neil? (SP:PS04Y) Neil (pause) yeah (pause) and he said my mother is a lazy **cow**! (SP:PS04U) Yeah but don't you think he-- (pause) he he finds, I
12. you what to do. That's lazy! Int it? (laughing) You crafty **cow**! If I give you a bit of paper and the lot, yeah well
13. seat otherwise it'll (SP:PS06J) Yeah. (SP:PS06B) be really uncomfortable. (pause) Ugly little **cow** in't she? (SP:PS06J) (laughing) You're telling me! (SP:PS06B) (laugh) (SP:PS06J) (laugh)
14. A place (SP:PS08A) without er tablecloths. (SP:PS087) It's like that place with that **cow** pie. I thought that was the most boring meal I (unclear)2. (SP:PS08A) Yeah.
15. haven't done (unclear)2. (SP:PS1E7) (unclear) (SP:PS1E4) I told her she was an interfering old **cow**, I think. (laugh) (SP:PS1E7) (unclear), when she was on the phone.
16. (unclear)2. (SP:PS1E7) (unclear), but she told Helen, I just called her an old **cow** and she put the phoned down, well if she thought I said cow,
17. old cow and she put the phoned down, well if she thought I said **cow**, well I don't know but she went and used that (unclear)2. (SP:PS1E4) Do
18. (SP:PS1E7) I said balls you old (unclear)2. (unclear) (SP:PS1E4) (unclear) (SP:PS1E7) (unclear) called an old **cow**, so she put the phone down. (SP:PS1E4) Do you remember the days we
19. in the house for fucking year like, you know (pause) she's a horrible **cow**, and like when we went in the church, when we went in the
20. I know, I know, I know. (SP:PS0BA) This prat, silly **cow** has to sneak up her, it's one lane love. One lane and
21. 's not working downstairs I said have you got one upstairs? (SP:PS0DM) You nosy **cow**! (SP:PS0DP) Yeah! (SP:PS0DM) (laugh) (SP:PS0DP) He said yeah, he said it's
22. the morning I sees this pair of red shoes, I thought oh you stupid **cow**. Not only that she's bringing them back to my house, you know
23. 'm not having this. I'm just (unclear) (SP:PS0DM) Leave it on you dopey **cow**. (SP:KCAPSUNK) Oh no, stop it. (pause) (SP:PS0DM) Nobody knows who we,
24. against us, the club? (SP:PS0DN) I'm paranoid now. (SP:PS0DM) You dopey **cow**. (pause) (SP:PS0DP) Well she, like I say next year, if they're
25. (SP:PS0DM) and he'll say to me it's (shouting) (unclear) (laugh) (SP:PS0DN) You stupid **cow** Bet. (laugh) (SP:PS0DL) (unclear) alright, (unclear) (SP:PS0DM) What you having Lyn? Lyn
26. my house. (SP:PS0EF) Trust you to be number one! (SP:PS0EB) (laugh) (SP:PS0EF) You **cow**! (SP:PS0EB) Aha! (SP:PS0EF) That isn't fair! (pause) I want money,
27. I don't bloody care! (pause) I went ha ha! (pause) You stupid **cow**! (pause) I really ache! (SP:PS0EB) Go on! (SP:PS0EF) I hate (SP:PS0EB) Right

28. (shouting) What? (SP:KCEPSUNK) Come here. (SP:PS0EG) (shouting) What?  
(pause) You dumb fat **cow**. (SP:PS0EF) Don't be so nasty to your mum.  
(SP:KCEPSUNK) (unclear) (SP:PS0EB) (sigh)
29. name of the album (unclear) (SP:PS0EF) Well I didn't know! (SP:PS0EG) You  
thick **cow**. (SP:PS0EF) I'm not a Carter fan myself. (SP:PS0EG) You thick **cow**.
30. thick **cow**. (SP:PS0EF) I'm not a Carter fan myself. (SP:PS0EG) You thick **cow**.  
(SP:PS0EF) They look like they're on something. (SP:PS0EG) Yeah, so?
31. ? (unclear) (SP:PS0EF) I knew an Abbie at guides and she was a snobby nosed **cow**.  
(SP:PS0EC) Yeah. (SP:PS0EB) (laughing) You really started her going then  
(SP:PS0EC) Adela,
32. call her. (SP:PS0EB) Just think, if it's a girl what a poor **cow** having a nose like that.  
(SP:PS0EH) (laugh) Type of spaniel, dead. (SP:PS0EC)
33. . (SP:PS0EF) I said, I said I'm sorry you know Helena you stupid **cow** if you had  
been in here, accusing me as usual I said she goes
34. that actually (pause) (unclear) (SP:PS0EE) (unclear) can't really miss her, such a fat  
**cow**. (SP:PS0EB) (laugh) (SP:KCEPSUNK) (unclear) (SP:KCEPSUNK) Speak of  
the devil (SP:PS0EE) Oh sit yourself down
35. (laugh) (SP:KCEPSUNK) (unclear) (SP:KCEPSUNK) Speak of the devil  
(SP:PS0EE) Oh sit yourself down you fat **cow**. (SP:KCEPSUNK) (laugh) (pause)  
(SP:PS0EB) Steph (pause) any cards? (SP:KCEPSUNK) Stiff. (SP:PS0EB) Have
36. mean, how did Pete cope with that? (pause) (SP:PS0EB) (laughing) What a stupid  
**cow** she looks there. (SP:PS0EF) Emily who? (pause) (SP:PS0EG) (unclear)  
(SP:KCEPSUNK) (unclear) (SP:PS0EJ) No
37. (SP:PS1BV) what do you call (pause) what do you get when you shake a **cow**?  
(SP:PS1BT) I beg your pardon? What do you get when you (SP:PS1BV) Shake
38. (SP:PS1BT) I beg your pardon? What do you get when you (SP:PS1BV) Shake a  
**cow**. (SP:PS1BT) Er er (pause) go on (SP:PS1BS) Chee-- cheese. (SP:PS1BV)  
(laughing) Milk shake
39. know any jokes. (SP:PS1BV) You do! Me-- (pause) Mary had a mi-- metal **cow** she  
milked it with a spout, she too-- (SP:PS1BS) Does he (pause) knows all
40. ya know? (SP:PS1BT) No, not all of them. Mary had a metal **cow** she bought it for a  
tanner and every morning just at six she milked it
41. , I can feel (unclear) (SP:PS1BU) I can do is, Mary had a metal **cow** she milked it  
with a spanner, she took it to the market and sold
42. she come back with a ham sandwich. (SP:KCNPSUNK) (laugh) (SP:KCNPSUNK)  
He said you silly **cow**! You forgot the mustard. (SP:KCNPSUNK) (laugh)  
(SP:PS0FF) East end. (laugh) (pause) (tv-on)
43. so Debbie (-----) got a snip of it cos Judith refused, she said rude **cow**, she said she  
needn't have slammed the phone down she could have at
44. forget it as long as I live, I thought to myself well you stupid **cow**, all she could  
think of was a fifty pence key, so I,
45. give them to you. And it was milk, after they'd milked the **cow** first time, after she'd  
had a calf, well the first milking,
46. had to draw it off, you see? And if anybody had got a **cow** and it calved, we used to  
go to him and say could we have
47. very well built and firm, because then, when it was used for the **cow** for the er sheep,  
usually, that best hay was left for the sheep
48. this er coming from the membership you know, that we were always like the **cow**'s  
tail you know, we'll always be behind. Er although erm basically

49. (SP:PS2AE) (unclear). The cream. (SP:PS2AF) The cream, aha. From under the **cow**. (laugh) (SP:PS2AE) (laugh) (SP:PS2AG) (laugh) (SP:PS2AF) And that's where I used to work
50. er came along to me with er farmer's weekly, and a black Polled **cow** on it, and gave me a photograph of this man. So (laugh) he

Positive: 0

Neutral: 16

Negative: 34

Dog:

1. Our biggest, biggest er threat when we first come up here, was the **dog** muck which was on the ground. I think we've walked past the one
2. they don't do this and they don't do that. I had a **dog**. And my doctor my doctor said, You can't have the dog you
3. a dog. And my doctor my doctor said, You can't have the **dog** you need because you're sick (-----) on and off all the time. And
4. , trying to catch hold of them. (unclear) Swearing. Oh my God the **dog's** ba-- barking and nobody (unclear). Ju-- that's just lately. (SP:PS264) Mhm
5. anything, anything at all, and all we got really was the old fashioned **dog** biscuits. And I was in in Alexandria, and er and that was it
6. (pause) and everybody else started to run, and I forgot there was a puppy **dog**, this puppy dog it it chased it chased towards the er p-- policemen,
7. started to run, and I forgot there was a puppy dog, this puppy **dog** it it chased it chased towards the er p-- policemen, and started er barking
8. the past, have told me about. Er there was problems with **dogs**. Dog mess, dogs running wild. Er they weren't built for dogs, yet
9. all your questions, it was the er, was it the tail wagging the **dog**. Was ninety percent of the people there very law abiding and just got on
10. and **dogs** and cats. And it was the corn shop that started selling the dog and cat biscuits. Of which there weren't too many. I think there
11. must be to the people concerned but I mean, a pet's usually a **dog**, cat or bird isn't it? When you say I've got a
12. the time of the shooting season they would be employed with poling man (unclear) and **dog** man or something like that of long ago. (SP:PS2CF) And and who were these
13. farms here and there so Then eventually he turned so old he'd only one **dog** and then er he died down at the D-- At a place called the Doonie
14. isn't necessarily dirtier than the average street, it doesn't necessarily have more **dog** shit or more paper strewn around it (pause) but neither does it have a,
15. I see, right. There's, there's one, something about a **dog** or something, involves describing somebody like a dog or (unclear) that's had a
16. 's one, something about a dog or something, involves describing somebody like a **dog** or (unclear) that's had a bad temper, I forget, there's all
17. clean up after, (SP:PS2A9) No, and (SP:PS2A8) no? (SP:PS2A9) and a wee **dog**. (laugh) (SP:PS2A8) (laugh) (SP:PS2A9) Aye, I've seventeen year of being married.
18. . And instead of having a few puffs and, and saving and throwing two **dog** ends away you didn't see that, they'd just break it in half

19. er I can start work on Monday morning. I enjoyed the work, issuing **dog** licences, gun licences and old age pensions and of course stamps. (SP:PS22G) When
20. erm, he was quite helpful. (SP:PS22N) Mm, you never had a guide **dog**? (SP:PS22P) Oh no, no. In fact there were very few guide dogs
21. maybe (pause) just my (pause) erm silliness really but I, I never wanted a **dog** lying about all day because once at the office I stayed put as it were
22. it were until it was time to go home and I could have taken the **dog** I suppose during the lunch hour but I preferred that time to erm to reading
23. used to listen with our ear on the ground and we could hear where the **dog** was do you see, and then we used to dig down there because we
24. was used to the job do you see. And then I was taken the **dog** out slowly do you see, and the old vixen coming out forward do you
25. . And as soon as she puts her head down out for the for the **dog** do you see, fighting, he used to put this V on her back
26. of her and he (unclear) you see, and then I let go of the **dog** and take the the front feet and we used to drag her out like that
27. in to the burrow. Block everywhere, let them into the burrow. One **dog** would go in, and she'd just shake her tail and come back,
28. vixen was walking them higher up into the mountain for safety. And the old **dog** knew that it was empty, no use (pause) digging down or anything, she
29. of course the old keeper knew what was there alright when he saw the old **dog** coming out. It was erm (clicks-fingers) badger. (SP:PS2VY) A badger (unclear) (SP:PS2VX) Badger
30. (SP:PS2VX) Badger den Aye. (SP:PS2VY) Mm. (SP:PS2VX) And that one was fighting with the **dog** do you see. Because they've got a shelf do you see, in
31. on. About his ears and all his face like that. But the **old** dog survived alright. Aye. Aye. The old keeper he knew how to treat
32. and he's just gone out a little ginger and but I did have a **dog** but I, cos he, I had him several years here a beautiful little
33. but then my doctor advised me that I, he said don't have another **dog** have a cat, so I had a cat, I've always had a
34. granddad, look (SP:PS5B7) Oh yes. (SP:PS5B9) and the butcher boy and Tip the **dog**. (SP:PS5B8) That was down (-----) way. (SP:PS5B9) Yes (SP:PS5B7) Right (SP:PS5B9) And that
35. , that's amazing. (SP:K6NPS001) And today it's three old fogies and a **dog**. (SP:PS5M2) (laugh)2. (SP:K6NPS000) (laugh) (SP:PS5M2) (laughing) Oh dear. (SP:K6NPS001) So other places would
36. feed. (SP:K6PPS000) Mhm. (SP:K6PPSUNK) (unclear) (SP:PS5M3) (laughing) Aye. Catch them with a **dog** and clip their wings. (laugh) (SP:K6PPS000) So you were what (unclear) what were you
37. within days he would soon get them down. (SP:PS5PV) Mm. (SP:PS5PU) Without a collie **dog**. And well I remember hearing about it and and saw it probably as I
38. (SP:PS1LK) no, no and we don't, we don't want a green **dog** either no (SP:PS1LL) And a dog oh no watch Graham (SP:PS1LG) I think that (SP:F7CPSUNK)
39. don't, we don't want a green dog either no (SP:PS1LL) And a **dog** oh no watch Graham (SP:PS1LG) I think that (SP:F7CPSUNK) (unclear) (SP:PS1LK) yes (SP:PS1LH) A bit
40. 's Voice isn't it? (SP:PS1LL) Yes (laugh) (SP:PS1LG) Oh no, a guide **dog** listening (SP:PS1LL) His Master's Voice in Hamlet, you know, it's just

41. you know, it's just, stick a who I am on that wee **dog**, I can remember I can see, I can remember that from (SP:PS1LK) But
42. remember I can see, I can remember that from (SP:PS1LK) But the, the **dog** listening to a big ear instead of a, an earphone (SP:F7CPSUNK) (unclear) (SP:PS1LJ) If
43. , she walks Sandy or Sandy walks her in the park, she meets other **dog** (pause) walkers and they are her human contacts. Sandy means an awful lot in
44. believe it or not she has to choose between buying food for herself and buying **dog** food for Sandy. Now don't say it's a silly, sentimental story
45. just (unclear) but one or two others, see this as the tail wagging the **dog** if you like where somebody says, you will do so and so, or
46. people's walking by. (SP:PS28E) But I wouldn't (unclear) where there's a **dog**. And (SP:PS28D) (unclear) they're, they're not going to notice one s--
47. about **dogs** and burglar alarms. (SP:GY4PSUNK) (unclear) (SP:PS28E) I wouldn't go where a dog was. (SP:PS28B) You couldn't go was er I'm not going to recommend
48. er I'm not going to recommend that everyone should go out and buy a **dog**. (SP:GY4PSUNK) (laugh) (SP:PS28B) It's unfair on the dog, if you don't
49. go out and buy a dog. (SP:GY4PSUNK) (laugh) (SP:PS28B) It's unfair on the **dog**, if you don't want one then you don't want one. Er
50. n't want one then you don't want one. Er if you want a **dog** as a pet, that's fine, i-- it will help. Sometimes though

**Positive:** 0

**Neutral:** 50

**Negative:** 0

Leech:

1. 've got a, some blood in your socks, and that's where a **leech** had been. But erm I think I had lots of people praying for me
2. also you know your first few days you sort of you, you become a **leech** don't you to the person that you know, you know the person sitting

**Positive:** 0

**Neutral:** 1

**Negative:** 1

Pig:

1. my head. (SP:PS02F) Put (unclear) on your head. (SP:PS029) (unclear) Mummy's a **pig**. (SP:PS02F) A pig? (SP:PS029) Benny want a cheese on toast? (pause) Want
2. Put (unclear) on your head. (SP:PS029) (unclear) Mummy's a pig. (SP:PS02F) A **pig**? (SP:PS029) Benny want a cheese on toast? (pause) Want a cheese on toast
3. 's a bit late, really. (SP:PS02G) I mean wouldn't you be absolutely **pig** sick of them by the first of December (laughing) never mind christmas. (SP:PS02N) (unclear)
4. yeah. (SP:PS02H) You would have had four. Oh admittedly you would have been **pig** sick when a (pause) king would have, but even if the king had turned
5. that erm (pause) Tony? Oh he's fucking horrible. (SP:PS02G) He's a **pig**. Told him he's a ignorant pig (laugh). I couldn't help it

6. fucking horrible. (SP:PS02G) He's a pig. Told him he's a ignorant pig (laugh). I couldn't help it, I was so angry with him.
7. pushed him back. (SP:PS02G) I said you're just you're just a ignorant pig. Shut your bloody (SP:PS03N) But he is. (SP:PS02G) mouth or (laughing) (unclear)2. (SP:PS6TB) (unclear)
8. people but (SP:PS03N) (unclear) (SP:PS02G) it just come out and you're a bloody ignorant pig and I'll (SP:PS03N) I said (SP:PS02G) belt you one if you don't shut
9. otherwise I'll shut it. (SP:PS001) (laugh) (SP:PS02G) I said you're an ignorant pig, that's all you are. (laugh) You should have heard them all.
10. more like a sheep than a horse, neighbours (SP:PS168) What, what is a pig's most favourite thing? (SP:PS14B) What is a pig's most favourite thing?
11. What, what is a pig's most favourite thing? (SP:PS14B) What is a pig's most favourite thing? (SP:PS168) Honk er, honking (SP:PS14B) (laugh) (SP:PS168) honking (SP:PS14B)
12. pretty, she's bright int she? I mean (pause) Rebecca (pause) ooh little pig (pause) coming to get ya, she's coming, she's coming, she
13. say (pause) oh, we're open tonight and the place still looks like a pig sty! It ain't gon na give a very good impression. (SP:PS03W) Well
14. the girl give us two meat pies wrapped up. (SP:PS04U) She probably thought blinking pig! (SP:PS04V) (laugh) (pause) come in he was like a little big kid. I
15. good manners. We want to bring up a nice girl, not a little pig. (pause) Alright? (SP:PS05E) (unclear) pig. (SP:PS05D) No, nice girl, not
16. up a nice girl, not a little pig. (pause) Alright? (SP:PS05E) (unclear) pig. (SP:PS05D) No, nice girl, not a little pig. (SP:PS05E) (unclear) pig
17. Alright? (SP:PS05E) (unclear) pig. (SP:PS05D) No, nice girl, not a little pig. (SP:PS05E) (unclear) pig. (SP:PS05D) Yes, nice girl. (pause) Are you a
18. pig. (SP:PS05D) No, nice girl, not a little pig. (SP:PS05E) (unclear) pig. (SP:PS05D) Yes, nice girl. (pause) Are you a nice girl? (SP:PS05E)
19. that's the technical (SP:PS05B) It's a monstrosity. (SP:PS05F) Oh you rotten old pig, you've been sick. (SP:PS05B) Oh she hasn't? Oh. (SP:PS05F)
20. they? (SP:PS05J) Mm. (SP:PS05B) Perhaps I'll have two, cos I'm a pig (pause) cos I'm a pig. (SP:PS05J) Mm? (SP:PS05B) Cos I'm a
21. I'll have two, cos I'm a pig (pause) cos I'm a pig. (SP:PS05J) Mm? (SP:PS05B) Cos I'm a pig. (SP:PS05J) Are you?
22. (pause) cos I'm a pig. (SP:PS05J) Mm? (SP:PS05B) Cos I'm a pig. (SP:PS05J) Are you? (SP:PS05B) I'll have two. (SP:PS05J) (laugh) (SP:PS05B) Do
23. (SP:PS05Y) Oh alright then, (SP:KBNPSUNK) (unclear) (SP:PS060) what do you think I'm a pig? (SP:PS05Y) (singing) Just a little bit (SP:KBNPSUNK) (unclear) (SP:PS05Y) You have to do that
24. . And the price (unclear) (SP:PS066) I wonder how many w-- (laugh) It's a pig in a poke. (SP:PS065) I mean just when you think about it they (pause)
25. doesn't it? (SP:PS089) No. (SP:PS087) See what we've got down here (pause) Pig's wedding, what do you think that's like? (SP:KBWPSUNK) Ah ohhhh!
26. (SP:KBWPSUNK) (laugh) (SP:PS087) Child (pause) excuse me! (pause) What do you think to the Pig's Wedding? (pause) Oop, here they come, I think that's it
27. this afternoon when (unclear) (SP:PS088) Our (unclear) (SP:KBWPSUNK) I went, I went to the Pig and Whistle (unclear) the Jolly Farmer (SP:PS087) The Jolly Farmer (SP:PS088) (unclear) (SP:PS08A) (unclear) (SP:PS088)

28. went to fetch Emily (SP:KC2PSUNK) (unclear) (SP:PS0A2) and that's quarter past three (SP:PS09U) Porky pig, (laugh) that's lovely, that is (SP:PS0A2) but he was, he was
29. he alright? (SP:KC2PSUNK) No, I don't like teachers (SP:PS09U) I think Porky pig that was the first one I saw, that's always good (SP:PS0A2) That's
30. . (SP:PS0BA) Yes. Well that (unclear)2. (SP:PS0BB) Have you eaten them all you greedy pig? Have you? (SP:PS0BA) I think there's, one left. (SP:PS0BB) I
31. stuffed it down so quick. (SP:PS0BK) Yeah you wolfed yours down, you fat pig. (SP:KC7PSUNK) I was starving though. (pause) (SP:PS0BK) Mm. (SP:PS0BS) (unclear) I started eating
32. which says don't they're tired they're tired and then he said the pig says I'm not (laugh) and then the people said Oh dear and then he
33. Donald had a farm. It must be a song what. Cheers a happy pig. # (SP:PS0E9) Can you change Marks & Spencers vouchers into erm cash? (SP:PS0E8)
34. little more explicit. (SP:PS0E9) What's it called the, (unclear) they bought this pig medicine (unclear) pig retained there trotters and every thing and then it goes (banging) any
35. . (SP:PS0E9) What's it called the, (unclear) they bought this pig medicine (unclear) pig retained there trotters and every thing and then it goes (banging) any more of the
36. then it goes (banging) any more of the erm dialysis put it, make a pig rock and roll. (SP:PS0E8) If it doses it's feed. (SP:PS0E9) Yeah,
37. roll. (SP:PS0E8) If it doses it's feed. (SP:PS0E9) Yeah, make a pig rock and roll. Then he said the old bat needs (unclear)2. (SP:PS0E8) Very nice
38. sleep little bear. Can't you sleep little bear. There's a happy pig. Now I'm not to good. Oh Spot, yeah Spot, goes
39. 'm off to bed # (SP:PS0EJ) What's my jealousy? (SP:PS0EB) Jealous you greedy pig (SP:PS0EJ) I am (laugh) (SP:PS0EB) I've just become somebody dumb (SP:PS0EJ) No you have
40. n't say nothing. (SP:PS0F9) No. (pause) (SP:PS0F8) He'll be as sick as a pig. (pause) (SP:PS0F9) What about these glasses? (pause) (SP:PS0F8) Whose are they? Mine
41. (laugh) The dog is licking up the (unclear) (SP:PS11J) Oh (unclear) don't be a pig. (SP:PS11L) (laughing) (unclear) (SP:PS11J) (unclear) (pause) (SP:KCMPSUGP) (unclear) (SP:PS11J) What did you buy yesterday
42. wait! I'll go and land on it now and I'll be bloody pig sick! (SP:PS0GK) I'll give you (SP:PS0GJ) Thirty, forty (SP:PS0GK) I'll gi--
43. er, I bet you seen me dashing past thinking, she's an ignorant pig her, not calling in! (SP:PS1FC) I've seen you on t' bus
44. ! (SP:PS1FC) Marie. (SP:PS1FE) (laugh) (SP:PS1FD) Eh? (SP:PS1FE) Marie. (SP:PS1FD) You crafty pig! (SP:PS1FC) I were down at their house and she'd got these (pause) and
45. me. (SP:PS1FG) Stay in the car then! (SP:PS1FC) Then, he were being a pig last night. I says to him, with him breaking down other night (pause)
46. ? (SP:PS1FH) I were hungry! (SP:PS1FG) I bet you get as fat as a pig! (SP:PS1FH) I am! So what? (SP:PS1FC) He's not bothered! (laugh)
47. (SP:PS1FC) Do you know, it's a wonder he ain't fat as a pig, him. (SP:PS1FE) (laugh) He never stops (unclear) (SP:KCXPSUNK) Oh I wan na play
48. (pause) (SP:KCYPSUGP) (unclear) (SP:PS0HB) yeah (pause) er I could tell that was still alive that pig (SP:PS0H9) Mm (pause) (SP:PS0HB) I can't stand to see people being cruel to animals

49. that runs it won't let them talk to the customers, said that was pig ignorant surely (SP:PS0HB) (-----) owns it? I thought he owns them all (-----) (SP:PS0H9)
50. suppose is Karen isn't it? (SP:PS0HY) Yes of course pink is Karen (SP:KD0PSUNK) Pig for Karen. (SP:PS0HY) Pig for Karen (laugh) (SP:PS0HU) Thank you dad for being so

Positive: 0

Neutral: 18

Negative: 32

Rabbit:

1. they're fresh I mean (SP:PS01V) and anyway this fellow said do you want some rabbit it's a pound each, so we ordered some rabbits (laugh), ain't
2. What we on February tomorrow? (SP:PS01T) Yeah (SP:PS01V) Oh you've got to say rabbit rabbit for you (SP:PS01T) (laugh) (SP:PS01V) rabbit rabbit for it (laugh) rabbit rabbit, keep
3. we on February tomorrow? (SP:PS01T) Yeah (SP:PS01V) Oh you've got to say rabbit rabbit for you (SP:PS01T) (laugh) (SP:PS01V) rabbit rabbit for it (laugh) rabbit rabbit, keep saying
4. you some apple pie, I didn't know whether you liked it or er rabbit pie I mean, I didn't know whether you liked it or not (SP:PS01U)
5. 've eaten other one (laugh) (SP:PS01V) but there's only me and us though more rabbit (SP:PS01T) I have your I have your cup do I? (SP:PS01V) Yeah you have
6. ? (SP:PS01V) Yeah you have my cup (SP:PS01T) Here are (SP:PS01V) There were a whole rabbit and there were some er stewing meat in with it (SP:PS01U) Mm (SP:PS01V) you know
7. (unclear) (SP:PS6TB) Chips, fish (SP:PS001) (unclear) (SP:PS6TB) Yeah and you feel like a bleeding rabbit. (SP:PS6TB) Yeah, you get bored. (SP:PS6TB) Especially when you have to have
8. with him there (pause) balloons (SP:KBAPSUNK) (unclear) (SP:PS1DC) little dogs (SP:KBAPSUNK) Clever bear. (SP:PS1DC) Rabbit has a wand and a magic hat (SP:KBAPSUNK) Abracadabra just look at that. That
9. make little (unclear) (SP:KBAPS000) Balloons (unclear) (SP:KBAPSUNK) I want to listen to that. (SP:PS1DC) Rabbit has a wand and a magic hat (SP:PS1DG) Abracadabra just look at that. (SP:PS1DC)
10. what sorry? I remember once, you know, getting and cutting (pause) a rabbit and things, by the time you'd actually cut the thi-- damn thing (SP:PS040)
11. Got at the back of the gallery that is. (SP:KBEPSUNK) Yeah like you won a rabbit? (SP:KBEPSUNK) That (unclear)2. (SP:KBEPSUNK) They (unclear)2. (SP:KBEPSUNK) (unclear) round the back of the gallery
12. n't it? (SP:PS059) Went up to, went up to and Barney got a rabbit. (SP:PS051) Did he? (SP:PS059) Yeah, picked a rabbit up and we had
13. and Barney got a rabbit. (SP:PS051) Did he? (SP:PS059) Yeah, picked a rabbit up and we had to chase him, get it out of his mouth.
14. I was pregnant with Mandy I used to wear this old, you know those rabbit skin coats (unclear) coney coat what they're called? Fur coat thing. (SP:PS05B)
15. . (SP:PS05B) Mm. (SP:PS05F) Well it was a kind of fur coat but it was rabbit I think, it was. I got one, ooh, well it was

16. Well what wo--, oh that's nice. (SP:PS05J) What? (SP:PS05B) (laugh) That **rabbit**. (SP:PS05J) Mm. (SP:PS05B) Little rabbit. (laugh) (SP:PS05J) Little rabbit (pause) erm, yes
17. 's nice. (SP:PS05J) What? (SP:PS05B) (laugh) That rabbit. (SP:PS05J) Mm. (SP:PS05B) Little **rabbit**. (laugh) (SP:PS05J) Little rabbit (pause) erm, yes alternatively I think so (SP:PS05B) There
18. ? (SP:PS05B) (laugh) That rabbit. (SP:PS05J) Mm. (SP:PS05B) Little rabbit. (laugh) (SP:PS05J) Little **rabbit** (pause) erm, yes alternatively I think so (SP:PS05B) There wh-- there were no cos
19. little furry beast. (SP:PS101) Yes, I thought a chinchilla was a kind of **rabbit**, but it isn't, it's got a tail. (SP:PS05X) Oh.
20. I'm sure we'll think of something. (SP:PS089) Mum, there was a **rabbit** but we didn't really want a rabbit. (SP:PS087) Oh. (pause) I've
21. . (SP:PS089) Mum, there was a rabbit but we didn't really want a **rabbit**. (SP:PS087) Oh. (pause) I've put him in there. (SP:PS089) So we
22. (pause) I've put him in there. (SP:PS089) So we didn't buy a **rabbit** cutter. (SP:PS087) You stay in there mister gingerbread boy. Gingerbread family cookie cutters
23. and then they stand up. (pause) (SP:PS089) A frog? (SP:PS087) Mm. (SP:PS089) A **rabbit** (unclear) (SP:PS088) He had the other half. (SP:PS089) You don't see bunnies with
24. (SP:PS0A2) A cake for your birthday with the guards on it (SP:PS09U) (laugh) (pause) Rosie **rabbit** (pause) Tommy turtle (SP:PS0A1) Tommy turtle (SP:PS09U) Concorde, it's breaking (SP:PS0A1) (mimics-aeroplane) (SP:PS09U)
25. 's (SP:KC3PSUNK) (cough) Excuse me (SP:PS0AB) As long as it's not to make a **rabbit's** costume. (SP:PS0A8) Oh no no no (laugh) (SP:PS0AD) Are you gon na make
26. be funny if (unclear)2. (SP:PS0AJ) (unclear) (pause) (SP:PS0AN) Haven't actually watched Who Framed Roger **Rabbit** yet (SP:PS0AJ) Yet, you ages ago, you, erm, she, oh
27. Friday. (SP:PS0AJ) No, I had Sky on I think (pause) Who Framed Roger **Rabbit**? (SP:KC5PSUNK) (unclear) light on, well have you ever seen that (unclear)2. (SP:PS0AJ) No
28. , let's have a cup of tea dear. And you can sit and **rabbit** (SP:PS0CG) Yeah. (SP:PS0CR) to the point where my father-in-law woken up in his room
29. you? (SP:PS0E8) Would you rather have Mrs Macdonald? # (SP:PS0E9) I like musical **rabbit**, before I had music rabbit. Nine, nine, Little rabbit is very
30. have Mrs Macdonald? # (SP:PS0E9) I like musical rabbit, before I had music **rabbit**. Nine, nine, Little rabbit is very sleepy, peel the (unclear) and
31. like musical rabbit, before I had music rabbit. Nine, nine, Little **rabbit** is very sleepy, peel the (unclear) and watch his, as he, what
32. , as birthday, birth twenty four months. (SP:PS0EA) His birthday. (SP:PS0E9) Little **rabbit**. (SP:PS0E8) The birth his birthday was twenty four months, that means from when
33. you that so he, he called her back and they bought give her a **rabbit** (SP:PS0GN) He's done that (SP:PS0GM) give her a rabbit (SP:PS0GN) yeah (SP:PS0GM) then he
34. they bought give her a rabbit (SP:PS0GN) He's done that (SP:PS0GM) give her a **rabbit** (SP:PS0GN) yeah (SP:PS0GM) then he give her a, a, a chocolate easter egg

35. him a pheasant (SP:PS0GS) Oh yeah (SP:PS0GM) Yeah (SP:PS0GS) I've got a great big **rabbit** in the freezer. (SP:KCPPSUNK) (unclear) (SP:PS0GM) He's ever so spoilt that's the trouble
36. maggots (pause) and there was a little kitten (pause) erm guinea pigs, hamsters and **rabbit** (SP:PS0FX) What all dead? (SP:PS0FS) No, these was alive and they (pause) got
37. another tape in. (SP:PS0FS) Well I ain't gon na sit here listening to you **rabbit** on just cos mum wanted that filling up! (SP:PS0FP) Well no, well turn
38. (SP:PS0GH) Oh no! (SP:PS0GF) What's that? (SP:PS0GH) (unclear) (SP:PS0GF) That's a **rabbit** (SP:PS0GG) Bu-- (SP:PS0GF) in n it? (SP:PS0GH) (unclear) (SP:PS0GG) (belch) (SP:PS0GF) And what did
39. (SP:PS0GF) And what did Mummy have to do (SP:PS0GG) Good boy! (SP:PS0GF) with your **rabbit**? (SP:PS0GH) (unclear) (SP:PS0GF) Mm. (SP:PS0GG) Is that better? (SP:PS0GF) Yeah, your cuddly
40. ? (SP:PS0GH) (unclear) (SP:PS0GF) Mm. (SP:PS0GG) Is that better? (SP:PS0GF) Yeah, your cuddly **rabbit** that er (pause) Aunty Nicky bought you for Christmas weren't it? (SP:PS0GH) Yeah
41. ? In n it? (SP:PS0GG) (belch) (pause) Pardon me! (SP:PS0GF) Look! Another **rabbit** look on the telly! That's like that one in n it? (SP:PS0GH)
42. the telly! That's like that one in n it? (SP:PS0GH) A orange **rabbit**. (SP:PS0GF) Well if Daddy turns the telly over (pause) can watch Edd can't
43. both have sex with the same thing, what is it? A, a **rabbit**, B, a bookcase or C, a robot (SP:PS0GJ) B (SP:PS0GF) No C
44. 'Il phone her and she'll say (shouting) and I'm still sat behind him **rabbit**, rabbit, rabbit, moan, moan, moan you see. So er
45. her and she'll say (shouting) and I'm still sat behind him rabbit, **rabbit**, rabbit, moan, moan, moan you see. So er they says
46. she'll say (shouting) and I'm still sat behind him rabbit, rabbit, **rabbit**, moan, moan, moan you see. So er they says to him
47. Mm. Come on then. (unclear) (pause) What's that? Is that a **rabbit**? It's a snail isn't it? (pause) A snail. (pause) You
48. ! (pause) Let's see what's on the next page. (pause) Ooh bunny **rabbit**, look! (pause) A doggy! (SP:PS0JL) Seen the solicitor? (SP:PS0JJ) Yeah.
49. (SP:PS0KU) (unclear) the dog. Didn't he? (SP:PS0KT) Don't think a bunny **rabbit** (SP:KD7PSUNK) (unclear) (SP:PS0KT) (unclear) She's got a (unclear) bit in her mouth. (SP:PS0KR)
50. have we? (SP:PS0LL) No. (SP:PS0LK) Ah ha. (pause) Is that hare or a **rabbit**? (pause) Can pull it off this end? (pause) There. (pause) (laugh) (SP:PS0LL)

Positive: 0

Neutral: 50

Negative: 0

Rat:

1. Beechams tonight. (SP:PS03S) what do you suggest? (SP:PS03T) Well you can have (SP:PS03S) **Rat** poison or arsenic! (SP:PS03T) Well you, don't be silly! (SP:PS03S) And
2. himself an alarm clock cos I want it back! (SP:PS06A) Oh you unpleasant little **rat**! (SP:PS06G) Guilt settling in, I want my alarm clock! (SP:PS06A) Hey,

3. them, I like UB40 (SP:PS09T) No (SP:PS09U) Yeah (SP:PS09T) (singing) I've got a **rat** in me kitchen what am I gon na do, I've got a rat
4. rat in me kitchen what am I gon na do, I've got a **rat** in me kitchen what am I gon na do, I'm gon na get
5. me kitchen what am I gon na do, I'm gon na get that **rat** that's what I'm gon na do (SP:PS09U) That's done me in lifting
6. so. (SP:PS0CR) Henry, Lucy (unclear) (chain-saw) Lucy, oh she's such a **rat** bag, hang on to go and get her (unclear) over here. # (SP:PS0CG)
7. (pause) with (unclear) (SP:PS0FA) With (SP:PS0F8) Mixed with, put (SP:PS0FA) poison in (SP:PS0F8) some **rat** poison in it yeah, and they eat it. (pause) He said what ever
8. was erm (pause) if it was a grey one (pause) would of been a sewer **rat**! (SP:PS0FA) Oh! (SP:PS0F8) Coming up (unclear), which would have been more serious
9. like it. (SP:PS0FR) Nor would I! (pause) It's got a load of **rat** holes in! (SP:PS0FP) Can't smell (unclear) in that. (SP:PS0FR) (singing) I can
10. (SP:PS0GG) I'm the ca--, I'm (pause) the boat, yeah, King **rat**! (SP:PS0GK) Well that's it. (SP:PS0GJ) Oh thanks (SP:PS0GG) Oh the (SP:PS0GJ) Phil
11. it? (SP:KCUPSUNK) (unclear) (SP:PS0GG) What's that? (SP:PS0GF) I've put down that **rat** races is Waddington's and (SP:KCUPSUNK) (unclear) (SP:PS0GF) toilet rolls (laugh) (SP:PS0GJ) (laugh) (SP:PS0GG) Yeah
12. (SP:PS0HU) And now poor Michael couldn't find (laughing) one! (pause) Yeah. (SP:PS0HS) **Rat** fink! (SP:PS0HU) and imagine we were (unclear) (SP:PS0HY) Somebody told us in the market
13. cat she had. (SP:KD2PSUNK) No, a wee baby (pause) Andrew calls it a **rat** dog! (SP:KD2PSUNK) A what? (SP:KD2PSUNK) A rat dog. (SP:KD2PSUNK) Ah! That
14. baby (pause) Andrew calls it a **rat** dog! (SP:KD2PSUNK) A what? (SP:KD2PSUNK) A rat dog. (SP:KD2PSUNK) Ah! That's cruel! (SP:KD2PSUNK) Mm. (pause) Ooh now it
15. now what women were on? erm (SP:KD6PSUNK) (unclear) (SP:PS0KN) you leave it alone you **rat** bag, who's digging my stuff out aren't you? (SP:PS13L) that's
16. who's digging my stuff out aren't you? (SP:PS13L) that's yours (SP:PS0KN) **rat** bag (SP:PS13L) bong, bong, bong, bong (SP:PS0KN) don't hit yourself on
17. (SP:KD6PSUNK) (unclear) (SP:PS13K) I don't like smelly dogs (SP:PS0KN) I'd rather have a **rat** in the house than a dog (SP:KD6PSUNK) (laugh) that's the last thing we're
18. 's the last thing we're keeping when I (SP:KD6PSUNK) (unclear) (SP:PS0KN) at least a **rat**'s small (SP:PS13K) oh no (pause) (SP:PS13M) you be careful with it (SP:PS13K) show your
19. week he does! (SP:PS0LK) Oh I've left my drink! (SP:PS0LM) You little **rat**! (SP:PS0LK) (laugh) (SP:KD8PSUGP) (unclear) (SP:PS0LM) Yeah, so er (pause) Harry sitting there but
20. . That's a mouse, isn't it? (pause) (SP:PS0M5) It's a **rat**! (SP:PS0M4) Let me have a look. (pause) (SP:PS0M5) Shall I show you?
21. English William, for Christ's sake! Mouthful of food! (SP:PS1HJ) Go away **rat** pack Patch! Go on! (SP:KDNPSUNK) I didn't know, I thought Lennox
22. thirst fast. (laugh) (SP:KP3PS000) (unclear) (SP:PS51F) I don't. (SP:KP3PS000) D'ya remember the little **rat** in (unclear) (SP:PS51F) Oh yeah. (pause) What's his name again John Bond is

23. with my bill, bill, bill (pause) he knocked at the door with a **rat** a tat (SP:PS59F) (singing) with a rat a tat, tat (pause) what else you
24. (pause) he knocked at the door with a rat a tat (SP:PS59F) (singing) with a **rat** a tat, tat (pause) what else you know? (SP:PS59G) (singing) insy winsy spider
25. be quick (SP:PS59B) (singing) he knocked on the door with a (SP:PS59G) (singing) with a **rat** a tat, he phoned for the doctor (SP:PS59F) Yeah, then what happens?
26. (SP:PS59B) (singing) he knocked on the (SP:PS59F) (singing) he knocked on the door with a **rat** a tat tat (SP:PS59G) (singing) he knocked on the door with a rat a tat
27. with a rat a tat tat (SP:PS59G) (singing) he knocked on the door with a **rat** a tat tat (pause) (SP:PS59B) (singing) said Miss Polly put her straight to bed (SP:PS59G)
28. the morning with my pill, pill, he knocked on the door with a **rat** a tat tat (SP:PS59B) What's that other one? (SP:PS59G) Insy spider (pause) (SP:PS59B)
29. Miss Polly put her straight to bed, he knocked on the door with a **rat** a tat tat (pause) you do it like that (SP:PS59F) Oh do you? sing
30. yeah? Alright then. I'll batter you till it makes you fucking Roland **Rat!** John er (pause) John (-----)' s Mum's a fucking dirty fat whore
31. Nationalization was dead as far as I was concerned, we were back in the **rat** race. And that's when we started putting in for annual wage increases.
32. amazed by the large number of (unclear) and er to stop the running, the **rat** running, you've (unclear) anyway erm speed cameras are not gon na be much
33. C solution. Every one is different, everyone has its own pattern of possible **rat** runs and they take a great deal of er er (SP:JJAPSUNK) (cough) (SP:JJAPSUNK) hesitation,
34. can tell you (pause) control of pests, he likened a farmer (pause) killing a **rat** with a dog, to the whole panoply of fox hunting. (pause) As this
35. surprisingly are complaining that excessive speeds are used (pause) er by these vehicles using this **rat** run and this is causing a danger to children going to the local school at
36. on-- er to Hazelhurst Road. So all the traffic that used that as a **rat** run to get on the East Lancs Road (SP:JTFPSUNK) (laugh) (SP:PS4W2) is is (laugh) now
37. the objective of relieving the A ten eighty eight of lorries, but reduces the **rat** run in through the small villages using what are no more than country lanes.
38. a lot. (SP:K6JPS000) (cough) (SP:PS5LU) A logarithmic decay, sort of thing, a **rat's** tail cap-- (SP:K6JPS000) Oh I know what you mean, yeah. (SP:PS5LU) Capacitor
39. reinforcement last week? Yes? That you get one to one reinforcement. The **rat's** in the box, presses a lever, gets an item of food.
40. erm not predictable, okay, so it comes at variable intervals er then the **rat** actually works harder pressing the lever, it's more likely to do the behaviour
41. for example, here's a case of a calcium-activated potassium channel from a cultured **rat** muscle cell. And it's a patch clamp recording which has been done in
42. There he is up there, wanted for sabotage. He was a horrid little **rat** like creature and he had a big swastika on his stomach. And he was

**Positive:** 0

**Neutral:** 34

**Negative:** 8

Whale:

1. A black and white one. (SP:PS1DC) What? Like erm (pause) like a killer whale? (pause) You don't know. (SP:KBAPSUNK) (unclear) (SP:PS1DG) (unclear) clear up the mess
2. I'll go to work. And you're (SP:PS087) And mummy will have a whale of a time. (SP:PS089) (laugh) (SP:PS08A) (laugh) (SP:PS089) What are you gon na do
3. 's playing a lot, way with this bus thing, he was having a whale of a time, he thought that was great, so I said to Charlotte
4. ? (SP:KCKPSUNK) Do you buy lipstick? (unclear) (SP:PS1AT) No well some of it is whale oil, particularly those extracted from sperm whales us-- used in the manufacture of certain
5. read this one to you, oh fucking hell (reading) in what way is the whale's penis similar to the elephant? It rolls up, it, it's
6. ! (SP:PS129) He's got a gob big as a wa--, bigger than a whale! (SP:PS128) I'll tell Mr (-----) for you. (SP:PS0H8) No! (SP:PS128) I
7. Gav-- well she phoned Gavin yesterday apparently and (pause) he seems to be having a whale of a time. (SP:PS0W4) Good. (SP:PS0W2) He's not homesick. (laugh) (SP:PS0W4)
8. is it? (SP:KP5PSUNK) What is it? (SP:KP5PSUNK) A wha--, is it a whale? (SP:KP5PSUNK) (laugh) (SP:PS527) Float, you pu--, you put your plug in and
9. troops were here. But we lived near a battery, we lived out at Whale Park And when they they deciding give the (unclear) Elizabeth was just a baby then
10. in private houses, and we just had a two r-- bedroom house out at Whale Park a Peedie bungalow. And you were If you had a spare room you
11. what on earth did they call that? (pause) It was a thing made of whale bone that they shoved down side without fastening. And there were just as stiff
12. they've got (pause) what they've got on here is they've got (pause) whale watch talk and slides. (unclear). Punch and Judy show. Magic (unclear) and
13. Bishop's Stortford on or thereabouts because he sent me all the details about the whale walk (unclear). Cos I I gave his name to this guy organizing the one
14. who don't know what these are (pause) the A L A (pause) and the Whale and Dolphin er (pause) Preservation Society which we have taken on as a personal thing
15. yes, she's got the Complete Works of Shakespeare, I'll have a whale of a time trying to read it, she picks up the book, it
16. ? Oh good good (-----) good I enjoyed that. Welcome to the programme. Whale is on the wireless, here in the heart of Britain's largest county,
17. you're tuned, the B B C station for North Yorkshire and er James Whale is here on the wireless with you bright and e-- I'm amazed I can
18. and er You You You You You. B B C radio York and the Whale show until two this afternoon. And we'll be talking to the N S
19. like. (SP:PS3CG) If you would prefer t-- if you would like to see James Whale on top of bonfire please ring in. (SP:PS3C8) Thank you Michael (SP:PS3CG) Alright. (SP:PS3C8)
20. Reeves Dancing in the Street. And you're tuned to Radio York on the Whale show until two and er now we shall probably although the phones are ringing at
21. (SP:PS3CA) Thank you. (SP:PS3C8) Bye bye. (SP:PS3CA) Bye. (SP:PS3C8) Radio York the Whale Show on a Saturday afternoon. Now Welsh M P, this is quite funny
22. ? (SP:PS3C8) Yeah. (SP:PS3CD) Excuse me. Do you want to talk to James Whale on the radio? (SP:PS3C8) (mimicking) Who? (SP:PS3CD) Do you want to talk to
23. 've got I've got a huge a huge turbo Bentley with a great big whale stuck on the front. (SP:HV0PSUNK) Oh right. (SP:PS3DB) And Andy (-----) written down

24. to soul Billy Joel this is the B B C from North Yorkshire. And **Whale** is on till two we've got Mary Whitehouse not not the experience the person
25. foods were introduced including snook, a fish product from South South Africa, and **whale** meat. But in nineteen forty nine there was less meat available than in nineteen

**Positive:** 0

**Neutral:** 25

**Negative:** 0