

Changing Representations of Animals in Canadian English (1920s – 2010s)

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Abstract

This paper presents a diachronic study of the discursive representation of animals as it emerges from an electronic corpus of Canadian English, the Strathy Corpus. This corpus, developed by the Strathy Language Unit at Queen's University (Kingston, Ontario), and available from the Brigham Young University (BYU) online platform, is considered to be the most suitable corpus of Canadian English to be used as a national corpus (Cook and Hirst 2012). The aim of this study is to track the main changes that have affected the use of the word “animal” and its related phraseologies in Canadian English over the course of the last century, specifically the period 1921-2011, using a critical discourse approach in which the corpus is used as a source of examples to investigate changing patterns of word context and usage. The focus is on Canadian English not only because of the key role animals play in the Canadian literary and cultural imagination (Fiamengo 2007; Bottez 2014; Banting 2015), but also in an attempt to extend studies on Canadian English beyond traditional academic debates on standardization, harmonization, and homogenization (Dollinger 2011: 8), to experiment with applying the set of critical discourse tools typically used to analyze the two dominant English standards, British and American, to a “non-dominant” (Dollinger 2011: 3), but still native and norm-providing dialect of English. Results show the enduring presence of “human/ animal” dichotomies, metaphors, and some animals consistently represented as symbols of Canada as a nation. Recent decades have also seen the emergence of entirely new patterns in discourse about animals, probably in response to climate change.

Keywords

Animals, discourse analysis, diachronic corpus linguistics, Canada, Canadian English

1. Introduction

Over the past few decades, the discursive representation of animals¹ in English has seen the emergence of new understandings of their social role in our increasingly urbanized societies. Until only a few decades ago, it was quite frequent for animals, especially smaller farm ones, like those still sometimes identified as “backyard poultry”, to live near or with their owners, even if it was clearly understood that their destiny was to be eventually butchered for meat. By contrast, in the modern city throughout the Western world, apart from a fairly restricted range of species which are recognized as “pets”, such as dogs, cats, some birds and fish, guinea pigs and hamsters, contact with live animals is, for most people, only occasional, and animals are generally encountered in daily life only through the mediation of cultural practices of eating or clothing (Cook 2015). This shift in the social role of animals has been going on since at least the Victorian Age (Morse and Danahay 2007; Flegel 2015) but it has greatly accelerated as a result of growing industrialization (Grier 2015): in industrial and post-industrial urban landscapes, the line of separation between spaces where humans and animals are supposed to be living is clearer than ever before (Atkins 2012), and there is also a fairly rigid taxonomy of animals that are acceptable as companions of humans in urban areas, who are understood as “pets”², and animals, most typically farmed ones, whose life is “erased” (Stibbe 2012) from the consciousness of most people, in order to legitimize their eating or otherwise killing for human needs. The development of an animal rights movement has run parallel to the shifts brought about by industrialization and post-industrialization: the origins of this movement are usually traced to eighteenth-century utilitarianism, but it is only in the late twentieth century, with the emergence of the concepts of deep ecology (Naess 1973), and especially antispeciesism (Singer 1975), that it has come to represent an organised movement. Over the years, the movement has developed into a series of different strands, spanning from more moderate ones that tolerate occasional meat eating (now increasingly referred to with the neologism “flexitarianism”), and/ or advocate better conditions for farmed animals, to more extreme ones that are vegan and do not admit any forms of animal captivity, including pet ownership.

This study aims to explore how these social changes, drastically summarized above for reasons of space, have impacted on the linguistic representation of animals in Canadian English: more specifically, we focus on how the context of use of the word “animal” has changed, over the course of the last century, in this variety of English. Studies on Canadian English so far have focused on lexis and dictionary making (Dollinger 2012), its relationship with American English (Clarke 2006), phonetic and prosodic phenomena, perhaps most notably Canadian Raising, some grammatical issues like the transitive *be* perfect (Yerastov 2012; 2016), diachronic change in the use of modal and other verbs (Dollinger 2008), and discourse-pragmatic features, such as quotative *like* and the discourse marker *eh* (Tagliamonte 2006). However, the existence itself of Canadian English is still being questioned (Lilles 2000), and the scenario of language studies specifically focused on Canadian is largely influenced by debates on its homogeneity and standardization (Chambers 2012),

¹ In this article, the term “animals” is used to identify “nonhuman animals”, although the author is aware of the problematic implications of the human/ nonhuman dichotomy embedded in this generalization. See sections 3.2.3 and 3.2.7.

² The range of animals that are considered as acceptable household pets has expanded since the early 1980s, when veterinarians, seeing non-conventional pets such as reptiles and small mammals like ferrets, skunks, fennec foxes, and hedgehogs (Johnson-Delaney 2016; Lennox and Miwa 2016) more and more frequently in their practices, introduced the term “new companion animals” to identify domesticated “exotic animals” (Pecquet 2012).

as well as French-English bilingualism (Howard, Mougeon and Dewaele 2013). Against this background, linguists who take a descriptive approach to Canadian English have urged the scientific community to move beyond academic debates on standardization, harmonization, and homogenization, to ensure that “this passion [for language issues] has the opportunity to be harnessed positively, rather than to be hung up on whether ‘harmonise’ or ‘harmonize’ is ‘correct’ in a particular context” (Dollinger 2011: 8). In fact, recent years have seen an increase in sociolinguistic studies about Canadian English, both as a national standard and along dimensions of linguistic variation (Walker 2015), and a number of critical studies on aspects of English as used in Canada have been published (Henry and Tator 2002; Sidnell 2004; Harding 2006). The present study is situated in this framework, as it endeavours to apply the set of critical discourse tools typically used to analyze the two dominant English standards, British and American, to what may be described as a “non-dominant” (Dollinger 2011: 3), but still native and norm-providing dialect, i.e. Canadian English. The linguistic representation of animals is a particularly suitable topic because of the key role they play in the Canadian literary and cultural imagination (Fiamengo 2007; Bottez 2014; Banting 2015).

To achieve our aim, we utilize the Strathy Corpus of Canadian English, an electronic language corpus developed by the Strathy Language Unit at Queen’s University (Kingston, Ontario), which contains about 50 million words from over 1,100 spoken, fiction, magazines, newspapers, and academic texts produced in Canada between 1921 and 2011. The corpus is available from the Brigham Young University (BYU) online corpus platform³ and is therefore widely available for linguists to use.

Methodologically, this study moves along two lines of analysis: corpus assisted discourse analysis, to identify meaningful patterns of lexis and grammar⁴, which are typically not “readily available to naked-eye perusal” (Partington et al. 2013: 11; Partington 2017), and critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 1995), especially in a systemic functional perspective (Bloor and Bloor 2007), to interpret the relevance of these linguistic patterns to social change. As a matter of fact, the discursive representation of animals as pets, food, pests, source of clothing, and other types of property or products (Pak and Sealey 2015), is firmly rooted in critical frameworks of language and power (Vandekinderen, Roets and van Hove 2014) and ecolinguistics (Mühlhäusler 2006), whose self-declared mission is to bring to light, and eventually revert, the mental and discursive schemes used to enforce dominant ideologies. In the specific domain of animal discourse studies – which we may rename as “discursive HAS”, framing them as an emerging new branch of Human-Animal Studies (DeMello 2012; Fusari 2017a: 140) –, a quite popular critical framework is “discursive erasure” (Stibbe 2014), a type of avoidance discourse that marginalizes animals in a similar way to what happens to human groups that do not conform to dominant ideologies (Stibbe 2004), such as ethnic minorities, people with disabilities, women, and LGBT persons, reinforcing hegemonic discourse.

Structurally, this paper is divided into four parts: the section immediately following this introduction lays the theoretical foundations for the study, briefly introducing the main areas of linguistic research that involve the representation of animals, and especially their transition, in the

³ <http://corpus.byu.edu/> (Davies 2004, 2008 and 2010).

⁴ In this approach, lexis and grammar are seen as just one object of analysis (Hunston and Francis 2000).

last hundred years, from being seen as mere property, to being increasingly perceived as sentient beings and bearers of rights. In the third section, we introduce the Strathy Corpus of Canadian English, and illustrate the use of the word “animal” emerging from it: we look at its frequency and at patterns of its usage in phraseology, making comparisons with the British National Corpus (henceforth, BNC), the Corpus of Contemporary American English (henceforth, COCA) and, for specifically diachronic considerations, the Corpus of Historical American English (henceforth, COHA). In the fourth section, we present our interpretations of the data in light of the theory, and a series of conclusions and suggestions about the relationship between changes in the linguistic representation of animals and changes in ecosystems.

2. Animals in discourse: the theoretical background

The study of the linguistic representation of animals is a branch of ecological discourse analysis (Alexander and Stibbe 2014), which can be considered to fall within ecolinguistics. Although more traditional ecolinguistic studies mainly concentrate on language shift and endangerment, they have also come to include, since at least the 1990s, research into how discourse contributes to shape the relation between human beings and the environment, and often reinforces the anthropocentric view that humans, as superior beings, have a right to dominate not only over nonhuman animals, but also over the environment more broadly defined (Cowley 2014: 62-63).

The main grammatical model that this branch of ecolinguistics relies on is the one adopted in systemic functional linguistics, as the father of this approach to the language/ humans/ nature interface is the founder of linguistic systemicism, Michael Halliday. In his 1990 keynote address at the 9th AILA World Congress, Halliday denounced the existence of “a syndrome of grammatical features which conspire ... to construe reality in a certain way; and it is a way that is no longer good for our health as a species” (Halliday 2001 [1990]: 193). Part of this syndrome is realized in a series of lexicogrammatical phenomena, common to many languages, where “growth” is conceptualized, or even “engrammatized” (Halliday 2001 [1990]: 198) as intrinsically good⁵, leading to the widespread idea that environmental resources are inexhaustible and can be tapped indiscriminately to accommodate progressive human demographic, economic and industrial expansion. Halliday’s conclusion that “the semantics of growthism” (Halliday 2001 [1990]: 198) is a kind of hegemonic discourse, just like classism and sexism, and that it is a problem for biologists and physicists just as much as it is for linguists, led to a series of further studies in this area, now mostly grounded in ecocritical discourse analysis.

As a matter of fact, the two main strands of ecolinguistics (the birth, survival, endangerment and death of languages on the one hand, and the study of environmental discourse on the other) share a common ground, as “documenting and analyzing the geographic co-occurrence of these two kinds of diversity [biodiversity and linguistic diversity] provides critical first steps in addressing the loss of human and non-human variety on earth in a more systematic and integrated fashion” (Romaine 2013: 774). In other words, language endangerment, the fundamental preoccupation of the first strand of ecolinguistics, is one of many environmental problems, addressed by the second strand of ecolinguistics through the instruments of discourse analysis.

⁵ This applies especially, but not exclusively to economic growth (Stibbe 2015: 84).

As noted in the introduction to this study, the linguistic representation of animals can be seen in terms of “animal erasure” (Stibbe 2012). This is a complex set of discourse strategies whereby the embedding of humans in the larger systems that support life is forgotten or overlooked (Stibbe 2014: 585), making it possible to treat animals as commodities at the service of human needs. Animal erasure seems to share some common ground with Derrida’s (2002; 2009) zoopolitics, especially the view that “the human/ animal distinction is not a stable trans-historical given, but rather a binary opposition that is often used in a simplistic and reductive way in order to performatively categorise different forms of life” (Vaughan-Williams 2015: 7). This perspective led Derrida to coin the word “animot” (from the fusion between the French words *animal* and *mot*) to counter the anthropocentric nature of the term “animal”, “an appellation that men have instituted, a name they have given themselves the right and the authority to give to another living creature” (Derrida 2002: 392), and which allows humans to objectify nonhumans, by linguistically hiding them behind very general abstract semantic categories. The connection between Derrida’s reflections on animality and animal erasure is perhaps most evident in the fact that

dans toute la tradition philosophique, Derrida stigmatise donc un *oubli de l’animal* (our italics) et, partant, de l’animalité même de l’homme, de cette vie qui nous traverse, mais que la philosophie s’obstine à étouffer, en l’excluant de ce qui est censé constituer le propre de l’homme (Grondin 2007: 33)⁶.

Animal erasure spans throughout the spectrum of discourse, ranging from vocabulary (Glenn 2004; Sealey and Oakley 2013), to conceptual metaphor (Stibbe 2003; Goatly 2006; Milstein 2016), and extending to grammatical metaphor (Mitchell 2006; Sealey and Oakley 2014) and argumentative chains (Swan and McCarthy 2003). In this analysis, we mainly concentrate on dichotomies (e.g. “animals” vs. “humans” vs. “plants”) and other phraseologies that emerge consistently from corpus data.

3. The data

In this section, we introduce the Strathy Corpus of Canadian English and illustrate the use of the word “animal” emerging from it through the use of concordances.

3.1 The Strathy Corpus of Canadian English

The Strathy Corpus of Canadian English is named after the Strathy Language Unit at Queen’s University (Kingston, Ontario). This research unit was founded in 1981 by a bequest from businessman J. R. Strathy, a Queens alumnus who fostered a passion for the English language and decided to endow an academic unit to pursue the study of standard Canadian usage⁷. One of the first projects undertaken by the unit was the construction of an electronic language corpus based on the Brown-LOB model, which currently contains around 50 million words, organized into seven sections (Spoken, Fiction, Magazines, Newspapers, Nonfiction, Academic and Miscellaneous) for a

⁶ “Throughout the philosophical tradition, Derrida thus stigmatizes an *oblivion of the animal* and, therefore, of the animality of humans themselves, of this flow of life moving through us, which philosophy has been striving to stifle by excluding it from all that is supposed to be exclusively human” (our translation, our italics).

⁷ The early history of the Strathy Language Unit is briefly sketched in Dollinger (2008: 16). The website of the Strathy Unit (<http://www.queensu.ca/strathy/>) was also used as a source of information for this paragraph.

total of 1,135 texts, the oldest of which, “The Talking Trees and Canadian Forest Trees”, a short story by James Lawler, is dated 1921. Due to the much greater number of texts and words produced between 1971 and 2011, the corpus is generally considered to be representative of this time span, but it also includes several dozen older texts.

The Strathy Corpus was not originally designed as a diachronic corpus: therefore, although the date of the source of each concordance line extracted from the corpus is accessible, the concordance data are not sorted chronologically by default. However, the BYU online software makes it possible to create different corpus partitions, or “virtual corpora”, for texts produced in different decades, thus allowing users to identify diachronic patterns as they occur in the corpus. Figure 1 (in appendix) illustrates the number of texts and words in each decade represented in the corpus, which can be queried separately on virtual corpora.

The Strathy is not the only available corpus source for Canadian English: other options include the International Corpus of English-Canada (ICE-Can), the Canada partition within the Global Web-based English (GloWbE) corpus, and the Toronto English Corpus, but the Strathy is arguably the only one of these corpora that may rightfully aspire to be used as a Canadian national corpus (Cook and Hirst 2012). This claim is justified on the basis of its balanced, stratified setup, which includes a variety of text types, with an explicit intent to provide a reference for Canadian English. The corpus also pursued, at least at its beginnings, the aim to represent *standard* Canadian English, a concept that has subsequently proved quite difficult to pin down with the rigour of linguistic theory, but which has been widely debated (Dollinger 2011) since the seminal conference (Lougheed 1986) inaugurating the Strathy unit’s activities in the mid-1980s. For all these reasons, the Strathy Corpus of Canadian English was selected as the best tool to perform the linguistic analysis required for this study.

3.2 The corpus analysis

This section illustrates the use of the word “animal” emerging from the Strathy Corpus, with the BNC and the COCA⁸ as terms of comparison for British and American English respectively, and the COHA used as a yardstick for some specifically diachronic considerations.

3.2.1 Frequency

Although calculating word frequency is a good starting point for most corpus analyses, frequency alone is not a good indicator of the importance of a word in reference corpora, because what may seem *prima facie* to be unusually frequent patterns of usage in the dialect represented in the corpus, may actually just reveal the topic(s) dealt with in a small number of texts (Baron, Rayson and Archer, 2009). A preliminary frequency count, however, is an important step to ascertain the order of magnitude of the data at hand: in the Strathy Corpus, the lemma “animal” occurs 131.5 times per million words (henceforth, pmw), which is roughly comparable with the COCA (134.3) and with the corresponding decades in the COHA (138.3), whereas the frequency is higher in the BNC (156).

⁸ Although Lui and Cook (2013: 8) consider the COCA unsuitable for use as a national corpus, due to its unavailability in full text form, it can be used as such in our analysis, as all the necessary comparisons can be performed on-line via the BYU interface.

The most typical phraseologies also seem to be identical across corpora: the first three collocates of “animal” as lemma (i.e. including the plural) are “plant”, “wild” and “human” in all the corpora; the noun groups “animal species” and “animal life” are among the best represented in all four corpora, and so are “animal rights” and “animal welfare”, although these noun groups mostly appear post-1980s in both American (COHA) and Canadian English (Strathy). While this evidence is somewhat impressionistic, for the reasons seen above, it bears some testimony to the relative homogeneity of the behaviour of the word “animal” in different varieties of English, and it confirms that it is possible to use the BNC, COCA and COHA as terms of comparisons for the Strathy Corpus of Canadian English, at least for the purposes of this study.

Turning now to the relative frequency of the word “animal” in each of the decades under analysis, Figure 2 (in appendix) illustrates a diachronic breakdown of its presence in the Strathy Corpus of Canadian English. The data are sorted by relevance, i.e. by rate of occurrence of the lemma “animal” pmw in each decade. In some decades (1920s, 1940s, 1950s and 1960s), the number of texts, overall frequency and pmw relevance are lower, but some comparative considerations, as we see below, are still possible in most cases.

3.2.2 1920s

Out of 15 texts that constitute this section of the Strathy Corpus, 11 are literary, and of 77 occurrences of “animal(s)” in this decade, only 3 come from nonfiction sources. Therefore, any considerations made about this section will not only be time-specific, but also register-specific, as it is immediately evident by browsing the concordance in Figure 3 (in appendix), where most lines are preceded by the code “FIC”, for “Fiction”.

An analysis of collocations shows a grammatical preference for adjectives, i.e. “wild”, “small”, and “poor”, whereas “animal” is rarely used as a noun classifier. Dichotomies that feature prominently in other corpus sections are hardly represented in this decade: “animal” vs. “human” occurs only in two texts, both novels, *White Narcissus* (1929) by Raymond Knister (pondering the “human and animal circumstance” of farm dwellers), and *Under the Northern Lights* (1926) by Alan Sullivan (describing the encounter between a boy and a wolf); “animal” vs. “plant” never appears in this section of the Strathy Corpus.

3.2.3 1930s

This section is the one in which the lemma “animal” is best represented pmw in the Strathy Corpus, due to the presence of an academic text, *The Birth of Language*, by Richard Albert Wilson (1937), in which it appears as many as 185 times. Therefore, once again, considerations about the use of this lemma in this corpus section should be considered to be register-specific, and in some cases also largely text-specific. Wilson’s essay contains an extended argument on the superiority of human beings (which he consistently refers to as “man”) over animals (categorized into “higher” and “lower”) and plants, with respect to the faculty to use language. This affects the collocation list for the lemma “animal” in this decade, which appears to be strongly associated with “man”, “plant”, and words pertaining to the sphere of cognition (e.g. “mental”, “intelligence”), used by Wilson to prove “his [man’s] enormous superiority to his animal neighbours”.

The highly dichotomic nature of the lexis used in this corpus section is therefore a consequence of the presence of this text: however, a comparison with the COHA shows that it was quite frequent for texts written in the 1930s to frame discourses on animals in terms of oppositions involving plants and humans, and it was also common practice to break down animals into “higher” and “lower”, based on either their perceived similarity or their usefulness to humans. This may indicate that *The Birth of Language* is quite representative of animal discourse at that time.

Despite the bias caused by the high frequency of the lemma in just one text in this section, the conceptualization of animals in opposition with humans is evident, or implied, in other texts written in this decade, as shown in Figure 4 (lines 1, 2, 6, 18, 23, in appendix). Other dichotomies occur between “animals” and “birds” (line 12) and between “animals” and “fish” (line 28), but they are not exclusive to this corpus section, or to Canadian English, as they also emerge elsewhere in the corpus, well into the 2000s, and throughout the BNC and COCA, especially in the expression “birds and animals” (whereas “fish and *other* animals” is favoured). This shows that the semantic scope of “animals” (to include only mammals, or all the organisms that Linnaeus would have qualified as “Animalia”) is not entirely clear, leading to ambiguities in the co-hyponymy not only of “birds” and “fish”, but also of “insects”, “poultry” and “fowl(s)”, in relation to the hyperonym “animals”.

3.2.4 1940s

In this section, the lemma “animal” appears in only 9 texts, 37 times overall, with the lowest relevance pmw (53.6). Despite the scarce evidence, the concordance in Figure 5 (in appendix) begins to show some evidence of compassion towards animals (i.e. killing them only “when it is necessary”), for example in association with a scientific experiment (lines 2, 13, 20) mentioned in the novel *Sinfully Rich* (1940) by Hulbert Footner.

Recurrent patterns involving animals in this corpus section include simile, used to characterize human anger or distress (lines 3, 7, 8, 9, 30), with animal behaviour taken as the prototypical example of irrationality and unrestrained instincts. One text, in particular (Alan Sullivan’s novel *Three Came to Ville Marie*, 1941), consistently uses animal-based metaphorical language to describe the *coureurs des bois*, the unlicensed fur traders of New France who lived in the woods and formed allegiances with First Nations communities: the text describes them as “wildcats”, and also simply as “these animals” (lines 28 and 29). The expression *coureurs des bois* remains in French throughout the Strathy Corpus, with only one instance of the English translation “bushrangers”, and it can be considered to be typically Canadian, due to the role of these traders in early national history: it does not appear in the BNC, and it is occasionally present in the COHA and COCA, in association with a wider variety of English glosses, e.g. “rangers of the woods”, “a lawless body of men”, “lawless adventurers”, “outlaws of the forest” (COHA), “runners of the woods”, and “French rangers” (COCA). The wild animal imagery used to describe the *coureurs des bois* casts them in a romantic nationalist light (e.g. “Canada’s original”), as is quite typical of the discourse of banditry generally (Gandin 2012).

3. 2. 5 1950s and 1960s

These corpus sections do not yield enough data for a full discussion, as the lemma “animal” appears in just two texts for each section, with only 9 and 13 occurrences respectively (Figures 6 and 7, in appendix). Dichotomies seen in previous decades with plants, insects and “man” (to identify all humans), as well as similes used to characterize strong human emotions, can also be found in these concordances. There is also an interesting reference to meat as “animal flesh” (line 4, Figure 6), but this is unconnected with contemporary animal rights movements advocating vegetarian or vegan diets, as the text is an academic lecture about ancient Greek civilization, included in the collection *Empire and Communications* by Harold Innis.

3. 2. 6 1970s

Historically, this is an important decade for the changing social role of animals, due to the publication of Singer’s *Animal Liberation*, and the widening public interest in the environment, as testified in Canada by the foundation of Greenpeace, constituted in Vancouver in 1971. Although the volume of data for the 1970s seems to be enough for a representative study, the analysis is limited by the fact that, of 66 occurrences of the lemma “animal”, 44 come from one text, *One Half of Robertson Davies* (1978). This is a collection of lectures, stories and speeches, written by Robertson Davies for the Christmas party held annually at Massey College (Toronto), where he was Founding Master. The collection includes a series of ghost stories, often featuring animals. In Figure 8 (in appendix), this preponderance is clearly visible, as is the characterization of animals with typically human features, such as the ability to talk and to pursue education (“Animal University”, line 22), in what the author probably intended as a mocking allegory of college life.

Another source in which animals play a key role in this decade is Margaret Atwood’s *Life before Man*: although the lemma itself occurs only 6 times in the novel, animals are fundamental in the plot, as the story is set in a paleontology museum, where replicas of extinct animals act as an extended metaphor of an idealized prehistoric world, in contrast with modern urban society. Animals as symbols of life and nature constitute an important component of Atwood’s poetics (Vogt 1988; Bergthaller 2010), and the human-animal dialectic also extends into her non-fiction works, to include observations on how animals are represented in the literature of Canada generally, as a symbolism of Canadian culture under threat by American imperialism (Aguila-Way 2016). This postcolonial argument is not exclusive to Atwood, and indeed it is quite frequent in Canadian literature: starting from Polk (1972), it has been taken up over the years by other critics, exploring various aspects of the role of the animal story in Canadian literature and its difference from British and American (Sandlos 2000). Discourses of the animal story as an extended metaphor of the story of Canadian identity are therefore central to the linguistic representation of animals in the 1970s and beyond, although this is only partially visible from the Strathy data, due to the limited range of texts.

3. 2. 7 1980s

This decade saw the emergence of a variety of animal rights, antifur and antivivisection movements, which brought issues like animal testing and intensive hunting, fishing and farming to the attention

of the media. Perhaps most memorable in Canada was the antisealing campaign that led to a ban on seal imports to the European Economic Community in 1983, with a dramatic impact on indigenous constituencies whose economy largely relied on seal hunting (Emberley 1997: 36).

The rise of animal activism is clearly reflected in the phraseologies including the lemma “animal” in this decade of the Strathy Corpus, with collocations like “farm”, “care”, “liberation/ liberationist”, “scientists”, “activists”, “experiments/ experimental”, and other expressions, most typically noun groups with “animal” used as a classifier, representing animals as straddling between being inanimate objects and gradually becoming recognized as sentient bearers of rights. Indeed, the dichotomy “science vs. protection” pervades the 714 occurrences of the lemma “animal” in this decade, some of which are shown in Figure 9 (in appendix).

The most distinctive feature emerging from this corpus section is the appearance of some entirely new expressions to refer to animals, perhaps most notably “companion animal” and “nonhuman/ non-human animal”. These designations come directly from the discourse of antispeciesism, which considers words like “pet” or “animal” in opposition to “human”, as belittling and derogatory towards other species. In the COHA, the expression “non-human animals” appears two decades earlier (1966), and it is quite well represented in the COCA as well, especially in magazines and academic journals. Unlike the COCA, where the unhyphenated spelling “nonhuman” prevails (530 occurrences against 225), the Strathy Corpus indicates a preference for the hyphenated option (106 non-human vs. 17 nonhuman), like the BNC (99 non-human vs. 11 nonhuman). “Companion animal” is also present in both the BNC and the COCA, in contexts similar to those in the Strathy Corpus, but COHA findings suggest that this expression started being used only in the 1990s in American English: this may actually represent a limit of the corpus data at hand, as the expression “companion animals” is attested in American English at least from the 1980s, in contexts related to animal assisted therapy (Erickson 1985). More recent post-1990s data seem to show another phraseological shift, currently under way in American English, from “companion animal” to “animal companion”. Semantically, this emerging noun group structure may seem to be more respectful towards animals, as the central element of the noun group, the head, is “companion”, placing more emphasis on the animal’s being a friend, and giving comparatively less importance to his/ her being nonhuman, through the downranking of the word “animal” to the role of classifier. Syntactically, however, downgrading the word “animal” from noun head to simple classifier makes it structurally more marginal to the noun group, potentially reducing its centrality, and does not solve the problem of using the word “animal” generally to identify nonhumans. From the Strathy data, this shift from “companion animal” to “animal companion” does not seem to be occurring (yet?) in Canadian English, and the data from the BNC stop in the early 1990s, making it impossible to perform a comparison on British data.

3.2.8 1990s

Between the 1980s and the 1990s, climate change begins to be an issue: virtually unused before the mid-1980s, the expression “climate change” occurs 102 times between 1985 and 1999, rising even more sharply in frequency in the 2000s. This is true not only of the Strathy Corpus, but it is

confirmed in the COHA⁹, and it has an impact also on the linguistic representation of animals (Figure 10, in appendix).

In fact, in this corpus section, animals are typically seen as acting (or, in fact, as being *acted upon* by humans, or “man”¹⁰) within the broader environmental scenario. Issues like extinction (lines 13, 18 and 24) and overpopulation (line 27) appear besides breeding/ herding (1, 12, 14, 25) and behaviour (15, 28), all seen in the context of human needs. Animals are also represented as resources that can be harvested (line 6) and quantified, as indicated by the quite high relative frequency of numeratives (lines 1 to 14). Collocations confirm the emergence of climate change preoccupations in conjunction with animals, but always with an ultimate focus on human health and wellbeing, e.g. in relation to food safety, zoonoses, and the possibility for human beings to enjoy and benefit from the biodiversity of plants, animals, birds and fish (again, often set apart from animals generally). Continuing a trend initiated in the 1980s, the word “endangered” has as its most frequent collocate “(animal) species”: a few times, this expression is used metaphorically to refer to Canada and sections of the Canadian population (e.g. “many Québécois began to feel that they were fast becoming an *endangered species*” in connection with French Canadian identity; “to realize that our people can be classified as an *endangered species* is very disturbing” in relation to the loss of Inuit heritage). Euphemisms are also used in association with animal death at the hand of humans, as shown by “putting down” and “culling” (line 5) for “killing”. Overall, the 1990s are the years in which features of discursive erasure seen in the introduction to this study begin to emerge more clearly: this, however, is not necessarily a direct consequence of intensified environmental problems like those induced by climate change, but it may just be a result of the higher rate of occurrence of the lemma “animal” in this corpus section, providing more material to identify recurrent patterns of discourse.

3.2.9 2000s

This section is the largest in the Strathy Corpus, and also the one in which animals are mentioned most frequently. This provides a wide and varied range of usages, which can be captured more reliably by starting from collocations, rather than extended concordance lines (Bloor and Bloor 2007: 139), to bring out recurrent patterns. Figure 11 (in appendix) actually provides a *summa* of the contexts in which animals are mentioned in this corpus section, consolidating some earlier tendencies (e.g. the metaphor of animals as resources that can be “harvested” for meat, especially in the contexts of fishing and hunting), and introducing new ones, characterized by a more clearly scientific slant (e.g. “models”, “experimental/ experiments”, and “opiate-experienced”, used in contrast with “drug-naïve animals” in the context of pharmaceutical testing).

Again, references to animal welfare and its connection with environmental conservation are typically made “not primarily for the sake of the flora and fauna ... in their own right, but for what they may offer humans” (Bleakly 2000: xiv), in what is, perhaps even more clearly than in previous decades, a blatantly anthropocentric view of animals and nature. Even cruelty to animals is

⁹ The COHA contains 49 pre-1980s occurrences of “climatic change(s)”, which virtually disappears after the 1990s, replaced by “climate change”.

¹⁰ Although progressively decreasing in frequency since the 1970s, this use of the generic masculine appears until well into the 2000s in all the corpora used for this study.

condemned, in almost 30% of the cases, not in its own right, but as “a predictor of cruelty to people”. Some sources explicitly challenge these humans-above-all-others views (e.g. “when we ascribe a certain dignity to various animals, we do so because we observe in them characteristics that we generally associate with dignified human behaviour”; “to ask whether (some) animals are sufficiently ‘like us’ is already to presuppose human superiority”), in indirect demonstration of their wide circulation.

A feature that is specific to this corpus section is the representation of animals as potentially hazardous to human health. As we have seen, preoccupations with zoonoses (diseases transmitted to humans by animals) started to appear in the corpora in the 1990s, but the range of animal illnesses threatening humans is much wider in the 2000s, including anthrax, balantidiasis, BSE, *e. Coli*, various flu strands, leptospirosis, rabies, salmonella, tetanus, and tuberculosis. One source even stresses that “most great epidemics, be they the flu, smallpox, or measles, originated as animal diseases”. Preoccupations for human health are also mentioned in relation to GMO animal feed and xenotransplantation. This close focus on the permeable borders between human and nonhuman diseases is probably a result of some major health scares characterizing this decade, from the SARS outbreak in Toronto and the first non-imported BSE-positive cow in Alberta (2003), to the swine influenza pandemic at the end of the decade. Similar patterns can be found in the COCA, and in the 2000s section of the COHA (no comparison is possible for the BNC post-1990s, as seen above) but, in the American corpora, diseases transmissible from animals to humans are seen more as evidence of the reliability of animal models for medical research than as public health threats.

This section of the Strathy Corpus, like previous ones from the 1970s onwards, also shows a symbolic connection between animals and Canada as a nation: in the 2000s, this typically happens in reference to First Nations heritage and efforts to support indigenous dog breeds, which are described in one case as being the object of “preservation of the few of these uniquely Canadian animals that still exist”. In addition to Nordic breeds of dogs and Newfoundland dogs, the most iconic animal species mentioned as symbols of Canada as a nation are the caribou, moose, salmon, and seal, while polar bears are represented not only as typically Canadian, but also as “an animal that has come to symbolize climate change” more globally. The tendency to select a few animals as emblems of the nation, worth protecting because they are “authentic American animals, the ones our ancestors first saw”, can also be found in the COCA, but with a different range of animals, especially the bison and the bald eagle.

In light of these data, the increasing interest for animal protection, rights, and welfare in the 2000s seems to be largely driven by human interests: in other words, the newly emerging preoccupations with the plight of animals in polluted wild or urban environments are not necessarily a sign of a more compassionate attitude, but they act as a proxy for new millennium fears related to the loss of environmental and cultural heritage for humans.

3.2.10 2010

Although this section spans only two years (2010-2011), it contains almost a million words, and it is the second in order of the relevance of the lemma “animal” pmw. However, most occurrences

come from news sources (CBCnews.ca in Figure 12, in appendix), so considerations about this decade should be considered as largely specific to the journalistic register.

In the full concordance, recurring issues feature conservation (including animal overpopulation and underpopulation), animals doing service to humans (some being awarded prizes for “animal bravery”, line 3), the relation between human health and meat industry practices, pet care, and animal abuse (in reference to legislation in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Ontario). What appears clearly, in comparison with previous decades, is a greater preoccupation to use respectful language in reference to animals, as shown in the metalinguistic comment on Lewis Carroll’s “appalling” metaphorical description of a turtle (line 9), and in the personal pronouns used to identify animals in two reports, one about a new breed of miniature cattle (line 7), and the other about surgery performed on a wolverine kept at Winnipeg Zoo (line 14). These texts, mixing the ungendered singular “they” with gendered pronouns in association with animals, show that “it” is no longer the default pronoun to identify nonhumans generally (Gilquin and Jacobs 2006; Gupta 2006; Brown 2017), although there is still some hesitation on the part of most sources to use the gendered option “s/he”.

Again, however, the boundaries of this greater respect for animals are always set by human needs, e.g. in line 28, stricter legislation against cruelty to animals is seen negatively as jeopardizing jobs for Manitoba pig farmers, described as “hog *producers*”, in what is a clear commodification of these animals; in line 11, a cat lover, interviewed by CBC about stray cat neutering programs in Montréal, claims that “it makes me very sad to see this many cats out there, and they are multiplying unnecessarily”, the “necessity” obviously being measured against human rather than feline standards. Still, in comparison with previous decades, the texts in this section show a much greater awareness of animal rights, and an explicit attempt to strike a compromise between their needs and those of humans. This effort, however, is not always successful, and when conciliation is not possible, it is assumed to be fair, and in fact taken for granted as the normal state of affairs, for the needs of humans – in terms of health, city sanitation, research knowledge, food and economic welfare – to prevail.

4. Conclusions

Although the representativeness of our results is obviously limited by the scope of the corpora used for this study, a number of tendencies appear to be identifiable in the linguistic representation of animals over the past century, some specific to Canadian English, and some applicable to the other standard varieties of English, British and American, that were used as terms of comparison.

In the earliest decades analyzed, animals appear as the “lower” or “lesser” neighbours of “man”, a generic masculine not yet perceived as sexist enough to be avoided, and consistently used to underscore the cognitive superiority of humankind in contrast with other animals. Even the semantic scope itself of the word “animal” appears to be blurred, as “birds” and “fish” are sometimes set apart from animals generally. This tendency has decreased in present-day English, but it still exists throughout varieties, reflecting larger issues of synonymy and co-hyponymy in animal nomenclatures, which a previous study (Fusari 2017b) has identified as also having an impact on the identification of animals that are considered good to eat. Metaphors also play an

important role, both as stylistic devices underscoring the rationality of humans in opposition with the unrestrained instincts of “furtive” and “maddened” animals, and as symbolic representations, where animal imagery is also used to construct national allegories. The animal story as a metaphor for the history of Canada is perhaps best visible post-1970s, and may be explained in terms of literary influences (i.e. the centrality of the animal story in Canadian literature, as exemplified by Margaret Atwood’s fiction and non-fiction), as well as in reference to social changes, at least partly brought about by environmental shifts in recent decades. In fact, the discursive representation of animals appears to have evolved not only as a result of *social* change, but also in connection with *climate* change.

Recent developments include a preoccupation to use respectful language for animals, not only lexically (e.g. the expression “nonhuman animals”; euphemisms in relation to their killing) but also grammatically (e.g. use of gendered pronouns or of gender-neutral “they” to identify animal referents; changes in the structure of noun groups, e.g. from “companion animal” to “animal companion”), in what appears as an extension of nondiscriminatory language to the animal sphere. Although these features may seem to show a higher degree of compassion towards animals, they also indicate a greater tendency towards discursive erasure, as they disguise the enduring view (traceable to Aristotelian thought) that living beings can be placed on a scale, providing a measure of the respective worth of their lives, with humans at the top, animals in the middle, and plants at the bottom of this hierarchy. If anything, dichotomic representations have gained ground in recent decades, as “companion animals” are increasingly seen in opposition to other animals that live further away from human homes.

Perhaps more specific to recent Canadian discourse on animals is the awareness of health risks related to their presence in urban areas, as reflected in the wide range of illnesses that are mentioned in the Strathy Corpus as being transmissible from animals to humans, and as posing a risk of large-scale infection. This may be a result of Canada’s richer and more diverse wildlife in comparison with other English-speaking countries, but at the same time it could be an indication of increased urban wildlife as a consequence of habitat loss (Er, Innes, Martin and Klinkenberg 2005), fueling the conflict between biodiversity and urban development. This is one way in which the linguistic changes that have affected the representation of animals in the last hundred years mirror an extralinguistic change, with wild animals increasingly moving to urban areas, driven by human-led alteration, or sometimes destruction of their habitat. Changes in the linguistic representation of animals therefore reflect, at least in part, patterns of change in ecosystems. Our findings show that, today, people are more aware than in the past that there is much in common between animals and humans in the way they are affected by the depletion of environmental assets in the Anthropocene; however, as dichotomic representations opposing animals to humans continue to be deeply rooted in language, this awareness would arguably need to become even greater to create public consensus in favour of an effective conservation of biodiversity.

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Appendix

Figure 1: Number of texts and words in the Strathy Corpus, by decade

MY VIRTUAL CORPORA



















HELP		↑	↓	LIST NAME ↑	# TEXTS ↑	# WORDS ↑
1				1920S	15	823,317
2				1930S	18	1,045,518
3				1940S	9	689,958
4				1950S	3	133,909
5				1960S	3	133,278
6				1970S	6	410,624
7				1980S	161	5,369,072
8				1990S	252	8,076,301
9				2000S	645	31,130,297
10				2010_2011	23	971,431

Figure 2: Frequency of the lemma “animal” in the Strathy Corpus, by decade

HELP	<input type="checkbox"/> 100	TEXT	# WORDS	# HITS ↕	RELEVANCE ↕	PER MILLION WORDS
1	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	1930S	1045518	239	228.6	
2	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	2010_2011	971431	194	199.7	
3	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	1990S	8076301	1314	162.7	
4	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	1970S	410624	66	160.7	
5	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	1980S	5369072	714	133.0	
6	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	2000S	31130297	3922	126.0	
7	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	1960S	133278	13	97.5	
8	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	1920S	823317	77	93.5	
9	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	1950S	133909	9	67.2	
10	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	1940S	689958	37	53.6	

Figure 3: Concordance of “animal” as lemma in the Strathy Corpus, 1920s, first 30 hits, sorted left

1	1926	FIC	UnderNorthernLights	A	B	C	the beast the inherent timidity of man which lurks in all animals	animals	, great and small , so instead of one swift stroke of
2	1925	FIC	PaintedFires	A	B	C	, in the Third Reader . " He is an amphibious animal	animal	, " she read , " living both on the land and
3	1925	FIC	PaintedFires	A	B	C	with eyes like yours does n't need to know about amphibious animals	animals	, Close the book -- that will do for to-day . I
4	1923	FIC	FourStragglers	A	B	C	streets , and drew instantly back to crouch , as an animal	animal	crouches before it springs , in the deep shadows of a wretched
5	1923	FIC	FourStragglers	A	B	C	not place its direction at first . It might be an animal	animal	, No ! The rustling ceased . Some one was running now
6	1923	FIC	FourStragglers	A	B	C	no other sound so much as the padded footfall of an animal	animal	, as weight was cautiously placed on the carpeted stairs . The
7	1926	FIC	Grain	A	B	C	his face , in the pose of his body like an animal	animal	set to spring . A horror of fear swept her . Her
8	1922	FIC	Neighbours	A	B	C	was I more than a biped beast of burden , an animal	animal	designed to eat , sleep , labor , and reproduce itself ?
9	1926	FIC	UnderNorthernLights	A	B	C	little forward , every line of his sinewy body resembling an animal	animal	crouched to spring , and there was but one animal in the
10	1926	FIC	UnderNorthernLights	A	B	C	streaming rapidly that was independent of time or distance , an animal	animal	projectile , sharp of tooth and of inexpressible ferocity .
11	1929	FIC	WhiteNarcissus	A	B	C	said he did n't want anything more to do with an animal	animal	like that , that are more than his own size in one
12	1929	FIC	WhiteNarcissus	A	B	C	each its strung-out farms , its weight of enigmatic human and animal	animal	circumstance . He seemed suddenly to have walked a great
13	1929	FIC	WhiteNarcissus	A	B	C	his dark skin shining . He was like a sleek baby animal	animal	, and somehow different from the others . They eyed his manoeuv
14	1926	FIC	Grain	A	B	C	regarded him as an enormous , shaggy , but not dangerous animal	animal	, given at times to grotesque antics apparently intended to be
15	1925	FIC	TrailConestoga	A	B	C	Directly under John's wagon he saw a large , dark animal	animal	, walking about with an air of proprietorship , gnawing and
16	1921	FIC	TalkingTrees	A	B	C	out-buildings , then the barns and the houses . The domestic animals	animals	, cows , horses , and pigs rushed about trying to get
17	1928	FIC	TrailGoldenHorn	A	B	C	it all they could do to keep pace with the fleet animals	animals	, Seated upon the sled , and well wrapped in robes and
18	1922	FIC	Neighbours	A	B	C	light broke about me . I was sure that animal for animal	animal	-- ox for ox -- Jean preferred me to Spoof . It
19	1922	FIC	Neighbours	A	B	C	, too ? I had told myself that , animal for animal	animal	, Jean would prefer me . As I looked at Spoof's
20	1926	FIC	RedLedge	A	B	C	Meers about it . He said he had taken it for animal	animal	experimentation . This , naturally , not only satisfied me , but
21	1929	FIC	WhiteNarcissus	A	B	C	reddish trunks , which had been rubbed smooth by the grazing animals	animals	, Any of them might be lurking in the higher grass or
22	1926	FIC	Grain	A	B	C	his little skull was a matter of concern to this great animal	animal	, who had once or twice stroked his rough fingers gingerly across
23	1925	FIC	PaintedFires	A	B	C	butcher shop and bought her some meat , which the hungry animal	animal	accepted gratefully . The dog was not to blame , whoever else
24	1925	FIC	TrailConestoga	A	B	C	the wagon with a single bound , and like a hunted animal	animal	ran for shelter in the nearest woods . Little Aaron stopped his
25	1927	NF	CanScene	A	B	C	for its factors tried to induce the Indians not to kill animals	animals	recklessly and to look to the future . Necessarily , a company
26	1928	FIC	TrailGoldenHorn	A	B	C	fiction , that moose , bear , deer , and lesser animals	animals	were sometimes overwhelmed as they sped before the terror of t
27	1925	FIC	TrailConestoga	A	B	C	of the moon it was evident that this was no mean animal	animal	, " How 's that for your fifteen dollars , John ?
28	1922	FIC	Neighbours	A	B	C	to Spoof . It was in those qualities that were not animal	animal	that she preferred him . It was for me , therefore ,
29	1924	ACAD	HeadwatersCanLiterature	A	B	C	Where Roberts really found himself was in his short stories of animal	animal	life . For this task he was specially qualified ; for he
30	1926	FIC	UnderNorthernLights	A	B	C	their fires blinked like a succession of the red eyes of animals	animals	that came down in the dark to drink when drinking could be

Figure 4: Concordance of “animal” as lemma in the Strathy Corpus, 1930s, first 30 hits, sorted left

1	1933	FIC	GirlGlengarry	A	B	C	passions . Do n't they belong to us . What is love	animal
2	1933	FIC	GirlGlengarry	A	B	C	. Your mind is asleep . Of course I love Jack .	animal
3	1937	ACAD	Birth Language	A	B	C	is also no doubt a report of the animal 's present or	animal
4	1939	FIC	AlmostPerfectMurder	A	B	C	here , a dog , a cat , a bird , I	animal
5	1939	FIC	AlmostPerfectMurder	A	B	C	store , " he begged ; " get a guinea pig ,	animal
6	1933	FIC	GirlGlengarry	A	B	C	. Surely we have minds and souls . " " Oh ,	animal
7	1935	NF	ClearingWest	A	B	C	becoming entangled in the tie chains . There were two good wells	animal
8	1937	ACAD	Birth Language	A	B	C	life of the world in the Origin of Species , he was	animal
9	1937	ACAD	Birth Language	A	B	C	life to where the life-and-mind of the world eventually emerges	animal
10	1937	ACAD	Birth Language	A	B	C	life as they pass through the world , and the rising line	animal
11	1933	FIC	GirlGlengarry	A	B	C	, went off into a series of giggles . " Look ,	animals
12	1936	FIC	KidnappingStorey	A	B	C	. At the top of the steps a gorgeous palace with massive	animals
13	1935	NF	ClearingWest	A	B	C	in the farm yard , he was recognized as the boss of	animals
14	1935	ACAD	From Outpost to Empire	A	B	C	flourished in the hardwood forest and sub-arctic forest zones .	animals
15	1937	ACAD	Birth Language	A	B	C	has its sphere to which it belongs by birth , into which	animal
16	1935	NF	ClearingWest	A	B	C	on the place . Of course , if he had seen Nap	animal
17	1935	NF	ClearingWest	A	B	C	I have known to die of old age . While I was	animals
18	1936	NF	LeavesLanternLane	A	B	C	as well as people . How they held demonstrations to show the	animals
19	1937	ACAD	Birth Language	A	B	C	nature into a new world , whose new conditions necessitated	animal
20	1937	NF	MyDiscoveryWest	A	B	C	. Now it chokes , strangles and gasps for the air of	animal
21	1937	ACAD	Birth Language	A	B	C	, great as it is , certainly is one of degree and	animals
22	1937	ACAD	Birth Language	A	B	C	, directly follows ; There is grandeur in this view of life	animals
23	1933	FIC	FlyingSquad	A	B	C	, I should say ! Let 's go and see .	animal
24	1937	ACAD	Birth Language	A	B	C	existence the creative life-force of the world has produced	animal
26	1937	ACAD	Birth Language (1)	A	B	C	or in human life , imposes its purpose upon matter from without	animal
27	1937	ACAD	Birth Language	A	B	C	nature ; The spiral diagram represents a new cycle in the	animal
28	1930	NF	PeterPond	A	B	C	, and where there was plenty of fish ; but though they	animals
29	1935	NF	ClearingWest	A	B	C	so well . They ask no questions , tell nothing , have	animals
30	1935	NF	ClearingWest	A	B	C	that lived in the day banks . menaced the lives of our	animals

Figure 5: Concordance of “animal” as lemma in the Strathy Corpus, 1940s, first 30 hits, sorted left

1	1944	NF	HouseAllSorts	A	B	C	coal pile became impossible . I was obliged to ban	all	animals	other than a tenary bird , although I would far rather have
2	1940	FIC	SinfullyRich	A	B	C	our animal experimentation . When it is necessary to kill	an	animal	, we inject air into a vein and the animal dies in
3	1945	FIC	OrchidstoMurder	A	B	C	was walking up and down the fifteen-foot space like a caged	animal	animal	. A uniformed officer remained standing in the open doorway
4	1945	FIC	OrchidstoMurder	A	B	C	echoed with a hard stare . " Oh , a fine	animal	animal	, I suppose , " She laughed disagreeably . " A chauffeur
5	1948	NF	MontrealSeaportCity	A	B	C	of rye , oats , and barley is largely used for	animal	animal	feed and for distilling . Canada consumes about twenty per cent
6	1945	NF	StreamRunsFast	A	B	C	Whitman 's poems , where he speaks of his admiration for	animals	animals	because they are not sorry or repentant for anything they have
7	1942	NF	OurHeritageLiberty	A	B	C	and maybe semi-starvation ... in places the paupers fought like	animals	animals	for gristly bones . 3 Death brought what relief it could . One
8	1941	FIC	ThreeCameVilleMarie	A	B	C	and leather shirts , their eyes are quick and furtive like	animals	animals	, and they walk with a smooth springy tread , also Indians
9	1940	FIC	SinfullyRich	A	B	C	roll and strike out with his bound feet like a maddened	animal	animal	. He heard them laugh softly together . " Watch out for
10	1945	NF	StreamRunsFast	A	B	C	painting Easter eggs . They made clothes of the skins of	animals	animals	. They put greased paper in their windows before they had glass
11	1945	NF	StreamRunsFast	A	B	C	chart , showing how the meat could be divided . One	animal	animal	was killed each week , and the farmers shared the meat .
12	1945	NF	StreamRunsFast	A	B	C	of life is changing . Machines have come and just ordinary	animal	animal	strength has had its day . " " That 's all very
13	1940	FIC	SinfullyRich	A	B	C	" When you said vein , it brought to mind our	animal	animal	experimentation . When it is necessary to kill an animal , we
14	1944	NF	HouseAllSorts	A	B	C	but the cat ignored them all . I enjoyed my own	animals	animals	so thoroughly that when a tenant asked , " May I keep
15	1940	FIC	SinfullyRich	A	B	C	placed here and there on the floor ; modernistic sculptured	animals	animals	on stands and surrealist paintings on the walls . In the
16	1944	NF	HouseAllSorts	A	B	C	long while . We were startled to see a large shaggy	animal	animal	dart from under the house . ' Adam ! ' I cried
17	1942	NF	OurHeritageLiberty	A	B	C	an extreme compels us to realize that man is a social	animal	animal	, meaningless by himself , a voice without an ear , an
18	1941	FIC	ThreeCameVilleMarie	A	B	C	something small and dark that moved slowly towards them . Some	animal	animal	? she whispered . Certainly an animala Senecado not stir . At
19	1948	NF	MontrealSeaportCity	A	B	C	; Hochelaga is like the farmer 's giraffe . No such	animal	animal	. Now we must admit that Champlain found a pretty big stockade
20	1940	FIC	SinfullyRich	A	B	C	an animal , we inject air into a vein and the	animal	animal	dies in a few seconds ... That is what happened here ,
21	1948	NF	MontrealSeaportCity	A	B	C	cruel slope , exactly equal to the utmost power of the	animal	animal	. Then came electric cars in 1893 , and the streetcar horse
22	1944	NF	HouseAllSorts	A	B	C	all round and there is Beacon Hill Park to run the	animal	animal	in . " But no , people were too lazy to be
23	1944	NF	HouseAllSorts	A	B	C	garden was fenced and gated . It belonged exclusively to the	animals	animals	and myself . No one intruded there . Visitors or tenants who
24	1942	NF	OurHeritageLiberty	A	B	C	" said the fox , " have no fear . The	animals	animals	have made a general peace . " " Very good , "
25	1948	NF	MontrealSeaportCity	A	B	C	ocean trip to young men willing to help look after the	animals	animals	. The British apprehension of " foot and mouth disease " being
26	1942	NF	BookSmall	A	B	C	Circus gave free passes to boys who lugged water for the	animals	animals	. When every beast was full , even the elephants and the
27	1941	FIC	ThreeCameVilleMarie	A	B	C	they have to say . Let their corn ripen and their	animals	animals	feed in tranquility . When you encounter them on the lakes and
28	1941	FIC	ThreeCameVilleMarie	A	B	C	brandy , makes no slaves , and keeps treaty with these	animals	animals	. He is a preacher who writes books , and the savages
29	1941	FIC	ThreeCameVilleMarie	A	B	C	or go under arrest . De Lorimier , you know these	animals	animals	better than most of us , though you may not know my
30	1941	FIC	ThreeCameVilleMarie	A	B	C	child of the forest with hostile eyes furtive like a trapped	animal	animal	. Today she had changed , all changed , and the priest

Figure 6: Concordance of “animal” as lemma in the Strathy Corpus, 1950s, sorted left

1	1950	ACAD	EmpireandCommunications	A	B	C	of great speed with Asiatic horses of great strength produced an	animal	which enabled horse-driving peoples to become horse-riding
2	1957	NF	BySearching	A	B	C	being to see her . Obviously she was living like an	animal	, Heartsick , I turned away and came home . It was
3	1957	NF	BySearching	A	B	C	would this one resemble ? The gay chatterbox ? The doped	animal	? Could she really be normal ? The third Flossie was the
4	1950	ACAD	EmpireandCommunications	A	B	C	of souls assumed the corollary of abstinence from	animal	flesh and disappearance of the blood sacrifice . Barriers
5	1950	ACAD	EmpireandCommunications	A	B	C	from using pig skins for parchment and reluctant to use other	animal	skins because of difficulties of detection , the Mohammedans
6	1950	ACAD	EmpireandCommunications	A	B	C	, tribes , and nations . ' Man as a political	animal	, a fraction of the polis or self-governing city had ended with
7	1957	NF	BySearching	A	B	C	the key in the door she whirled around like a wild	animal	about to spring on its prey , but as soon as she
8	1950	ACAD	EmpireandCommunications	A	B	C	their complete forms and took their place with equal rights with	animal	shapes set in nature . The Greek house of God in the
9	1950	ACAD	EmpireandCommunications	A	B	C	literature was concerned with the experiences of individuals	Animal	representations were rare and secondary and the pantheon was

Figure 7: Concordance of “animal” as lemma in the Strathy Corpus, 1960s, sorted left

1	1963	NF	EducatedImagination	A	B	C	in the interests of one species , that goes on among	animals	and plants as well as human beings . The animals have a
2	1966	FIC	WordsRoaring	A	B	C	her goddamned innocence . She had no idea what a brute	animal	man can be . My misery was complete . I am absolutely
3	1963	NF	EducatedImagination	A	B	C	or tree-god . Some peoples identify themselves with certain	animals	or plants , called totems ; some link certain animals , real
4	1963	NF	EducatedImagination	A	B	C	certain animals or plants , called totems ; some link certain	animals	, real or Imaginary , bulls or dragons , with forces of
5	1963	NF	EducatedImagination	A	B	C	. Even if there 's enough to eat and no dangerous	animals	, you feel lonely and frightened and unwanted in such a world
6	1963	NF	EducatedImagination	A	B	C	cities and gardens and farms that we call civilization . Many	animals	and insects have this social form too , but man knows that
7	1963	NF	EducatedImagination	A	B	C	it does n't have any conversation . It 's full of	animals	and plants and insects going on with their own business , but
8	1963	NF	EducatedImagination	A	B	C	Primitive people also try to identify themselves with totems or	animals	or spirits . I spoke of the magic in Blake 's poem
9	1963	NF	EducatedImagination	A	B	C	alone , you 'd have about the ranking of a second-rate	animal	. What makes our practical life really human is a third level
10	1966	FIC	WordsRoaring	A	B	C	. They were having trouble in Chute Number Three . The	animal	would n't hold still long enough so that a rider could get
11	1963	NF	EducatedImagination	A	B	C	among animals and plants as well as human beings . The	animals	have a good many of our practical skills : some insects make
12	1963	NF	EducatedImagination	A	B	C	the woods , the planted crops fenced off against whatever	animals	want to eat them . These things , these rudiments of city
13	1966	FIC	WordsRoaring	A	B	C	I suppose , and here he ' was riding the worst	animal	of the lot , and he was n't losing . That was

Figure 8: Concordance of “animal” as lemma in the Strathy Corpus, 1970s, first 30 hits, sorted left

1	1975	FIC	Badlands	A	B	C	first she was the stump of a balsam poplar ,	an	animal	come to drink , The girl was standing on the shore .
2	1975	FIC	Badlands	A	B	C	tumble away . He listened . Somewhere near him ,	an	animal	moved , Ne believed he smelled it . The rankness of an
3	1975	FIC	Badlands	A	B	C	. Ne believed he smelled it . The rankness of	an	animal	, a coyote or bobcat or wolf , not burned and dead
4	1975	FIC	Badlands	A	B	C	pattern of sagebrush , glimpsed only , the leg of	an	animal	. " A coyote ? " he said . Only Tune turned
5	1979	FIC	LifeBeforeMan	A	B	C	be a fairy or a Batman or a devil or	an	animal	, her neighbors ' children , her children 's friends , in
6	1979	FIC	LifeBeforeMan	A	B	C	each kind , in little pull-out metal drawers , like	an	animal	morgue . She would bring coffee for both of them and drink
7	1978	NF	OneHalfRobertsonDavies	A	B	C	with , and that the Humble Friend may often be	an	animal	, as it often is in fairy-tale ? In The Mill on
8	1978	NF	OneHalfRobertsonDavies	A	B	C	that Maggie is herself , but with the freedom of	an	animal	. Devoted , emotional , sadly undisciplined , Yap is very much
9	1978	NF	OneHalfRobertsonDavies	A	B	C	Latin) , Arise , BA ' (which meant Better	Animal	Animal) . Then the small animals went away to learn some more
10	1978	NF	OneHalfRobertsonDavies	A	B	C	. No , no , ' I cried ; my dear	animal	animal	, listen to reason . I am not your Creator . Not
11	1979	FIC	LifeBeforeMan	A	B	C	gripped by a male so small it looked like a different	animal	animal	. The teacher listened to this recital -1 2 solo , -2
12	1978	NF	OneHalfRobertsonDavies	A	B	C	achieved by methods man has not scrupled to apply to domestic	animals	animals	, but has so far balked at applying to himself . I
13	1978	NF	OneHalfRobertsonDavies	A	B	C	. We must give each of these humans an LLD from	Animal	Animal	U. ' So that very night , when all the young people
14	1978	NF	OneHalfRobertsonDavies	A	B	C	the moonlight , singing : For he 's a jolly good	animal	animal	! For he 's a jolly good animal ! For he 's
16	1978	NF	OneHalfRobertsonDavies (1)	A	B	C	jolly good animal ! For he 's a jolly good	animal	animal	! Which nobody can deny ! And Human Hare smiled gently ,
17	1971	ACAD	Bush Garden	A	B	C	stormy lake ; they are myths of metamorphosis , of how	animals	animals	were shaped as they are ; myths of Titans revolting against the
18	1978	NF	OneHalfRobertsonDavies	A	B	C	in the College Library . This is a great moment in	animal	animal	history . For the first time we have a university of our
19	1978	NF	OneHalfRobertsonDavies	A	B	C	said Chancellor Raccoon . This is certainly the greatest day in	animal	animal	history . My students -- rabbits , skunks , moles , mice
20	1978	NF	OneHalfRobertsonDavies	A	B	C	give him something called an LLD . As all you intelligent	animals	animals	can see , those letters are simply a short form of aLowD
21	1978	NF	OneHalfRobertsonDavies	A	B	C	saying , Hokus , pokus , skilamarokus ' (which is	animal	animal	Latin) , Arise , BA ' (which meant Better Animal
22	1978	NF	OneHalfRobertsonDavies	A	B	C	at the Law School every spring . Let 's call it	Animal	Animal	University ; it shortens down nicely to Animal U. ' He spoke
23	1978	NF	OneHalfRobertsonDavies	A	B	C	, because whenever anybody disappeared forever , the little	animals	animals	whispered : He 's been to the Dean ! ' Happiest of
24	1975	FIC	Badlands	A	B	C	, not burned and dead , but alive . The living	animal	animal	. And he moved down towards the river , afraid that he
25	1975	FIC	Badlands	A	B	C	man : the pure animal force and energy ; the mad	animal	animal	dimension of the shouting , cursing man . And his own envy
26	1979	FIC	LifeBeforeMan	A	B	C	silverfish and germs , which are about the only forms of	animal	animal	life with which Auntie Muriel has ever had any contact . Then
27	1978	NF	OneHalfRobertsonDavies	A	B	C	. You may rely upon me to serve the interests of	animal	animal	education with all my well-known artfulness . But I always say
28	1978	NF	OneHalfRobertsonDavies	A	B	C	, who were very unkind to the students and professors of	Animal	Animal	U. It 's an outrage , ' shouted the animals , at
29	1978	NF	OneHalfRobertsonDavies	A	B	C	By my power as Chancellor I create you an LLD of	Animal	Animal	U. Hokus , pokus , skilamarokus ! You are aLowD to stay
30	1978	NF	OneHalfRobertsonDavies	A	B	C	Mumps , a clever , common dog who is full of	animal	animal	sagacity ; his master says of him , Lors , it 's

Figure 9: Concordance of “animal” as lemma in the Strathy Corpus, 1980s, first 30 hits, sorted left

1	1985	ACAD	QueensQuarterly	A	B	C	another ? Frye wrote a generally respectful review of -1	Animal	Farm -2 1 for the -1 1 Canadian Forum -2 1 (
2	1986	MAG	SaturdayNight	A	B	C	end of an era . Goodbye avant-garde . Hello -1	Animal	House ; -2 1 The film was -1 1 Orientation , -2
3	1986	MAG	SaturdayNight	A	B	C	If the gross character played by John Belushi in -1	Animal	House -2 1 can carry off a prom queen in a white
4	1986	MAG	SaturdayNight	A	B	C	-2 1 does n't celebrate military discipline . After -1	Animal	House , Meatballs , -2 1 and -1 1 Stripes , -2
5	1987	ACAD	LawBusinessAdminCanada	A	B	C	killed their young in large numbers . Between 175 and 200	animals	valued at \$10 000 were lost as a result of the incident
6	1986	MAG	CountryGuide	A	B	C	of age) into A and B grades , intermediate age	animals	(3 to 5 years) into C grade , and older
7	1986	ACAD	Perspectives	A	B	C	." How do you deliver a vaccine to an	animal	in the wild ? " i-2 Yet to be determined ,
8	1988	FIC	CanjFiction	A	B	C	could tell at once that it was bone and of an	animal	so large there was nothing on the prairie to rival it for
9	1986	MAG	CanChurchman	A	B	C	, the lack of regard for life and well-being of an	animal	must bring with it a lowering of man 's own self respect
10	1985	MAG	Harrowsmith	A	B	C	a twinge of regret when his or her car kills an	animal	-- but for some , nose-to-headlight with a 200-pound deer or a
11	1985	MAG	Harrowsmith	A	B	C	, genetics and mathematics with high-tech sex has made such an	animal	almost a reality . In the process , it has borrowed the
12	1985	MAG	Harrowsmith	A	B	C	the Holstein , which has received much scientific attention , an	animal	has been created that is increasingly productive in terms of
13	1984	FIC	MurderSeestheLight	A	B	C	. My feet had got the hang of avoiding roots and	animals	burrows . It was like they had taken over the matter of
14	1984	FIC	PerdueWestWasLost	A	B	C	the dusty earth with intricate patterns of trees and flowers and	animals	and birds in bright colours . They laid down hundreds of rugs
15	1984	NF	PromisedLand	A	B	C	entered wilder , emptier country , the haunt of Indians and	animals	, Forty miles out of Battleford lay the farm of Peter Paynter
16	1985	ACAD	CanjNativeStud	A	B	C	respect and called " elder brothers " . But just as	animals	could cause beneficial things to happen , they could also cause
17	1985	FIC	NightStudies	A	B	C	and out again . Some people looked blank , started as	animals	caught in a car 's headlights ; others were grinning or laughing
18	1986	MAG	UnitedChurchObserver	A	B	C	Vancouver-based Association for the Protection of Fur Bearing	Animals	, says Native trappers make up only 10 to 15 percent of
19	1987	FIC	QueensQuarterly	A	B	C	fur buyer could only imagine , of finding such a beautiful	animal	in his trap , at his mercy , like a flame on
20	1986	MAG	UnitedChurchObserver	A	B	C	's indigenous culture , is acceptable and welcome . " But	animal	rights activists believe the churches and Native groups are
21	1986	MAG	DogsCanada	A	B	C	guys , dogs bred primarily as lap dogs and small companion	animals	, make up the Toy Group . What was left was a
22	1988	FIC	CanjFiction	A	B	C	of women 's degradation as slaves , prostitutes and domestic	animals	. The afternoon grows uncomfortably hot . We all get quite sle
23	1985	FIC	EyeFather	A	B	C	tight , hardly caring what happened to me , though dumb	animals	showed more pity than men , waiting perfectly still while I
24	1989	ACAD	CanjZoology	A	B	C	tracing individual nuclei of adjacent serial sections of each	animal	on a single piece of paper and totalling the resulting profiles
25	1989	NEWS	MontrealGazette	A	B	C	engineering Nicholas Regush GAZETTE GENETIC ENGINEERING	ANIMALS	PATENTS COLUMN Markind must keep a wary eye on genetic
26	1988	MAG	LeisureLife	A	B	C	selection of tropical plants , monkeys , parrots , exotic	animals	and a petting zoo . Located four miles west of Ruthven between
27	1988	MAG	LeisureLife	A	B	C	Safari is a 750 acre wildlife park with over 1,000 exotic	animals	and birds . New for 1996 are the Grand River Adventures with
28	1984	NF	PromisedLand	A	B	C	equally -- the front half for humans , the rear for	animals	, -2 u The thick mud walls are smooth as plaster ;
29	1983	ACAD	CanjNativeStud	A	B	C	enemy , causing the person to become a Windigo . Game	animals	can be driven from the enemy 's hunting area , or the
30	1985	MAG	Harrowsmith	A	B	C	of environmental and social problems , the revolution in	animal	reproduction is due for a thorough examination . Many feel th

Figure 10: Concordance of “animal” as lemma in the Strathy Corpus, 1990s, first 30 hits, sorted left

1	1990	MAG	UpHere	A	B	C	Inuk, built the first Delta reindeer herd up from 1,500	animals	until there were five herds, 30,000 strong in total.
2	1990	MAG	UpHere	A	B	C	north end of Wood Buffalo National Park. There were 110	animals	and these were culled and culled again, until they were down
3	1995	ACAD	Arctic	A	B	C	5.8 0.31 SE in size and ranged from 3 to 15	animals	. The greatest number of packs was seen on the QE1,
4	1999	ACAD	CanjPsychology	A	B	C	Mazes 10.4 3.1 9.5 2.1* Picture Completion 10.3 2.9 11.2 2.4*	Animal	Pegs 9.9 2.7 9.5 1.8 Information 10.2 2.8 10.1 2.5 Comprehe
5	1990	MAG	UpHere	A	B	C	culled and culled again, until they were down to 24	animals	- 18 young adults, bulls and cows, and six calves
6	1996	MAG	UpHere	A	B	C	allowed, "Whitten says." There were probably 25,000	animals	harvested each year. But it was n't until our people went
7	1991	NEWS	Chronicle.QuebecCity	A	B	C	planet. Farm animals are on parade at Expo-Quebec Over 3,000	animals	will compete in the contests, races and champion parades i
8	1996	MAG	Beaver	A	B	C	out from here to Antler Creek with a train of 30	animals	but everyone sic had fallen into the precipitous ravines alon
9	1996	MAG	UpHere	A	B	C	is the largest in the Northwest Territories, with some 350,000	animals	, according to NWT Renewable Resources; its range is an
10	1992	NEWS	EdmontonJournal	A	B	C	that would forestall plans to auction off the park's 400	animals	. But Sparrow said the government is only talking about the
11	1990	MAG	UpHere	A	B	C	Beverly caribou herd, reported to number as many as 420,000	animals	, also takes advantage of the relative lushness of the Thelon
12	1996	MAG	Beaver	A	B	C	". A mule train usually consisted of 16 to 48	animals	lead by a bell animal, often a white mare. Instead
13	1996	MAG	UpHere	A	B	C	last two decades. The herd reached a low of 75,000	animals	in 1977, probably because of unusually deep snow and larg
14	1990	MAG	UpHere	A	B	C	started his own herd and built it up to about 8,000	animals	before he quit herding altogether, said Mikkel. The reindee
15	1990	NEWS	WinnipegFreePress	A	B	C	are asking the public and the trappers to report any abnormal	animal	behavior immediately to Natural Resources or the RCMP, "
17	1996	ACAD	Arctic (1)	A	B	C	methods that would provide more information about	animal	procurement and processing from small sites without organ
18	1997	ACAD	QueensQuarterly	A	B	C	Ursus arctos. During Merriam's career few people worried about	animals	becoming extinct, even though they could have seen this
19	1996	ACAD	QueensQuarterly	A	B	C	biologists, allowing him to tell some of their stories about	animals	as well, Natural history fills the bulk of this thick book
20	1996	ACAD	QueensQuarterly	A	B	C	wonderfully told. Perhaps because much of the book is about	animals	and birds of tropical forests, it does not have the cynicism
21	1991	ACAD	SocialConditionHumanity	A	B	C	they are lacking in creative behavior. Everything we know about	animals	persuades us that they are active beings. The spontaneous
22	1991	ACAD	SocialConditionHumanity	A	B	C	activity, in working-up inorganic nature. . . . Admittedly	animals	also produce. They build themselves nests, dwellings, like
23	1998	FIC	Healer	A	B	C	dog was approaching again, now in a state of advanced	animal	pleading. Muzzle tilted. Tilting steeper to bark. Just shut
24	1992	ACAD	GeogCanNorth	A	B	C	mammoth, or with climatic changes which would in turn affect	animal	populations. For example, it is believed the Little Ice Age
25	1995	MAG	DogsCanada	A	B	C	eliminating affected breeding stock -- not on getting affected	animals	to clear! Researching statistics on hip dysplasia, I
26	1996	ACAD	Arctic	A	B	C	. The second scraper (UA85-95-1025) reacted negatively to all	animal	antisera against which it was tested. Flake Burins: Two flak
27	1992	ACAD	Human Geography	A	B	C	HISTORY OF POPULATION GROWTH. As is the case with all	animal	populations, early human populations were subject to
28	1991	ACAD	SocialConditionHumanity	A	B	C	followers. Their view, in contrast, is that all	animal	behavior, including human actions, is instinctual. The
29	1996	ACAD	CanjZoology	A	B	C	by sex and age and for all trap grids. All	animals	captured were nonreproductive based on external evidence
30	1991	ACAD	SocialConditionHumanity	A	B	C	of human dominance lies elsewhere. It is true that all	animals	struggle and cooperate with nature in order to survive. But

Figure 11: Collocates of “animal” in the Strathy Corpus, 2000s, first 30 hits































		CONTEXT	FREQ	ALL	%	MI
1		HUMAN	123	9594	1.28	3.67
2		PLANTS	118	2954	3.99	5.31
3		HUMANS	88	1226	7.18	6.15
4		PLANT	67	5058	1.32	3.72
5		RIGHTS	61	6208	0.98	3.29
6		WILD	59	1698	3.47	5.11
7		FEED	46	778	5.91	5.87
8		WELFARE	41	1431	2.87	4.83
9		FARM	38	2063	1.84	4.19
10		INFECTED	37	859	4.31	5.42
11		ANIMALS	36	2411	1.49	3.89
12		ANIMAL	32	1635	1.96	4.28
13		MODELS	29	3431	0.85	3.07
14		BIRDS	26	1276	2.04	4.34
15		BEHAVIOUR	26	3157	0.82	3.03
16		POPULATIONS	25	2500	1.00	3.31
17		MEAT	24	931	2.58	4.68
18		EXPERIMENTAL	24	1961	1.22	3.60
19		CRUELTY	22	111	19.82	7.62
20		AQUATIC	22	646	3.41	5.08
21		WASTE	22	1802	1.22	3.60
22		TREATED	22	2394	0.92	3.19
23		EXPERIMENTS	19	1412	1.35	3.74
24		DEAD	19	2313	0.82	3.03
25		FAT	18	1237	1.46	3.85
26		WILDLIFE	18	1379	1.31	3.69
27		CONTAMINANTS	17	539	3.15	4.97
28		TESTED	17	1808	0.94	3.22
29		OPIATE-EXPERIENCED	16	19	84.21	9.71
30		ENDANGERED	16	352	4.55	5.50

Figure 12: Concordance of “animal” as lemma in the Strathy Corpus, 2010s, first 30 hits, sorted left

1	2010	NEWS	CBCnews.ca	A	B	C	breeding female minks . The barns would house up to 10,000	animals	during peak periods , after the females give birth . Environment
2	2010	NEWS	CBCnews.ca	A	B	C	a century ago , their population has grown to about 120,000	animals	. Last fall , more than 20,000 people signed the action committee
3	2010	NEWS	CBCnews.ca	A	B	C	1968 , the Purina Animal Hall of Fame has honoured 140	animals	-- 120 dogs , 25 cats and one horse . Canada Prizes
4	2010	NEWS	CBCnews.ca	A	B	C	recent years , from about 128,000 caribou in 2006 to 31,900	animals	last year . Critics , including hunting outfitters and
5	2010	NEWS	CBCnews.ca	A	B	C	. The latest count put the George River herd at 74,131	animals	, down steadily since a 1993 count of 776,000 caribou .
6	2010	NEWS	CBCnews.ca	A	B	C	that increases fines and jail time for people who abuse	animals	. The provincial government said Monday people convicted of
7	2010	NEWS	CBCnews.ca	A	B	C	do n't have any issues . They're not an aggressive	animal	. They're little 20-pound calves , so to kids they're
8	2010	ACAD	QueensQuarterly	A	B	C	with a clear soprano voice , but with something like an	animal	in her voice . And when she finished , it was such
9	2010	ACAD	QueensQuarterly	A	B	C	his addiction to appallingly bad puns : a turtle is an	animal	with a " Lid-On . " For twenty years Liddon was the
10	2010	NEWS	CBCnews.ca	A	B	C	. " We've managed to analyze living attributes of an	animal	that has n't existed for thousands of years , " said Campbell
11	2010	NEWS	CBCnews.ca	A	B	C	multiplying unnecessarily , " Cohen said . " We have an	animal	hospital here in C ? te St. Luc that's prepared to
12	2010	NEWS	CBCnews.ca	A	B	C	beef for years . Every five weeks the society buys an	animal	at auction , arranges the slaughter , and even delivers the meat
13	2010	NEWS	CBCnews.ca	A	B	C	Winnipeg are performing four root canals on a wolverine -- an	animal	often described as one of the world's fiercest creatures . The
14	2010	NEWS	CBCnews.ca	A	B	C	take time . " They're not that big of an	animal	but they're a powerful animal , " he said . "
15	2010	NEWS	CBCnews.ca	A	B	C	for second or subsequent convictions . The maximum jail time an	animal	abuser currently faces is six months . The changes come in the
16	2010	NEWS	CBCnews.ca	A	B	C	the legislation says , " no person responsible ' for an	animal	shall cause it to be in distress , and the new amendments
17	2010	ACAD	QueensQuarterly	A	B	C	for rapid bacterial and fungal degradation of plant and	animal	matter as soon as it falls to the forest floor . The
18	2010	NEWS	CBCnews.ca	A	B	C	the topics of life , dreams , death , winter and	animals	without earnestness , " The jury said Solie 's work is "
19	2010	NEWS	CBCnews.ca	A	B	C	the pond . " We need barriers to prevent water and	animals	from going in and out of a toxic site , " he
20	2010	NEWS	CBCnews.ca	A	B	C	said . " The fact that we do n't use any	animal	products , it would be kinda weird or strange to be eating
21	2010	NEWS	CBCnews.ca	A	B	C	directly or indirectly not come into contact or contaminate any	animals	, plants , food or drink . It is also charged with
22	2010	NEWS	CBCnews.ca	A	B	C	. Wheatley , 62 , is also prohibited from owning any	animals	for 10 years , with the exception of his 13-year-old dog Sacha
23	2010	NEWS	CBCnews.ca	A	B	C	it is also considered highly toxic to fish and other aquatic	animals	. However , the agency says it is acceptable for use in
24	2010	NEWS	CBCnews.ca	A	B	C	per day will transport stable patients with concerns such as	animal	bites and broken wrists . ? ? This is the first time
25	2010	NEWS	CBCnews.ca	A	B	C	wolverine is prepared for dental work Thursday at the Birchwood	Animal	Hospital in Winnipeg.Hughie the wolverine is prepared for
26	2010	NEWS	CBCnews.ca	A	B	C	wolverine is prepared for dental work Thursday at the Birchwood	Animal	Hospital in Winnipeg . (Marisa Dragani/CBC) Veterinary
27	2010	NEWS	CBCnews.ca	A	B	C	. " The dental work is being performed at the Birchwood	Animal	Hospital by Birchwood vet Dr. Colleen O'Morrow , a specialist in
28	2010	NEWS	CBCnews.ca	A	B	C	hog producers say farm building code changes being pushed by	animal	rights groups could put the industry out of business . The code
29	2010	NEWS	CBCnews.ca	A	B	C	to stay still and try to back away slowly . Call	animal	control in your area as soon as possible . " Manitobans wake
30	2010	NEWS	CBCnews.ca	A	B	C	year . He said about 60 per cent of those concern	animals	that have been misidentified . Another 30 per cent are