

# The ESSE Messenger



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In this Issue:

- Journal Articles on Language Change: Diachronic and Synchronic Approaches
- Building Academic Skills
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# The ESSE Messenger

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## Language Change: Diachronic and Synchronic Approaches

Change in languages over time seems to be an inevitable constant. All languages have undergone and, if not dead, are undergoing change. As Ferdinand de Saussure put it more than a century ago, “the linguistic river never stops flowing” (Course in General Linguistics, 1916). The English language has been no exception and topics addressing linguistic change have been—and continue to be—widely discussed from different areas or branches of linguistics, such as generative, historical, variationist or corpus linguistics. There is, however, much that still needs to be investigated.

# Metaphor Variation and Change in World Englishes

## A Corpus-Based Study of FEAR, HUMILIATION and HOPE<sup>1</sup>

Rosario Caballero and Javier E. Díaz-Vera  
University of Castilla-La Mancha

**Abstract.** Differently from other areas of linguistic research, the study of metaphor variation and change presents some uniquely difficult challenges for systematic linguistic analysis. The recent development of cognitive sociolinguistic theory has showcased the importance of the study of conceptual differences among linguistic varieties. This paper is intended as a contribution to this field of investigation: using statistical analysis of large sets of dialectal data, we will propose an analysis of onomasiological lexical variation and change across varieties of World English. In particular, we will focus on why particular emotion conceptualizations are more frequent in some of these varieties of English. Our analysis shows that local socio-cultural models of emotions affect lexical variation and change at the dialectal level.

**Keywords:** Language change, conceptual variation, metaphor, World Englishes, emotions.

### 1. Background

The idea for this research originates from our reading of French sociologist Dominique Moïsi's *The Geopolitics of Emotion* (2009), where he discusses the far-reaching emotional impact of globalization. According to Moïsi, the geopolitics of today is characterized by a "clash of emotions", seen as a dynamic series of "emotional conflicts raised by identity issues in today's globalized world" (Moïsi, 2009, pp. 15-16). Based on this hypothesis, Moïsi tries to map the driving emotions behind our cultural differences, delineating a draft for a world atlas of dominant emotions divided into three large cultural areas:

1. The Western world, dominated and divided by FEAR.
2. The Muslim world, where a culture of humiliation is quickly developing into a culture of HATRED.
3. Large parts of Asia and Africa, where a new culture of HOPE is being created.

These three emotions have one feature in common: they are very closely related to the feeling of confidence, which not only is a crucial factor in how nations and people solve the challenges that they face and relate to each other but is also the feeling against which Moïsi defines basic emotions like *fear*, seen as the lack of confidence, *hope*, described as an expression of confidence, and *humiliation*, resulting from undermined confidence.

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Moïsi's mapping of emotions relies on a variety of data, including "surveys of public opinion (how people feel about themselves, their present, and their future), the statements of political leaders, and cultural production such as movies, plays, and books" (Moïsi, 2009, p. 16). Other cultural artefacts such as architecture (which reflects the different ways a society tries to project itself in space at a given time) are also taken into account. Although the three scenarios described by Moïsi are too general to be taken as reliable mappings of 'global emotions', they provide interesting insights and hints on how different contemporary cultures and societies deal with confidence-related issues.

## 2. Aim and scope of the current research

As linguists, we find Moïsi's attempt to include emotions in a study of geopolitical variation extremely thought-provoking. If his assumption on the geographical distribution of driving emotions is correct, we might also assume that this distribution is somehow reflected in the linguistic uses of different speech communities around the world. Based on the existence of a correlation between dominant emotions and discourse, in the research presented here we will use a large corpus of contemporary online texts produced in different parts of the English-speaking world in order to apply Moïsi's basic assumptions to the interpretation of a series of patterns of cross-cultural metaphorical variation and change<sup>2</sup> in the conceptualization of these three emotions.

Our approach to linguistic variation and change is both synchronic and diachronic. In this sense, the research presented here is a contribution to the study of the connection between variation and change in linguistic surface realization (i.e., the figurative expressions for emotions) and their underlying conceptualizations. This research is rooted into the cognitive sociolinguistic paradigm (Kristiansen & Dirven, 2008), which we will apply to the study of conceptual variation and change in World Englishes (Sharifian, 2003, 2006, 2010; Polzenhagen, 2007; Wolf & Polzenhagen, 2009; Díaz-Vera, 2015; Guldénring, 2017; Polzenhagen & Wolf, 2017).

Firstly, by analysing the correlation between linguistic variables (i.e., speakers' conceptual preferences) and social factors (such as cultural area and country of origin), we will be able to identify ongoing processes of conceptual divergence across varieties of World English. Secondly, by comparing the results obtained for countries representing the same cultural area, we will be able to describe the role of socio-cultural factors leading to conceptual change and its spread across speech communities.

This paper is articulated along two main questions. On the one hand, we are interested in determining to what extent speakers from one specific cultural area talk about the emotion described by Moïsi as 'dominant' in their culture more frequently than about other, locally less dominant emotions. For instance, starting from Moïsi's hypothesis, we should expect Western speakers to refer to fear-related experiences more frequently than speakers from other parts of the world. If this is true, the number of occurrences of expressions related to *fear* in

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<sup>2</sup> For a study and classification of metaphorical variation across and within cultures, see Kövecses (2007).

our textual corpus should be higher for Western countries, whereas *humiliation*-words and *hope*-words should have higher occurrence percentages in, respectively, Muslim countries and (non-Muslim) Asian and African countries.

On the other hand, when speakers verbalise the emotions described by Moïsi as ‘dominant’ in their culture, we are interested in knowing to what extent they use richer inventories of metaphorical conceptualizations for these emotions than speakers from other countries, where the same emotion is locally less dominant. According to our second hypothesis, Western speakers will not only use *fear*-words and expressions more frequently but, much more interestingly, the richness or degree of elaboration of their FEAR metaphors at a lexical level will be substantially higher. This means, for example, that in our sub-corpus of Western English texts this emotion will be portrayed in many different ways, covering a wider range of metaphorical scenarios than the other sub-corpora (representing non-Western countries).

In order to test these two hypotheses, we have conducted three different study cases. These study cases will focus, respectively, on the identification of patterns of linguistic variation in the metaphorical expressions with the target domain FEAR, HUMILIATION and HOPE and their distribution across varieties of World English.

### 3. Corpus and data

The set of data used for this analysis has been collected using the *Corpus of Global Web-Based English* (GloWbE; Davies, 2013), which contains 1,9 billion words. This corpus is illustrative of the different ways English is used by speakers living in 20 different countries. One important feature of this corpus is that, using a very homogeneous genre, it illustrates how the English language is employed nowadays in a variety of sociolinguistic, cultural and religious contexts. The list of countries includes six countries traditionally considered Western (USA, Canada, United Kingdom, Ireland, Australia and New Zealand), five Asian and African countries where Islam is the largest religion (i.e., more than 35% of the population professes this religion; Pakistan, Bangladesh, Malaysia, Nigeria, Tanzania), and nine not predominantly Muslim Asian, African and American countries (India, Sri Lanka, Singapore, Philippines, Hong Kong, Ghana, Kenya, South Africa and Jamaica):

MOÏSI’S CLASSIFICATION	GLOWBE COUNTRY SUB-CORPORA
Western World	US, CA, UK, IE, AU, NZ
Muslim Asia and Africa	PK, BD, MY, NG, TZ
Non-Muslim Asia, Africa and America	IN, LK, SG, PH, HK, GH, KE, ZA, JM

Table 1. Correspondences between Moïsi’s classification and GloWbE country sub-corpora.

The texts included in this corpus belong to the personal blog genre (Miller & Shepherd, 2009) and were retrieved from 1,8 million webpages compiled in December 2012. Using this corpus, we will try to reconstruct and analyse processes of lexical and conceptual variation in different varieties of World English. The first part of our analysis will focus on the occurrence of linguistic

expressions for four different sets of emotion words (i.e., FEAR, HUMILIATION and HOPE) in the 20 countries included in the corpus, in order to try to determine to what extent, based on their frequency of usage, some of these words can be treated as cultural keywords in some of the communities under scrutiny here.

As observed by Stubbs (2001, p. 39), “words in texts are distributed very unevenly: a few words are very frequent, some are fairly frequent, and most are very rare”. We can assume that the frequent words or groups of words in a speech community are cognitively more illustrative of the speaker’s priorities than less frequent words (Levisen, 2013, p. 71). Ultimately, frequent words may illuminate cultural concerns and cultural values of a speech community. In fact, as Evans and Green (2006, p. 56) put it, “crosslinguistic differences should point to underlying conceptual differences. Cognitive linguists therefore argue that evidence of variation across languages suggests that languages encode very different kinds of conceptual systems”. By applying these principles to our analysis of emotional expressions in different varieties of World English, we show here that (i) some of the emotion words analysed in this study are significantly more frequent in some country sub-corpora than in the others and that, consequently, (ii) they are informing us on the cultural orientations, values and ideas of the corresponding speech community.

### 3.1. Study-case 1: FEAR and its synonyms

Our first analysis focuses on fear. In order to explore the verbal realisation of this emotion, we analysed the distribution of *fear*-nouns preceded by verbs meaning ‘to feel’ in the GloWbE.<sup>3</sup> In doing so, we wanted to discard those occurrences of *fear*-words that do not refer to the emotional process but, rather, to the cause triggering the process (as in, for example, ‘terror attack’).

<i>fear</i> -nouns	Fear(s), concern(s), anxiety(s), terror(s), horror(s), panic(s), nightmare(s), alarm(s), distress(es), worry (worries), dread(s), apprehension(s), fright(s), phobia(s), trepidation(s)
<i>feel</i> -verbs	To feel, to experience, to face, to suffer, to undergo

Table 2. Synonyms of *fear* (n.) and *feel* (v.) in the GloWbE.

The total number of occurrences of these combinations in the corpus is 13,027 (relative frequency: 6.9 instances per million words; hence i.p.m.). However, the distribution of these words in the 20 country sub-corpora is highly irregular: in fact, whereas relative frequencies over 7.0 i.p.m. are found in four different country sub-corpora (UK, AU, IE, US, CA), other sub-corpora (NG, JM, TZ, KE, PK) score frequencies below 5.0 i.p.m.

<sup>3</sup> These sets of synonyms were chosen automatically using the search by synonyms string available from the GloWbE.

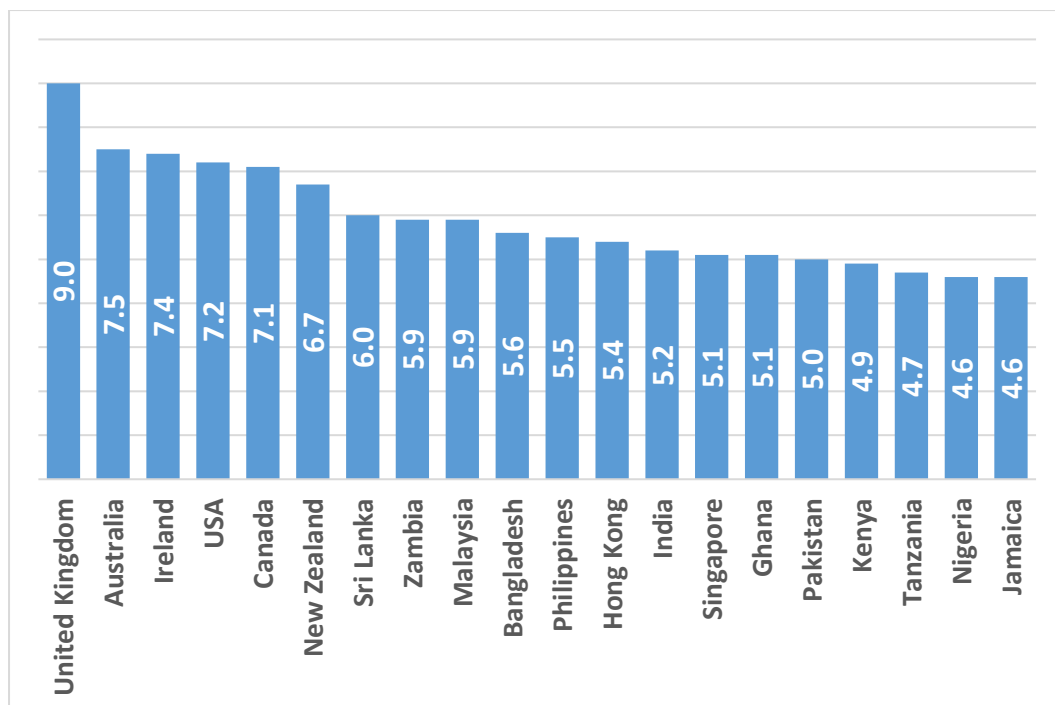


Figure 1. Distribution of [=feel].[v\*] + [=fear].[n\*]  
in 20 GloWbE country sub-corpora (i.p.m.).

Based on this distribution, we may assume that emotional expressions of FEAR are relatively more frequent in those sub-corpora compiled in Western countries, which implies that Western speakers express their *fear*-related emotions more frequently than speakers from other parts of the world. This is highly coherent with Moisi's hypothesis of the existence of a 'fear culture' in these countries.

### 3.2. Study-case 2: HUMILIATION and its synonyms

In the second place, we analysed the distribution of *humiliation*-nouns preceded by verbs meaning 'to feel' in the GloWbE, which includes all the V+N combinations based on the lexemes in Table 3:

<i>humiliation</i> -nouns	Shame(s), embarrassment(s), disgrace(s), degradation(s), humiliation(s), dishonour(s), mortification(s)
<i>feel</i> -verbs	To feel, to experience, to face, to suffer, to undergo

Table 3. Synonyms of *humiliation* (n.) and *feel* (v.) in the GloWbE

The total number of occurrences of these combinations in the corpus is 2,048 (relative frequency: 1.1 i.p.m.). However, the distribution of these *humiliation*-words in the 20 country sub-corpora is highly irregular: whereas three country sub-corpora (PK, NG and, to a lesser extent, KE) score high frequencies for these combinations (2.6 i.p.m., 1.8 i.p.m. and 1.3 i.p.m. respectively), most of the other country corpora score frequencies of 1.0 i.p.m. or less (as in the case of CA, NZ, SG, HK, ZA, TZ and JM):

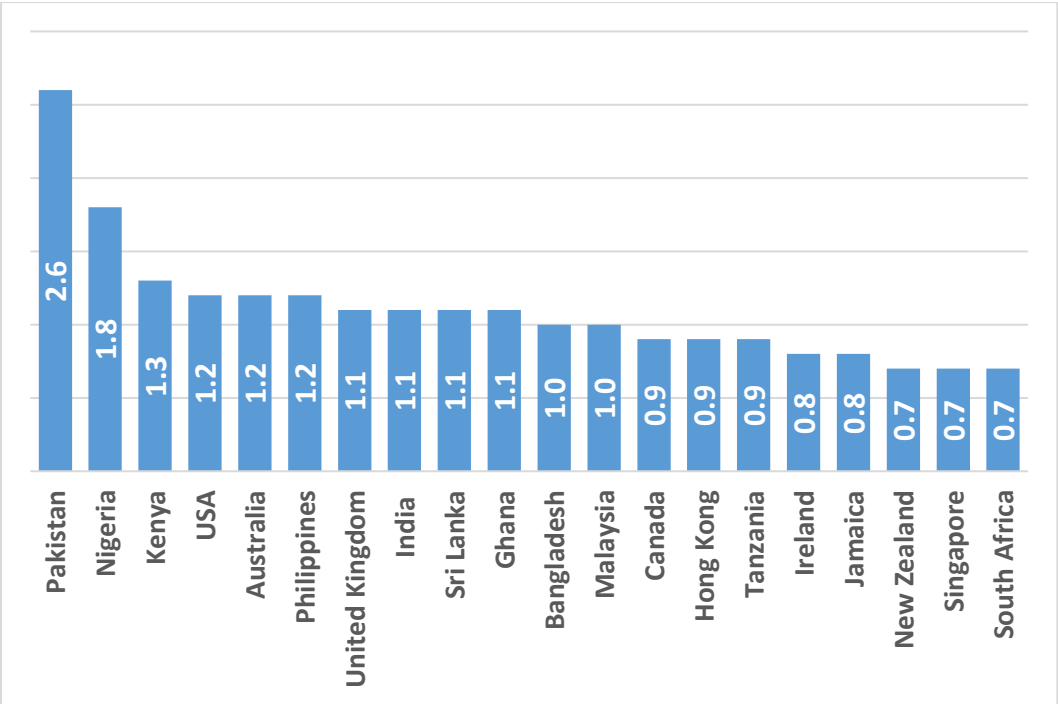


Figure 2. Distribution of [=feel].[v\*] + [=humiliation].[n\*] in 20 GloWbE country sub-corpora (i.p.m.).

3.3. Study-case 3: HOPE and its synonyms

In the third place, we analysed the distribution of *hope*-nouns in the GloWbE (see Figure 3). Since the number of verbs that can be combined with these nouns is much larger than in the preceding two cases (as HOPE includes not only ‘to feel’ and its synonyms but also ‘to have’ and its synonyms), we counted all the occurrences of the noun *hope* and its synonyms (see Table 4), independently of the verb that accompanies them.

hope-nouns	Hope(s), confidence(s), dream(s), potential(s), possibility(s), promise(s), prospect(s), wish(es), expectation(s), likelihood(s), optimism(s), anticipation(s), aspiration(s), hopefulness(es)
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Table 4. Synonyms of *hope* (n.) in the GloWbE.

The total number of occurrences of *hope*-words in the corpus is 781,346 (relative frequency: 414.4 i.p.m.). As in the preceding two study-cases, the distribution of these words in the 20 country sub-corpora is relatively irregular: whereas the five African country sub-corpora score over the average frequency 414.4 i.p.m. (other country sub-corpora with high scores are JM, UK and CA), most of the other country corpora score frequencies below that average; this is the case of HK, NZ, AU and US, with less than 400 i.p.m.:

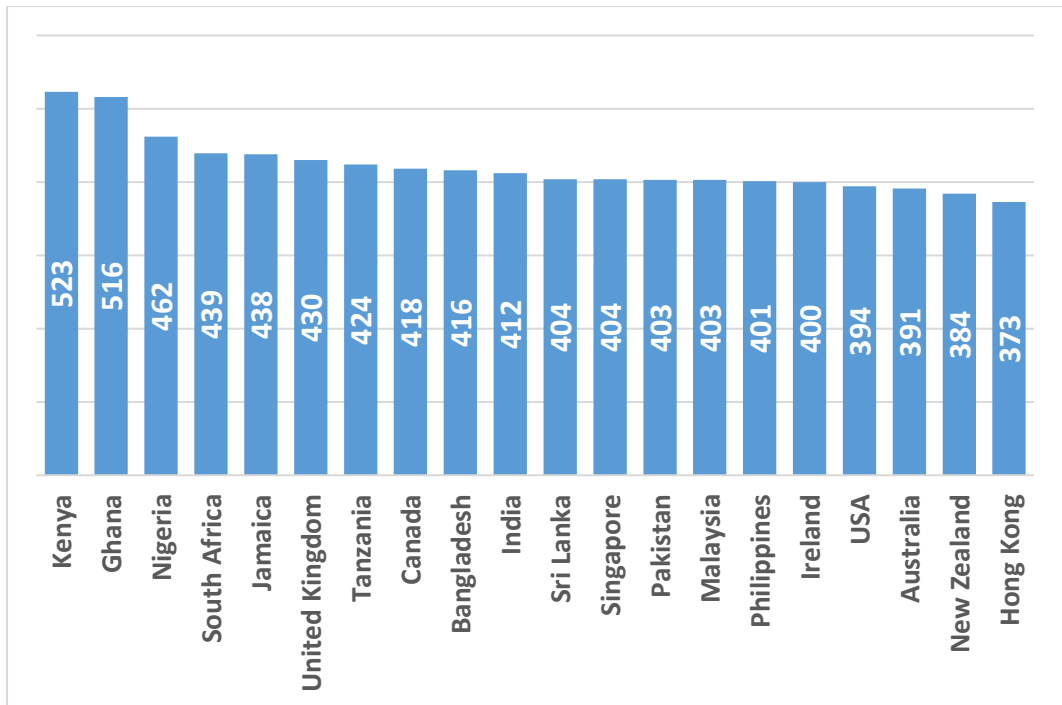


Figure 3. Distribution of [=hope].[n\*]  
in 20 GloWbE country sub-corpora (i.p.m.).

Based on these findings, we may assume that there exists a correlation between the distribution of *fear*-, *humiliation*- and *hope*-expressions found in the GloWbE and the geographical distribution of emotions. Thus, according to our data while expressions of FEAR are much more frequent in Western countries, two Muslim countries (namely NG and, especially, PK, with a number of instances per million words that is twice as high as the third country on the list) show the highest relative frequencies for *humiliation*-expressions in the entire corpus. As for *hope*, as can be seen from Figure 3, four non-Muslim African countries followed by Jamaica occupy the five highest positions in terms of relative frequency of occurrences of expressions for this emotional experience.

#### 4. Metaphor variation and change in World Englishes

In the second part of this study, we analyse the metaphorical representation of FEAR, HUMILIATION and HOPE in six selected country sub-corpora (two per emotions) within the GloWbE. Using a metaphorical profile approach (Díaz-Vera & Caballero, 2013; Ogarkova & Soriano, 2014), we produced an inventory of the metaphors used in each country sub-corpus in order to identify conceptual preferences in the metaphorical representation of these three emotions in different English-speaking cultures. Differently to previous research, however, in our research we will not compare how emotions are conceptualised in different languages but, rather, how emotions are conceptualised in different varieties of the same language. The methodology used here (adapted from Ogarkova &

Soriano, 2014) starts with the selection of two different GloWbE country sub-corpora for each emotion. The corpora chosen correspond to the countries with the highest and the lowest rate of occurrence of the groups of words under scrutiny. For the *fear*-group we analysed the UK section (9.0 i.p.m.) and the NG section (4.6 i.p.m.). For the *humiliation*-group we analysed the PK section (2.6 i.p.m.) and the SG section (0.7 i.p.m.). Finally, for the *hope*-group we analysed the KE section (523 i.p.m.) and the HK section (373 i.p.m.). In each section, we randomly retrieved one thousand hits of these words (4,700 sentences in all: in the case of humiliation, only 500 hits in PK and 100 hits in SG). Thereafter, following Stefanowitsch's (2006) 'metaphorical pattern analysis', we identified literal and metaphorical expressions, and, in the second case, we manually extracted the metaphorical patterns illustrated by each occurrence. Metaphorical expressions were then classified into conceptual metaphors according to their source domain in order to start our contrastive analysis of emotion metaphors in World Englishes.

Our first step was to try to determine the relative frequency of literal vs. figurative expressions used in each corpus sub-section. As can be seen in Figure 7, literal expressions of FEAR are less frequent than metaphorical expressions for the same emotion in the UK sub-corpus (45.1% vs. 54.9%). However, our NG data show a very different result, with a prevalence of literal (57.1%) over figurative (42.9%) expressions. Following our initial hypothesis, Figure 4 shows that there is a correlation between the relative frequency of an emotion word and the relative frequency of metaphorical expressions for that emotion. Ultimately, it could be tentatively argued here that, in the same way as UK speakers, English speakers from other countries where fear is the dominant emotion might tend to use more figurative expressions than speakers from other geographical and cultural areas.

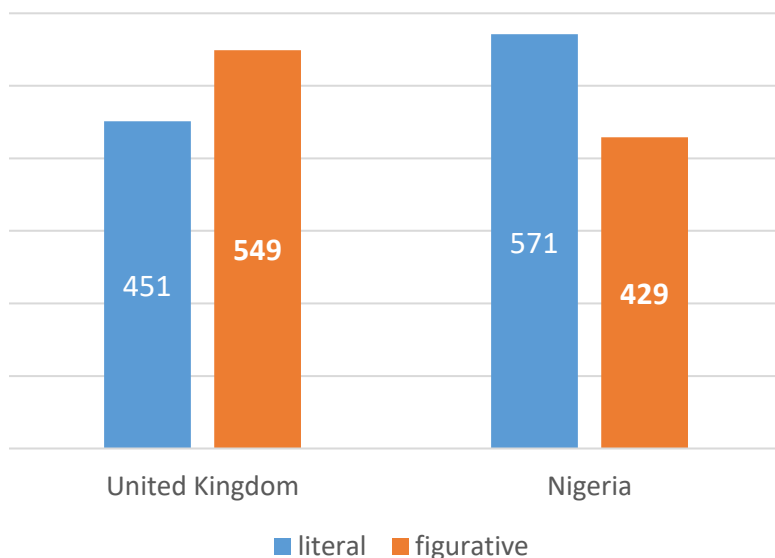


Figure 4. Distribution of literal and metaphorical FEAR expressions ([=feel].[v\*] + [=fear].[n\*]) in UK and NG (1,000 random hits per country).

Interestingly, our data of the distribution of literal and metaphorical expressions for HUMILIATION and HOPE (see Figures 5 and 6) show very similar tendencies, with a general preference for figurative expressions in the two sub-corpora that represent the two countries where these emotions are considered dominant by Moisi (2009), namely Pakistan (for HUMILIATION) and Kenya (for HOPE).

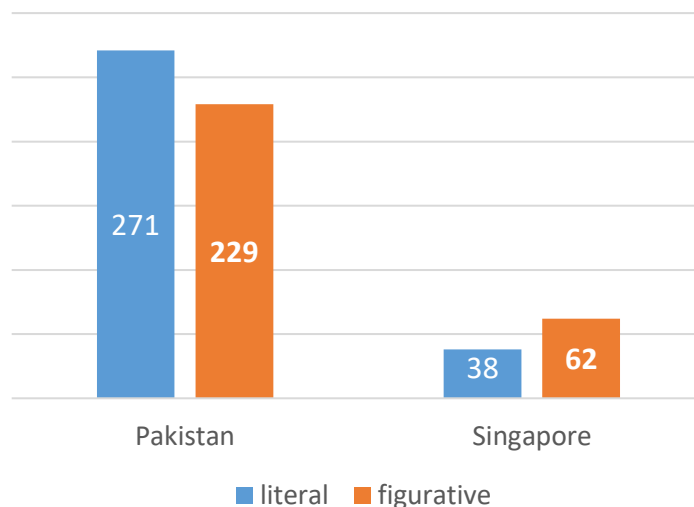


Figure 5. Distribution of literal and metaphorical HUMILIATION expressions (**[=feel].[v\*]** + **[=humiliation].[n\*]**) in PK (500 random hits) and SG (100 random hits).

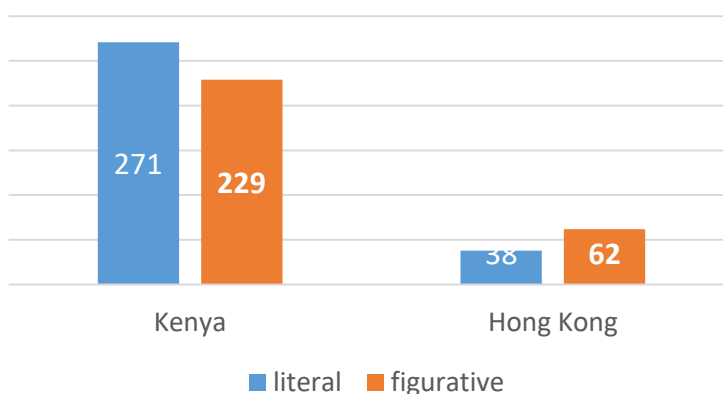


Figure 6. Distribution of literal and metaphorical HOPE expressions (**[=hope].[n\*]**) in KE and HK (1,000 random hits per country).

#### 4.1. Variation and change in the metaphorical representation of FEAR

It is now time to try to determine differences in the metaphorical representation of these three emotions in the three pairs of country sub-corpora indicated above. In order to do so, we compare the metaphor inventories proposed for each



emotion in order to try to determine both the shared and the dialect-specific elements in the metaphorical representation of FEAR, HUMILIATION and HOPE in different varieties of World English.

In the case of FEAR, our analysis of 1,000 hits from each sub-corpus (UK and NG) yielded the results shown in Table 5:

Source domains	UK (%)	NG (%)
PHYSICAL ENTITY	37.2	40.56
LOCATION	16.76	10.96
OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE	12.02	12.82
ILLNESS	4.37	3.50
FOUNDATION	4.19	1.17
LIVING ORGANISM	3.83	4.20
THE BODY IS A CONTAINER	2.73	6.99
PRESSURIZED FLUID IN THE BODY-CONTAINER	2.00	1.86
LIGHT/BRIGHT	1.82	0.23
FORCE	1.64	3.96
ENVIRONMENT	1.64	1.40
COLD	1.64	0.70
INSANITY	1.64	0.23
PAIN	1.46	0.93
TOOL	0.91	2.80
MESSAGE/IDEA	0.91	1.86
INTENSITY IS DEPTH	0.73	-
TEACHER	0.73	-
MORE IS UP/LESS IS DOWN	0.55	0.70
BURDEN	0.36	0.70
MOVING ENTITY	0.36	-
DANGER/THREAT	0.36	-
WEAPON	0.36	-
SUPERNATURAL	0.18	1.40
FORCE OF NATURE	0.18	1.17
SOURCE OF ENERGY	0.18	0.93
COSTLY	0.18	0.47
INTENSITY IS A SCALE	0.18	-
ROOM	0.18	-
VEIN	0.18	-
NARCOTIC	0.18	-
SOUND	-	0.23
COCOON	-	0.23

Table 5. Relative frequency of conceptual metaphors for FEAR in UK and NG.

As Table 5 shows, both cultures illustrate a nearly identical repertoire of conceptual metaphors for FEAR. Broadly speaking, most of the source domains included in this inventory profile FEAR as something negative or even harmful. In fact, FEAR is frequently depicted as a negative physiological or psychological state (as in ILLNESS, PAIN, COLD and INSANITY) or as an enemy (as in DANGEROUS ANIMAL or OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE). Furthermore, such conceptualizations of FEAR as a harmful tool or substance (as in WEAPON or NARCOTIC), as a risk to the emoter's integrity (as in FORCE OF NATURE or DANGER/THREAT), as an impediment (as in BURDEN or SOLID OBJECT/BARRIER) or even as economic loss for the emoter (as in

COSTLY) are inherently negative. In some of these cases, negativity is accompanied by potential harm and damage, either to the emoter or to other people around. However, in one single case FEAR is presented as something positive: a COCOON that offers protection to the emoter (in the sentence “Come out of that cocoon of fear and live your life. stop allowing life’s issues/peoples failures to determine your destiny”; nairaland.com). As can be seen in Table 6, the negativity and harm/damage appraisals for FEAR are more prominent in the UK data, whereas metaphors emphasising the positivity of FEAR have been found only in the NG data.

Source domains		UK		NG	
Negativity	ILLNESS	24	4.40%	15	3.50%
	INSANITY	9	1.65%	1	0.23%
	PAIN	8	1.47%	4	0.93%
	COLD	9	1.65%	3	0.70%
	OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE	66	12.11%	55	12.82%
	LIVING ORGANISM > ANIMAL	4	0.74%	5	1.17%
	WEAPON	2	0.37%	-	-
	NARCOTIC	1	0.18%	-	-
	DANGER/THREAT	2	0.37%	-	-
	FORCE OF NATURE	1	0.18%	5	1.17%
	BURDEN	2	0.37%	3	0.70%
	SOLID OBJECT > BARRIER	12	2.22%	-	-
	COSTLY	1	0.18%	-	-
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>141</b>	<b>25.89%</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>21.22%</b>
Harm/damage	self: ILLNESS	24	4.40%	15	3.50%
	self: INSANITY	9	1.65%	1	0.23%
	other: WEAPON	2	0.37%	-	-
	other: DANGER/THREAT	2	0.37%	-	-
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>6.73%</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>3.73%</b>
Poss	COCOON	-	-	1	0.23%
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0.23%</b>

Table 6. Metaphors profiling negativity, positivity and harm/damage in UK and NG.

Going back to Table 5, we see that the largest number of occurrences in both sub-corpora point to FEAR as something physical or tangible, as in FEAR IS A PHYSICAL ENTITY. In order to analyse this conceptual metaphor in detail, we have calculated the relative frequencies of all its subtypes in both corpus sections (see Table 7).

Source domains	UK		NG	
PHYSICAL ENTITY	5	2.48%	20	12.12%
E VISIBLE/HIDDEN OBJECT	6	2.97%	9	5.45%
E CONSISTENCE/TEXTURE	3	1.49%	3	1.82%
E POSSESSION	119	58.91%	108	65.45%
E MOVED OBJECT	1	0.50%	-	-
S SOLID OBJECT	12	5.94%	-	-
E INTENSITY IS SIZE	17	8.42%	18	10.91%
S SUBSTANCE	7	3.47%	-	-
E INTENSITY IS QUANTITY	25	12.38%	3	1.82%
E MIXTURE	7	3.47%	5	3.03%

Table 7. FEAR IS A PHYSICAL ENTITY; E = entailment subtype metaphor;  
S = special case subtype metaphor.

Via this metaphor, FEAR is often presented in both corpora as a physical and three-dimensional – albeit, often unspecified – object which (a) can be manipulated in various ways (e.g., *handled, generated, produced, manufactured*), (b) may come in different sizes (e.g., *huge, massive*) or quantities (e.g., *one, a little*) and (c) can be moved, i.e., is predicated by verbs such as *bring back*. Many of these instantiations involve the use of possessive verbs (such as *have*) or, much more frequently, of possessive terms (such as *my, your, of*, or *s*-possessives). Although these uses have become so conventional that they no longer feel metaphorical, they nevertheless point to entrenched views of that emotion as a concrete thing that is “possessed”, rather than felt, by the emoter.

One important difference between these two sub-corpora has to do with the entrenchment FEAR IS A SOLID OBJECT, which renders this emotion as a wall or a barrier that prevents the emoter from reacting against the source of FEAR. Whereas expressions based on this conceptualisation are relatively frequent in the UK section, they are totally absent from the NG section. A very similar image (i.e., an emoter unable to react against the emotional stimulus) is rendered by the conceptual metaphor FEAR IS A LOCATION, which occupies a very relevant position in our data:

the preposition *in* is used in expressions that denote very intense states. These may be emotions as well as intense physical states such as pain or mental states such as puzzlement, all of which qualify as containers which may constrain the free will of a human being (Radden, 1998, p. 276).

These emotions, described as intense and predominantly negative, trigger physiological reactions beyond the emoter’s control or responsibility. Interestingly, whereas the UK data analysed for this study indicate that this is the second most frequent mapping (16.88%), the NG data point towards a preference for the metaphor FEAR IS AN OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE (12.82%). Rather than a completely passive role on the side of the emoter, this third metaphor indicates that the emoter tries to fight in pursuit of self-control (Kövecses, 2008, p. 383), illustrating a very different reaction to this emotion. Taken together, the

metaphors used in the UK corpus promote an understanding of fear as an emotion that paralyses the emoter, an idea that is strengthened by the metaphors FEAR IS ILLNESS, FEAR IS INSANITY or FEAR IS COLD (as in *frozen with fear*). The examples extracted from the NG corpus promote an understanding of fear that needs to be regulated by the emoter, who opposes resistance to the emotion and/or does not see it as an insuperable obstacle to their goals (Kövecses, 2000, 2008).

Other important components of emotional experience are regulation and expression, understood as the tendency to inhibit or to enhance certain behavioural or physiological manifestations of emotions (Scherer, 2009; Ogarkova & Soriano, 2014). This idea is conveyed by the metaphor FEAR IS A PRESSURIZED FLUID IN THE BODY-CONTAINER, especially by those entailments where the emoter does not lose control of the pressure (as in COUNTERPRESSURE, PRESSURE and CONTENTION). The opposite pattern is highlighted by those other entailments where the fluid comes out of the body-container once the emoter has lost control of the emotion (as in COMING OUT and EXPLOSION). As our analysis reveals, whereas metaphors highlighting enhanced fear regulation are more prominent in the UK data (1.65% vs 0.46%), unrestrained regulation patterns are slightly more salient in the NG sub-corpus (0.92% vs 0.37%; see Table 8).

Source domains	UK		NG	
enhanced regulation				
PRESSURE	8	1.47%	-	-
CONTENTION	1	0.18%	-	-
COUNTERPRESSURE	-	-	2	0.46%
unrestrained emotion				
COMING OUT	2	0.37%	4	0.92%

Table 8. Metaphors profiling regulation of fear in UK and NG.

Finally, we will briefly analyse the distribution of metaphorical patterns profiling the expression of FEAR by the emoter. Following Ogarkova and Soriano (2014), we will assume here that such metaphors as FEAR IS LIGHT/BRIGHT and EXTERNAL BODY PART (EYES, FACE, VOICE) IS A CONTAINER OF FEAR highlight the visibility of these emotions, whereas INTERNAL BODY PART (HEART, BODY) IS A CONTAINER OF FEAR profile a more internalised view of this emotion. As can be seen from Table 9, our data point towards a higher degree of externalisation of fear in the UK sub-corpus; this is in contrast with the relatively higher prominence of ‘internalised’ fear in the NG data. If these differences can be taken as illustrative of actual cultural variation, we could assume here that the somatic component of fear tends to be more salient in Western cultures than in non-Western ones.

Source domains	UK		NG	
visible fear				
LIGHT BRIGHT	2	0.37%	-	-
CONTAINER: EYES	4	0.73%	1	0.23%
CONTAINER: SOUND	-		1	0.23%

Source domains	UK		NG	
<b>‘internalised’ fear</b>				
CONTAINER: BODY	5	0.92%	19	4.43%
CONTAINER: HEART	3	0.55%	7	1.63%

Table 9. Metaphors profiling expression of fear in UK and NG.

These results can also be interpreted in the light of recent research on cross-cultural psychology (e.g., Frijda & Mesquita, 2000; Mesquita et al., 2016), which suggests that “collectivistic communities experience a greater urge to repress the overt manifestation of intense negative emotions for the sake of harmony within the group” (Soriano, 2015, p. 213). With their preference for ‘internalised’ fear, the NG data indicate this tendency to repress manifestations of fear, in clear contrast with the more visible fear highlighted by our UK data (reflecting a more positive evaluation of external manifestations of negative emotions as affirmations of the self, which is typically found in individualistic cultures).

In conclusion, we argue here that the UK sub-corpus is much richer not only in number of *fear* expressions but also in number and variety of FEAR metaphors than the NG sub-corpus. The differences in the distribution of metaphorical patterns described above indicate that the UK *fear* expressions highlight the negative and harmful aspects of this emotion. Furthermore, whereas both sub-corpora show very similar frequencies of expressions highlighting the need to regulate fear (FEAR IS A PRESSURIZED FLUID IN THE BODY-CONTAINER metaphor), visual manifestations of this emotion are more frequent in the UK data.

#### 4.2. Variation and change in the metaphorical representation of HUMILIATION

We now analyse the metaphorical expressions for HUMILIATION found in two other GloWbE sections: PK (with the highest number of occurrences of *humiliation* words in the whole corpus) and HK (with the lowest number of occurrences of these words). The general results of our analysis can be seen in Table 10.

Source domains	PK (%)	SG (%)
PHYSICAL ENTITY	35.79	36.84
ILLNESS	11.07	13.16
LOCATION	8.86	7.89
DANGER/THREAT	7.75	13.16
OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE	7.75	7.89
PAIN	5.17	-
COSTLY	3.32	2.63
MOVING ENTITY	3.32	-
LIVING ORGANISM	2.95	7.89
INTENSITY IS DEPTH	2.21	-
WEAPON	2.21	-
BURDEN	1.85	2.63
MESSAGE/IDEA	1.11	2.63
FORCE	1.11	-
TOOL	1.11	-

Source domains	PK (%)	SG (%)
INTENSITY IS SCALE	0.74	-
CORPSE	0.74	-
FORCE OF NATURE	0.37	2.63
PRESSURIZED FLUID IN THE BODY-CONTAINER	0.37	2.63
BAD IS DARK	0.37	-
ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENT	0.37	-
DIRT	0.37	-
QUALITY	0.37	-
TASTE	0.37	-
TREAT	0.37	-

Table 10. Relative frequency of conceptual metaphors for HUMILIATION in PK and SG.

As can be seen in Table 10, just like in the case of FEAR metaphors, the repertoire of source domains is comparatively richer and more varied in the corpus section with a higher rate of usage of *humiliation* expressions (i.e., PK).

Humiliation is an eminently negative and harmful emotion, which has very pernicious effects on the person and his/her social dynamics (Collazzoni et al., 2014, p. 252). This can be seen from the very high frequencies of usage of source domains highlighting these two aspects of this emotion in the two sub-corpora under scrutiny here. In this sense, it is interesting to note that the two sub-corpora have yielded a very similar rate of usage of metaphors profiling negativity and harm (PK: 40.33/26.20; SG: 42.10/26.32): the difference between these two ways of referring to humiliation is not based on the frequency of metaphorical expressions but on the number of different source domains used to express the strong negativity character of humiliation, which is much higher in the case of the PK section (the domains PAIN, DEPTH, WEAPON, BURDEN, DARK, DIRT and BAD TASTE are totally absent from the SG sub-corpus; see Table 11).

Negativity	Source domains	PK		SG	
	ILLNESS	30	11.07%	5	13.16%
	DANGER/THREAT	21	7.75%	5	13.16%
	OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE>CONTROLLER/SUPERIOR	18	5.64%	3	7.89%
	PAIN	14	5.17%	-	-
	COSTLY	9	3.32%	1	2.63%
	LIVING ORGANISM > ANIMAL	2	0.74%	1	2.63%
	DEPTH	6	2.21%	-	-
	WEAPON	6	2.21%	-	-
	BURDEN	2	0.37%	-	-
	CORPSE	2	0.74%	1	2.63%
	DARK	1	0.37%	-	-
	DIRT	1	0.37%	-	-
	BAD TASTE	1	0.37%	-	-
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>40.33%</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>42.10%</b>

Source domains		PK		SG	
Harm/ damage	self: ILLNESS	30	11.07%	5	13.16%
	self: PAIN	14	5.17%	-	-
	other: WEAPON	6	2.21%	-	-
	other: DANGER/THREAT	21	7.75%	5	13.16%
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>26.20%</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>26.32%</b>

Table 11. Metaphors profiling negativity and harm/damage in PK and SG.

These metaphors, all of which highlight the negative effects of the emotion on the victim of humiliation, represent instances of what Lindner (2000) lists as one of the four possible reactions to humiliation: depression. Not surprisingly, many of these source domains are frequently found in metaphors for depression (Charteris-Black, 2012). Other frequent conceptualizations of HUMILIATION, such as LOCATION and PHYSICAL ENTITY (especially in the case of the entailments HUMILIATION IS POSSESSION, HUMILIATION IS TRANSFERRING AN OBJECT and HUMILIATION IS A SOLID OBJECT/BARRIER), suggest a more passive approach, including the acceptance of being inferior (prosocial humiliation; Lindner, 2000) as a reaction to this emotion. Passivity as a response to humiliation is more frequent in our SG data, as can be seen in Table 12.

Source domains	PK		SG	
Accepted (prosocial) humiliation				
LOCATION	24	8.86%	3	7.89%
PHYSICAL ENTITY > POSSESSION	18	6.64%	2	5.26%
PHYSICAL ENTITY > TRANSFERRING AN OBJECT	11	4.06%	9	23.68%
PHYSICAL ENTITY > SOLID OBJECT/BARRIER	25	9.23%	2	5.26%
TOTAL	78	28.78%	16	42.11%

Table 12. Metaphors profiling passive response to humiliation in PK and SG.

A third reaction to humiliation involves aggression, either hidden or open, of the oppressor (Lindner, 2000). Only three expressions (1.11%) from the PK sub-corpus illustrating the metaphor HUMILIATION IS AN OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE express this type of reaction, where the emoter opposes resistance of some kind before being overcome by the oppressor. We have not found any examples instantiating this entailment in our SG sub-corpus, with a clear preference for HUMILIATION IS A CONTROLLER/SUPERIOR (see Table 11 above). In sum, although humiliation is represented in very similar ways in both sub-corpora, based on this data we can affirm that the examples extracted from the PK section cover a wider range of scenarios than the SG data where, for instance, we do not find any examples related to pain, weapon or burden.

#### 4.3. Variation and change in the metaphorical representation of HOPE

Finally, we analyse briefly how hope is construed metaphorically in two sub-corpora: KE (highest rate of occurrence of *hope* words in the GloWbE) and HK (lowest rate of occurrence; see Figure 3 above). Similarly to fear, hope is an anticipatory emotion experienced due to the prospect of a future event (Baumgartner et al., 2008). The positive character of this future event is clearly codified in the source domain LIGHT/BRIGHT, which is one of the most frequent conceptualisations of HOPE in both sub-corpora, as can be seen in Table 13.

Source domains	KE (%)	HK (%)
PHYSICAL ENTITY	72.62%	74.72%
LIVING ORGANISM	10.44%	9.27%
LIGHT/BRIGHT	9.51%	7.30%
MOVING ENTITY	1.16%	2.81%
LOCATION	1.16%	2.25%
MESSAGE/IDEA	0.70%	0.28%
FLAME/FIRE	0.46%	0.56%
RELIGION	0.46%	0.56%
ENVIRONMENT	0.46%	-
GOAL	0.46%	-
GREENERY	0.46%	-
BUILDING	0.23%	0.84%
GIFT	0.23%	-
MERCHANDISE	0.23%	-
STRATEGY	0.23%	-
TASTE	0.23%	-
WEAPON	0.23%	-
SOURCE OF ENERGY	0.23%	-
SOUND	0.23%	0.56%
TOOL	0.23%	0.28%
FOOD AND DRINK	-	0.28%
TEXTILE	-	0.28%

Table 13. Relative frequency of conceptual metaphors for HOPE in KE and HK.

This positive character is also highlighted by the source domains RELIGION, GOAL, GREENERY, GIFT, SOURCE OF ENERGY and (GOOD) TASTE. Their distribution in the two sub-corpora is as follows:

Source domains	KE		HK	
Postive HOPE				
LIGHT/BRIGHT	41	9.51%	3	7.30%
RELIGION > DIVINITY	2	0.46%	2	0.56%
GOAL	2	0.46%	-	-
GREENERY	2	0.46%	-	-
GIFT	1	0.23%	-	-



Source domains	KE		HK	
SOURCE OF ENERGY	1	0.23%	-	-
GOOD TASTE	1	0.23%	-	-
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>11.60%</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>7.86%</b>

Table 14. Metaphors profiling positivity in KE and HK.

Similarly, the following metaphors highlight the idea of futurity: FLAME (as the beginning of a fire), LIVING ORGANISM > ENGENDERING/GIVING BIRTH and LIVING ORGANISM > SEEDING. In the three cases, HOPE is construed as the beginning of something that will grow in the future. The distribution of these three source domains is very similar in both sub-corpora, as illustrated in Table 15:

Source domains	KE		HK	
HOPE in the future				
FLAME/FIRE	2	0.46%	2	0.56%
LIVING ENTITY > ENGENDER	4	0.92%	1	0.28%
LIVING ENTITY > SEED	4	0.92%	4	1.12%
TOTAL	10	2.30%	5	1.96%

Table 15. Metaphors profiling futurity in KE and HK.

## 5. Concluding remarks

Starting from Moïsi's views of the world as – roughly – distributed in three large emotional areas and the classical tenet of language as a window to our mental and emotional states, in the present paper we have explored, on the one hand, whether the speakers of those areas favour the emotions driving their lives and, on the other, the quality of the metaphors motivated by those emotions. In order to do so, we focused on the twenty countries represented in the GloWbE, all of them representative of what is known as World Englishes, as well as the three 'driving emotions' identified by Moïsi (i.e., fear, humiliation and hope).

The data extracted from the GloWbE show the importance of those three emotions on a textual level, supporting Moïsi's geopolitical approach to emotions from a linguistic perspective. Firstly, the data clearly show that speakers from each 'emotional region' will talk about the 'driving emotion' that, according to Moïsi, governs their culture more frequently than other, less culturally relevant emotions. For example, whereas *fear*-expressions are much more frequent in Western countries sub-corpora (and, very specially, in the UK; see Figure 1), expressions for *humiliation* abound in two sub-corpora illustrating how English is used in two countries with Muslim majority, namely PK and NG (Figure 2). Similarly, *hope*-related expressions show higher degrees of relative frequency in non-Muslim, Central African countries (such as KE and GH; see Figure 3). Furthermore, the data presented here show different types of balance between literal and figurative emotional expressions, so that the relative frequency of emotion metaphors in a sub-corpus tends to be proportional to the relative frequency of usage of general expressions for that emotion (see Figures 4, 5 and

6). Broadly speaking, this implies that, when talking about those emotions that govern their society or culture, the use of figurative expressions by speakers increases. For example, whereas figurative *fear*-expressions override literal *fear*-expressions in UK, there is a clear preference for literal *fear*-expressions in NG (Figure 4). Identical trends have been identified in our contrastive analysis of *humiliation*-expressions in PK and SG (Figure 5) and of *hope*-expressions in KE and HK (Figure 6).

Secondly, the data discussed here show that higher metaphorical usage implies a wider range of metaphorical mappings. On most occasions, these mappings will highlight very central aspects of these three emotions (such as positivity, negativity, expression and reaction). These aspects are thus reinforced through the usage of new sets of conceptual mappings, that reflect local attitudes and culture.

These findings are highly relevant in terms of our understanding of the mechanisms underlying linguistic variation and change. In the first place, our analysis clearly shows that, just like phonological or grammatical variation, metaphorical variation can be systematically structured and described in terms of objective features (Sweetser, 2002, p. 24). Much more importantly, the patterns of metaphorical variation identified in this study are highly regular and, as such, they can be predicted with relative accuracy. Broadly speaking, our research shows that culturally relevant emotions (or, by extension, culturally relevant concepts) will be affected by two different diachronic tendencies, so that (i) the relative frequency of literal and figurative expressions for these emotions will increase; and (ii) the catalogue of figurative expressions for these emotions will also become richer and more varied, as speakers will develop new metaphors in order to highlight specific aspects of the emotional experience. Thus, through their everyday conceptual choices, speakers from a specific cultural area will develop and spread more and more patterns of metaphor variation in their linguistic varieties, contributing to larger indexes of conceptual divergence between varieties of World English.

In conclusion, given the strong relation between metaphor and culture, in this research we have showed that, through the identification and analysis of regular patterns of metaphoric variation and change, we can gain further insights not only into the synchronic and diachronic mechanisms of linguistic change but also into the role of culture as a determinant factor of change.

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# A Synchronic Study of the Phonological Variants within the GOAT Lexical Set in the Dialect of Nineteenth-Century Lancashire

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**Abstract.** Literary-dialect works are useful tools for dialect study as they are characterized by the presence of deviant spellings based on semi-phonetic spellings of Standard English. This paper analyzes these spellings and their sounds within the GOAT lexical set in the dialect of nineteenth-century Lancashire, according to the classification that Wells (1982) provides for RP [əʊ]. For this purpose, we examined nineteen literary-dialect works. In this endeavor, the deviant spellings related to that RP diphthong were gathered and attributed to their realizations in the dialect. This paper discusses the coexistence of the different sounds related to RP [əʊ] considering historical and sociolinguistic reasons.

**Keywords:** Lancashire dialect; literary dialect; GOAT lexical set; deviant spellings; dialect pronunciations.

## 1. Introduction

Regional literature is considered a valuable source for dialect study (Sullivan, 1980, p. 21; Sánchez García, 2003; Ruano-García, 2007, p. 111; García-Bermejo Giner, 2010, p. 31). Dialect representation in literature is classified into two distinct approaches: dialect literature and literary dialect. The first type refers to those works that are wholly written in Standard English. As a result, dialect literature is mainly addressed to those readers who are familiar with the vernacular variety represented. Alternatively, literary-dialect works are principally composed in Standard English except the characters' dialogues, which are marked with the dialect as a means to stereotype their speech and to denote their low social status. One of the most remarkable characteristics of this type of representation is the presence of readable deviant spellings based on semi-phonetic spellings of Standard English; as a result, readers who are not familiar with the dialect represented would not find the reading cumbersome. As literary-dialect writers were not linguists or dialect experts, they were not thoroughly rigorous in dialect depiction as that was not their principal concern.

On the other hand, some scholars believe that literary-dialect works are useful tools for dialect study (Ruano-García, 2007, p. 111; Beal, 2011, p. 204). This is because literary-dialect works attempt at representing the pronunciations that were once typical in a determined regional variety. Thence, a meticulous analysis of the vernacular variety represented can provide scholars with a relevant insight into the linguistic features of a particular regional dialect. On the grounds of the significance of literary-dialect works for dialect study, this paper relies on them to examine the Lancashire vernacular variety.

This paper is framed within the synchronic study of the Lancashire dialect during the nineteenth century. Despite previous studies on this dialect (Ruano-García, 2007; Barras, 2015), the phonological aspects of this vernacular variety still remain unexplored, since research has mainly focused on the general linguistic phenomena of northern dialects or common dialect features of the Lancashire dialect. This paper attempts to broaden the scope of previous research by examining the different pronunciations that might have been in use in the dialect.

As a complete analysis of the Lancashire dialect would be beyond the scope of this study, this paper aims at examining the deviant spellings represented in nineteen different literary-dialect works and their possible conveyed sounds related to the GOAT lexical set, according to the classification that Wells (1982) provides for words related to the RP diphthong [əʊ]. This paper will also attempt to set out and explain the reasons for the different pronunciations and the coexistence of sounds within the same lexical set.

On addressing the synchronic research on the Lancashire dialect via the examination of several literary-dialect texts, two distinct issues arise. On the one hand, the works explored may show that the deviant spellings convey old realizations. This means archaic phonological forms that are likely to be found in dialect representation in literature. These old or archaic realizations were probably vanishing during the nineteenth century due to the influence and pressure of Standard English. As a result of this influence, there may simultaneously appear old or archaic sounds and novel forms. On the other hand, as literary-dialect authors were not completely rigorous in dialect depiction, they probably turned to stereotyped pronunciations as a means to denote the locality's vernacular of the characters represented in their works. These two factors may trigger the emergence of various dialect pronunciations for the GOAT lexical set.

This paper will discuss the possible coexistence of sounds by considering historical, dialectal and sociolinguistic reasons in order to tackle the two aforementioned issues. This procedure may help discern and ascertain those stereotype sounds illustrated in the literary-dialect texts and those probable pronunciations; the latter refer to the representation of real realizations, both archaic and novel forms, which were probably in use among Lancashire speakers during the nineteenth century.

## 2. Methodology

In order to study the sounds and spellings related to the GOAT lexical set, a corpus comprising nineteen literary-dialect works was compiled. The following table shows the different writers and their corresponding works selected to carry out the present research. As table 1 illustrates, nineteen different nineteenth-century literary-dialect texts written by five authors were selected.

<b>John Ackworth</b> (1854-1917)	<b>Benjamin Brierley</b> (1825-1896)	<b>Isabella Banks</b> (1821-1897)	<b>James Marshall Mather</b> (1851-1916)	<b>William Bury Westall</b> (1834-1903)
Beckside Lights (1897)	Gooiin' to Cyprus (1850)	The Manchester Man (1876)	Lancashire Idylls (1895)	The Old Factory: A Lancashire Story (1881)
The Scowcroft Critics (1898)	The Layrock of Langley-Side: A Lancashire Story (1864)	Caleb Booth's Clerk: A Lancashire Story (1882)	The Sign of the Wooden Shoon (1896)	Ralph Norbreck's Trust (1885)
The Minder (1900)	Ab-Oth'-Yate at the Isle of Man (1869)	The Watchmaker's Daughter (1882)	By Roaring Loom (1898)	Birch Dene: A Novel (1889)
The Mangle House (1902)	The Three Buckleys: A Local Farce in One Act (1870)	Forbidden to Marry (1883)		
The Partners (1907)				

Table 1. Selected nineteenth-century writers and literary-dialect works for the corpus.

The majority of the novels studied were obtained from The Salamanca Corpus: Digital Archive of English Dialects.<sup>1</sup> The works *The Manchester Man*, *The Watchmaker's Daughter* and *Forbidden to Marry* were retrieved from the Internet Archive: Digital Library of Free and Borrowable Books.<sup>2</sup> Finally, the novel *By Roaring Loom* was collected from the resource *Minor Victorian Poets and Authors*.<sup>3</sup> The selection of the five writers was based on whether they were born in the county of Lancashire or found in the dialect their vehicle of communication in literature, as is the case of John Ackworth and James Marshall Mather.

The literary-dialect texts were chosen when they contained the representation of the Lancashire dialect. This is because some of the writers' novels are entirely composed in Standard English without any trace of dialect depiction.

As the dialect is merely employed to mark the discourse of the different characters portrayed in the literary works, this study principally focuses on their dialogues. As noted, literary-dialect works are a significant source to obtain linguistic information of a particular regional variety at a specific time. In this regard, García-Bermejo Giner (1999, p. 252) affirms that a comparison between

<sup>1</sup> The Salamanca Corpus is a free-access digital corpus comprising valuable documents representative of literary dialects and dialect literature. It is available at <http://www.thesalamancacorpus.com/>.

<sup>2</sup> This is a free-access digital repository containing a large number of documents, books, movies, etc. It is available at <https://archive.org/>.

<sup>3</sup> *Minor Victorian Poets and Authors* is a digital collection of texts composed in poetry and prose, the majority of which written in the Lancashire dialect. It is available at <https://minorvictorianwriters.org.uk/>.



the standard and the non-standard orthography is of great value when researchers attempt to approach a phonological study via literary-dialect texts.

In order to carry out this research, the different deviant spellings were taken as primary sources to relate them to the RP diphthong [əʊ]. Subsequently, these orthographical conventions were attributed to their possible sounds in the Lancashire dialect. After connecting the spellings with their corresponding pronunciations, this paper attempts at explaining the reasons for the different sounds that diverge from RP [əʊ].

### 3. Non-standard spellings and corresponding dialect sounds related to RP [əʊ]

This section tackles the analysis of the deviant spellings <ooa>, <oo>, <o + consonant + consonant>, <ow> and <oi>/<oy>, which relate to the standard English orthography <o + consonant + e>, <oa>, <oe>, <ou> and to RP diphthong [əʊ].

According to Wells (1982, p. 146), all words related to the GOAT lexical set derive from Middle English [ɔ:]. This monophthongal sound was later raised into [o:] by the Great Vowel Shift sound change and subsequently into the diphthongs [ɒʊ] and [əʊ].

The following table illustrates the different non-standard spellings and the terms containing them.<sup>4</sup> As the table shows, the number of words employed for each spelling varies substantively. Each of this table's rows comprise the total number of terms our corpus accounts for.

Deviant spellings	Words represented with the deviant spelling
<ooa>	Alooan ('alone'), booan ('bone'), booath ('boath'), clooas ('clothes'), looad ('load'), ooath ('oath'), rooad ('road'), stooan ('stone')
<oo>	Goo ('go'), gooin ('going'), thoose ('those'), smook ('smoke')
<o + consonant + consonant>	Brokken ('broken'), oppen ('open'), oppened ('opened'), oppens ('opens'), oppenin ('opening'), spokken ('spoken')

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<sup>4</sup> The table contains the overall number of words found for the GOAT lexical set.



Deviant spellings	Words represented with the deviant spelling
<ow>	<b>Bowd</b> ('bold'), <b>cowd</b> ('cold'), <b>cowt</b> ('colt'), <b>gowd</b> ('gold'), <b>gowden</b> ('golden'), <b>howd</b> ('hold'), <b>owd</b> ('old'), <b>owder</b> ('older'), <b>rowl</b> ('role'), <b>sowl</b> ('soul'), <b>towd</b> / <sup>5</sup> ('told')
<oi>/<oy>	<b>Hoile</b> / <b>hoyle</b> ('hole'), <b>coile</b> ('coal'), <b>pig-hoile</b> ('pig-hole'), <b>fire-hoile</b> ('fire-hole'), <b>coil-pit</b> ('coalpit')

Table 2. Deviant spellings and their representation in words, according to the corpus.

### 3.1. Deviant spellings <ooa> and <oo>

These two deviant orthographical conventions are exemplified in the corpus as:

- (1) "Naa, then, thee let me alooaan" ('Now, then, let me alone') (The Scowcroft Critics [Ackworth, 1898, p. 192, emphasis added]).
- (2) "I con do no good if I goo eaut" ('I can do no good if I go out') (The Three Buckleys: A Local Farce in One Act [Brierley, 1870, p. 13, emphasis added]).
- (3) "Jabe, wot wur it as yo' put upo' my fayther's stooan?" ('Jabe, what was it as you put upon my father's stone?') (The Manchester Man [Banks, 1876, p. 234, emphasis added]).

The literary spelling <ooa> seems to be more frequently represented than <oo> in the works studied. However, they are not exceptionally recurrent in our corpus, since both add up to twelve words.

The digraph <ooa> is regarded as a late Modern English innovation, which can be found in the counties of Yorkshire and Lancashire (García-Bermejo Giner et al., 2015, p. 149). Both <ooa> and <oo> would be phonetically related. Gimson (1980, p. 120) considers that <ooa> would suggest the diphthong [ʊə] as he connects <oo> with [u:] and <a> with [ə]; Clark (2004, p. 150) and Sánchez García (2003, p. 398) relate <oo> to the long back monophthong [u:].

The diphthongal sound [ʊə] and the monophthong [u:] are likely to have derived from Middle English [ɔ:]. Lass (1976, p. 89) points out that in Lancashire Old English [ɑ:] in words such as stone, rounded into [ɔ:] and Wakelin (1977, p. 89) asserts that [ʊə] and [u:] are reflexes of that Middle English back vowel. Wakelin (1977, p. 89) also explains that reflexes of Middle English [ɔ:] show that the outcome of the Great Vowel Shift [o:] raised to a position normally held by the [o:] -type reflexes, particularly [u:], and that they may be characterized by an off-glide. Therefore, Wakelin's insight may explain the two pronunciations that the spellings <ooa> and <oo> convey.

### 3.2. Deviant spelling <o + consonant + consonant>

The spelling <o + consonant + consonant> is sampled in our corpus as follows:

<sup>5</sup> This word is spelt with both final *t* and *d* (*towd* and *towt*) to mark the past simple and past participle.

- (4) “Tha’s brokken thi muther’s hert” (‘You’ve broken your mother’s heart’) (The Scowcroft Critics [Ackworth, 1898, p. 321, emphasis added]).
- (5) “Isn’t it toime thaa oppened thi maath?” (‘Isn’t it time you opened your mouth?’) (Beckside Lights [Ackworth, 1897, p. 101, emphasis added]).
- (6) “Hoo’s noather nice-favort nor nice-spokken” (‘She’s neither nice-favoured nor nice-spoken’) (The Mangle House [Ackworth, 1902, p. 91, emphasis added]).

As observed in Table 2, this literary convention is scarcely represented, since our corpus merely records six occurrences (of which four are forms of *open* (‘open’) and three types of words. According to Jones (1989, p. 30) and Sánchez García (2003, p. 369), the spelling <o + consonant + consonant> is a traditional orthographical convention, which, as claimed by the first scholar, would convey a monophthongal pronunciation, since the duplication of the consonant after the vowel involves vowel shortening (Jones 1989, p.30). This means that the terms recorded with this non-standard spelling would be pronounced with the monophthong [ɒ] in the Lancashire dialect.

Hoad (1986) and Sánchez García (2003, p. 369) indicate that the terms *broken*, *open* and *spoken* contained the Old English sound [ɒ]. In Standard English, this short vowel would have changed into [ɔ:] during the Middle English period due to Open Syllable Lengthening, and then into [o:] because of the Great Vowel Shift sound change, and finally into the diphthongs [ɔʊ] and [əʊ]. However, these phonological processes did not take place in the Lancashire dialect, since the suffix *-en* in these words (see Table 2) hindered the Open Syllable Lengthening sound change (Wright, 1898-1905).

### 3.3. Deviant spelling <ow>

As seen in Table 2, the non-standard spelling <ow> affects the standard orthography <ol + consonant> and it is evidenced in several words. As a complete insight into each term would be beyond the scope of this paper, this study focuses on the terms *bowd* (‘bold’), *cowd* (‘cold’), *cowt* (‘colt’), *gowd* (‘gold’), *howd* (‘hold’), *owd* (‘old’) and *towd* (‘told’). The following samples illustrate the use of the last three terms in the corpus:

- (7) “Howd thi tung, and talk abaat summat else nor angels” (‘Hold your tongue, and talk about something else than angels’) (The Sign of the Wooden Shoon [Mather, 1896, p. 59, emphasis added]).
- (8) “A’d rayther tell th’ owd chap than him” (‘I’d rather tell the old boy than him’) (Caleb Booth’s Clerk: A Lancashire Story [Banks, 1882, p. 156, emphasis added]).
- (9) “He said you towd him to come at four o’clock” (‘He said you told him to come at four o’clock’) (The Old Factory: A Lancashire Story [Westall, 1881, p. 105, emphasis added]).

All terms presented in this category show the absence of the consonant <l> in the spelling, which may suggest the absence of its phonological realization in the Lancashire dialect. Wright (1898-1905) argues that these terms can be pronounced with the diphthongs [aʊ] or [oʊ] in the dialect.

The omission of [l] in the Lancashire dialect is, as reported by Ihalainen (1994, p. 213), the result of the so-called l-vocalization. This phonological process is considered an enregistered trait in the depiction of northern variants, as exemplified in *auld*, *ould* and *owd* for “old” (García-Bermejo Giner et al., 2015, p. 137). This means that this linguistic trait is a socially recognized form within northern dialects.

### 3.4. Deviant spelling <oi>/<oy>

The deviant spelling <oi>/<oy> is uniquely represented in two distinct words and three related forms (see Table 2). The following instances exemplify the use of words containing <oi>/<oy> in the corpus:

- (10) “Th’ ends kept breaking that fast as I fair thought it wor snowing i’ th’ hoile”  
    (The ends kept breaking that fast as I fair thought it was snowing in the hole’)  
    (The Old Factory: A Lancashire Story [Westall, 1881, p. 20, emphasis added]).
- (11) “if thaa talks to me like that, Harry, aw’ll pitch thee daan i’ th’ fire-hoile” (‘if  
    you talk to me like that, Harry, I’ll pick you down in the fire-hole’) (By Roaring  
    Loom [Mather, 1898, p. 49, emphasis added]).

The non-standard grapheme <oi>/<oy> is associated with the diphthong [ɔɪ]. Sánchez García (2003, p. 411) attributes the spelling to that diphthongal sound in words related to RP [əʊ] and exemplifies it in the word “hoil”. Wright (1898-1905) records the diphthong [ɔɪ] for “hole” but with [h] dropping in northern, southern, south-eastern and Lancashire. Regarding the term “coal”, Wright includes the same diphthong in the areas of middle, middle-southern, and southern Lancashire.

The words “coal” and “hole” are documented by Hoad (1986) with the Old English monophthong [ɔ]. However, the reasons for the dialect diphthong [ɔɪ] seem to be uncertain. The unique explanation for this dialect sound is provided by Wells (1982, p. 208) but only for those sounds deriving from the RP diphthong [aɪ].

## 4. Analysis of the coexistence of sounds related to the GOAT lexical set

The study of words related to the RP diphthong [əʊ] or the GOAT lexical set has revealed different spellings, <ooa>, <oo>, <o + consonant + consonant>, <ow> and <oi>/<oy>, which correspond to the dialect sounds [ʊə], [u:], [ɒ], [aʊ] and [ɔɪ], respectively. Therefore, this paper yielded the coexistence of five different sounds for the same lexical set. By taking into account the number of words containing a particular deviant spelling (see Table 2), the frequency of a sound can be observed. This means, the higher the number of words containing a particular orthographical convention, the more frequent or usual the conveyed sound was during the nineteenth century in Lancashire.

As Table 2 shows, the sounds [ʊə] and [u:], which share an identical linguistic origin, are represented by <ooa> (eight words) and <oo> (four words), respectively. This may involve that [ʊə] was more frequent than the long sound. The pronunciation [u:] may have been recessive during the nineteenth century due to the limited number of instances attested in the corpus. The monophthong

[ɒ] is barely recorded in the corpus, as it is only evidenced in *brokken*, *oppen* and *spokken*, and the forms *oppens* and *opened*. This scant frequency would illustrate the unusual and regressive character of this monophthongal realization in the nineteenth-century Lancashire dialect. The fact that [ʊə], [u:] and [ɒ] are direct outcomes of regular diachronic sound changes would mean that they were probable and real sounds that were probably used among Lancashire speakers but were vanishing during the nineteenth century, as suggested by the scant data the corpus provides.

Table 2 shows that the diphthong [aʊ] with the absence of [l] is represented in twelve terms in total. The omission of the liquid consonant, which is an enregistered trait in the depiction of northern dialects, would serve for characterization purposes in order to mark and stereotype the characters' speech.

The diphthong [ɔɪ], which is the least represented sound in the corpus with only two words containing its corresponding spelling <oi>/<oy>, would at first suggest the unusual characteristic of this sound in the Lancashire dialect. This view is reinforced by the fact that merely two writers, John Ackworth and James Marshall Mather, employ the two words containing this sound. The diphthong [ɔɪ], which is historically unexplained, is according to Blake (1965, as cited in Sánchez García, 2003, p. 316) and Braber and Flynn (2015, p. 383) a vulgar realization typically assigned to the speech of working-class and rural speakers. The uncertain historical origins and the stereotyped quality of the diphthong [ɔɪ] would involve the atypical or unusual form of this realization. As a consequence, this diphthong was not a probable pronunciation of Lancashire speakers in the nineteenth century.

The coexistence of [ʊə], [u:], [ɒ], [aʊ] and [ɔɪ] is concerned with two distinct aspects. The first one alludes to the historical outcomes [ʊə], [u:] and [ɒ]. They were probably used for marking the usual pronunciations of words such as “bone”, “open” or “those” among Lancashire speakers but were in regression in the nineteenth century. The second aspect deals with characterization purposes. The diphthongs [aʊ] and [ɔɪ] in words such as “hold” and “hole”, respectively, are stereotypical pronunciations to denote the characters' low status.

## 5. Conclusion

This paper's main aim was the analysis of sounds and spellings related to the RP diphthong [əʊ] in the Lancashire dialect during the nineteenth century. The study has revealed five deviant spellings, i.e., <ooa>, <oo>, <o + consonant + consonant>, <ow> and <oi>/<oy> and, as a result, a coexistence of different pronunciations [ʊə], [u:], [ɒ], [aʊ] and [ɔɪ], respectively, for the GOAT lexical set.

The concurrence of sounds within the GOAT lexical set is not arbitrary, but it is based on historical reasons and characterization purposes. The first concept refers to the realizations [ʊə], [u:] and [ɒ], which were probable sounds in the county of Lancashire, since they are the result of a series of regular sound changes that diverged from Standard English. However, the scant number of words containing these sounds, especially the two monophthongs, would imply the regressive property of these pronunciations. The second concept alludes to the stereotypical character of the diphthongs [aʊ] and [ɔɪ] as a means to denote both

the geographical location and the low social status of the characters represented in the literary-dialect texts. This entails that literary-dialect writers linked the speech of working-class characters with those pronunciations that were considered vulgar or representative of a specific area.

Although this paper solely covered sounds and spellings related to the GOAT lexical set, this research expects to shed some light on the pronunciations that were once in use in the county of Lancashire during the nineteenth century. It is hoped that further research is carried out in order to increase the knowledge and understanding of this vernacular variety.

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# Investigating Short Front Vowel Shifts in New Zealand English

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**Abstract.** This paper reports on an auditory analysis of the historical development of raised and fronted TRAP and DRESS vowels, and centralised KIT vowel in New Zealand English (NZE). For the sake of simplicity, three words from Wells's lexical sets (1982) are used to refer to these vowels. We aim to prove that the realisation of the short front vowels in NZE is not the result of a single factor, but two competing hypotheses have had important roles in this process: new dialect formation and a vowel chain shift. An empirical investigation is carried out regarding a one-hundred-year-long period which considers speech samples of ten male New Zealanders born between 1890 and 1990. The results show that raised TRAP and DRESS originated from England and this finding is supported by the theory of new-dialect formation; they remained high and continued raising as the first steps of a vowel chain shift, while in England they lowered later as an innovation. Thus, the realisation of these vowels is conservative in New Zealand English. Later, DRESS raising triggered KIT centralisation, which was a twentieth-century innovation. Based on the results, it is also proven that it is a push chain consisting of three sequential steps. Furthermore, it is demonstrated that DRESS is still raising, therefore, the vowel chain shift is still in progress.

**Keywords:** Vowel chain shift, New Zealand English, sound change, short front vowels, raising.

## 1. Introduction

Situated on a group of islands, New Zealand is an isolated country so its language could develop without much interaction. After the original Polynesian settlers, today known as Maori, the majority of immigrants came from various parts of the British Isles. Even though there were other nationalities present, they were in a minority. As a result, a relatively homogeneous English language evolved with regional and social accents which only slightly differ from one another. The only regional dialect can be found in Southland and part of Otago. This area was mainly populated by Scots so their pronunciation still resembles Scottish English.

As New Zealand English (hereafter NZE) is relatively young and recordings of its early speakers are available, changes can be detected and the development of NZE can be understood by comparing the recordings of early and more recent New Zealanders. Therefore, NZE has been widely researched and there is a great amount of data about it. Research has mainly focused on phonology and phonetics as these are its most salient features. Besides the fact that the speech rate of NZE is faster compared to other varieties (see Robb et al., 2004 and Warren, 1998), travellers usually comment on its unique pronunciation and intonation, rather than on other differences.

The most striking feature of NZE, the pronunciation of the TRAP, DRESS and KIT vowels is distinct compared to other standard varieties. In the study, we use



three keywords from Wells' lexical sets (1982) for these vowels. These lexical sets show how the different phonemes of English are pronounced. Wells uses one word in each set and these keywords represent the words that historically have the vowel contained in the keyword. As Hay et al. (2008, p. 32) point out, the change in the pronunciation of DRESS was particularly rapid causing misunderstandings even between the speakers of the same dialect. They also state that in the southern hemisphere, the KIT vowel is the most frequently noticed one because of the rivalry between Australia and New Zealand (p. 23). In NZE, DRESS and TRAP are both raised and fronted, while KIT is centralised. In our paper, after a brief overview of the historical background of the development of NZE (Section 2), we investigate how the unique pronunciation of the NZE short front vowels evolved by analysing recordings from New Zealanders born between 1890 and 1990 (Section 6), because this one-hundred-year-long period has not been researched before. We aim to prove that the realisation of these vowels is the result of the combination of two competing hypotheses, new-dialect formation and a vowel chain shift demonstrating that NZE is both conservative and innovative (Section 7). Based on empirical evidence, we also contend that it was a push chain starting with the raising of TRAP followed by DRESS, which resulted in the centralisation of KIT considerably later. The results also show that the centralisation of KIT is completed or close to completion, and the raising of DRESS is still in progress even after becoming a well-established pronunciation feature of NZE. Even though this linguistic phenomenon is well-documented, previous studies concentrated on one or two aspects of the pronunciation of the short front vowels (see Woods, 1997; Maclagan & Hay, 2004; McKenzie, 2005). In the present study, a comprehensive analysis is carried out investigating all its aspects.

## 2. New Zealand English

### 2.1. The settlement of New Zealand

According to Hay et al. (2008, pp. 3-4), by the time the first European settlers arrived in New Zealand, it was inhabited by the Maori who had come there more than one thousand years before. The first Europeans who reached New Zealand were Abel Tasman and his crew in 1642, but they made no landing. It was Captain Cook who claimed New Zealand for the British Crown in 1769, and the settlement of Australia began soon after, fostering the settlement of New Zealand. However, in the beginning, New Zealand was ungoverned until the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840 and British sovereignty began. From then on, the European population of New Zealand grew rapidly and by 1858 the European settlers outnumbered the Maori.

Hay et al. also state that the European settlers arrived in New Zealand in three waves. In the first wave, the New Zealand Company arranged planned settlements in five colonies – Wellington, Nelson, New Plymouth, Otago and Canterbury. They aimed to have a vertical slice of the British society in the settlements, without the lowest and highest classes. Meanwhile, Auckland developed as an unplanned settlement. The idea of the carefully planned colonies came to an end when gold

was found in Otago in 1861, and thousands of immigrants arrived in the hope of finding gold. In this second wave, Irish immigrants came in huge numbers, along with Chinese miners as the first significant group of non-European immigrants (p. 5). Warren (2012, p. 88) claims that the third wave was initiated by the New Zealand government in the 1870s, when settlers arrived mainly from the south-west of England.

Hay et al. (2008, p. 6) note that the largest portion of immigrants came from the British Isles in the following distribution. The largest number, 51 per cent, came from England, the Scots made up 27.3 per cent, and the Irish 22 per cent. Even though the Australian-born immigrants constitute only 6.5 per cent, the majority of the early settlers came via Australia and spent some time there before travelling to New Zealand. Bauer and Warren (2004, p. 604) explain that since Australian English settlers predominantly came from the South of England, it indirectly reinforced the influence of the South of England features. Furthermore, the vast majority of settlers from the British Isles also came from the South of England in all the three waves resulting in the overwhelming influence of Southern English in spite of the fact that a wide range of varieties was present.

## 2.2. The development of New Zealand English

Bauer and Warren (2004, p. 603) draw attention to the fact that in a remarkably short time, a common language with a unique pronunciation developed, which was recognised by New Zealanders by the end of the nineteenth century. The New Zealand accent emerged more rapidly in cities with a mixed population, while in settlements with homogeneous population it required more time. Baxter et al. (2009, p. 292) acknowledge that the emerging variety was highly homogeneous and that it was facilitated by two factors. To begin with, the initial isolation of the first six settlements decreased dramatically from the 1870s by the increase of public railways and roads, giving high mobility for the first and second generation native-born New Zealanders. In addition, in the same period the number of children aged five to fourteen attending public schools more than doubled, resulting in their greater contact providing the opportunity for wider social networks.

Burridge and Kortmann (2004, p. 548) highlight the fact that the only exception of this homogeneity is the Southland “burr”, which is found in Otago and Southland, being the only regional variation in New Zealand. In this part of New Zealand, a semi-rhotic variety of English is spoken because this region was settled by the Scots, and this pronunciation feature can still be heard in their speech. Hay et al. (2008, p. 99) emphasise that distinctive vocabulary items and syntactic features are also found in this region, making it a dialect rather than an accent. Burridge and Kortmann (2004, p. 548) state that speakers often claim that accent and dialect differences exist. However, some of these differences existed from the beginning throughout New Zealand due to the different mixes in different regions, and it is only their prevalence that varies among regions. Schneider (2003 and 2007, cited in Warren 2012, p. 88) suggests that NZE is now at the differentiation stage and regional differences are about to emerge.

Warren (2012, p. 97) found that although New Zealanders consider their society to be classless, social varieties can be distinguished in present-day NZE

similarly to other countries even after earlier social barriers had been broken down. There are three existing social varieties in New Zealand, namely the cultivated, general and broad accents. These accents differ mainly in the pronunciation of the closing diphthongs (FACE, PRICE, GOAT, MOUTH) and the short front vowels (TRAP, DRESS, KIT). In the broad accent, the typical NZE pronunciation is the most extreme and consistent, with a lessening degree in the general and cultivated accents. Bye and de Lacy (2008, p. 25) claim that registers also differ in the amount of tapping. Hay et al. (2008, p. 102) point out that the closing diphthongs have social connotations as women speaking cultivated NZE carefully avoid the broad realisations of these vowels. Nevertheless, in the case of short front vowels, they pronounce the innovative forms.

### 2.3. New Zealand English short front vowels

Bauer and Warren (2004, p. 611) explain that during the twentieth century a new pronunciation of the short front vowels started to emerge, becoming a well-established feature of present-day NZE. Today, there are very few speakers who use the conservative pronunciation of the TRAP, DRESS and KIT vowels. The innovative realisation of these vowels is not stigmatised, and it is shown in the fact that New Zealanders with cultivated accent use the most advanced variants of TRAP, DRESS and KIT. The pronunciation of TRAP and DRESS is the same in Australian English and NZE, however, the KIT vowel is raised in Australian English but centralised in NZE. Thus, centralised KIT has a distinctive role as Australian English and NZE are quite similar to each other in other respects. According to the stereotype, Australians say *feesh and cheeps* and, in contrast, New Zealanders say *fush and chups*. This example illustrates that the KIT vowel has a centralised, schwa-like pronunciation in NZE, while in Australian English it is close to the pronunciation of the FLEECE vowel. Citing a similar anecdote, Gramley and Pätzold (2004, p. 305) wrote that in airport announcements a phrase like *Flight 846* is heard by Americans as *Flight ite four sucks*.

Hay et al. (2008, p. 42) claim that the high TRAP vowel was present in the speech of the first settlers who came to New Zealand, and it stopped raising after occupying the acoustic space of DRESS. DRESS started raising in the twentieth century and has not stopped yet. The KIT vowel centralised and lowered becoming a schwa-like vowel. In New Zealand, there is a tradition of making complaints whenever a language change occurs, but with the short front vowels it was different. This indicates that the change was below the level of consciousness until KIT started to centralise and DRESS raised further. At that time, letters of complaint written by conservative speakers of NZE started to appear in periodicals, like the following one quoted by Hay et al. (2008, p. 42): “George Best or George ‘Beast’? The latter was the way it was pronounced by a Kiwi radio newsreader on air recently. I wonder how the British public would react to their football icon being referred to in this way” (Vimala Menon, letter to *The Press*, 30 November 2005, p. A 18).

There are various hypotheses about the emergence of the unique pronunciation of the NZE short front vowels and the origin of this variety of English. Some experts claim that it was conservatism brought from the British Isles and preserved later (see Trudgill, 2004), while others say that it was

innovation. Still, other researchers came to the conclusion that both conservatism and innovation played a role in the development of their pronunciation (see Trudgill et al., 1998 & Hay et al., 2008). In other words, the present-day pronunciation of the NZE short front vowels is the result of the combination of new-dialect formation and a vowel chain shift. In the following sections, we provide an overview of these theories and hypotheses regarding the TRAP, DRESS and KIT vowels.

### 3. Theories about the origin of New Zealand English

#### 3.1. New Zealand English originated from Cockney

Hay et al. (2008, p. 84) wrote that when NZE was first recognised, the most common explanation for this “colonial twang” was that it was a transported version of Cockney, the dialect of the London working class. Samuel McBurney, a Scottish singing teacher was among the first ones who commented on the pronunciation heard in New Zealand. He travelled around Australia and New Zealand, wrote down interesting pronunciations and claimed that Australian English resembled Cockney. According to Gordon et al. (2004, p. 73), NZE and Australian English were considered to be the same, but the general opinion was that NZE was not as bad as Australian English. Hay et al. (2008, p. 85) also mention that Professor Arnold Wall, who was an expert on NZE, was surprised to hear a general tendency towards Cockney in New Zealand. Wall grew up in London and spoke Cockney himself as a child. Later he became the professor of English at Canterbury University College, today the University of Canterbury. According to his explanation, the NZE pronunciation resulted from the fact that the majority of the pioneers spoke Cockney. However, this explanation is refuted by settlement figures as demographic data show that only 15 per cent of the immigrants came from London. In addition, the social class of the early speakers suggests that the Cockney accent was probably stigmatised. Therefore, the term Cockney was generally used in a negative sense at that time.

This is supported by Gordon’s statement (2009, pp. 42-43) that in the 1900s, the accepted pronunciation was the pronunciation of the educated man of England. In consequence, as soon as the New Zealand accent was heard throughout New Zealand in children’s speech, letters of complaint started to appear. As Gordon and Abell (1990, pp. 24-25) point out, school inspectors said that bad company at home and in the street, as well as laziness, were the causes of the “impure vowels”. Soon, great efforts were made to eliminate it. From the beginning of the 1900s, school teachers were encouraged to engage in lip and tongue exercises, and books were written about the way English should be spoken. One of them is the work of the above-mentioned Arnold Wall, entitled *New Zealand English: How it Should be Spoken* (1939). In the *Whitcombe’s Graded Lessons in Speech Training* (Stewart, 1930), it is suggested that children should listen to phonographic recordings of King George V and Queen Mary as excellent models of speech for New Zealand children. The complaints reached the extremity to state that the New Zealand accent caused “minor throat and nasal disorders” (unknown commentator, 1910), and that New Zealand children were “crippled for

life by an inadequate command of their own language” (Brasch, 1956), both cited in Gordon (2009, p. 44).

### 3.2. A transported version of Australian English

Gordon et al. (2004, p. 71) noted that in the 1980s and 1990s, a number of scholars proposed that NZE derives from Australian English because of the pervasive similarities between the two varieties. Bauer’s arguments (1994, cited in Gordon et al. 2004, p. 74) are threefold for the hypothesis that NZE is a transported version of Australian English. First and foremost, there is a striking similarity in the phonetics and phonology of Australian English and NZE. Secondly, there has been a close connection between Australia and New Zealand from the beginning and, finally, a large amount of vocabulary is shared by the two countries. It was also stated by Gordon et al. (2004, pp. 226-229) that the Australian influence came to New Zealand through children. A large proportion of the British settlers spent some time in Australia before they came to settle in New Zealand (p. 86). These settlers brought their Australian-born children with them, and these children could have brought Australian English to New Zealand (p. 74). It is supported by the comments on the fact that the colonial accent was first noticed in children.

Hay et al. (2008, p. 86) wrote that the similarities between NZE and Australian English that exist today were frequently noted by commentators in the twentieth century, too. As for the close connection between the two countries, according to Hay et al. (2008, p. 12), it includes trade, security and foreign-policy ties as well as the possibility to travel, live and work in either of the two countries for New Zealanders and Australians due to the trans-Tasman travel arrangement. Taylor (2000, p. 322) explains that from the 1840s, fostered by the proximity of New Zealand to Australia, several Australians settled in New Zealand. In consequence, a significant amount of Australian vocabulary was borrowed into NZE. Gordon et al. (2004, p. 224) argue that in order to have a strong impact on the development of NZE, a focused variety of Australian English had to exist when the first European settlers arrived in New Zealand. The date of the emergence of a stable Australian English is estimated to be 1861, based on the fact that the number of native-born Australians was almost 50 per cent of the Australian population at that time. Therefore, Australian English could influence NZE.

However, as Hay et al. (2008, p. 86) indicate, this hypothesis of transported Australian English is ruled out by settlement figures as the rate of Australian settlers was insignificant with only 7 per cent, and the majority of the settlers came from the British Isles. Nevertheless, they state that a huge impact of Australian English on NZE is undeniable. Gordon et al. (2004, p. 230) have the same opinion and wrote that these factors provide evidence for a considerable impact of Australian English on NZE, but it is unlikely that NZE is purely the transported version of Australian English.

### 3.3. New-dialect formation

The theory of new-dialect formation is explained by Trudgill (2004, pp. 26-27), who states that based on the original dialect mix and demographic data, it is



possible to predict how a certain dialect will develop. Therefore, instead of being an arbitrary process, there is determinism in new-dialect formation. As southern hemisphere Englishes evolved from similar mixtures of dialects from the British Isles, new-dialect formation explains the similarities between them. The following metaphor is used by Trudgill: “If you bake cakes [...] from roughly the same ingredients in roughly the same proportions in roughly similar conditions for roughly the same length of time, you will get roughly similar cakes” (2004, p. 20). Normally, the process of new-dialect formation requires 50 years – two generations – to take place and children under the age of eight have a key role in it. Three chronological stages are distinguished in new-dialect formation and the development of NZE is described as follows.

According to Trudgill (2004, pp. 83-115), in the first stage immigrants from the British Isles, born in 1815 or later, arrived in New Zealand. They spoke their own variety of English with different speech patterns. However, during face-to-face interactions with other immigrants, accommodation began. In other words, they altered their speech to make communication easier, then it was followed by levelling, the elimination of irregular or minority features.

In the second stage, the offspring of the first settlers were born around 1840. Instead of a single dialect model to acquire, there was a wide range of competing features of various dialects from the British Isles. In consequence, these children freely combined these features which resulted in different combinations. The variants found in the newly emerging combinations reflected the proportions of variants in the dialects that were present in New Zealand at that time.

During the third stage, a distinctive NZE emerged in the speech of New Zealanders born between 1865 and 1890. As a result of continuous dialect levelling throughout the first and second stages, a stable form of a new dialect formed which retained regular forms found in the speech of the majority of first generation speakers and eliminated minority forms. In accordance with this, Gordon et al. (2004, p. 79) claim that the effects of this process, called focusing, can clearly be seen in NZE since it is a variety with exceptionally little regional variation. Nevertheless, Gordon and Trudgill (1999, p. 114) point out that present-day NZE is the result of both new-dialect formation and subsequent changes.

## 4. Language change

### 4.1. Change in pronunciation

As Wells (1982, p. 72) explains, differences between accents can be described by comparing the accents’ synchronic state. In this synchronic approach, we examine the differences in phonetic detail, phonotactic distribution and the use of certain phonemes in particular words or morphemes in the existing accents. The simplest kind of dissimilarity between accents is the different realisation of a given phoneme which may arise due to different phonetic realisation rules. This kind of difference lacks linguistic function but has a key role in making a social or regional accent recognisable. According to Wells (1982, p. 93), accents are different because the pronunciation of English changes continuously and the changes vary in different regions and social groups. Innovations arise, causing earlier

pronunciation patterns to change, but they do not spread and become established everywhere. The motivation of innovations is the tendency that people always prefer articulatory gestures that require the minimum effort and still maintain intelligibility, known as the principle of the least effort.

Once a language change arises, Wells (1982, pp. 103-105) contends, there are two possible outcomes as it either remains as a feature of the accent or disappears. If it becomes established, it can be restricted to a particular area or spread further. An innovation can only spread if a group of people, who are considered to be the ones who set the fashion, pronounce the innovative forms. Then, the new pronunciation is imitated and may appear in all the accents of English.

Wells (1982, pp. 98-99) also highlights that if two phonemes are quite close to each other in phonetic space, a change in one of them may induce the other to change as well to avoid the risk of confusion between them. If the second phoneme occupies the auditory space of a third phoneme, it results in a kind of chain reaction, called push chain. There are also drag chains which start with a sound change leaving an unoccupied space behind. Then it is filled by another sound affecting multiple phonemes in the system. Sometimes, it is difficult to detect which phoneme was the first to change, especially if several phonemes are involved. Gordon (2013, pp. 253-254) notes that chain shift is an alternative to merger with the difference that in chain shifts the distinction between sounds is maintained but it is lost in mergers. Thus, chain shifts occur to avoid mergers, and preservation of contrast is considered to be an integral part of the process instead of the incidental consequence of chain shifts. The two basic criteria applying to chain shifting are the preservation of distinction between sounds and the interrelatedness of the sound changes.

#### 4.2. Vowel chain shifts

Both the definition and the general principles of chain shifting are presented by Labov (1994, pp. 118-119), who distinguishes two basic types of chain shifts, minimal and extended chain shifts. In a minimal chain shift, two phonemes are involved in such a way that one leaves its original position and occupies the phonetic place of the other phoneme. The phoneme whose phonetic space is occupied is referred to as the *leaving* element, and the one that occupies this place is called the *entering* element. The combination of minimal chain shifts results in an extended chain shift in which the leaving element of one minimal chain shift is replaced by the entering element of another minimal chain shift. Also, there is always a causal relation between the changing vowels in chain shifts, and the combination of the movements leads to a situation in which the phonemic inventory of the language is preserved. This reflects the capacity of the language to maintain distinctions.

As Labov (1994, pp. 116-117) explains, vowel chain shifts are governed by three general principles, as follows:

Principle I: In chain shifts, long vowels rise.

Principle II: In chain shifts, short vowels fall.

Principle IIA: In chain shifts, the nuclei of upgliding diphthongs fall.

Principle III: In chain shifts, back vowels move to the front.

Principle IIA is part of Principle II because the nucleus of an upgliding diphthong usually constitutes a single mora. Also, later it was modified referring specifically to the “short nuclei of upgliding diphthongs”. It is important to note that even though these principles are powerful in chain shifts, they do not apply in the independent movements of vowels. Moreover, there are also exceptions even in chain shifts with the remark that based on the historical record, Principle I is the only principle without exceptions. As for Principle II and Principle IIA, they apply to most of the chain shifts available, and only few exceptions can be found in the historical record. It is important to note that there are even fewer exceptions in the case of the latter one. Similarly to Principle I, Principle III applies generally, with only a few exceptions. Even though these principles are independent, Labov (1994, p. 121) claims that there are constraints as to how they combine with each other, making only a few repeated patterns possible.

One of the constraints that was altered later was that originally, the backward movement of vowels was not included in the principles. Therefore, KIT centralisation in NZE was considered to be an exception by Labov because a front vowel became a central vowel. However, after finding counterexamples while investigating chain shifts, Labov (1994, p. 200) reviewed Principle III as follows:

Principle III’: In chain shifts, tense vowels move to the front along peripheral paths, and lax vowels move to the back along non-peripheral paths. Among other examples in chain shifts, this formulation accounts for the backward movement of KIT in NZE so based on Principle III’ it ceased to be an exception.

Labov (1994, p. 138) also discusses that the short front vowel shift, affecting the TRAP, DRESS and KIT vowels, in NZE serves as a good example for the violation of Principle II because two short vowels, TRAP and DRESS, are rising together. Labov (1994, p. 140) explains that these principles are not absolute or without exception and can only be seen as directions in chain shifting. Although social pressures can be powerful enough to reverse chain shifts, these principles do operate in most cases.

Based on the results of the present paper, it can be stated that the TRAP and DRESS vowels have raised, while the KIT vowel centralised, supporting the claim that TRAP and DRESS are indeed exceptions from Principle II, but KIT behaves according to Principle III’.

## 5. Hypotheses and previous studies

### 5.1. New-dialect formation and vowel chain shift: conservatism and innovation

The present paper attempts to prove that the evolution of the short front vowels in NZE cannot be accounted for with reference to a single hypothesis, but the combination of two competing hypotheses claiming that new-dialect formation (as introduced in Section 3.3) and the vowel chain shift (discussed in Section 4.2) which affected the NZE short front vowels played equally important roles in the process. We aim to prove this by providing empirical evidence that the raised form of TRAP and DRESS were present in the speech of third and fourth generation



New Zealanders when new-dialect formation was completed, partly because raised TRAP and DRESS were inherited from England and they also continued raising, constituting the first two steps of the vowel chain shift. In England, TRAP and DRESS lowered later but remained high vowels in NZE, so it can be seen as conservatism. On the other hand, KIT centralisation is an innovation since KIT began to centralise in the twentieth century as the third step of the vowel chain shift, well after the last stage of new-dialect formation, therefore it can be found only in the speech of fifth and sixth generation speakers. This is a widely researched topic, and studies supporting only the theory of new-dialect formation or the short front vowel shift, along with studies incorporating the two theories mentioned above, can be found in the literature.

The theory of new-dialect formation was put forward by Trudgill (2004, p. 43), who states that close TRAP and DRESS were the features of nineteenth-century English in the southeast of England, and British settlers brought these qualities from the British Isles to New Zealand. In support of this, he quotes the following to illustrate that TRAP was pronounced as [ɛ] in London English in the nineteenth century: “*cab* is *keb*, *bank* is *benk*, *strand* is *strend*” (Ellis, 1889, cited in Trudgill, 2004, p. 44). Besides, evidence also comes from the *Survey of English Dialects*,<sup>1</sup> in which data from elderly speakers, obtained in the 1960s and 1970s, show that the vowel in words such as *stack*, *hammer*, *apple*, *saddle*, *handle*, *rack*, *sack*, *mallet*, *paddock* is transcribed as [ɛ]. This is consistent with Gimson’s (1962) study, in which he notes that in the London accent /æ/ raised to cardinal [ɛ]. Thus, regional accents in the area surrounding London had close /æ/. As for the DRESS vowel, it is again Gimson (1962, both cited in Trudgill, 2004, p. 45) who provides evidence for the presence of both the close and the not close form, describing a variant halfway between [e] and [ɛ], and another one realised as [e]. At the end of the last stage of new-dialect formation, the close variants came out as winners resulting in the remarkably close realisations of TRAP and DRESS in NZE. In England, these vowels lowered later as an innovation, but this did not happen in NZE. Consequently, the close quality of TRAP and DRESS is considered to be conservative. Nevertheless, Trudgill acknowledges that TRAP and DRESS continued to change after the last stage of new-dialect formation.

In contrast, Bauer (1979, pp. 59-60) argues that TRAP and DRESS raised, followed by the centralisation of KIT as the result of a chain shift initiated by the fronting of STRUT to avoid the risk of overlapping in phonetic space. Later, Bauer (1992, pp. 255-257) revisited this theory and found that there is no causation between fronted STRUT and raised TRAP, and suggested that the raising of TRAP initiated the chain shift. Bauer (1992, p. 260) argues that the lowering of TRAP and DRESS in England happened too late to be evidence for conservatism in NZE, and supports this statement with findings that the short front vowels are still raising in NZE.

Trudgill et al. (1998, pp. 46-47) propose that both new-dialect formation and the short front vowel shift have a role in the development of NZE. The data on

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<sup>1</sup> *The Survey of English Dialects* (SED) is a detailed, nationwide survey of the vernacular speech of England carried out by researchers of the University of Leeds. Data were collected between 1950 and 1961 from predominantly male informants over the year of 65 to capture the most conservative forms of folk speech.

which their argument is based include tape-recordings from the *Survey of English Dialects* with close realisations of TRAP and DRESS, as well as the recordings of eight speakers from the *Mobile Disc Recording Unit*.<sup>2</sup> The impressionistic analysis of the eight speakers is provided and the results suggest that the close realisation of TRAP and DRESS, brought from the British Isles, was present in the speech of the first and second generations of New Zealanders, however, there was no centralised KIT found in the recordings. Furthermore, data collected from New Zealanders born in the 1900s show that there is an ongoing change of TRAP and DRESS, and the majority of the speakers have centralised KIT, proving that KIT centralisation is a twentieth-century innovation. Consequently, Trudgill et al. (1998, p. 49) state that conservatism and innovation are incorporated in the development of NZE.

In a subsequent study, Gordon and Trudgill (1999, pp. 114-115) analysed the short front vowels in the speech of 77 New Zealanders from the first generation, and it was found that 44% of the speakers had raised TRAP and DRESS, and one-third of them had both the raised and non-raised variants. While centralised KIT is not among the features of NZE in the given period, occasional examples can be found in the speech of first-generation New Zealanders. Seven speakers, without common ancestry or identity, have very few tokens of centralised KIT. They are from different locations in New Zealand, and their parents were born in various places in and outside New Zealand. Gordon and Trudgill (1999, p. 122) suggest that these tokens are embryonic variants, seeds from which the later change of the KIT vowel evolved. On the whole, these findings are consistent with those found in Trudgill et al.'s research (1998, p. 49) and suggest that raised TRAP and DRESS were imported from Britain and KIT centralisation happened subsequently.

This also accords with the observations of Hay et al. (2008, pp. 41-42), who state that in the *Origins of New Zealand English Project*<sup>3</sup> it was found that the first European settlers brought relatively high TRAP vowels, but centralised KIT was not present in their speech. TRAP continued to raise until the beginning of the twenty-first century and settled at the position of [ɛ], encroaching on the acoustic space of DRESS. In turn, DRESS started to raise occupying the acoustic space of KIT, which eventually resulted in its centralisation in the twentieth century. They claim that KIT centralisation is not an independent movement, but the third stage of the vowel chain shift in which the short front vowels are involved.

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<sup>2</sup> The *Mobile Disc Recording Unit* collected recordings of local music and conducted interviews with old people between 1946 and 1948. About 300 elderly people were recorded both in the North and South Islands.

<sup>3</sup> The aim of the *Origins of New Zealand English Project* (ONZE) is to document features, patterns and changes in NZE, and apply the findings to theories of language and language change. ONZE is based at the University of Canterbury and the Principal Investigator is Jan Hay. ONZE has three collections: the *Mobile Unit*, the *Intermediate Archive* and the *Canterbury Corpus*.

## 5.2. The push chain hypothesis

After proving that the short front vowels in NZE are affected by a vowel chain shift, we hypothesise that it is a push chain still in progress, consisting of three sequential steps. We state that raised TRAP, the first vowel to change in the vowel chain shift, led to the raising of DRESS by causing overcrowding in phonetic space and misperception in speech. Later, raised DRESS resulted in the centralisation of KIT, the third and last step of the vowel chain shift. Thus, the vowel chain shift is a push chain. The causal role of raised TRAP in the raising of DRESS is demonstrated by auditory evidence that the two vowels occupied the same phonetic space before DRESS started to raise. Regarding the question of whether the affected vowels changed simultaneously or sequentially, we claim that these were sequential steps and we aim to prove this by providing data that show the presence of raised TRAP with both the non-raised and raised variants of DRESS in the third generation of New Zealanders. Furthermore, the same pattern can be found in the case of DRESS and KIT as DRESS was fully raised but the realisation of KIT was not centralised in the third generation and it was either centralised or non-centralised in the fourth generation. In order to demonstrate that the vowel chain shift is still in progress, we use recordings in which DRESS is realised as cardinal [e] or [i] in the speech of speakers from the third and fourth generations, while in the fifth and sixth generations it is often [i:]. Thus far, several studies have found evidence that supports these hypotheses.

Langstrof (2006, p. 162) investigates the relationship between the NZE short front vowels and argues for the push-chain scenario in his study. He analysed the speech of 30 speakers born between the 1890s and the 1930s, the intermediate period of NZE. The speakers are divided into three groups, *early* (born between 1895 and 1905), *medium* (born between 1910 and 1920) and *late* (born after 1925) speakers. Based on phonetic analysis, he states that younger speakers have higher realisations of TRAP and DRESS along with a more central realisation of KIT in the whole sample. Furthermore, in the group of *early* speakers KIT and DRESS are quite close to each other, which indicates that there was a transitory state when DRESS was raised but KIT was not centralised yet. It is supported by the fact that *early* males have both fronted and centralised allophones of KIT. These findings confirm both the push-chain hypothesis and the sequentiality of the chain shift. Langstrof (2006, p. 155) also claims that the vowel chain shift was completed in the intermediate period.

Watson et al. (2004, p. 205) also argue for a push chain in a diachronic study and their results support earlier findings. Three male speakers, born between 1901 and 1916, were analysed over a thirty-year-long period and speech samples were obtained from them three times, in the mid-1950s, in the late 1960s or early 1970s, and the mid/late 1980s. Prosodically accented words were chosen for analysis from continuous speech, and about 3,600 tokens were analysed. Compared to modern NZE, as data of the samples from the 1950s show, the KIT vowel was higher than the DRESS vowel, and TRAP and DRESS were not raised. Additionally, the vowel spaces in the three given periods differ significantly in the speech of each speaker. The later the recording, the closer the pronunciation is to modern NZE. Even though the extent of the change is different for each speaker,

it can be said that TRAP and DRESS raised without the centralisation of KIT, which suggests that these vowel shifts are part of a push chain.

Both studies mentioned above are consistent with the findings in Woods' work (1997, p. 107). In her study, she analysed the speech of five men and five women auditorily. The informants were divided into two groups, the speakers of the first generation were born in 1948 and the speakers of the second generation are the children and grandchildren of the first generation. Speakers belonging to both groups were recorded at the age of 70-80. Thirty tokens of TRAP and DRESS were examined in the speech of each speaker, and it was found that both TRAP and DRESS have a closer articulation in the second generation than in the first. While the difference is slight in the case of TRAP, it is considerable regarding DRESS. These results clearly indicate the pattern of raising and show that the shift in the short front vowels is motivated by a push chain which started with TRAP.

The above results are similar to those reported by Gordon et al. (2004, pp. 265-266), who found that speakers from the *Origins of New Zealand English Project* with raised DRESS also had raised TRAP, but raised TRAP occurred without raised DRESS. Similarly, raised DRESS occurred without centralised KIT, and there were very few speakers with centralised KIT without raised DRESS. As they explain, based on these findings, the causal relation is clear between these vowels, and the correlations point to a push chain. As KIT centralisation postdates both the raising of TRAP and DRESS, the possibility of a drag chain is excluded. Besides, the fact that DRESS raising happened later and was less complete than TRAP raising also supports this claim.

Hay et al. (2008, p. 42) focus on the DRESS vowel and point out that after KIT centralisation took place DRESS continued to raise and started to encroach on the phonetic space of FLEECE. Theoretically, it should not cause a problem because the two vowels belong to different classes, DRESS being a short vowel and FLEECE being a long vowel. Nevertheless, difficulties in perception arose due to the fact that voiced consonants lengthen preceding vowels and voiceless consonants shorten them in NZE, in the same way as in other varieties of English. Consequently, FLEECE followed by a voiceless consonant is shorter than DRESS followed by a voiced consonant for many young speakers in New Zealand, which results in misunderstanding and leads to the increasing diphthongisation of FLEECE. As it is concluded by Hay et al. (2008, p. 42), the NZE short front vowels have not settled into stable patterns yet.

Following the previous study, MacLagan and Hay (2004, p. 3) also found that DRESS is still raising in NZE. In their work, they analysed the speech of 80 speakers from the *Canterbury Corpus*,<sup>4</sup> and the results show that speakers continue to raise DRESS in general, and for some speakers, the acoustic space of DRESS and FLEECE completely overlap. Furthermore, some speakers break DRESS into a diphthong instead of raising it further. The diphthongisation of DRESS is restricted to older speakers, while younger informants tend to raise it.

McKenzie (2005, p. 14) analysed both the word list and casual speech recordings of eight young, non-professional speakers from the *Canterbury Corpus*, and compared her results with those of the previous study. It was found

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<sup>4</sup> The *Canterbury Corpus* is one of the collections of the *Origins of New Zealand English Project*. For more information see the previous footnote.

that the difference between the length of DRESS and FLEECE decreased slightly for young, non-professional speakers. Although this difference is not significant, it indicates some progression from the speakers that were analysed by MacLagan and Hay (2004, p. 3) earlier. McKenzie (2005, p. 23) also found that there is a great overlap between DRESS and FLEECE in terms of acoustic space, and FLEECE is very often diphthongised for all the speakers, even more for females. An interesting finding is that in the wordlist data, higher DRESS and diphthongised FLEECE are exaggerated, contrary to the expectations as speakers tend to use conservative variants when reading wordlists. The fact that the innovative forms were produced in careful speech suggests that these variants are not marked or used consciously. Otherwise, they would have been avoided. McKenzie (2005, p. 24) suggests that FLEECE is influenced by DRESS raising and a few questions emerge in connection with this, but it is outside the scope of the present paper. Therefore, it is not discussed henceforth in any detail.

## 6. Methods

### 6.1. Data collection

The present paper reports on the analysis of ten male speakers born between 1890 and 1990. The speakers were chosen on the basis of the following criteria: (1) the informants were either born in New Zealand or moved there before the age of seven, the end of the critical period in language acquisition, to ensure that their speech sample is an authentic source of NZE; (2) the informants were born between 1890 and 1990 so they belong to one of the four subsequent generations following the last stage of new-dialect formation; (3) only male speakers were chosen since there were no available recordings of female speakers from the early years, and considering the leading role of women in language change and the probability that they use more advanced forms, we decided to choose speech samples of male speakers for analysis in the whole study to avoid misleading results; (4) the informants were interactants in interviews, so the vowels could be analysed in running formal speech recorded in the same situation for all the speakers; (5) the informants' background data were available.

The speakers were divided into two groups according to their birth date:

- Group 1 consists of New Zealanders born between 1890 and 1940. This period covers two generations after the third stage of new-dialect formation, the third and fourth generations.
- In Group 2, there are New Zealanders born between 1941 and 1990, and they belong to the fifth and sixth generations.

Five available male speakers met the requirements in Group 1, so an equal number of male informants were chosen for Group 2 as well. Speech samples for third and fourth generation New Zealanders were selected from the audio collection of the Tauranga Memories website,<sup>5</sup> maintained by the Tauranga City Libraries in New Zealand. This digital library was created with the intention of sharing community knowledge with future generations by creating an archive

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<sup>5</sup> Available at <http://tauranga.kete.net.nz/en/site>.



which contains digital images, videos, documents and, most importantly, sound files. Even though childhood memories and photographic technology are among the topics of the conversations, most of these interviews are about reminiscences of the war, and almost exclusively men were interviewed. The conversations were recorded between 2006 and 2014.

Speech samples for fifth and sixth generation New Zealanders were obtained from the public website of *digitalNZ*,<sup>6</sup> which contains collections from libraries, museums, galleries, government departments, community groups and the media. This website was created in 2008, to make reliable New Zealand material accessible to the public. Sound files of male speakers were chosen from Radio New Zealand and 95bFM programmes. The conversations cover a wide range of topics, mainly current issues of New Zealand including the state of Wellington's water and tax changes, among others. All of the conversations were recorded in 2020.

The length of the conversations differs, the shortest being 5 minutes 59 seconds long, and the longest lasts for 90 minutes and 56 seconds. The number of participants in the interviews also varies between two and four. In some recordings, there is background noise due to the recording equipment used or the nature of the location, but the quality is still adequate for analysis. Recordings with too much background noise or poor sound quality were excluded from the analysis.

## 6.2. Data analysis

The analysis focuses on the realisation of the TRAP, DRESS and KIT vowels in formal speech, whether the speakers pronounce the raised or the non-raised form of TRAP and DRESS, and if the realisation of KIT is centralised or non-centralised. Furthermore, the date of the appearance of the raised and centralised forms respectively, is also detected. The relationship between the three vowels is also investigated, as well as the pattern within the two groups.

In order to be able to give a reliable analysis of the vowels by listening to each of them separately and repeatedly, utterances containing the TRAP, DRESS and KIT vowels were chosen and cut from the recordings. The number of the utterances varies among the speakers as one utterance often contains more tokens, and at other times tokens could be found in separate utterances. The orthographic transcription of the utterances was made. They were named and numbered as follows: in S1U1, S1 means 'Speaker 1' and U1 means 'Utterance 1', in S1U2, S1 means 'Speaker 1' and U2 means 'Utterance 2', etc. The cuttings were made by using version 2.4.1 of *Audacity*,<sup>7</sup> a free recording and editing software, and saved in WAV format. The words containing the vowels are listed in Table 1; the analysed stressed vowel is marked in bold in the words.

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<sup>6</sup> Available at <https://digitalnz.org/records?tab=Audio&text=#/>.

<sup>7</sup> Available at <https://audacityteam.org/>.

	<b>TRAP</b>	<b>DRESS</b>	<b>KIT</b>
Speaker 1	Anzac, <b>chaps</b> , <b>that</b> , <b>than</b> , <b>back</b> , <b>dad</b>	remember, <b>seven</b> , <b>seventy</b> , <b>medicine</b> , <b>benzin</b> , <b>never</b> , <b>reminiscence</b> , <b>engineering</b>	<b>sixty</b> , <b>sister</b> , <b>slippers</b> , <b>strict</b> , <b>ticket</b> (boy), <b>did</b>
Speaker 2	<b>that</b> , <b>travelled</b> , <b>camera</b> , <b>back</b> , <b>ramshackle</b>	November, <b>seventeen</b> , <b>century</b> , <b>collection</b> , <b>left</b> , <b>negatives</b>	<b>big</b> , <b>sixteen</b> , <b>fishing</b> , <b>tint</b>
Speaker 3	<b>landed</b> , <b>that</b> , <b>advertising</b> , <b>standing</b>	remember, <b>ten</b> , <b>nineteen-twenty-</b> <b>seven</b> , <b>getting</b>	<b>thin</b> , <b>airstrip</b> , <b>lived</b> , <b>thing</b> , <b>big</b>
Speaker 4	<b>had</b> , <b>Captain</b> (Cook), <b>hand</b> , <b>aspects</b> , <b>drawback</b> , <b>actual</b>	<b>there</b> , <b>regret</b> , <b>mentors</b> , <b>clever</b>	<b>something</b> , <b>nineteen thirty-six</b> , <b>thing</b> , <b>prickly</b> , <b>big</b> , <b>nineteen-forty-six</b> , <b>fifty-seven</b> , <b>biscuits</b>
Speaker 5	<b>exams</b> , <b>back</b> , <b>math</b> , <b>plantation</b> , <b>understand</b>	<b>Second</b> (World War), <b>left</b> , <b>never</b> , <b>set up</b>	<b>nineteen fifty-one</b> , <b>physics</b> , <b>things</b> , <b>little</b> , <b>everything</b>
Speaker 6	<b>actually</b> , <b>bad</b> , <b>than</b> , <b>contract</b> , <b>back</b>	<b>never</b> , <b>request</b> , <b>cross- connections</b> , <b>twenty-four/seven</b> , <b>question</b>	<b>thing</b> , <b>shifts</b> , <b>condition</b> , <b>criticism</b> , <b>fifty</b> , <b>things</b> , <b>think</b> , <b>shifts</b>
Speaker 7	<b>actually</b> , <b>tax</b> , <b>happening</b> , <b>that</b> , <b>back</b>	<b>secondary</b> , <b>ending</b> (up), <b>necessity</b> , <b>get</b> , <b>less</b>	<b>fifty</b> , <b>think</b> , <b>this</b> , <b>systems</b> , <b>business</b> , <b>benefits</b>
Speaker 8	<b>active</b> , <b>Panel</b> , <b>managing</b> , <b>that</b>	<b>yesterday</b> , <b>per cent</b> , <b>forty-seven</b> , <b>trend</b> , <b>let's</b>	<b>fifty-nine</b> , <b>fifty-</b> <b>five</b> , <b>Jim</b> , <b>ninety-</b> <b>six</b> , <b>kids</b> , <b>this</b>
Speaker 9	<b>thanks</b> , <b>exactly</b> , <b>plastic</b> , <b>that</b>	<b>get</b> , <b>expressed</b> , <b>says</b> , <b>better</b>	<b>this</b> , <b>thing</b> , <b>opinions</b> , <b>drink</b> , <b>myth</b>
Speaker 10	<b>actual</b> , <b>bad</b> , <b>back</b> , <b>actually</b> , <b>crack</b>	remember, <b>Second</b> (Chance Charlie), <b>ten</b> , <b>everyone</b> , <b>yes</b>	<b>think</b> , <b>finished</b> , <b>biggest</b> , <b>did</b> , <b>things</b>

Table 1. List of words of each speaker with the analysed vowels in bold.

Only accented vowels were analysed because in NZE there is no distinction between [ɪ] and [ə] in unstressed syllables, and it could have been confusing in the analysis of the KIT vowel. Even though function words are usually unstressed, *than* occurred in a stressed position in the recording of Speaker 6, therefore, it could be used for analysis. Other function words chosen for analysis are also stressed.

The phonetic context was variable but vowels before [l] were excluded because as Wells (1982, p. 609) points out, in NZE, [l] tends to be dark in all phonetic

environments, and it has a considerable effect on the preceding vowel. Following this statement, Bauer (1986, pp. 242-244) explains that l-vocalisation is more common after front vowels than back vowels and vowels are retracted when they precede [l]. Therefore, the allophones of vowels before [l] differ from allophones in other environments. In particular, TRAP and DRESS are variably neutralised before [l], mostly in favour of the TRAP vowel, this feature being one of the most common types of neutralisation in NZE. As for the KIT vowel, it often merges with [l] when preceding it, resulting in a new back vowel [u]. This is an unrounded and strongly centralised vowel, having the length of a long vowel.

At least four tokens were analysed for each vowel for all speakers both in Group 1 and in Group 2. In the case of shorter recordings, the whole recording was used for analysis while it was not necessary when working on longer recordings. Thus, only part of the longer recordings was analysed to have enough tokens for each vowel. As it was an auditory analysis and the pronunciation of the vowels was determined by listening to the words, each token was analysed twice to ensure that the analysis is reliable, and only consistent results were included in the study. In the second analysis, which was carried out two months later, the same method was used as in the first one.

### 6.3. Scope and limitations of the study

It should be pointed out that in the analysis, phonemic environments are not examined in detail, and the speakers' social background is not known so comparisons based on such data were not made. Furthermore, it was not possible to investigate the difference in the realisation of TRAP, DRESS and KIT between male and female speakers as only samples of male speakers were analysed. Hence, further data collection is required to compare the pronunciation of these vowels in the speech of male and female New Zealanders. Also, an auditory analysis may be susceptible to bias, but the repetition of the analysis was employed to avoid this problem. The small size of the dataset meant that it was not possible to carry out a quantitative analysis, but it does not constitute a problem because the study aimed to shed light on the evolution of the short front vowels by identifying the quality of these vowels in different generations and defining the time period when the changes in pronunciation took place. The novelty of the study lies in the fact that it provides comprehensive understanding about the evolution of the short front vowels in a time period covering one hundred years, which has not been done before.

## 7. Results

In this section, the results of the analysis of the TRAP, DRESS and KIT vowels are presented regarding the use of these vowels in the speech of individual speakers, as well as within the two groups, and differences between the patterns of use in different generations are also identified. Table 2 provides the summary of the results obtained from the auditory analysis of TRAP, DRESS and KIT for the whole dataset. More advanced pronunciation features, compared to the generally observed patterns, can be found in blue while features that lag behind are in orange. The realisation of each vowel is also indicated by the phonetic symbols of



the cardinal vowels. The top half of the table shows the characteristics of Group 1, and the bottom half of the table the characteristics of Group 2. The detailed description of the results is given in the next two sections.

	Name	Speaker no.	Mother country	Date of birth	Moved to NZ	Date of recording	TRAP	DRESS	KIT
3rd and 4th generation	Bob Harkness	S1	NZ	1913	born in NZ	2012	R [ɛ]	R/NR [ɪ] [ɛ]	NC [ɪ]
	Alf Rendell	S2	NZ	1917	born in NZ	2012	R [ɛ]	R [e] [ɪ]	NC [ɪ]
	John Gard'ner	S3	NZ	1918	born in NZ	2006	NR [æ]	NR [ɛ]	NC [ɪ]
	Don Murray	S4	NZ	1936	born in NZ	2012	R [ɛ]	R [e] [ɪ]	NC/C [ɪ] [ə]
	Kenneth Miller	S5	NZ	1940	born in NZ	2014	R [ɛ]	R [e] [ɪ]	NC [ɪ]
5th and 6th generation	Andy Foster	S6	England	1961	1966	2020	R [ɛ]	R [e] [ɪ]	C/NC [ə] [ɪ]
	Stuart Nash	S7	NZ	1967	born in NZ	2020	R [ɛ]	R [e] [ɪ] [i:]	C [ə]
	Wallace Chapman	S8	NZ	1969	born in NZ	2020	R [ɛ]	R [ɪ] [i:]	C [ə]
	Jesse Mulligan	S9	NZ	1978	born in NZ	2020	R [ɛ]	R [ɪ] [i:]	C [ə]
	Guy Williams	S10	NZ	1987	born in NZ	2020	R [ɛ]	R [e] [ɪ] [i:]	C [ə]

Table 2. Summary of results of the auditory analysis of TRAP, DRESS and KIT.<sup>8</sup>

### 7.1. The analysis of the recordings in Group 1

The first set of the analysis examined the realisation of the TRAP, DRESS and KIT vowels in the speech of informants representing third and fourth generation New Zealanders, referred to as Group 1. Based on the auditory analysis of these vowels, it has been found that the majority of these speakers has raised TRAP and DRESS, but not centralised KIT. As for TRAP and DRESS, TRAP is invariably pronounced as [ɛ] while DRESS ranges between [e] and [ɪ] when raised. A notable and the only exception is Speaker 3 as in his speech, neither TRAP nor DRESS is raised. Furthermore, even though Speaker 1 has both raised TRAP and DRESS, the non-raised form of DRESS is also present in his speech. Interestingly, the raised and non-raised form of DRESS appears in the same words in two cases. Turning now to the experimental evidence on the realisation of the KIT vowel, it has been found that the majority of the speakers do not have centralised KIT. The only speaker

<sup>8</sup> R stands for 'raised'; NR for 'not raised'; C for 'centralised'; NC for 'not centralised'.

with centralised KIT is Speaker 4, who produces both the centralised and non-centralised forms, so in his speech KIT is either realised as [ɪ] or [ə].

Taken together, these results suggest that in Group 1 TRAP raising is fairly stable together with DRESS raising, but the extent of DRESS raising is varied. KIT centralisation has been found only in the speech of one speaker out of five, and even in that case, the non-centralised form is also present. Thus, based on the result of Group 1, the overall pattern is that the majority of speakers of the third and fourth generations have raised TRAP and DRESS, but not centralised KIT.

## 7.2. The analysis of the recordings in Group 2

The next section of the analysis was concerned with the realisation of the TRAP, DRESS and KIT vowels in the speech of informants representing fifth and sixth generation New Zealanders, referred to as Group 2. Compared to Group 1, it can be stated that the realisation of TRAP has not changed in Group 2. On the other hand, DRESS is invariably raised unlike in Group 1, but the extent of raising still varies between [e] and [ɪ]. Moreover, a third variant [i:] appears in the speech of as many as four speakers. The former variants are more common, though. Thus, it can be stated that there is considerable variability in the pronunciation of DRESS in Group 2, even greater than in Group 1 because of the emerging [i:]. While centralised KIT was extremely rare in Group 1, all the speakers have centralised KIT in Group 2, which shows that KIT centralisation is a well-established feature in the fifth and sixth generations. There is only one informant, Speaker 6, who produces either the centralised or non-centralised forms of KIT. The general pattern in Group 2, therefore, is that both raised TRAP and DRESS and centralised KIT are present in the speech of all the speakers. Together, these results provide important insights into how the pronunciation of NZE evolved. The next section, therefore, moves on to discuss and explain the findings.

## 8. Summary and discussion

### 8.1. Evidence for the vowel chain shift

It can be seen from the data in Table 2 that in Group 1, Speaker 3 is the only one who does not have either raised TRAP or DRESS and it suggests that these pronunciation features were present in NZE in the first 50 years after the end of the third stage of new-dialect formation, but they were not present in the speech of all New Zealanders. Nevertheless, TRAP raising is fairly stable in the speech of the majority of the speakers, which indicates that raised TRAP was a well-established feature in the third and fourth generations, probably because it was inherited from England, therefore, it was present in NZE from the beginning and came out as winner in new-dialect formation. A slight difference is observable in DRESS raising as even though four speakers out of five have raised DRESS, Speaker 1 produces both the raised and unraised forms of DRESS. The invariable presence of raised TRAP and both the raised and non-raised forms of DRESS in the speech of Speaker 1 indicates that TRAP was the first vowel to change followed by DRESS. Apparently, the two forms of DRESS co-existed in the initial state of the change, and they were allophones in free variation. As the change progressed,

the unraised form disappeared or remained in a few positions for some speakers. It is supported by data from fifth and sixth generation speakers since only the raised variants of DRESS are used. The centralised pronunciation of KIT is not observed in the speech of third and fourth generation speakers, but the non-centralised form is employed, except in the case of Speaker 4, who pronounces both the centralised and non-centralised forms. The sporadic appearance of centralised KIT in the speech of Speaker 4 shows that the KIT vowel started to centralise at the end of that period, considerably later than DRESS raised, and it was not widespread yet. The lack of centralised KIT together with the presence of raised TRAP/DRESS in the third and fourth generations, especially in the third generation, proves that it was a chain shift. The fact that centralised KIT appeared only later indicates that the raising of DRESS triggered the centralisation of KIT, and it was a twentieth-century innovation in NZE.

## 8.2. Evidence for the push chain

Another important point needs to be made about the data presented above regarding the push-chain hypothesis. The use of both the raised/unraised forms of DRESS and the centralised/non-centralised forms of KIT respectively, favour the push-chain scenario because the presence of both variants indicates a transitory state when TRAP and DRESS in the third and fourth generations and DRESS and KIT in the fifth and sixth generations occupied the same phonetic space. Thus, DRESS raised and KIT centralised to avoid misperception in speech. These results also favour the hypothesis that these were sequential steps in the vowel chain shift, as the transitory states provide evidence that the three steps occurred sequentially and not simultaneously. The use of centralised KIT is found generally among fifth and sixth generation informants, but in the speech of Speaker 6, both the centralised and non-centralised forms occur. In fact, the pattern of KIT centralisation in Group 1 is the mirror image of that in Group 2, and it indicates that KIT centralisation appeared in the speech of fourth generation speakers but became widespread only in the fifth and sixth generations. As the first instance of KIT centralisation occurred in the fourth generation, it cannot be the result of new-dialect formation but rather the third step of the short front vowel shift. Similarly to the DRESS vowel in Group 1, the KIT vowel also has two allophones in free variation in Group 2 for Speaker 6, while the majority of the speakers realise KIT as [ɜ]. The fact that in the fifth and sixth generations, there is only one exception, Speaker 6, regarding KIT centralisation suggests that in the fifth and sixth generations, the centralisation of KIT was completed or close to completion. The most notable feature of fifth and sixth generation informants is that it was not uncommon to find these speakers using [i:] when pronouncing DRESS. Thus, the analysis of the data of fifth and sixth generation speakers revealed that DRESS has not settled yet but continued to raise after KIT centralised. As the majority of the speakers use this variant in the fifth and sixth generations, there seems to be a steady increase in DRESS raising, which constitutes a significant difference compared to third and fourth generation speakers. Therefore, it serves as evidence that DRESS raising is still in progress.

## 9. Conclusion

The present paper has investigated the evolution and realisation of the TRAP, DRESS and KIT vowels in NZE. To this end an auditory analysis of speech samples of ten male New Zealanders born between 1890 and 1990 has been carried out. The purpose of the current study was to determine whether the unique pronunciation of the NZE short front vowels is the result of new-dialect formation or a short front vowel shift, and it has been assumed and proven that both hypotheses have equivalently important roles in this process. The second aim of the study was to investigate the short front vowel shift and it has been hypothesised and demonstrated that it is a push chain in progress consisting of three sequential steps. The experiment has also confirmed that the DRESS vowel is still raising, which suggests that the vowel chain shift is still in progress.

This work contributes to the existing literature on the characteristics of NZE by providing the results of an empirical investigation regarding the most salient pronunciation features of NZE in a one-hundred-year long period. Before this study, this period, consisting of four generations, had not been researched. Also, prior to this paper, researchers focused on one or two aspects of this linguistic phenomenon, while here an empirical investigation has been carried out considering more aspects. The small sample size did not allow the accomplishment of a quantitative experiment, and the study is limited regarding gender differences because only the speech of male speakers was analysed. Also, more information could be gained by carrying out the acoustic analysis of the NZE short front vowels, and it would help us to assess a greater degree of accuracy on the phonetic space these vowels occupy. In spite of its limitations, the study certainly adds to our understanding of the evolution of the NZE short front vowels. Indeed, these limitations can rather be seen as indications that this would be a fruitful area for further work.

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# Modals and Quasi-Modals of Obligation and Necessity in Indian and Canadian English

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**Abstract.** This paper explores the differences of the distribution and use of the modals and quasi-modals which convey deontic and epistemic obligation and necessity in Canadian and Indian English. More precisely, *must* and *ought to* are compared to their counterparts and their semantically related quasi-modals *have got to* and *be supposed to*. The aim of this paper is to provide new insights into the patterns of distribution between these pairs of modals and quasi-modals and to outline some possible reasons for the existing differences. For this purpose, the online *Corpus of Global Web-Based English* has been employed (Davies, 2013).

**Keywords:** Modals, obligation, necessity, quasi-modals, Canadian English, Indian English.

## 1. Introduction

Modality is a grammatical category which refers “to the status of the proposition that describes the event” (Palmer, 2001, p. 1). Modals express modality, which encompasses a variety of different situations, for example, “possibility, necessity, ability, obligation, permission, and hypotheticality” (Collins, 2009, p. 11). There has not been a general agreement among linguists over which verbs should be classified as modals. Quirk and Greenbaum’s classification (1990, p. 39) includes all of the mostly accepted modals: *can*, *could*, *must*, *may*, *will*, *would*, *might*, *shall*, *should*, *ought to*, *need*, *dare* and *used to*, even though Collins and Hollo’s (2017, p. 87), for example, do not consider the last one to be a modal verb.

In terms of syntax, Present-Day English (henceforth PDE) modals behave differently from ordinary verbs. They never appear in the bare infinitive form, only in a finite form, and they are followed by the bare infinitive form of a verb. They do not change form to agree with the subject (Huddleston & Pullum, 2005, p. 39). Interestingly, double modal constructions were accepted in Middle English (for example, *shall may*) (Nagle, 1995, p. 209), but nowadays they appear (in most cases) in complementary distribution (Adger, 2003, p. 158). As for their position in the sentence, they can appear before some sentence-medial adverbs and sentential negation *not* (Heycock, 2018, p. 4).

Quasi-modals<sup>1</sup> include many semantic notions similar to those of modals. Even though there has been a long-standing debate among linguists over their characteristics, Collins (2009) indicates that there is a general consensus over their “suppletive roles” (p. 15). They substitute modals when there is no specific morphological or infinitival form for a specific modal. For example, the modal

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<sup>1</sup> Collins (2009, p. 15) draws a distinction between “quasi-modals” and “semi-modals”, whereas Smith (2003) only employs the term “semi-modals” (p. 241). For the purpose of this study, the terms “semi-modals” and “quasi-modals” are used indistinguishably.

*must* does not morphologically inflect for the past tense form and *had to* can be used instead. Westney's criteria (1995, p. 11) for fixing certain complex verbs as quasi-modals (or "periphrastic", as he calls them) is more extensive. Firstly, he states that they should be semantically related to its corresponding central modal<sup>2</sup> (for example, the pair *must* / *have to*). Secondly, quasi-modals should have a different meaning from the meanings of each of their constituents (idiomaticity). The third criterion is grammaticalization, that is, they should be part of a distinct group which shares common semantic and syntactic features. However, quasi-modals do not hold a categorial status.

This paper explores modals and quasi-modals which convey deontic and epistemic obligation and necessity: *must*, *ought to* (modals), *have got to* and *be supposed to* (quasi-modals). Scholars generally agree that linguistic categorization of modals is divided into four main groups: epistemic, deontic,<sup>3</sup> dynamic and evidential (Palmer, 2001, pp. 8-9; Portner, 2009, p. 133), although this study assumes, as Collins's does (2009), that epistemic modality encompasses evidential modality (p. 22). The examples below illustrate how the modal *must* and the quasi-modal *have got to* represent differently deontic, epistemic and dynamic necessity.

(1) Thomas *must* be in London now.

(2) Susan *must* arrive in time.

(3) The printer *has got to* have the drivers installed, otherwise it will not work.

In sentence (1), *must* has an epistemic flavour. Epistemic modality "relates to the speaker's knowledge concerning a situation" (Collins & Hollo, 2017, p. 88). In this example it can be considered that the speaker shows a deductive interpretation (e.g., "If Thomas left an hour ago, he must be in London now"). However, in the second sentence, the use of *must* should be considered an example of deontic modality, which is related to "some kind of external authority [...] who lays an obligation" (Palmer, 2001, p. 10), in this case, on Susan. Dynamic modality (3) expresses obligation or necessity intrinsically imposed by the individual or subject. It is needless to say that all modals and quasi-modals from this study represent deontic, epistemic and even dynamic meanings in varying degrees and that there are strong regional differences. Analyzing them is beyond the scope of this study and little research has been conducted on this issue, being perhaps Collins' study (2009, p. 37) of American, British and Australian English the most comprehensive one.

A much more significant amount of scientific work has shed light on the broad differences in terms of the distribution of modals and quasi-modals in the different varieties of English (Collins, 2013, p. 155; Leech, 2013, p. 95, for example). Even though, according to Quirk and Greenbaum (1990, p. 4), there are five different types of English varieties, we will only focus on the regional

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<sup>2</sup> The distinction between "central" and "marginal" modals is done by Quirk and Greenbaum (1990, p. 39). The verbs *will*, *would*, *can*, *could*, *must*, *shall*, *should*, *might* and *may* are described as "central modals", whereas *need*, *ought to*, *dare* and *used to* are "marginal modals".

<sup>3</sup> Deontic modality is also referred as "root modality" by Coates (1983, p. 10).



varieties, which are also commonly referred to as “dialects”. Despite the fact that English is spoken in more than a hundred countries (Schneider, 2011, p. 2), it is not the mother tongue in all of them. English is the second language (L2) in many others. In countries where “English has little or no official function” (Jenkins, 2009, p. 4), second language speakers use English as a Foreign Language (EFL). In this case, English is not an institutionalized second language. Thus, one of the first classifications which can be made of all the English varieties is in terms of whether they are used as native, second or foreign language (Jenkins, 2009, p. 2).

This paper examines the differences with respect to the distribution and use of the modals (*must* and *ought to*) and quasi-modals (*have got to* and *be supposed to*) of obligation and necessity in Canadian and Indian English through a corpus-based study using the *Corpus of Global Web-Based English*. Canadian and Indian English are two varieties of the World Englishes which are “localized and indigenized” (Schneider, 2011, p. 2) varieties of English. As the British Empire sprawled in the seventeenth century and later, different varieties slowly emerged in the Commonwealth colonies, which were influenced by their unique cultures and the indigenous tribes and immigrants (Crystal, 2018, pp. 101, 107). The choice of these two varieties, which is based in the theoretical framework of Kachru’s Three Circles of English (2009, p. 569), is explained in the next section.

## 2. Literature review

The World Englishes have been conceptualized differently by scholars. One of the dominant models in the literature which groups the English varieties has been Kachru’s Three Circles of English, i.e., the Inner Circle, the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle (2009, p. 569). These circles show “(1) the *types of spread* of English, (2) the *patterns of acquisition*, and (3) the *functional domains* in which English is used internationally” (Bolton, 2006, p. 292, original emphasis). They indirectly refer to two diasporas widely discussed in the literature which took place from the seventeenth century onwards. In the first diaspora, there was a migration of mother-tongue speakers of the British Isles to North America and Australia (Jenkins, 2009, p. 6). Countries where English is the native language belong to the Inner Circle. They are the United Kingdom, Ireland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the United States (Crystal, 2018, p. 113). For Kachru, the Inner Circle can be described as the “trunk of the English language tree” (2020, p. 447). In the second diaspora, which gave birth to the so-called “New Englishes”, large territories of Asia and Africa were colonized. The Outer Circle includes most of the countries of South Asia, South-East Asia, South Pacific, all the countries from the former colonial Africa and South Africa. India, Singapore, Ghana, Kenya are examples for each of these subregions. In terms of population, “the users of English in the Outer and Expanding Circles outnumber the users of the Inner Circle” (Kachru, 2020, p. 453).

The number of English speakers is more difficult to determine in the Expanding Circle. Unlike in the Inner and Outer Circles, there is no strong correspondence between the English speakers and the total population of the countries that conform it. The Expanding Circle involves countries where English has “no special status in their language policy” (Crystal, 2018, p. 113), but English

is the most important foreign language. Examples include China and Thailand (Kachru, 2009, p. 569).

Section 2.1 describes what has been written about the use of modals in Canadian and Indian English, which belong to the Inner and Outer Circle, respectively.

## 2.1. Changes in modals and semi-modals in Canadian and Indian English

There is a consensus among scholars that the frequency of central English modal verbs is declining (Leech, 2011, p. 547; Leech, 2013, p. 95; Nokkonen, 2014, p. 63). Millar's study (2009) of modals in the *TIME Magazine Corpus of American English* is perhaps the dissenting voice, as he argues that the frequency of the modal verbs of necessity and obligation *must* and *should* is decreasing, but not that of *may*, *can* and *could*, which express ability or permission (p. 215).

Scholars have hypothesized about the possible reasons of this decrease. One of them might be the acceptance of grammaticalization among speakers. Grammaticalization can be defined as a process whereby a "periphrastic lexical unit is transformed into a lexical one, and typically involves syntactic simplification, phonological weakening and semantic bleaching and generalization" (Collins, 2009, p. 18). This leads to lexical expressions of modality. Colloquialization is argued to be another reason for this decline. This process is the spread of linguistic speech features to other registers (Collins, 2013, p. 155). In turn, colloquialism might be viewed as a wider movement of the democratization of language. Smith (2003, p. 253) claims that this stylistic change in which expressions of authority are less frequent in the discourse might explain the decrease in frequency of the modal of obligation *must*. Fairclough (1992) links this removal of "overt power markers" (p. 203) with the perceived rise of informal discourse. Regarding this issue, he finds that the boundary between spoken and written texts is becoming more blurred, in the sense that written discourse is being influenced by spoken discourse.

The decline in frequency of modals has been different in Canadian and Indian English. Modals of obligation and necessity (*must*, *should*, *ought to*, *need*) have undergone a dramatic change in the past years in Canadian English. Tagliamonte and D'Arcy's study (2007, p. 82) based on the 1.5-million-word corpus of the *Toronto English Archive* indicates that *must* has lost ground to the semi-modals such as *have got to* and *have to*. Even though this decline has been observed in most of the Inner Circle varieties, it has not been studied in so much depth in Outer Circle varieties.

As for Indian English, these changes seem to be less noticeable. Loureiro-Porto (2019, p. 122) contends that the evidence is conclusive: if we assume that *must* is being currently replaced by semi-modals such as *have got to*, *have to*, *need to* and *want to*, the rate of replacement in Indian English is the slowest compared to other varieties of the Outer Circle (Hong Kong English, Singapore English and Philippine English). She also confirms that semi-modals are less grammaticalized in Indian English than in British English and Hong Kong English (2016, p. 143). Collins' cross-varietal study (2013, p. 161), where he examines the distribution of quasi-modals both in varieties of the Inner Circle (British, American, Australian and New Zealand Englishes) and varieties of the

Outer Circle (Philippines, Singapore, Kenyan, Indian and Hong Kong Englishes), indicates that the frequency of *have got to* in many Outer Circle varieties doubles the frequency in Indian English (the data of this study was obtained from the *International Corpus of English*, the *Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English* and the *Frown Corpus*). Loureiro-Porto (2016) opposes this viewpoint and states that “*have got to* [...] is too infrequent in the OC [Outer Circle] varieties to draw any firm conclusion” (p. 167, original emphasis).

Many linguists have proposed different theories to explain the reasons behind the cross-varietal differences. Collins (2013, p. 156) considers that these differences have been shaped by socio-historical aspects and extralinguistic factors. He draws upon Schneider’s Dynamic Model for explaining how English varieties have evolved differently into five stages: (1) foundation, (2) exonormative stabilization, (3) nativization, (4) endonormative stabilization, and (5) differentiation (Schneider 2007, p. 56). Canadian English has undergone all these stages and is currently in phase 5. Indian English, by contrast, is still in phase 3, although Schneider argues that it could be progressing to phase 4. However, in order to reach phase 5, as Schneider (2007) puts it, English must be “a carrier of [...] a national identity” and the language is not “accessible to a major portion of society” in India (p. 171). Historical factors also have a significant influence. During India’s colonization, the main objective of the colonial power was to ensure that the members of the Indian political system spoke English, but not the rest of the Indian citizens in the lower strata of society. Schneider (2011) has noted that, as a result, its use also has political connotations, as it is preferred by the social elites (p. 151). This process did not occur in Canada.

## 2.2. Modals and quasi-modals under study

The modals and semi-modals of necessity and obligation can be further divided into two large groups depending on their modal strength: strong forms such as *must*, *have to*, *have got to*, *need*, *need to*, *be bound to* and *be to*; and the medium strength forms *should*, *ought to*, *be supposed to* and *had better* (Collins, 2009, p. 33). Within the vast different types of meanings that modals and semi-modals convey, this paper studies two pairs which express strong forms of necessity and obligation: *must* and its counterpart *have got to* and the medium strength forms *ought to* and *be supposed to*. This section provides a general picture of the research done so far on these modals and quasi-modals.

There are minor semantic differences between *must* and *have got to*. *Must* is a central modal which expresses obligation and logical necessity (Quirk & Greenbaum, 1990, pp. 61-62). In Mair and Leech’s analysis (2006) of four reference corpora (*Brown*, *Frown*, *Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen* and *Freiburg-Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen Corpus*), they show that there has been a decline of 29% and 34% in the use of *must* in British and American English, respectively (p. 327). Leech (2013) corroborates their viewpoint and states that “the canonical core modal *must* is less common than [...] *have got to*” (p. 111, original emphasis). *Must* has been discussed in-depth in the literature, whereas *have got to* has not received much individual treatment (only Coates, 1983, p. 52). The most noticeable semantic difference perhaps would be the fact that *must* is not used when there is an external necessity (Palmer, 1990, p. 116). *Have got to* is rarely

used in formal contexts and preferred in conversational English (Palmer, 1990, p. 114; Collins, 2009, p. 68) perhaps due to the “censure of *got* by prescriptivists [...] throughout the IC [Inner Circle], and variably across the OC [Outer Circle] Englishes” (Collins, 2013, p. 164, original emphasis). In the *Longman Corpus of Spoken American English* the difference is even greater, being *have got to* ten times more frequent than *must* (Mair & Leech, 2006, p. 328).

*Have got to* and *have to* are sometimes analyzed together (Westney, 1995, p. 103), but this paper makes the case that they should be treated separately. Despite their semantic similarities, *have got to* and *have to* differ both syntactically and in terms of style. *Have got to* shares some of the common characteristics of all modals, whereas *have to* behaves as a lexico-modal, in the sense, for instance, that it can occur with modals (*He may have to eat tomorrow* / \**He may have got to eat tomorrow*) and that it can appear in finite forms.

*Ought to* is a marginal modal which does not resemble the rest of the modals and quasi-modals mentioned so far. This is mainly because it is a medium-strength modal of obligation and necessity which is more closely associated with *should* (Palmer, 1990, p. 122; Collins, 2009, p. 52). It is quite striking that the frequency of *ought to* is falling rapidly in PDE if compared to the central modal *should*. Harris’ study (1986) sheds some light on the reasons why *have to* has risen in popularity and *ought to* has not. He states that one of the causes of the decline is that *ought to* is usually constructed with the *to*-infinitive (for example, *you ought to do as the teacher says*) and has not evolved to share some of the syntactic characteristics of *have to*, that is, to become a lexico-modal. Even though some varieties have attempted to “turn *ought to* into a main verb [...] such structures have not been admitted as standard on either side of the Atlantic” (p. 355, original emphasis). *Be supposed to* and *ought to* have very similar meanings, as they both convey objective obligation and necessity which arise from an external source (Collins, 2009, p. 81). Recent studies suggest that the use of *be supposed to* is on the rise (+6.3% in British and American English) (Mair & Leech, 2006, p. 328), and this increase might be in detriment of *ought to*.

### 3. Methodology

One of the main aims of this study is to examine the difference between the use of modals and quasi-modals of necessity and obligation in two types of English varieties: on the one hand, a variety spoken in a specific country where English is the native language of anglophone citizens, and on the other hand, a variety from a country where English is not the mother tongue of their citizens. Following the taxonomy of Kachru’s Three Circles of English (2009, p. 569), firstly, Canadian English has been selected as representative of a variety of the Inner Circle.

Canadian English, being part of the Inner Circle, shows many similarities with American English, to a point where in some cases it seems that Canadian English and American English are indistinguishable. In terms of vocabulary, Canadian English is heavily influenced by French as well (Crystal, 2018, p. 101). Even though, as referred before, Canadian English belongs to the Inner Circle, this does not mean that other languages are not spoken in Canada. In fact, “monolingual English speakers amount to only 56% of the Canadian population” (Dollinger,

2020, p. 52). For example, French is the official language in the region of Quebec in Canada. Some might argue, therefore, that the choice of Canadian English over other varieties which compose the Inner Circle can be quite debatable. However, only 2.7% of the population speaks the second official language outside Quebec (Dollinger, 2020, p. 52). Canadian English shares many characteristics with British English and American English due to the strong links that it retains from the former colonial power and the large border that Canada shares with the United States. Thus, it is safe to conclude that Canadian English serves as a good example of an Inner Circle variety.

The Indian English variety has been chosen so as to examine how modals and quasi-modals behave in a variety of the Outer Circle. Both Canada and India were colonized by the British Empire. However, the English language is perceived quite differently in India due to its political and social connotations (Schneider, 2007, p. 167). Its use is restricted to the government, the Judiciary and utilitarian or official domains (Schneider, 2007, p. 161).

The data collected comes mainly from the online *Corpus of Global Web-Based English* (GloWbE hereafter) compiled by Davies (2013). The main reason for the choice of this corpus is its free access and the vast number of words that it includes from websites, webpages and blogs, which amounts to 1.9 billion words from 1.8 million web pages. The chart below indicates the figures of this corpus for the varieties of this study (Davies & Fuchs, 2015, p. 18):

Country	Websites	Webpages	Words
Canada	33,776	135,692	134,765,381
India	18,618	113,765	96,430,888

Table 1. Size of GloWbE.

Some of the functions available for searching are collocates, chart and keyword-in-context display (KWIC). The chart display has been used for collecting information about quantitative distribution of the modals and quasi-modals under study. The tables in Section 4 display the raw frequency of specific words, their normalized frequencies and the total number of words from the corpus. It is crucial to note that only taking into consideration the raw frequency will not provide an accurate analysis of the information because we are working with corpora of different sizes (Canada: 134,765,381 words; India: 96,430,888 words). GloWbE normalizes the frequency by dividing the raw frequency by the corpus size and multiplying it by 1,000,000. This study compares the instances of every modal and quasi-modal per million words.

GloWbE allows linguists not only to examine the regional distribution of modals and quasi-modals, but also to extract data of their distribution in terms of text types. Unfortunately, the range of analysis is quite limited (the corpus is only classified between blogs or general websites), but it can still provide some meaningful information. There are some differences in terms of register between both of them. The blogs, which make up 60% of the corpus, tend to have more informal language (Davies & Fuchs, 2015, p. 2), whereas general websites include other types of texts such as magazines or newspapers.



## 4. Analysis of results

This section explores the distribution of the modal verbs *must*, *ought to* and the quasi-modals *have got to* and *be supposed to* in Canadian and Indian English. The figures represented in the Tables 2 to 5 comprehend the raw frequency, the total number of words that comprise the corpus of each variety and the normalized frequency of the aforementioned modals and quasi-modals. The illustrations present the distribution of the modals and quasi-modals studied in general websites and blogs.

### 4.1. *Must* vs. *have got to*

The central meaning of *must* is deontic necessity, as shown in examples (4) and (5) below:

- (4) “Faculty *must* submit grades for courses with final exams five calendar days after exam date” (Canadian English, GloWbE, emphasis added).
- (5) “Another point is that if parents are going to convey Vedic culture and Dharma to their children, then the parent also *must* know what to say and how to explain things properly to them” (Indian English, GloWbE, emphasis added).

Epistemic *must*, which refers to what Huddleston and Pullum (2002) call “pragmatic weakening” (p. 181) is less common. In this case, *must* has a more subjective meaning which depends on the speaker’s attitude or confidence.

*Have got to* and *must* are semantically alike. They mainly express deontic necessity, as illustrated in examples (6) and (7):

- (6) “We *have got to* be better than that as a unit” (Canadian English, GloWbE, emphasis added).
- (7) “We’ve *got to* abandon the now universal, but originally Western, ethos of economic growth” (Indian English, GloWbE, emphasis added).

There are no cases in the data analyzed where *have got to* is used in the preterite form. This confirms Westney’s claim (1995, p. 148) that only *have to* and not *have got to* can be used with a past situation, as explained in Section 2.2.

The central modal is the most popular choice for expressing necessity and obligation in Canadian English (608.44 instances per 1,000,000 words over 586.36 per million words in Indian English), as shown in Table 2.

	Canadian English	Indian English
<b>Raw frequency</b>	81,997	56,543
<b>Number of words</b>	134,765,381	96,430,888
<b>Normalized frequency per million words</b>	608.44	586.36

Table 2. Frequencies of *must*.

As Table 3 illustrates, frequencies of *have got to* are higher in Indian English than in Canadian English. Indian English portrays 2.92 instances per every million words, whereas in Canadian English there are only 1.70 per 1,000,000 words.

	Canadian English	Indian English
<b>Raw frequency</b>	229	282
<b>Number of words</b>	134,765,381	96,430,888
<b>Normalized frequency per million words</b>	1.70	2.92

Table 3. Frequencies of *have got to*.

Figure 1 shows the dominance of *must* in general websites over blogs, both in Indian and Canadian English. Interestingly, there is a higher incidence of *must* in Indian informal blogs in comparison with the occurrences of this modal in Canadian blogs.

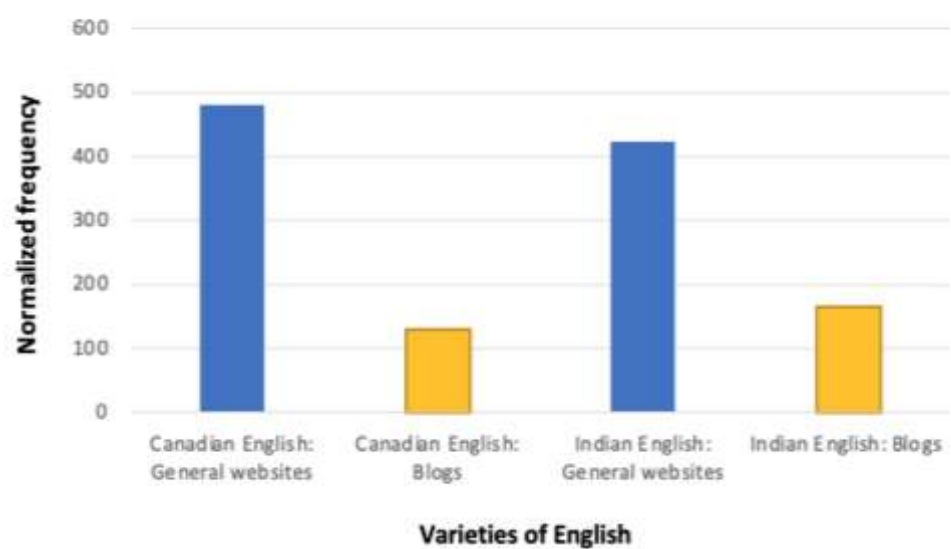


Figure 1. Distribution of *must* by text type (normalized frequency).

There seems to be a recognizable pattern in terms of the distribution of *must* and *ought to* by text type. *Have got to* also occurs more frequently in general websites than in blogs in both Indian and Canadian English, although the difference is more noticeable in Indian English, as Figure 2 demonstrates below.

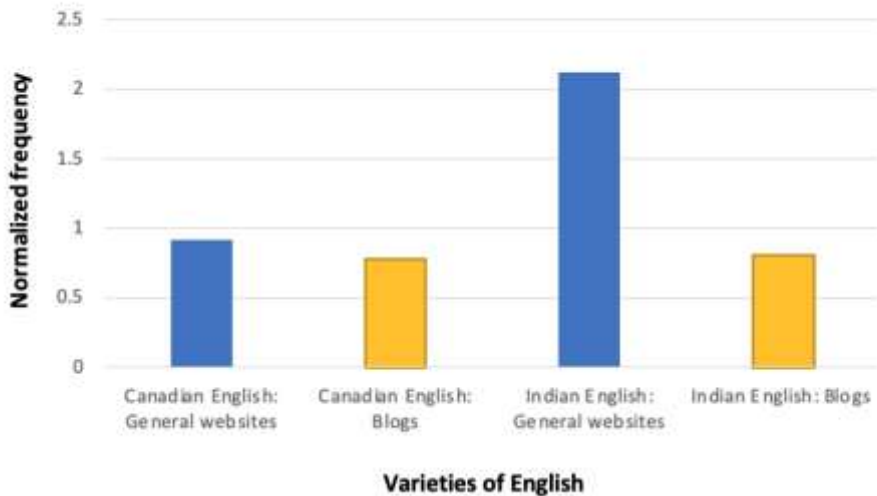


Figure 2. Distribution of *have got to* by text type (normalized frequency).

*Have got to* appears frequently in the corpora in its contracted form, as shown in example 7. This quasi-modal has been associated with the process of colloquialization. Collins (2013, p. 156) argues that colloquialism (see Section 2.1.) might be a significant factor for the rise of the frequency of quasi-modals, whereas Leech (2013, p. 108) believes that it does not explain the fall of the frequency of modals. Even though Internet language might be closer to spoken English and the Internet is considered a “mixed medium” (Crystal, 2011, p. 19), the data show that there is no evidence to prove that *have got to* is used more in informal contexts (blogs).

#### 4.2. *Ought to* and *be supposed to*

As the samples from the corpora below show and as has been mentioned in Section 2.2, *ought to* is a marginal modal and should be classified as representative of “medium modality” in Huddleston and Pullum’s modal strength continuum (2002, p. 177). There are some instances where *ought to* expresses epistemic meanings, but they are scarce.

- (8) “Arbitration over when the school bell *ought to* ring brings “clock-punching” to a whole new level of absurdity” (Canadian English, GloWbE, emphasis added).
- (9) “A modern C/C++ IDE *ought to* have deep integration to popular version control systems” (Indian English, GloWbE, emphasis added).

The main meanings of *be supposed to* are either deontic or epistemic. Example (11) expresses epistemic modality as it is assumed that someone has done something (“it is thought that”), whereas example (10) could be interpreted to



have a deontic meaning, in the sense that someone is required or is under the obligation to do something.

- (10) “Also someone please tell Zoie Palmer her character *is supposed to* like women” (Canadian English, GloWbE, emphasis added).
- (11) “The tree *is supposed to* have been planted by either Hyder Ali or his son Tipu Sultan” (Indian English, GloWbE, emphasis added).

In this study, we have excluded some searches in GloWbE. Unlike other modal verbs, *ought to* is used with the *to*-infinitive and not with the bare infinitive (Harris, 1986, p. 347). One of the reasons why our GloWbE search has been *ought* instead of *ought to* is due to the fact that we must take into account that the uncontracted negative and contracted negative of this modal verb are *ought not to* and *oughtn’t to*, respectively (for example: “It was my own fault, and I *ought not to* grumble” [Canadian English, GloWbE, emphasis added]). *Be supposed* gave some results which did not express modal meaning, as illustrated in the following example: “But this does not mean, as might logically *be supposed*, that they have a right to veto treatment that is in their best interests” (Canadian English, GloWbE) and therefore this search has been omitted.

The figures presented in Table 4 indicate that Canadian English shows a dispreference for *ought to* in comparison to Indian English. India has 31.20 instances per every million words, whereas Canada has 26.73 examples per 1,000,000 words. Collins’s opinion (2009) that it is “premature” to think that *ought to* is “moribund” (p. 56) is shared by Coates (1983, p. 70).

	Canadian English	Indian English
<b>Raw frequency</b>	3,602	3,009
<b>Number of words</b>	134,765,381	96,430,888
<b>Normalized frequency per million words</b>	26.73	31.20

Table 4. Frequencies of *ought to*.

Table 5 shows that, in quantitative terms, *be supposed to* is slightly more common in Canadian English than in Indian English. In addition, the data for the distribution of *be supposed to* and *ought to* suggest that the latter seems to be the preferred option in both varieties (see Tables 4 and 5).

	Canadian English	Indian English
<b>Raw frequency</b>	23	32
<b>Number of words</b>	134,765,381	96,430,888
<b>Normalized frequency per million words</b>	0.17	0.33

Table 5. Frequencies of *be supposed to* (*supposed to* preceded by all forms of the verb *be*).

The data by text type of *ought to* illustrated in Figure 3 indicate the predominance of *ought to* in general websites over blogs in both Canadian and Indian English.

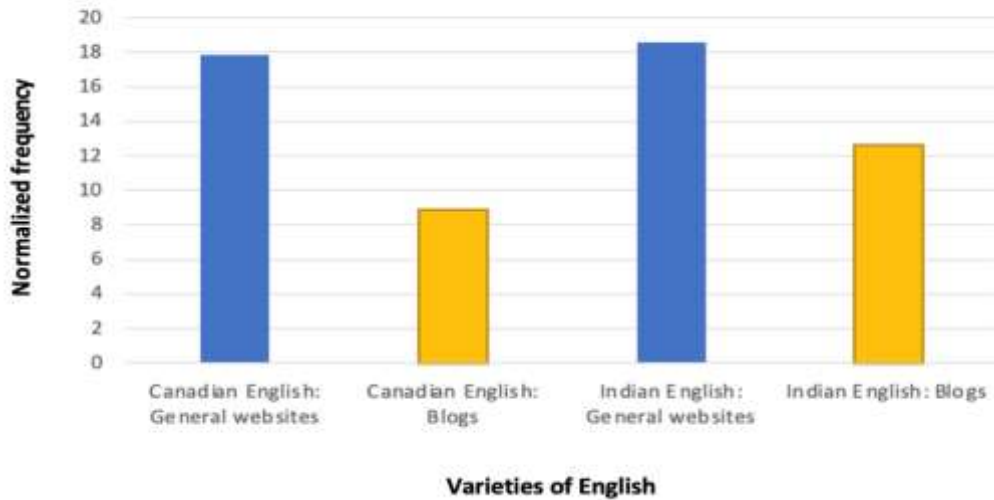


Figure 3. Distribution of *ought to* by text type (normalized frequency).

Despite the fact that the number of instances of *ought to* is higher in Indian English blogs than in Canadian English blogs (there is an 8% difference), *ought to* is more commonly used in general websites than in personal blogs in both varieties by a large difference.

The same distributional pattern exhibited in Figure 3 can be observed in Figure 4, even though the normalized frequency of *be supposed to* across all varieties and text types is smaller than that of *ought to*.

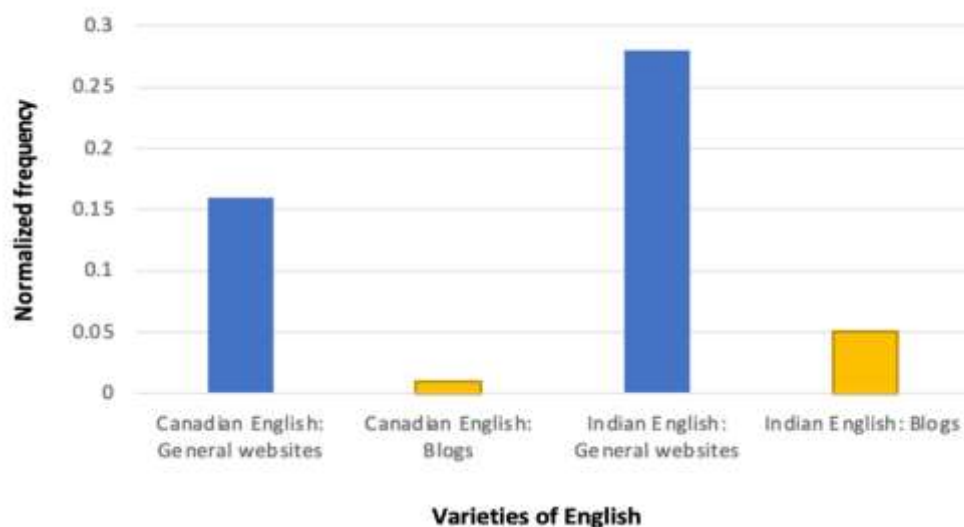


Figure 4. Distribution of *be supposed to* by text type (normalized frequency).

Collins (2009) has pointed out that the increase in the use of *be supposed to* “may well be [...] at the expense of *ought to*” (p. 80, original emphasis). However, according to the analysis of the results obtained in Figures 3 and 4, it seems that the use of this lexico-modal is marginal in both varieties.

## 5. Conclusions

The present paper has studied the frequency and distribution of modals *must* and *ought to* and quasi-modals *have got to* and *be supposed to* of deontic and epistemic obligation and necessity. They have been compared in a variety of Inner Circle (Canadian English) and in one of the Outer Circle (Indian English). Several conclusions can be outlined.

Firstly, it has been revealed that, as a general rule, the semi-modals studied tend to be more frequently employed in Indian English than in Canadian English. This fact does not seem to confirm the hypothesis exposed by Collins (2013, p. 166), who associates the higher frequency of semi-modals with language evolution. If prescriptivism has reduced the influence of colloquialism in postcolonial Indian English, the results show quite the opposite. In fact, Canadian English, which is in the ultimate phase of the evolutionary phases of the Dynamic Model proposed by Schneider (2007, p. 56), is, with regards to modals and semi-modals, more conservative than Indian English.

If we assume that blogs include texts written in less formal English, in terms of style and register, the data of the distribution of modals and quasi-modals in terms of text types have evinced a clear preference of language users for the modals under consideration in more formal general websites. This seems to tie in with Fairclough’s argument (1992, p. 205) that the wider movement of the democratization of discourse has led to written texts simulating spoken discourse,

yet the semi-modals studied tend to be less used in blogs across the two varieties (in a smaller degree), so the results of this study are still far from being conclusive regarding this question.

Speakers from both varieties favour the modals *must* and *ought to* for expressing medium and strong obligation and necessity if we compare their frequency with the rest of quasi-modals. It is worth mentioning that this study is not diachronic and the process of the decline of the use of modals as expounded by Leech (2013, p. 95), and Mair and Leech (2006, p. 326) cannot be observed. In addition, the data of this study are only from online resources, whereas theirs have been drawn from conversational corpora as well. These two factors alone are relevant for explaining how colloquialism might be less noticeable in written corpora and why the results seem to be contradictory. For instance, as it has been mentioned before, *have got to* is not frequent outside conversational English and therefore it is difficult to determine in a synchronic study whether the frequency of this quasi-modal will increase in the future.

The scope of this study is limited, in terms of the varieties chosen (only two, each of them being representative of an Inner and Outer Circle variety) and the modals and semi-modal verbs selected. The extent of analysis can be broadened by focusing on the lexico-modal *have to* and its relationship with the central modal *must*. This modal has received a lot of attention in the literature but continues to be largely unexplored in Asian varieties. What remains clear, at least from the findings of these online corpora, is that, in both Indian and Canadian English *have got to*, and especially, *be supposed to* cannot rival the modals *must* and *ought to*.

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# Developing Academic Skills

## Submitting an Abstract

### Seminar Materials for Young Academics

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Apart from the granting of degrees, the pace of professional academic life is, to a large extent, set by the attendance of conferences where knowledge is shared and potentially useful contacts are made. The submission of abstracts is an essential part of this process, no less than of other aspects of academia. With that in mind, my department (the Department of Anglo-American Studies at the Faculty of Arts and Humanities) together with my research centre (CETAPS – the Centre for English, Translation and Anglo-Portuguese Studies) at the University of Porto have decided to offer specific instruction to MA and PhD students. Having been asked to teach such a seminar, I was surprised by how seldom or inadequately abstracts are dealt with in studies in the field of English for Special Purposes and coursebooks of Academic English. The primer *English for Academics: A Communication Skills Course for Tutors, Lecturers and PhD Students*, published jointly by the British Council and Cambridge University Press, for instance, offers a unit under the heading “Writing an Abstract” (2014: 147-154), but most of the exercises fall below the level of linguistic competence as well of intellectual sophistication one would expect of postgraduate students, let alone of “lecturers”. And in an otherwise useful guide to academic writing, Eric Hayot (2014: 8-9) only mentions abstracts once, anecdotally, as it were, and not in order to explain what they are or to give advice.

I therefore decided to make my own materials in a manner I hoped would prove more suitable for postgraduate students in the Humanities, mainly but not exclusively targeting students in the field of Literary Studies. The following materials have been applied and tested in the academic years 2015-16 and 2016-17. They are intended to be given to the seminar participants as hand-outs, to serve as a basis for discussion and training. They mean to offer practical advice, but obviously not a recipe.

For copyright reasons, I have resorted to the call for papers of a conference organized by my own research centre in November 2015. I have also included the abstracts of papers by Dr Andrzej Kowalczyk (**Maria Curie-Skłodowska University**, Lublin, Poland) and Dr Ana Rull Suárez (Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, Madrid, Spain), whose permission to publish I wish to acknowledge. I likewise wish to express my gratitude to Professor Rui Carvalho Homem, the co-ordinator of the Relational Forms research group.

## 1. Introduction

Abstracts are commonly required in several different contexts:

1. when you wish to take part in a conference – in answer to a call for papers;



2. when you wish to contribute to a collection or journal – often in answer to a call for contributions (e.g. when a special issue of a journal is being planned);
3. when you wish to submit a publication proposal (monograph, collection of essays, critical edition) to a publishing-house;
4. when you are applying for support to attend a conference;
5. when you are trying to be accepted on a degree and have to provide the rationale for your future dissertation;
6. when you are submitting a research project for funding;
7. when you are running for the position of research assistant to a project in which you have to show what specific contribution you will be able to make;
8. when you are asked to produce a summary of a piece which you have already written, whether it is an article, a book chapter or a book.

This seminar is focused on writing an abstract for a conference (situation 1 above) but many of the problems addressed and many of the criteria mentioned below also apply to other situations. In fact, some of the issues raised have to do with academic literacy skills generally: how to write adequately, how to refer to sources and the work of other scholars, etc.

An abstract may look like a small thing, but, as the list above already indicates, it is a stepping-stone to much that is crucial in academic life. The importance of writing an adequate abstract should not be underestimated. As Ken Hyland points out:

The challenges of writing for publication are [...] considerable in today's competitive climate where it is not unusual for journals in some fields to receive ten times more submissions than they can use. Moreover, for writers it not only involves developing the research craft skills and "ways of knowing" of a discipline, but also control of its specialized discourse conventions. A paper will only find its way to publication if it frames ideas and employs forms of argument that readers are likely to find familiar. (Hyland, 2009: 85)

This dossier is designed with the aim of raising awareness of some of the issues involved in producing an abstract. You will find advice and exercises. Authentic and pedagogical materials are either included or referred to.

## 2. Principles and criteria

While a variety of strategies is theoretically appropriate for writing an abstract, the following points ought to be kept in mind:

- The clarity and credibility of the message should be your main aim. Clarity and credibility usually go hand in hand, as scientific merit and rhetorical adequacy cannot survive without each other. The issues raised in the

following paragraphs can be seen as mere particularizations of this general point.

- Read the call for papers carefully. Make sure you specifically address at least some of the proposed goals and stated expectations of the conference organizers as far as topic and methodology/approach are concerned. (If you are submitting an abstract for a publication, anticipate editorial expectations by checking back issues and the editorial guidelines of journals and book series.)
- Remember you are only allowed to use so many words (the call for papers will tell you how many – requirements vary widely). Respect the word limit. Aim for brevity as well as clarity. Avoid repetition. Do not overdo quotations, as you will have to be highly selective. You must include the main points, but be prepared to leave out most of the details.
- Try to establish the relevance of your work. Before starting your abstract, ask yourself which are the high priority aspects of your research. Ask yourself why other scholars would want to listen to your paper or read it when it is eventually published. In other words, what does your work have to offer, and to whom? Make sure you include such claims in your abstract.
- In addition to claims for relevance (which ought to be stated cautiously – see below), *as far as possible* do not neglect to include the following data in your abstract:
  - the object/scope of the research – what it is about; the main topic and subtopics;
  - the aims of the research – what it seeks to establish, find out or demonstrate (and perhaps refute); what points you intend to make;
  - an outline of the argument – how you intend to show what you want to show;
  - the approach you have chosen – theoretical, comparative, historical, etc. Should you have a clearly recognizable interpretive stance or a special field of interest, you may declare yourself as a practitioner of New Historicism, Marxist criticism, Semiotics, Deconstruction, Linguistics, Gender Studies, Translation Studies, Utopian Studies, etc.; or, alternatively, a follower of Mikhail Bakhtin or Northrop Frye or Jacques Derrida, etc. Labels of (sub)disciplinary or methodological affiliation may feel uncomfortable, but some scholars adopt them wholeheartedly – so it is up to you to decide;
  - your relationship to prior literature in the field, i.e. the state of the art; refer to works from which you have learned something important, or the methodology of which you intend to apply to your object, or with whose findings and/or assumptions you disagree.
- The abstract should read *as a text* – more than a simple assemblage of independent utterances. Cohesion and coherence depend on clearly

stating the essential information as well as on using appropriate logical connectors such as “however” and “therefore”, “on the one hand” and “on the other hand”, and otherwise making the line of reasoning explicit by drawing inferences, exemplifying and summarizing (“this shows that”, “for instance”, “to conclude”).

- Modulate your utterances by using hedged propositions. Carefully discriminate between the appropriate levels of certainty: make sure that facts are treated differently from opinions, and make it obvious that some claims are more likely or probable or credible than others; where appropriate, use tentative phrases such as “I wish to suggest that”, “it is possible to infer that”, “it is likely that”, “it is probable that”, “this could mean that”, “to my knowledge”, “as far as can be established”, “it appears”, “apparently”, etc.
- As for style, make sure you use a suitable degree of formality, as regards both syntax and vocabulary. Use the appropriate academic jargon for your discipline and/or approach or methodology.
- Similarly, you should show a proper understanding of relevant concepts in your field of inquiry. As a rule, however, this does not mean that you need to provide definitions of such concepts in your abstract.
- Double-check all facts. Do not make mistakes regarding book titles and dates of publication, biographical and historical events, etc. Lack of factual accuracy will seriously compromise your proposal.
- Some (though by no means all) conference organizers expect you to provide bibliographical references in a formal way, i.e. as a list of entries at the end of your abstract. Others don’t. Once again, check the call for papers and/or inquire what is the standard practice in your field.

In brief, you should pay attention to content (including the hierarchy of topics and/or subtopics), logic, organization and style.

Once you have written your abstract, you can test it against these criteria or ask a fellow-student or fellow-scholar to do it for you. This often helps, especially when it comes to assessing how *clear* and *logical* the abstract is. (Sometimes an educated person who is not specifically trained in your academic field may provide even more acute criticism as to what is not clearly expressed. A non-expert reader is often capable of spotting mental shortcuts and unstated assumptions that may need to be verified and/or fleshed out.)

### 3. Some additional tips

- The title of your paper – although not formally a part of the abstract – is a central element. Papers in the Humanities often have a title followed by a subtitle (in English, linked by a colon). It makes sense to balance the information on both sides of the colon in such a way that the title and the subtitle complement each other without either being too long.

- Note that it is relatively unusual to phrase titles as propositions (“Shakespeare Did not Write *Hamlet*”) or direct questions (“Did Milton Read Bede?”).
- Titles and abstracts are very often supplemented by keywords (check the call for papers). It is advisable to select keywords that figure in the abstract – or, to put it the other way around, to include the keywords in the abstract.
  - Keywords give clues to conference organizers as to the contents of your proposal and may help them organize the conference programme. But there is more. Keywords are especially useful when it comes to indexing publications in searchable databases. A good set of keywords will help other scholars find your work – which means you will increase your chances of being read.
- There is obviously a difference between producing the abstract of a completed piece of research and producing an abstract in advance, sometimes quite a number of months before the time of a conference. If in the latter situation, remember: you are only bound by your abstract to a certain extent. Between the submission of an abstract and the actual conference, your research may develop in unexpected ways. If it does, do not discard new findings and ideas just because they are new (that would amount to a denial of what science is all about). This does not mean, however, that you should rely on guesswork when working on your abstract. Write it as carefully, as exactly and as realistically as possible. And, if need be, ask the conference organizers if it is possible to submit a revised version of your abstract.
- Be willing to revise. Make the most of the feedback from referees and conference organizers: failed submission should lead to successful resubmission. (Circumstances vary, of course. Rejection is likely to happen more often in some fields than in others, and it definitely happens more frequently in the case of publications than conferences. But never cease to be willing to learn – and do not give up.)
- You are writing for your peers: you need to show that you are one of them, but beware of trying to show off. You will not impress your readers by unwarranted oversophistication, presumption or pose. Give them credit: they are intelligent and experienced scholars.
- Conference organizers invariably request a bionote to be sent along with the paper proposal. As with the abstract, respect the stated word limit. State your interests and current projects. Mention relevant publications. You may want to name the institution which granted your most recent degree. Do not forget to mention your current affiliation.
- Let the conference organizers know if you intend to use audio, visual or audiovisual material.

## 4. Exercises

Do the following exercises.

a) Consider the Penn State University Press “Abstract Submission Guide” at <[http://www.psupress.org/Journals/Journal%20PDFs/PSUPJ\\_Abstract\\_Guide.pdf](http://www.psupress.org/Journals/Journal%20PDFs/PSUPJ_Abstract_Guide.pdf)>. Write an appropriate abstract for Penn State University Press.

Do the same for the *Relational Forms III* conference (you will find the call for papers in the Appendix below).

b) Deliberately write a *bad* abstract for Penn State University Press. Do the same for the *Relational Forms III* conference. Then swap those abstracts with a colleague's. You should point out what is wrong as regards style, clarity, factual and conceptual accuracy, structure, etc. Do the work of a reviewer: send the abstract back with instructions on how it ought to be reformulated.

c) Search on-line for past conferences in your chosen field. Collect a random sample of abstracts. Then analyse the features that make up those abstracts. How do authors define their problem or object of study? How do they outline their methodology or approach? Do they apply or challenge a given critical perspective? Do they present results, provide examples or refer to sources? Finally, which of the abstracts do you find most convincing? Why?

d) These are actual abstracts that have been sent to *Relational Forms II*, but the order of the sentences has been changed. Try to put them back together so as to make up two coherent, persuasive abstracts (pay attention to connectors – they are likely to provide important clues). After completing that task, critically assess the suitability of the abstracts. Is there room for improvement?

Now check your findings against your colleagues'. Is it possible to assemble the abstracts back in more than one way? If so, how is one way better than another?

### ABSTRACT 1

#### **An Ironic Representation of Science in Marcin Wolski's *Laboratory No 8* (Andrzej Kowalczyk)**

As the action progresses, it turns out that there is another cosmic intelligence conveying experiments on the both races. . .

The paper examines the dystopian novel *Laboratory No 8* written in the late 1970s by Marcin Wolski (1947-), Polish radio and television satirist, columnist, and science-fiction author.

I intend to focus upon the major objects of irony in Wolski's text: man's unshaken belief in science and the resulting position of superiority over other species; a scientific, materialistic outlook on the universe; moral/ethical aspects of experimenting upon other species in the name of scientific development; the conflict between science and art, communicated through the novel's sub-plot in which a human writer describes for posterity the history of our race's demise; as well as on a more satirical aspect of Wolski's dystopia, visible particularly clearly from the present-day perspective: the ideologization of science in a communist country.

The methodological propositions I intend to use in my paper include those by C. Colebrook and S. Sławiński (irony) and L. T. Sargent, T. Moylan and A. Zgorzelski (dystopia and SF).

The novel presents the post-apocalyptic society of intelligent rats conducting experiments on miniature human beings, dwarfed as a result of a nuclear cataclysm.

## ABSTRACT 2

### **Scientific Expression in Thomas Pynchon's Work (Ana Rull Suárez)**

I shall contextualize this by showing how the narrative takes place at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when some of the most important scientific and technological developments were taking place in the Western world.

That is to say, Pynchon shows how experiments with light and energy led to the construction of armaments for the First World War which, instead of improving human life, brought about mass death and destruction.

I shall argue that *Against the Day* is an example of how Pynchon uses various scientific, technical and mathematical elements to create a plot with profound implications but which is not resolved in a tragic way thanks to the postmodern irony he employs throughout the novel.

On the one hand, he reflects the hope of those people who lived through great scientific discoveries, such as those associated with electromagnetism, the search for the means to produce energy, and experiments in diverting aether, etc. and, on the other, he also explores the threats these discoveries pose for the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries in the form of weapons and machines for mass destruction.

In this way he shows both the possible marvelous effects of science that precede modern means of communication (wireless, electricity, air balloons, trains, etc.) and registers a sense of disappointment towards science in a world that is falling apart.

In this paper I shall consider how light is used in Thomas Pynchon's *Against the Day*.

The main aim of this paper is to show how Pynchon explores the scientific world of the 19<sup>th</sup> century from an ironic postmodern point of view.

In the novel, light can be considered as a positive symbol for the future of human communication but also as a negative sign of questionable uses of science.

## Appendix

### **Relational Forms III Imagining Europe: Wars, Territories, Identities Representations in Literature and the Arts 19-20 November 2015**

An international conference hosted by the Faculty of Arts and Humanities  
University of Porto, Portugal

This conference is directly prompted by a commemoration: the bicentennial of the battle of Waterloo. It is a commonplace to state that the events of June 1815 proved a

watershed in European history, redrawing the map of the continent and much of what came in its wake. We want to consider this, however, alongside *other* instances of conflict that have proved momentous in European history, including other 'fifteens' prior to Waterloo – e.g. Agincourt and Ceuta (1415), the 1st Jacobite rising (1715); and, crucially, the conference will focus on the imaginative consequences of such events, especially in literature and the arts.

In sum: the conference avails itself of a commemorative design to consider the consequences that a history of conflict(s) in Europe has had, within imaginative production, for an ongoing refashioning of perceived identities. We want to showcase and discuss the impact of such processes on literary and artistic representations, preferably from a comparatist perspective.

As indicated by the number in its title, this conference is the third in a series of academic events that reflect the ongoing concerns of the eponymous research group (*Relational Forms*), based at CETAPS (the Centre for English, Translation and Anglo-Portuguese Studies).

The organisers will welcome **proposals for 20-minute papers in English** responding to the above. Suggested (merely indicative) topics include:

- Europe, conflict and the imagination
- terrible beauties: European wars in literature and the arts
- rout and road: narratives of disaster and displacement
- poetry and battlefields, self and community
- reviewing the massacre: verbal and visual reenactments of war scenarios
- conflict, identity, translation: representations across media / across languages
- drama, war and Europe: 'a nation thinking in public...'
- shooting Europe: film, war and memory

**Submissions should be sent by email to [relational@letras.up.pt](mailto:relational@letras.up.pt)**

Please include the following information with your proposal:

- the full title of your paper;
- a 250-300 word description of your paper;
- your name, postal address and e-mail address;
- your institutional affiliation and position;
- a short bio note;
- AV requirements (if any)

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## Reviews

*Renaissance: Things Old and New*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2019.

184 pp. ISBN 1527519325.

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This book review is for *Essays on the Medieval and the Renaissance: Things Old and New* co-edited by Ágnes Matuska and Larisa Kocic-Zámbó. The volume is a fresh rethinking of things old and new in both Medieval and Renaissance literatures and scholarships. It covers a wide range of texts starting from Tudor drama, plays of Shakespeare and his contemporaries, and eventually Milton. Transdisciplinary in its approach, the volume re-examines old paradigms of criticism from within to bring to the fore new readings and findings and to contribute to English studies in Hungary. The essays rely upon different approaches including digital humanities, film and drama studies, and social and cultural criticism.

Antonio Gramsci claimed in his *Prison Notebooks* that “the old is dying and the new cannot be born; in this interregnum there arises a great diversity of morbid symptoms” (556). In this regard, revisiting various scholarships, including Shakespearean and Milton studies, necessitates a close examination of their vicissitudes, a metacritical outlook. The volume *Essays on the Medieval and the Renaissance: Things Old and New* offers different essays that rethink “things new and old” in Medieval and Renaissance literatures, including *inter alia* early Tudor interludes, Shakespeare plays and their contemporary reappropriations, and Milton. The anthology offers a mosaic of essays addressing various lacunas in Medieval and Renaissance scholarships introducing fresh re-readings of the texts under examination.

In a self-reflexive commentary, the editors preface the volume remarking that they “are oddly reminiscent of the Old Testament scribe whom Christ likens to a householder bringing ‘forth out of his treasure things new and old’ (Mt 13:52), especially when putting together a compilation of essays on the Medieval Period and the Renaissance” (vii). The volume, therefore, introduces its readers to contemporary (meta)critical quarrels to bring “forth things new and old,” while distancing itself from the *imitatio* tradition to rather place itself under the *aemulatio* tradition (vii).

The volume is co-edited by Ágnes Matuska and Larisa Kocic-Zámbó. Ágnes Matuska is an associate professor at University of Szeged and is the author of *The Vice-device: Iago and Lear's Fool as Agents of Representational Crisis* (2011). Larisa Kocic-Zámbó is a Senior Assistant Professor at University of Szeged. The essays were initially delivered at the 2015 Biennial HUSSE (Hungarian Society for the Study of English) Conference.

The volume is divided into three major parts that examine Medieval and Early Modern texts from various perspectives. The authors point to under-represented discourses within this scholarship and, also, address contemporary adaptations and (re)interpretations of these texts.

The first part entitled “Medieval and Early Modern Experiments with Genre” directs its attention to the medieval and early modern experiments with genre including Tudor interludes and plays for Shakespeare and Marlowe. The essays in this part examine innovation on both the generic and thematic levels. The first essay, “Exegesis as Key to Mystical Experience: The Case of Love’s *Mirroure*” (Péri-Nagy) studies Love’s aporiatic argument and how *Mirroure of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*, being primarily identified as anti-Wycliffite propaganda, invites the laity for a hermeneutic activity so as to counter the emergent Wycliffite order. Gállert and Hargitai (in “A space for farther travel”: *Antony and Cleopatra* in Shakespeare’s “Spacious Mirror” and “Masters or Servants in *Doctor Faustus* and *Macbeth*: Faustus and Mephistopheles vs. *Macbeth* and *Seyton*”) study the two binaries of East and West and master and slave in relation to the generic innovations through, on the one hand, the world of the romance and its heterotopic spatiality and, on the other, the supernatural element in the tragedies and its role in the master slave dialectic. The fourth chapter, “Plays Against Playing: Self-reflexive Criticism in Early Tudor Drama,” (Matuska) traces the emergence of the play metaphor in the pre-Shakespearean and/or non-commercial early modern plays as opposed to the evolutionary narrative of Tudor drama (Matuska 47) through, for instance, the vice character who incites disorder and disobedience in plays like *Mankind* and *Jack Juggler*. This part, thus, fuses the poetic and political innovations of pre/Shakespearean drama that have been, so far, dismissed.

The second part, entitled “Shakespearean Text and Adaptations- Our Contemporaries”, in the same vein, addresses Shakespeare as our contemporary particularly in the light of the digital turn and contemporary performances and adaptations. Almási Zsolt in “ePublications and Shakespeare Studies: *Much Ado About Nothing*” studies e-publications as a way to make the texts more accessible to their audience/readers, particularly outside academia. He chooses a Hungarian annotated edition of *Much Ado about Nothing* as a (hypothetical) case study. Anikó Oroszlán, in “Adapting Performativity: (Re)Interpreting ‘Shakespearean’ Acting Styles,” argues that our understanding of authorship and what could be termed as Shakespearean stage affects contemporary performances and interpretations of the plays, particularly acting styles, and how this notion carries an ideological subtext. András G. Bernáth, in “‘The moral perfection of this character’: Thomas’s *Hamlet* Opera and the Modern Reception of Shakespeare,” studies the Romantic elements in Ambroise Thomas’s *Hamlet*, a French Opera, and modern receptions of the play.

The third and last part, entitled “Perspectives on Milton’s *Paradise Lost*,” is devoted to new debates in Milton studies. Miklós Péti and Ágnes Bato study two underrepresented motifs, laughter and death. Péti, in the eighth chapter “Homeric Laughter in *Paradise Lost*,” argues that Milton’s appropriation of the Homeric laughter is chiefly directed to the prelapsarian state of man and the fall and redemption narratives. Bato, in the tenth chapter “The Experience of Death—A Cognitive Approach” argues for a re-reading of death in the Miltonic verse in

relation to mortality, punishment, and sin. Gábor Ittész and Larisa Kocic-Zámbó, in “Time Envisioned: Michael’s Historical Pageants and Epic Chronology in *Paradise Lost*” and “Ruminations on Paradigms within Milton Studies” provide two paradigms in Milton studies; Ittész argues for a re-ordering of the epic’s chronology; Kocic-Zámbó provides new re-readings of the criticism in Milton studies particularly those of Stanley Fish and other “demi-gods” (161).

The volume, therefore, offers a plurality of re-readings within Medieval and Renaissance scholarships that have been overlooked. The authors are successful in showing that these fields are always-already an unfinished business. In the scholarly interregnum, one can still approach the new within the old. Contemporary readers, in and outside academia, can not only relate to Medieval and Early Modern literature, but, also, contribute to an understanding of the present through interpretations and techniques different from the ones contemporary to the texts themselves. These essays, hence, underscore how past and present con/texts function to the understanding of things new and old.

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Keller, Daniela and Ina Habermann, eds., *Brexit and Beyond: Nation and Identity*, SPELL 39 (Swiss Papers in English Language and Literature). Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto Verlag, 2021. 309 pp. ISBN 978-3-8233-9414-3.

Neil Forsyth

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Where better place than neutral Switzerland to offer an impartial view of what Brexit is all about? The country itself has never belonged to the European Union, and indeed there was an almighty fuss a few years ago about even joining the United Nations. So a new book produced by a group of concerned authors, both within and beyond the European academic world, is highly welcome. And the book has many interesting revelations: linguistic analysis, for example, shows that both sides of the debate within the Conservative party from May 2015 to June 2016 framed Britain as exceptional and in opposition to Europe. No wonder it has all been such a tangle both for Leavers and Remainers.

Many issues are taken up in the course of this rich and illuminating volume: Queen Victoria (who has appeared on screen more than any other British monarch) as a national icon in two films of the 1930’s that responded to the Abdication Crisis and also in the recent *Victoria & Abdul* with Judy Dench, herself

a national icon; the official Queen's Speech as an unexplored genre, especially useful for a contrast of the two referenda forty years apart of 1975 and 2016 as indicator of how attitudes to Europe changed, and here given a fine, close reading; Brexlit for both adults and children, including Ali Smith's *Autumn*, often seen as the first post-Brexit literature (the essay expands to include all Smith's season novels under the auspices, obviously enough when you think about it, of Northrop Frye), and the satirical *Alice in Brexitland* or the Ladybird spoof *The Story of Brexit*; the treatment of migrants in Brexlit; the Conservative strategy to substitute a 'Global Britain' for a European one; efforts to glorify *English* medieval history in order to promote a *British* nation forced to fight for sovereignty against an oppressive EU; as well as a telling comparison of the Jarrow March of 1936 with the Farage publicity stunt of 2016, a time when Stuart Maconie, author of *The Long Road From Jarrow* (2017), felt that 'something very like fascism was arising again out of the depth of history'.

Scotland, we know, voted to stay in the Union, while a majority in England wanted out. This contrast and the uneasiness it has continued to produce is brilliantly represented by an essay on The Highland and Islands Film Guild. Formed in 1946 to deliver mobile film shows in remote rural and marginalized communities, it has long been supported by EU money as well as the Scottish Agricultural Organization Society in its struggle against depopulation. These early film shows were put on in village halls, some of which had to be built for the purpose. The Free Presbyterian Church spoke out in strong terms: a Mr Macdonald wrote to the *Stornaway Gazette* to argue that the hall would not be used 'wholly for dancing, but it will be used as orgy, and it will have a bad effect on the rising generation of this locality'. The opportunity for local people to contribute to the improvised cinema space by laying out benches and chairs and even unloading equipment helped to overcome such entrenched opposition. In one place on the Shetlands, the community of Eshaness, where the designated hall stands in the middle of a peat bog, the people set to and built a road to reach this craggy and isolated headland. In 1998 a new vehicle called The Screen Machine, was built, a wholly self-contained mobile cinema: it was soon very popular, and there are now two of them, and soon it seems three. But Scotland, writes Ian Goode, can 'be considered as stuck between a disunion with the EU that it regrets and a union with the UK it only half-heartedly embraces'. It is not surprising that Scotland now has a party in power devoted to its independence from the UK and worries that its laws and agreements will fall back into the hands of the UK Parliament in London.

Relations between Scotland and England are tricky enough, but they are certainly overshadowed by the Irish Question, as it has long been labelled. The complexities of this issue are ably discussed by Maurice Fitzpatrick in what is the hardest to read of these essays, not because of its style but because of the difficulties of the issues raised. 'Brexit has been the biggest political earthquake that England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales (what Norman Davies has termed "the Isles" [in his Macmillan book of that title, 1999]) have experienced so far this century'. One issue is simply the rapidity of historical change in this region. Withdrawal Agreements come and go. One moment there is a Northern Ireland Assembly, the next there isn't. (It ceased to function in June 2016, but both Sinn Féin and the DUP (Democratic Unionist Party) agreed to return to it in January

2020. The essay contains an able and sometimes witty summary of the historical background, including ‘the mural which references the 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Martin Luther’s ninety-five Theses, which ironically originated in “the continent” of Europe, and bears a putative quotation from the Book of Revelation 18.4 (“Come out of her [Babylon], My people, lest you share in her sins, and lest you receive of her plagues”), rendered into the modern Irish vernacular thus: “Vote Leave EU”.’

The nub of the problem is the border between Northern Ireland and the South. It is fraught with anomalies and paradoxes. ‘On the Inishowen Peninsula ... the farther North one travels geographically the further South one gets politically’. The border was instituted by the UK Parliament after Lloyd George threatened ‘immediate and terrible war’ on Ireland lest the negotiators agree to the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921. Even further back in time, ‘William Gladstone, speaking in the House of Commons, maintained that “the Irish Question is the curse of this House. It is the great and standing impediment to the effective performance of its duties”. That impediment endures’, on down to ‘the disastrous handling of negotiations on the UK side during the 2016-9 period’. Alone among the constituent parts of the UK, Northern Ireland is to be subject to the EU’s customs code. And fresh trouble has now flared up in Belfast. The dilemma is still with us: a hard border between North and South, or a customs border down the Irish Sea.

As he was walking across a bridge over the Rhine from Strasbourg in France to Kehl in Germany, John Hume had an epiphany that he kept returning to later. These two countries had slaughtered each other for centuries until finally they found a way to make common cause. Hume there ‘found inspiration for the divided people of Northern Ireland’. And another politician, the German foreign minister Heiko Maas, speaking in Dublin on January 8, 2019, said ‘we insisted, and still do, that a hard border dividing the Irish island is unacceptable’. French President Emmanuel Macron said something similar on 2 April 2019. Fitzpatrick comments: ‘New brooms such as Maas and Macron have perceived the overarching function of the European project in Ireland, and yet their British counterparts largely have not’.

The ‘Beyond’ in this book’s title refers to the last two essays, both on American literature. One is on the Chickasaw author Lina Hogan’s *Mean Spirit* of 1990, which contrasts the Indigenous peoples’ attitude to the land with that of the concept of private property, crucial for the nation-building process of the USA. The other is about the pervasive and false nostalgia in Trump’s America for a time when the supremacy of white, Anglo-Saxon Protestantism went unchallenged. Yet many American writers have their roots in Asian or African contexts. The voice of Huckleberry Finn derives from ‘the speech of an engaging black child’. Two years before he published *Tom Sawyer* he wrote an article for the *New York Times* called ‘*Sociable Jimmy*’ based on ‘a simple, guileless little darkey boy ... ten years old — a wide-eyed, observant little chap’ who brought him his supper. ‘If I’d a knowed’ and ‘light out fer’ both occur in lists of what was called ‘negro English’ by the newly formed American Folklore Society.

Perhaps the last word in this review of a fine collection should go to contemporary writers. Brian Friel said in an interview before his play *Translations* opened in Derry in 1980: ‘You and I could list a whole series of words that have totally different connotations for English people than they have



for us. Words like loyalty, treason, patriotism, republicanism, homeland... words that we think we share... [but] which in fact are barriers to communication'. David Hare's play *Time to Leave* contains the following line in a speech about anger spoken by Kirsten Scott Thomas: 'That's why we're all so unhappy. We voted to leave Europe. But that's not what we wanted. We wanted to leave England' (2017).

Gadpaille, Michelle and Victor Kennedy. *Words, Music and Gender*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2020.

288 pp. ISBN (10): 1-5275-5695-6 ISBN (13): 978-1-5275-5695-9.

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*Words, Music and Gender* is the fourth volume of a more extensive investigation on the relation between words and music following *Words and Music* (Kennedy and Gadpaille 2013), *Symphony and Song: The Intersection of Words and Music* (Kennedy and Gadpaille 2016), and *Ethnic and Cultural Identity in Music and Song Lyrics* (Kennedy and Gadpaille 2017). This new collection of seventeen essays starts from the urgency to highlight the different, sometimes deceitful, kinds of gender implications and discriminations that still persist in the world of music. The volume is basically divided in two parts, the first centered on singers and lyrics, while the second reflects more on gender in music as it appears in literature. All the essays share the aim of showing how music shapes our perspective on life and gendered selves.

The first work by Mojca Krevel focuses on the 'queerness' of David Bowie "Ziggy" whose artistic career was the result of a sophisticated combination of music and sexual ambiguity. His subjectivity was characterized by all the possible variations of sexual fluidity that turned the artist into a fictitious and timeless hero.

Melania Larisa Fabčič explores the extravagant feminist rock of Kim Gordon through her song lyrics which all turn around the definition of "gut level" as the inexplicable expression of physical reality in music.

Dolores Husky's essay is instead a provocative reflection on how tough it was and still is for a woman to become a pop star in the music business. In doing so Husky shows the vicissitudes of the vocalist of a band of the 70s, The Runaways, as an example.

Victor Kennedy analyzes the so called Canadian New Wave Music and, in particular, the satiric lyrics of Carole Pope and Kevan Staples of Rough Trade, and Graeme Williamson, Neil Chapman and Tony Duggan-Smith of Pukka Orchestra which aim at ironically criticizing the marginalization of homosexuals and minority groups by the right-thinking Canadian society.

Maiken Ana Kores draws our attention to the aesthetic masculine and feminine elements in glam metal music and specifically on the male-female relationships and motifs of femininity and their subversive quality.

Homophobia in both Rap singers and fans is the focus of Jožef Kolaric's article. The topic is extensively analyzed by an accurate linguistic and social study on Rap culture.

Bojan Kašuba's study shows how many neologisms have been introduced in the English vocabulary from hip-hop, pop and R&B singers and songwriters that are now commonly used by everyone.

Can a female singer scream like a man? This is the question asked by Tina Ritlop in her work and the answer is affirmative. Female voices in Metal Rock are as powerful as the male ones, but their intent is to use the voice in a more creative way and not simply to mimic the male one.

Two contributors look into the historic roles of female singers in some specific cultural contexts, this is the case of Marged Flavia Trumper who examines the history of the Hindustani classical *thumrī* tradition and Zmago Pavličič whose interest lies in the representation of female jazz singers in Slovenian jazz bands.

Two other scholars, F. Zeynep Bilge and Michelle Magpaille offer unexpected insights into the use of music in Shakespeare. The first examines the character of Ophelia in a French operatic adaptation of *Hamlet*, while the latter deals with the musical puns which were performed by boy actors acting female roles.

Stimulating correlations between music and literature are also highlighted by Jerneja Planinšek-Žlof, Ana Penjak and Nastja Prajnč Kacijan who respectively show interesting references related to music in Tennessee Williams's *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof*, James Joyce's *The Dead*, and in the lesbian poetry of Adrienne Rich.

Folk music and rock songs outline the Canadian novels of Alice Munro and Miriam Toews examined here by Tjaša Mohar and Jason Blake in their studies. In both cases music plays such an important role that it becomes a tangible and meaningful character of the narration.

The volume provides many answers, but it also poses as many other questions on this very complex issue which we can continue to explore. Scholars, musicians and teachers will get a wide perspective on the subject of music and gender including practice, performance and reception. Through a close reading of lyrics and music related to various social contexts and epochs, the hermeneutic analysis enables readers to elicit an in-depth understanding of meanings of artistic works and of culture in a broader sense.

Kérchy, Anna and Björn Sundmark. eds. *Translating and Transmediating Children's Literature*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020.  
337 pp. ISBN 978-3-030-52526-2.

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In our rapidly changing world where customs and ideas are in constant motion of transition, the way we consume entertainment and culture shifts just as promptly, carving out new platforms, methods and ways of production. One common concern of this agility is how well we can adapt and how certain values that may



not live up to current standards could fit in a world where constantly high stimulus is almost a fundamental condition for any form of action. Some would argue that technology is the number one adversary, especially for literature, blaming screens for the diminishing number of readers, more importantly young readership. The way in which stories are being told and shared is in the constant process of transformation, catering to these new demands of multimodal narratives, connecting old and new media and expanding our perception of consumption. *Translating and Transmediating Children's Literature* edited by Anna Kérchy and Björn Sundmark is a book that tackles the above-mentioned contemporary concerns from every possible aspect and with each chapter highlights the advantages and interrelationship of translation and transmediation, two different, but not opposing forms of storytelling across medium.

The purpose of this collection is to explore how transmediation and translation play out in children's literature together by taking into consideration factors such as languages, the relationship between text and visuals, and intermedial aspects. The book focuses on translation and transmediation as an interrelated practice with an emphasis on neglected languages and the cultural transition that emerges during the process. This collection of essays is divided into five substantive parts and each study displays important elements of the translation and transmediation process of children's and youth literature, while concomitantly exploring the many different layers of the genre. As the contributors guide us through these fascinating topics, the collection invites the reader to participate in the process of exploring translation and transmediation.

The first part titled "Inter-/Intra-Cultural Transformations" opens with Clémentine Beauvais's comprehensive exposé on what she calls the "British problem", drawing a parallel between the sense of isolation and the alarmingly low percentage of translated children's literature in The United Kingdom. The foundation of Beauvais's proposal is a correlation between Francois Jullien's theory of the *écart* and the importance of young readers being exposed to a diversity of translated literature. Hannah Felce examines the complexities of intralingual textual transformations in children's literature written in a minority language, using Selina Chönz's *Uorsin* (1945) – written in Ladin, a Romansch dialect as a case study of literature in a minority language setting. Raising the question of authorship in such cases, Hannah Felce's study on the *Picturebooks in a Minority Language Setting* is an extensive and widespread analysis of the nature of intra-cultural transformations. Joanna Dybiec-Gajer compares the Polish translation of the German tale *Der Struwwelpeter* (1845) written by Heinrich Hoffmann and discusses how different narrative approaches and child-directed speech shift the reader's perception of these tales. Dafna Zur's essay on North Korean politically motivated children's literature as part of the post-war national re-building programme offers a different perspective from the conventional when talking about translation and transmediation. North Korean translators did not insist on rendering the Russian source text to a verbatim translation but added their own ideologies, as well as gender roles and perception of science fit for their own interpreting communities.

In the following chapter titled "Image-Textual Interactions" Aneesh Barai highlights the hardships of foreignization and domestication of illustrated books.

Barai uses *The Cat and the Devil* by James Joyce to portray how a tale re-situated into its root setting and language creates a foreignized domestic content for the French readership while connecting the two – English and French together with common cultural elements in the illustrations. Björn Sundmark takes a closer look at the transmediation process by comparing different illustrations of one of the most well known and most widely adapted works of the Tolkien corpus, *The Hobbit*. Using Tove Jansson's Swedish illustrations as a prime example, for they are symbolic and expressive, Sundmark walks us through the artistic issues of adaptation and artistic choices of editors, translators and illustrators, while also raising the burning question of authorship in the transmediation process in contemporary culture. In the closing section of part two, Anna Kérchy covers the complex topic of “translating the untranslatable” and imagining the unimaginable that resides in the lines of nonsense literature. With an analysis of the famous Jabberwocky poem from *Alice Through the Looking Glass* by Lewis Carroll and its Hungarian translations, Kérchy takes into consideration the interrelationship of text and illustration; rhythm and sound in recitation versus reading; and the correlation between source text and translation. The essay reflects both on the difficulties of decoding the poem while it also explores how made-up words and cultural characteristics of British folklore are domesticated in the local – Hungarian – context.

Chapter Three, “Metapictorial Potentialities” contains two excessive essays on the topic of how pictures communicate with the reader and showcases their role as another form of translation. In a joint study, Petros Panaou and Tasoula Tsilimeni compare the book covers of numerous Greek translations to those of the source text to understand the process of transfer and the perception of the translations among the young readership, as well as the influence that predominantly Western literature has had on Greek authors. Karolina Rybicka-Tomala introduces the works of Polish illustrator Olga Siemaszko and her different propositions on *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. In doing so, Rybicka-Tomala argues how an artist's ever-evolving style influenced by the original (Tenniel's) later exhibits the basis of Metapictorial capability.

The fourth chapter of this collection covers the contemporary topic of “Digital Media Transitions” and opens with Cheryl Cowdy's analysis of *Chopsticks* (2012) by Jessica Anthony and Rodrigo Corral. Relying on Marshall McLuhan's theory on the extension of new media in relation to sensory experience, Cowdy argues for the amelioration of empathic abilities with the use of transmedia narrative strategies and debates for laymen convinced about the mere negative effects of digital storytelling. Dana Cocargeanu's essay on the online Romanian translations of the world-famous Beatrix Potter's Tales portrays a unique case of translation and transmediation that could only have been achieved by the advancement of the digital era. The rising popularity via internet of an author whose translated works do not have a tradition in the region not only broadens the reading experience, but as Cocargeanu argues, connects print and digital media which many would only see as unbridgeable opposing sides. Cybelle Saffa Soares and Domingos Soares close the chapter by focusing on Brazilian Portuguese translations in the Star Wars universe's multi-dimensional franchise, and how the property of the world-famous saga affected the implementation of movies, comics, games, and much more. With a child audience in mind, the authors of this

essay analyse how the binary opposition of Light and Dark, and the transfers of the linguistically marked ethical issues found in the story translate to an extended audience.

The collection's closing chapter contains four separate studies under the heading "Intergenerational Transmissions." Annalisa Sezzi explores the interrelationship and significance of voice in reading and translating children's literature by identifying the voice changes in the first (1969) and the latest (2018) Italian translations of *Where the Wild Things Are*. Agnes Blümer's essay "Translating Ambiguity: The Translation of Dual Address in Children's Fantasy During the 1950s and 1960s" showcases how ideas surrounding children's literature influenced their translation. Highlighting the difficulties of "Doppelsinnigkeit" – the dual address in children's fantasy, Blümer presents how all these factors collectively change in the translation process. "“Maxima Debetur Puero Reverentia”: The Histories and Metamorphoses of Latin Translation in Children's Literature" takes a closer look at the interrelationship of Latin translations and children's literature. By focusing on the stereotypical aspects one might have regarding both title subjects; that Latin is irrelevant in the modern era and that children's literature does not carry the required gravitas to be taken seriously, Carl F. Miller proposes how the wedding of these two concepts could blur the debarring lines between high (elite) and low (popular) culture. The final essay in the closing chapter titled "Newtonian and Quantum Physics for Babies: A Quirky Gimmick for Adults or Pre-science for Toddlers?" written by Casey D. Gailey is an excessive study on a contemporary trend circling in children's literature; how scientific language is translated and mediated for the youngest "readership" wired for curiosity and discovery, babies and toddlers. Taking into consideration factors such as linguistic elements, information accuracy and cognitive capabilities of the intended audience, Gailey walks us through the concept and potentialities that lie in pre-science books and argues that to all intents, and purposes they could raise the future generation to eagerly look in the direction of science and technology.

To summarize, *Translating and Transmediating Children's Literature* is a supplementary book in its field. Translation and transmediation are acts of salvage involving transition alike. Wandering among the different cross-cultural layers and mediating between them in the process of translation is much like exploring what the story has to offer on other platforms of media. With the contribution of each author, the collection offers an entrancing approach to the many sides of translation, an introduction of the multi-layered complexities of transmediation, and a refreshing view on the much-debated topic of paper versus screen. As the authors guide us through these fascinating topics, the collection invites the reader to participate in the process of exploring translation and transmediation through case studies, therefore despite its extensive length; the language and style of the volume is palatable, therefore it has much to offer for both scholars in the field and could serve as an introductory read to the topic as well.

Mudriczki, Judit. *Shakespeare's Art of Poesy in King Lear: An Emblematic Mirror of Governance on the Jacobean Stage*. Budapest and Paris: L'Harmattan, 2020. 126 pp. ISSN: 2063-3297.

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Judit Mudriczki's *Shakespeare's Art of Poesy in King Lear* is the result of years of research, as the author had already started to work on the topic during her MA studies, and later she pursued the subject further in her PhD dissertation. It was published in the Collection Károli series by L'Harmattan Publishing in 2020. The author poses a general, comprehensive research question, which uniquely aims at the art of poesy to be discovered in a particular edition of *King Lear*: "What makes the 1608 Quarto version of William Shakespeare's *King Lear* an outstanding and exceptional work of art?" (9). This perhaps somewhat broad research question is immediately narrowed down and the author offers a "preliminary answer": the 1608 Quarto is to be examined as a unique product determined by "Shakespeare's poetic craft" just as much as "the rhetorical tradition set by the public discourse of his age", and thus the play can be read as a "dramatized mirror of governance" (9) on several levels.

The book is divided into three chapters, which seemingly all tread quite divergent paths: the first one is entitled "The Dramaturgical and Theatrical Heritage: the Contrastive Reading of *Magnificence*, *King Leir* and *King Lear*"; this chapter is followed by a discourse on "Rhetorical and Poetical Conventions: Shakespeare's Arte [sic] of Poesy in the Love Contest and the Mock Trial Scenes"; the concluding chapter is about "The Influence of Early Modern Theories of Governance: Corporeal Images and the Representation of the Body Politic in the 1608 Quarto". The chapters can be seen as three distinctive approaches to *King Lear*; however, the author proposes three different layers of one particular playtext for analysis, and the governing factor pulling together the three directions/layers would be the Quarto text and Shakespeare's creative art producing it, as well as the various cultural-historical factors which contribute to the understanding of the text. The book thus, as Tibor Fabinyi aptly concluded in his introductory remarks at the book launch in October 2020, indeed resembles a triptych in its unique approach. Just as a triptych, it offers three quite different points of view to the same phenomenon, and although these approaches may seemingly divert and produce different conclusions, the object of contemplation – the art of poesy in the *Lear* Quarto – binds the book's argumentation into a unity. As a triptych is hinged together in a way that each panel can be seen and interpreted separately, and yet the view of *the whole* artwork in three panels opens up a radically new perspective of the topic in the centre of the composition (see, for example the masterpiece of Hieronymus Bosch: *The Garden of Earthly Delights*, 1490-1510), this book also, quite similarly, offers three different approaches for contemplation, and at the same time the cultural historical background, the "poetic complexity of Shakespeare's craft" (17), and the 1608 Quarto itself allows the reader to witness the ideas evolve into a coherent argument.

The first chapter is a chapter on drama history, highlighting the dramaturgical features that make *King Lear* unique, and examining the macrostructure of the 1608 Quarto play. It gives a comparative analysis of three works: John Skelton's *Magnificence*, the anonymous *True Chronicle History of King Leir*, and Shakespeare's *Lear* Quarto. The chapter juxtaposes the Quarto with the two earlier plays and, as Mudriczki claims, this contrastive reading leads to a fuller understanding of Shakespeare's craft; thus, the analysis of the drama alongside two contemporary plays featuring similar motifs enables a better understanding of the uniqueness of the *Lear* Quarto. The chapter offers the contrastive reading of the plays comparing their positive and negative characters and the role of the jester in each play, but it also examines recurring dramaturgical elements in the plays (elements frequently found not only in these plays but early modern plays in general), as letters (lost, forged, received) and disguises (verbal and real). The table provided on page 48 concludes the findings of these recurring dramaturgical elements, and the conclusion is that *Magnificence* – a political morality about Henry VIII and the evils of ambition, hitherto not explicitly linked and examined in detail alongside *Lear* – seems to offer undeniable macrostructural links with the *Lear* Quarto perhaps more apparently than with the known and obvious source of Shakespeare's play, *The True Chronicle History of King Leir*.

The following chapter is – as the centrepiece of this interpretative triptych, and thus carrying the main title of the book in itself – places the Quarto *Lear* (and its two thematically central scenes, the love-test scene and the mock trial scene) within the framework of the rhetorical and poetical conventions of the age. More precisely, it highlights how Puttenham's handbook *The Arte of English Poesie* may serve as a guideline for the overview of Shakespeare's rhetorical and poetic solutions in the play. As the author suggests, this would lead us to the investigating of the microstructure of the drama, thus allowing readers to read the play along the idea of "mannerly public behaviour" (83): on decency in public speech and in courtly behaviour. A great merit of this chapter is that it offers readers not only a thorough analysis of these two frequently discussed scenes of the play, but that Mudriczki achieves this through the investigation of rarely discussed rhetorical works and emblems of the age, providing a vivid cultural and historical background as well as a solid argument of how Shakespeare's art of poesy is indeed inseparable from early modern conventions and the general practice of rhetoric manifested in Puttenham's work.

The concluding chapter – which is the most substantial and intriguing part of the book – takes a surprising turn from the play's structural analysis towards a rather different approach: it offers a reading of the play based on early modern theories of the body politic as represented in theories of governance. The chapter "focuses on the use of corporeal or body-related metaphors throughout the play" (87), and the author suggests that these images referring to body parts would develop into an image cluster, allowing "an anthropomorphic mapping" (87) of the characters of the play in relation to King Lear – and the monarch as the body politic in general. Along these lines, the chapter gives a vivid and exciting investigation into how Lear's body politic is dissected, and how the parts of this body would indeed be possible to attach to certain characters (Cordelia: heart; Kent: eyes; Gloucester: ear; Fool: tongue; evil sisters: guts, intestines; nails; Edgar and Edmund: legs) and thus be integrated into the "organic conception" of the



kingdom. Not only does the chapter offer a novel approach to the play, but it also sheds light on the workings of the early modern monarchy and the way in which the monarch's body would be both a physical reality *and* an overwhelming abstraction of the Monarchy itself – the division of which would consequently lead to the dissection and decomposition of the king's (and Lear's) own physical, corporeal integrity.

Mudriczki's book seems to utilize networks of knowledge available in early modern England: besides Shakespeare's and his contemporaries' literary works, she offers insights into relevant rhetorical handbooks, emblem books, theories (mirrors) of governance, and paintings, connecting them smoothly to the *Lear* Quarto. Consequently, almost as an "anatomy book" of *King Lear*, the author presents a work that excels a simple poetic interpretation of the play and moves on to a trifold analysis which is embedded into a literary historical, poetical/rhetorical, cultural/political framework, and thus provides a genuinely new historicist approach.

Mayer, Jean-Cristophe. *Shakespeare's Early Readers: A Cultural History from 1590-1800* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.  
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Jean-Christophe Mayer's *Shakespeare's Early Readers: A Cultural History from 1590-1800* detects how Shakespeare's texts were produced with its focus on the role of early readers. It also classifies and analyses the interaction between Shakespeare's printed works and their early modern readers with his touch on the empirical, social, material, and psychic reality of the period. In the introduction of the book, Mayer validates Shakespeare's early modern reader's role in literary "canon formation" (1). He gives a brief account of these readers who were generally male buyers and lenders, establishment buyers, collectors, travellers, text editors, annotators, transcribers from the middle class, aristocracy, clergy, reading groups of book clubs, libraries, theatre people, international owners, working class buyers, and some early modern women. The readers were silent or expressive because, as he puts forth, they contributed to Shakespeare's texts to draw an account of canon formation. The main argument of the book is that Shakespeare's texts of poems, or plays were prone to the extractions, cuts, adaptations, commonplacing, editing, censorship, cutting, revising, adding, gap-filling, simplifying, modernisation, adaptation, textual emendation of these readers in the seventeenth and the eighteenth century. In this respect, Mayer offers an overview of the social strata of the readers and their interpretations of the texts. He, in other words, substantiates that the story of Shakespeare's texts is that of "a parenthesis in time" (5). The book's methodology originates evidence from the archive; that is to say, it is a "social text of Shakespeare." (5)

The book also transmits the circulation of Shakespeare's text, developing an interpretive method by drawing on Peter Stallybrass and Roger Cartier's article, "Reading and Authorship" (6). In this line of thinking, the act of reading is more than "a process [...] to pin down [two] oscillating structures of the text to some specific meaning." (Iser 197) Thus, Mayer prefers to specify the readers' activity as "appropriation", a term used by Douglas Lanier rather than the term "reception" (7) that culminates from Jauss and Iser's reader response theory to assert the "circulation of Shakespeare's works" (7). In his book, Mayer relates his focus on annotation and marginalia to imagined, implied, ideal readers of the time so the book is about "historicising the experiences of various readers" (9). Besides, he emphasizes that the readers transformed the main features of Shakespeare's text according to their individual aesthetic taste and their ideological needs. Distillation and fusion of various generic mixes and editions establish Shakespeare's work beyond a single authorship to a rewritable textual space. The book mainly focuses on the question "what did early modern readers really think of Shakespeare's works?" (Mayer 12)

The first chapter, "Literacy and the Circulation of Plays" is about 'the issue of early modern literacy' (Mayer 15), the readers, the early buyers, the collectors, the borrowers and the lenders of Shakespeare's works. Mayer puts forth that it was the price of the printed books and the "mass illiteracy" (19) that prevented the circulation of the works in the society. The owners later became "a vast community" (27) that consisted of the British establishment, the priests, middle classes, artists, theatre people, eighteenth century editors, early modern women, readers across the British Isles and working classes. Plurality in the strata of the social milieu of early modern literacy fills in "the gaps of indeterminacy" (Iser 196) although it leads to a mirror reflection of the social, empirical, material and psychic reality of that society.

The second chapter, 'Life in the Archives: Shaping Early Modern Selfhood' brings about how the early readers of Shakespeare used 'the edge of the page' of Shakespeare's books to rewrite "a boundary between verse and life" (Mayer 44) and to communicate what they meant by adding their perspective. The trace of the early readers 'decontextualises and dematerialises' the original text by constituting an "extended self" (45) of early modern readers. Mayer delineates the wide aspects of "the material world of the readers", pointing to the circulation of their worldly and "textual objects" (46) that include their activities. Mayer also acknowledges the connection between "selfhood, the Shakespearean text and the world" (46). The "paratextual material" (51) of the Shakespeare folios includes dates and readers' sense of time, personal feelings on the page through "the impact of reading" (65) prestige with their format. Thus, this chapter appraises the acceptance and the rejection of the text which regulates the participation of the reader to the text (Iser 198).

Mayer exemplifies the status of Shakespeare's texts by referring to the difference of the texts in relation to the responses of their readers. Confirming that texts trigger the identity formation of the readers through the dates and signatures on the pages of the manuscripts or the books, he analyses how the interaction between the texts and the readers manifests a means of time and space for each other's existence (Mayer 62). The marginalia or the annotations also reveal the individual feelings that scaffold various meanings to the text. For



instance, Samuel Pepys's diary entries associate both his personal feelings of fear in his time, and its resonance in Hamlet's soliloquy "To be or not to be" (qtd. in Mayer, 66). Pepys finds both happiness, and fear in Shakespeare's *Hamlet* as he finds in life. Mayer resembles his explication to Foucault's "stylistics of existence" (qtd. in Mayer 72) because reading Shakespeare is a vital experience (72) through language. This manifests multiple interpretations to convey meanings in Shakespeare's texts.

The third chapter, 'Reader and Editors: *Concordia Discors*' justifies that editing of texts becomes a 'collective enterprise' in the early modern period (74). The seventeenth century editions of Shakespeare's work were mainly based on character identification (Mayer 81). A reader of *Othello*, for instance, changes "Villaine" and writes 'standard bearer to ye moor' instead in the First Folio in Georgetown University's Lauinger Library (80). This annotation demonstrates the difference in identification with the character and the reader's reaction. These specific instances in Mayer's book elucidate how Shakespeare's readers, and literary critics create Shakespeare's literary sphere. For instance, the reader of *King Lear* adds pages and cuts the original page so as to construct a "parallel text" (86) with the marginalia. The other readers reacted to this kind of destruction of original texts, so they criticised the editors for being "licentious" (qtd. in Mayer, 95). Mayer explicates Samuel Johnson's definition of the role of the editor as to "develop intellectual judgement" (100) for other readers. All of Mayer's specific explications mark one common point for Shakespeare's textual identity: it is a constructed verbal space of a period which includes two centuries of interaction. That is, time and space play a crucial role to recreate Shakespeare's work which is still so in our contemporary society. The book brings out another farfetched point: Shakespeare's text is much more than a reduction of one's own experiences to grasp specific meanings that project a single standard.

The fourth chapter, 'Early Modern Theatrical Annotators and Transcribers' elucidates the mutual dependence of Shakespeare's texts and his stage performances, referring to the close relationship between the readers and the theatre audience (Mayer 108). Mayer argues that cutting and editing the text for modernisation is also fruitful for the expectations of the audience from the play. Songs and dances were added to fill in the gaps of Shakespeare's verbal space as well. The texts, in other words, changed according to the political, social and individual circumstances of the time. Thus, the interaction between the theatre audience and Shakespeare's text unfolds the text as a literary object that constitutes "schematised views" (Iser 197) in Ingarden's terms. These views lead to a free play of interpretation of live performances so they never formulate a concrete truth as they are independent from the individual reader's thought.

The fifth chapter, 'Commonplacing: The Myth and the Empirical Impulse' delineates the interest in Shakespeare, that may also be interpreted as a result of commonplacing which is an embodiment of Renaissance humanist education (137) whose method was based on "the study of classical authors." (138) In this way, his texts are decontextualized, transformed also through a generic mix of his readers' time so Shakespeare's work can still infuse at the heart of the events. Mayer, in such a way, brings out how Man becomes a measure of textual circulation creating new discourses for cultural expansion.

The last chapter of the book, 'Passing Judgement on Shakespeare' reveals the cutting of plays as "the most violent act of expurgation" (188), that is mostly subjective as censorship depends on an individual's taste (190). Mayer also marks the misreading of Shakespeare in the eighteenth century as its interpreters drew on the nationalistic features of the texts, which were erased ironically earlier by the French influence. In the neoclassical age of the eighteenth century, on the other hand, there is a tendency for national interpretations, adaptations again with the influence of the French elite. These ideological or aesthetic transformations of the texts aim at founding a polite society within individual hierarchies (211) and "a cross-generational social interchange between the poet and the dramatist" (223). That is to say, the historical positioning of the eighteenth century goes hand in hand with the reality of Shakespeare's text within the reader's imagination and it also constitutes shifts in episteme unfolding a free play of thought in a nutshell.

The major strength of Mayer's book is its spatial aspect constituted by the illustrations of catalogues of books, transcriptions of poems, ink drawings of preliminaries, apocryphal pages of Folios, a manuscript list of plays and the letters of the readers (viii-ix). These are also signs of the continuum of the liveliness of Shakespearean studies. Consequently, Mayer appraises the critics and Shakespeare's readers, who created Shakespeare's literary sphere. The figures about the photographs of Folger Folio, compiled commonplace books, The First Folio Catalogue, a manuscript list of plays, calligraphy... in the book reveal the richness of Mayer's in-depth research as evidence for the analysis of the nature of reality and episteme. These also illustrate the ontic status of the early readers of Shakespeare.

Mayer concludes that printed Shakespeare is a verbal space for a community's text. However, this text has no literary ownership. Shakespeare's readers circulated the textual cycle not only by editing, but by reading them silently to refine their taste in terms of personal aestheticism and elitism until Shakespeare's work was institutionalised in the nineteenth century (228). Elites favoured Shakespeare once again with the rise of the popularity of mass media, which mainly attracted the attention of working and middle classes in the twentieth century (229). Ultimately, Mayer's book is rich and resourceful with its illustrations that add up to an epistemic and ontic formation of Shakespeare's texts that transmit the national interpretations and adaptations as a wilful interaction to contribute to literature in the seventeenth and the eighteenth century.

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