Table of Contents

About *Schwa*

We are an academic journal produced by the students of Brigham Young University. Our mission is to increase the amount and the accessibility of linguistic scholarship—especially for those without graduate school experience—while simultaneously training editors and designers in the ways of modern publishing.

Some of our articles are strictly theoretical and academic. Others are less technical and more personal in nature. Experiments, surveys, corpus analyses, and essays are all acceptable. We have published on all the following subdisciplines of linguistics and more:

- Phonetics, the perception and production of speech sounds.

- Phonology, the system of speech sounds used in a given context.

- Semantics, the meaning constructs of words and sentences.

- Syntax, the structure of permissible and meaningful sentences.

- Sociolinguistics, the variation of language based on sociological factors.

- Psycholinguistics, the cognitive tasks necessary for language.

- Forensics, the role of language in the creating and carrying out the law.

We are always accepting submissions. Papers on any language are welcome, including cross-linguistic studies, but papers must be written in English. Because we have a high standard of quality, our staff includes both editors and graphic designers. We extend an open invitation for new staff members.

Go to schwa.byu.edu to submit a paper or to join our staff.

Editor's Note

S chwa rose from the ashes this semester. I was promoted to editor in chief only because I was the sole returning staff member. Because of my inexperience, the new team had to figure out how to make *Schwa* work, and how to edit in general, under an editor in chief who had never seen a journal through to print. They had to learn the ropes as I did.

Our team this semester rose above and beyond what was required of them. Even though our staff was unaccustomed to the inner workings of this student journal, every single member not only fulfilled their job requirements but also did so with diligence and dedication. Not every student journal can make that claim.

The most impressive part of our work this semester was that I didn't feel like I was running *Schwa* on my own; everyone contributed equally. During meetings, the staff threw around ideas and suggested improvements to our preexisting organization. Creativity sparked in our meetings, not only because the team was trying to make *Schwa* function, but also because they wanted to make it thrive.

I am immensely grateful for the amazing people on the staff and am excited to see their hard work come to fruition in this issue.

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I'm Not a Poet

By Ashley Beecher

I killed the story, killed it dead. It died
In agony. My pencil with its tip,
A sword, impaled the words, they bled. My eyes
Squeezed shut to mourn the loss. It never had
A chance to live, except within my mind.
My head is hollow, void of verbs. And nouns
They are so fickle as to flee when I
Stretch toward them. Oh! I wish that I could write
The way the poet can, such grandeur. But
I can't. My stories die instead. They're dead.

The stories languish. I deny the pen
That was their heart. Instead of life, the words
Were piled like wood to stoke the fire. Paper
Blackens into ash, phrases char and smoke.
I choke the bitterness inside; it dies,
And then—a spark! It lights my mind; I grab
My pen. Why should I try if words just die?
I freeze. My hand, it shakes, I hesitate.
I stand atop the frightful cliff; I take
The dive. Will they survive? My pen, it flies.

Words burn again, but now with life! They bloom
With vibrant glory. When seasons change the
Blossoms fade and shrivel into nothing,
But languages breathe off the page and in
The minds of others. With my success comes
Centuries of readers that discover
The fire that phrases spark inside a mind,
A heart that's blazing. My pen, it slows, the
Ink run dry, the nouns and verbs exhausted.
The story shines with valiant light. It thrives.

The Majority Rules: In Defense of the Singular *They*

By Amanda Collyer

By most academic standards, the "singular they" pronoun—though much simpler, more familiar, and more natural to most English speakers—is deemed incorrect. However, this article posits that the academic community should align itself with linguistic evolution and embrace the "singular they." Not only is it already used in common discourse, but it is also a gender-neutral solution to the culturally perceived sexism of the "generic he."

A *student needs his or her teacher to give him or her per-mission before he or she leaves the classroom.* There are several ways this sentence could be described: unwieldy; awkward; unnatural; laborious; confusing; and, most unfortunately, grammatically correct. The awkward nature of this example sentence stems from the ambiguity of its subject: a student of unspecified gender. In the past, the "generic *he*" has filled the role of this gender-neutral, third-person singular pronoun ("*A student needs his teacher to give him. . .*"). However, in recent times the pronoun *he* has lost much of its neutrality, and writers have begun to propose less "sexist" alternatives, such as *he or she*, at least in academic rhetoric. In informal writing and speech, a different solution has emerged: the so-called "singular *they*." Here is another example sentence: *A student needs their teacher to give them permission before they leave the classroom.* By most academic standards, the first "*he* sentence" was perfectly grammatically correct, no matter how awkward. The second "*they* sentence," though much simpler, more familiar, and natural to most English speakers, has been deemed incorrect. The academic community should align itself with linguistic evolution and embrace the "singular *they*," a gender-neutral solution to the culturally perceived sexism of the "generic *he*," and one that is already used in common discourse by the English-speaking population. Such a decision would create a single, definitive academic standard that all writers could follow.

The history of *he*

The root of this issue lies with the so-called "generic *he*," where *he* is used as a pronoun to represent an individual "mixed-sex human group, role, or category, or . . . human entity whose sex is unknown" (Adami, 2009). Linguists describe this kind of genderless pronoun as "epicene." In some languages, the singular masculine pronoun doubles as an epicene pronoun (e.g. *il* in French). Other languages have one singular pronoun that includes both genders (e.g. *ta* in Mandarin Chinese). Sometimes languages even have

a third neutral pronoun in addition to masculine and feminine pronouns (e.g. *han, hon,* and *hen* in Swedish).

Table 1
English Nominative Personal Pronouns

	Singular			Plural
	Male	*Female*	*Neutral*	
First person		I		We
Second person		You		
Third Person	He	She	**?**	They

In the past, both *he* and *they* served as epicene pronouns for the English language; sometimes writers even used both within the same work. For example, Proverbs 12:1 of the *King James Bible* reads, "Whoso loveth instruction loveth knowledge: but *he* that hateth reproof is brutish" (emphasis added). This verse uses the generic *he*. However, in Numbers 15:12 the editors of the *King James Bible* decided to use the singular *they*: "According to the number that ye shall prepare, so shall ye do to every one according to *their* number" (emphasis added). There are even examples of the singular *they* being used in Middle English texts (*The American Heritage Book of English Usage*, 1996; Curzan, 2012). It was only in the 19th century that the British Parliament, upon the urging of grammarians, decided that *he* was the correct epicene pronoun to use, denouncing the singular *they* (Spender, 1980). From then on, the singular *they* was banished from formal writing.

Despite being "defeated" by the generic *he*, the singular *they* was able to survive in the informal writing and speech of English speakers. Then, in the late 1900s, the singular *they* found a new ally against the generic *he*: the feminist movement. Many feminist writers began to speak out against sexist language, including the generic *he* which, they argued, implied that "human beings were to be considered male unless proven otherwise" (Bodine, 1975). Maija Blaugergs, one such writer, argued that "sexist language by its existence reinforces and socializes sexist thinking and practices."

It is a well-known fact that language influences how humans think and act, whether those effects are experienced consciously or subconsciously. Benjamin Lee Whorf, an early linguist, was one of the first to propose that language affects the way individuals perceive the world and, by extension, act in relation to the world; this theory, called "linguistic determinism," has been generally accepted by the linguistic community (Swoyer, 2003). It is because of language's influence on even core values and perspectives that so many feminists were troubled by "sexist" constructions in the English language such as the generic *he*. They believed such constructions would reinforce sexist societal values and decided to advocate for linguistic change.

Changing perceptions

This call for language equality changed how English speakers used generic pronouns. In his 1986 book *Grammar and Gender*, Dennis Baron argued that "if enough people become sensitized to sex-related language questions," constructs such as the generic *he* "will give way no matter what arguments are advanced in their defense." In a way, Baron's words were prophetic. As a result of the attention this debate gained, the general English-speaking population as well as its academic community became increasingly more aware of potentially sexist or discriminatory language, and many writers responded with changes in their styles. They decided to work against the English language's "long tradition of writing the world male" (Zuber, 1993). A study conducted in 1990 found that already people of both genders mostly associated the supposedly "generic" *he* with male images and few female images. Despite these subjects' technical understanding of the generic *he's* grammatical neutrality, their mental perception of its use in relation to gender was still biased (Gastil). Further evidence of the generic *he's* failure to fill the role of a gender-neutral pronoun can be seen when people use it in reference to stereotypically female occupations, such as maids or nurses, and the pronoun sounds incorrect or awkward: *Each maid was supposed to check in on the roster before he began his day's work.*

In recent years, the generic *he* has steadily fallen out of use in conversational English (Kperogi, 2013; Stringer & Hopper, 1998).

This change in "everyday English" has prompted a shift in the academic community as well. In a 2009 study, Elisabetta Adami (University of Verona, Italy) specifically evaluated different corpora of academic English writing to determine which epicene pronouns authors most frequently used. She found that, starting in the 60s (around the time of what she refers to as the "*Great He/She Battle*") the documented use of the generic *he* gradually decreased to be replaced with other alternatives. (The difference might even be greater than this study reports because it was impossible for Adami to measure some alternatives to the generic *he*, such as the complete reconstruction of sentences to avoid the use of a singular pronoun altogether.) Additionally she found that the use of the singular *they* also increased over time, although other alternatives are still more commonly used today.

Alternatives to he

Many academics are grammatically opposed to the singular *they*: *they* is plural, so why should it be used as a singular pronoun? Furthermore, as a result of its years of proscription, the singular *they* has an informal "ring" to it, and many academics fear that using such a construction would immediately cause their writing's credibility to be questioned. However, the generic *he* has now also fallen prey to academic criticism. In response, many have abandoned the battle altogether and turned to other pronoun alternatives, such as *s/he, he or she, he/she,* or even invented words. Some writers alternate between masculine and feminine pronouns within the same text, while others rearrange their sentences to avoid the use of a generic singular pronoun altogether.

Unfortunately, each of these so-called "solutions" is far from perfect. As demonstrated earlier in the "student" sentence, using *he or she* can become quite awkward and can actually impede communication. Alternatives such as *s/he* and *he/she*, besides being difficult or even impossible to read aloud, often seem contrived or obnoxiously politically correct, especially when used over and over again. Although creative individuals have proposed dozens of invented epicene pronouns over the years, somehow words like *ne, ha, ho, sheehy,* and *sap* never really caught on (Baron, 1981). Alternating between male and female pronouns may seem like a fair

appeasement, but again this solution falls short. Because *he* does have a more neutral association than *she*, even when writers use male and female pronouns equally readers perceive the writing to be more female-biased (Madson & Hessling, 2001). Thus, it would be practically impossible for a writer to find a truly gender-neutral balance between male and female pronouns. While a writer could rearrange the structure of their sentence to avoid the use of a singular pronoun at all, this pattern often leads to weak, passive sentences. Moreover, it seems ridiculous that a native English speaker should have to consciously work to avoid a construction that occurs naturally in their language, simply because there is a "gap" in English grammar. This grammatical "gap" is an illusion perpetuated by the academic community. Truthfully, few gaps really exist in any language, because it is the nature of language to change in order to bridge discrepancies in understanding.

They: the people have spoken

A gender-neutral construction already exists in English, a solution that evolved to fill this so-called grammatical gap: the singular *they*. Not only is *they* completely gender-neutral; it is used by English speakers around the globe. Some language prescriptivists do not see the singular *they's* popularity as sufficient reason for standardization and criticize *they* for lacking historical precedence and grammatical agreement. In truth, such arguments not only underestimate the power of the majority but also unfairly romanticize the generic *he*.

As previously stated, the singular *they* actually does have a long history of common use, tracing back to even before Modern English existed. Rather than a lazy trend that has spread among the uneducated, the singular *they* is a deeply ingrained structural pattern that English-speakers from all educational backgrounds have used for centuries. Only relatively recently has the generic *he* gained academic favor, and even then not all abided by the generic *he's* grammatical prescription. Universally acclaimed authors like William Shakespeare, Jane Austen, C.S. Lewis, and Charles Dickens all used the singular *they* in their writing (Adami, 2009).

While prescriptivists attack the singular *they* for not "agreeing" with its antecedent in terms of number, a similar claim could

be made against the generic *he*, which does not necessarily agree with its antecedent's gender. In fact, using the generic *he* can often result in ambiguity and confusion about a sentence's subject. Somehow, the academic community was able to overlook this disagreement and accept the generic *he* as "correct" for decades, so what prevents it from accepting the singular *they*? Furthermore, a precedent already exists for a word doubling as both a singular and plural pronoun in English: *you*, which can be used as both a singular and plural second-person pronoun (see table 1). In fact, originally *you* only functioned as a plural pronoun, but it eventually also took the place of the archaic singular *thou* in common English and became standardized (Baugh, 2013). Why could *they* not follow suit?

Even more than gender equality, historical precedent, or grammatical logic, the most compelling reason to standardize the singular *they* is its universally popular usage. When it comes to the general public, *they* definitely has the popular vote. Research has shown that the generic *he* is rarely (if ever) used in speech anymore, even by highly educated individuals. A recent study of non-quoted newspaper text found that the singular *they* made up 61% of epicene pronouns used in the sample, while writers only used the generic *he* 27% of the time (Balhorn, 2009). The difference was even greater in quoted text (*they*: 89%, *he*: 9%). *He or she* only made up 7.4% of the sampled pronouns, and other studies have shown that this construction's usage is relatively rare in spoken English (Newman, 1997; Pauwels, 2001).

Aligning formal writing rules with linguistic evolution is not giving in or conceding defeat to "incorrect" grammar, nor is it diminishing the importance of standardization. On the contrary, having standardized rules for a language is necessary to avoid ambiguity and confusion between writers and readers. However, standardization in not synonymous with stagnation. A language's rules need to adapt and evolve over time to correspond with its ever-changing usage; if they did not, the academic community of today might still be speaking Old English. While the academic community should think carefully before jumping on every new, fleeting linguistic trend (one cringes to think of reading *YOLO* in an academic journal), it should not be completely resistant to logical, widespread, beneficial change. The singular *they* is not a

trend. It is a necessary piece of language evolution that has been progressing for years.

When the majority of a language's speakers naturally use a certain phrase or construction it becomes "correct," whether linguistic purists think it sensible or not. History itself has proved countless times that language change does not always follow logical patterns. In the past, English speakers actually used to spell and pronounce the word *third* as *thrid,* which makes sense when compared to other related words, such as *three* and *thrice.* However, during the 16th century *third* became the increasingly common pronunciation and was eventually standardized (*Online Etymology Dictionary*). In language, the majority, not sensibility, rules. The structure of a language is not determined by old grammarians, bickering over antecedents or apostrophes, but by the people who speak that language every day.

Academic opinions

However, academic opinion is important, especially when writers target an academic audience. In a formal setting, correct grammar and adherence to a stylistic standard signals that a writer is educated and credible. Currently, authorities have varying opinions about how appropriate the use of the singular *they* is under different circumstances, reflecting how the academic community's perception of *they* has changed in recent years. Many style guides prohibit the use of the singular *they* and instead opt for alternatives such as *he or she:*

> *Purdue Online Writing Lab*: If the pronoun takes the place of a singular noun, you have to use a singular pronoun. [Example:] If a student parks a car on campus, he or she has to buy a parking sticker. INCORRECT: If a student parks a car on campus, they have to buy a parking sticker. (Berry, Brizee & Boyle, 2013)

> *Chicago Manual of Style*: While [the singular *they*] is accepted in casual contexts, it is still considered ungrammatical in formal writing. . . . There are several better ways to avoid the problem

[of a generic antecedent]. For example, use the traditional, formal *he or she.* ("The Singular 'They'")

Other sources are more lenient towards the singular *they,* acknowledging its popularity but warning against possible backlash from indignant prescriptionists:

> *National Council of Teachers of English:* [The singular *they/ their* form] is becoming increasingly acceptable. However, classroom teachers need to be aware that state and/or national assessments may not regard this construction as correct. (Prosenjak, Harmon, Johnson, Bloodgood & Hazlett, 2002)

> *Oxford English Dictionary:* [*They* is] a personal pronoun . . . [used] in anaphoric reference to a singular noun or pronoun of undetermined gender: he or she. . . . This use has sometimes been considered erroneous. ("They, Pron.")

Some authorities actually fully endorse the use of the singular they, even in academic settings. Of particular mention is the *Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary*, which states that "the use of *they, their, them,* and *themselves* as pronouns of indefinite gender and indefinite number is well established in speech and writing, even in literary and formal contexts" ("They"). Similarly, the *Cambridge Guide to English Usage* says that the "generic/universal *their* provides a gender-free pronoun, avoiding the exclusive *his* and the clumsy *his/her*" (Peters). Such examples show that at present the academic community is rather divided on the acceptability of *they* as an epicene pronoun, with authoritative sources on both sides of the debate.

Conclusion

It is time to let the generic *he* go. The singular *they* has just as much historical precedence and makes just as much grammatical sense, if not more. The generic *he* is no longer gender neutral, if it ever was in the first place. Most authorities have conceded this point but, instead of taking advantage of the already-established singular *they*, choose to use awkward and laborious constructions

that are rarely ever heard in spoken English. The only thing holding the singular *they* back is its informal connotation, a connotation that style guides and dictionaries have perpetuated. The singular *they* is already used universally by English speakers around the world (Pauwels & Winter, 2006), and many notable writers already defy academic proscription by using the singular *they* freely in their work. The academic community should take down the unnatural barrier it has placed between writers and the singular *they.* Doing so would do much to shed *they* of its informal reputation and to discourage sexist language. The quality and clarity of students', teachers', and researchers' professional writing would improve. Steven Schnell, the editor of *The Geographical Bulletin*, recently gave his journal's contributors free reign to use the singular *they.* To echo his pragmatic words: "If it's good enough for Charles Dickens and Merriam-Webster, it's good enough for me."

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Book Review: *William Tyndale: A Biography*

By Leah Barton

This article addresses the discrepancies between the respective use of the relative pronouns which and who in the Bible and in the Book of Mormon. The author first examines the evolution of pronouns within the English language and then conducts a corpus study of the frequency of which and who in two translations of the New Testament. The author concludes that both pronouns appear in the Bible and that the strict use of who in the Book of Mormon is the result of modern practices.

British author David Daniell wrote *William Tyndale: A Biography* as a tribute to the man he believed most responsible for today›s English Bible. He wrote the biography to reveal not only the role Tyndale played in the creation of the English Bible and the development of the English language, but also the long-lasting consequences of Tyndale›s work. Daniell›s book focuses on Tyndale›s role as a translator, which ultimately led to the first printed Bible in English and generated many aspects of English that are still evident in the language today. Daniell expresses his hope that the English Bible will be seen in a new light, causing readers to "give thanks for Tyndale's skill in giving us the Word of God in a language that still speaks directly to the heart" (Daniell, 1994, p. 6).

The biography is divided into five parts, each focusing on a specific period of Tyndale's life. I will present brief summaries of these parts in three sections of my own, along with information that is most pertinent to Tyndale's role in the development of the English language. The purpose of this book review is to reveal what this biography contains regarding Early Modern English and Tyndale's translation and contribution to English as we know it.

The Making of a Translator

Growing up in Gloucestershire, England gave Tyndale early contact with a variety of languages and dialects, which helped him develop a natural understanding of how language works. Tyndale applied this knowledge in his translation of the Bible by "using a neutral word-order and English rather than Latin forms" to make it more understandable to a diverse audience (p. 16). One example from the Bible that reflects Tyndale's skill with Early Modern English usage is the phrase, "Ask and it shall be given you…. Knock and it shall be opened unto you." This proverbial form of expression was reflective of the usage of that day and was considered part of the art of rhetoric (p. 17–18). Thus we can see how Tyndale's early years provided a framework that would later influence his work as a great translator.

Tyndale learned Greek and Latin at Oxford University, along with the art of rhetoric. Daniell emphasizes the fact that Tyndale wrote mostly in English rather than Latin, which was very unusual for scholars in the Early Modern English period. People were

still clinging to Latin as the written language for professional publications. Tyndale represented the beginning of the push for the written word in the vernacular. Finally, we learn that Tyndale went on to work with Erasmus and to further his studies in Greek and Latin, so much so that he became known for his translations from Greek into English (p. 47–48).

Although the author makes it very clear that we have no concrete evidence that Tyndale went to Cambridge, the subject of Cambridge is significant in the history of English as it pertains to the increasing thirst for the Word of God in the vernacular. Cambridge was unique because studies of the Greek New Testament were accepted, and many believe that Tyndale went there for this purpose (p. 53–54). We do know that Tyndale eventually returned to his hometown of Gloucestershire to be a tutor. Here he also became well known for his preaching, and this is where we begin to see Tyndale as a translator and reformer. Although translating the Bible into English was punishable at the time, Tyndale still taught and preached from the original Greek New Testament in English, the tongue of his listeners (p. 56–59). Daniell describes the enormous impact this had on that society in this way: "The energy which affected every human life in Northern Europe . . . came from the discovery of the Word of God as originally written . . . in the language of the people" (p. 58).

This gradual, albeit dangerous, availability of English scripture characterized the period of Early Modern English, and so we can see how one man impacted history in a vitally important way. To explain how Tyndale first recognized the need for the English Bible from the Greek, Daniell shows that as Tyndale›s fame as a scholar increased, many learned men felt threatened by him, leading to accusations of heresy against Tyndale. Since Tyndale was forced to defend himself on many occasions, he realized that even the clergy itself struggled with the Latin scriptures; had the scriptures been understood correctly they would have known he stood in the right (p. 75–78). Indignant, Tyndale made his famous statement, «I will cause a boy that driveth the plough shall know more of the scripture than [the learned man] dost» (p. 79).

Greek to English

Tyndale went to London to appeal to higher authority regarding his "hope of uniting the whole nation, clerical and lay alike, through knowledge of the Scriptures in English, the language of London" (p. 88). He brought proof of his proficiency in translating from Greek into English. Here Daniell expounds upon the characteristic of the Early Modern English period involving many translations into English and new works written and printed in English. He writes, "Just as Erasmus was introducing to schoolboys a Latin that was not barbarous, so the translators were reaching for, and helping to make, an English that was noble. They were demonstrating, consciously and carefully, what English could do" (p. 90). Tyndale initiated this English translation movement in the early sixteenth century. His purpose was to translate into an English that made sense, rather than translating literally, as Jerome had done.

Due to Tyndale's growing infamy in England, he left the country to print his English Bible legally in Germany. We know the translation was finished because the entire copy needed to be handed to the printer to start the process, although Tyndale only printed through the Gospel of Matthew before being forced to flee to a different city (p. 108). Daniell provides analysis of some of these early scriptures, which demonstrate the word order developments that were occurring in English and on which Tyndale had such a firm grasp. Daniell demonstrates Tyndale's poetic ease through examples such as changing the Greek "the mourners" into "they that mourn" in English. Daniell states, "What is characteristic of Tyndale, and what matters, is his clarity, his determination to put nothing in the way of being understood" (p. 113). Tyndale used his keen understanding of Early Modern English to create a poetic yet clear and accurate representation of the original biblical phrases (p. 116).

By the time Tyndale fled to Worms, Germany, copies of his New Testament were already being sent to England. To explain to the reader how the language used by Tyndale resonates with us even centuries later, Daniell makes two key points. First, Tyndale sought to write in the spoken English of that time, avoiding "antiquarian effects." Second, he uses a "language for the word of God

which speaks to the heart" (p. 135). These points are important because they prove that the language of Tyndale's translation (much of which we see in the King James version of the Bible) must reflect what Early Modern English sounded like, both written and spoken—although his translation abilities also created a "Biblical language" (p. 142). Daniell goes on to share specific examples where Tyndale is "letting the Greek speak" in his English translation, creating most powerful language (p. 137).

Translating amid Persecution

Another defining moment in the sixteenth century, as it pertains to the age of Early Modern English, involved the persecution and book burning that resulted from the presence of the English New Testament in England (p. 180–184). Although many died for merely holding a copy of the book, this did not stop the smuggling of pages into the country through cloth trade routes (p. 186–187). Further controversy surrounded Tyndale as he wrote and published additional religious texts directly against the Catholic Church. He hoped that King Henry would soon legalize the reading of the English Bible.

Tyndale then went on to translate and publish the Old Testament. This time he was translating from Hebrew. Daniell cites specific examples from the Latin translation and the Wycliffe version to compare with Tyndale's translation, demonstrating Tyndale's proficiency in Hebrew, which was seemingly equal to his Greek (p. 284). We also learn that the "noun + of + the + noun" construct is derived from Hebrew, and because of Tyndale's translation ("the beasts of the field") we maintain that form in modern English (p. 285). Through many examples from all other versions of the Bible (the Vulgate, Luther's German Bible, and the Jerusalem Bible), we see how Tyndale continued to place clarity for readers as a priority, "uniquely making the English sing" (p. 345). His grasp of the English language becomes more and more remarkable as he made translation decisions not only to get the correct message across to the reader but also to make the content even more penetrating to the soul, changing word order and stress patterns and vocabulary, all for the benefit of the English reader (p. 351–354).

Eventually, Tyndale was deceived, arrested, and brought back to England where he spent time in prison during the trial leading up to his execution. Although he had supporters and friends fighting on his behalf, Tyndale was sentenced to death, strangled and burned at the stake in 1536, crying out the famous words, "Lord! Open the king of England's eyes" (p. 383). This final appeal for the English Bible to become legally available to the common man shows how dedicated Tyndale was to his work since he knew what a difference it could make for his people. He proved to be right.

Conclusion

William Tyndale: A Biography is an excellent reference for those interested in learning about the period of Early Modern English, particularly as it pertains to the first English Bible translated from the original text. Daniell offers a thorough account of the life of William Tyndale and explains the personal impact that Tyndale had on the English language of that era and the English biblical language that he produced. Considering his purpose in writing this book—to provide an in-depth history of Tyndale's life and his role as a translator—readers can rest assured that they will get just that, along with relevant details surrounding the places, people, and events that affected Tyndale and his translation. Any reader of this book will come away with a humble appreciation for William Tyndale for the lifetime he devoted to bringing forth the English Bible and all he did to help define the period of Early Modern English.

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A View of Dialects in the Popular Timepiece T.V. Show *Poldark*

By Emmie Cannon

British television utilizes various dialects. Americans are familiar with many of them, particularly the Standard British dialect. However, many Americans fail to recognize the social significance behind certain dialects. The BBC series Poldark impressively incorporates a Cornish dialect among the low-class characters. This social marker, which indicates "inferior" language, plays heavily into the plot and character relations.

From acclaimed BBC Television producers comes another British tale, but this time it is more rugged than refined. Ross Poldark, a British soldier in the American Revolutionary war, returns home to Cornwall, England, a southwestern county marked by beaches and a distinct mining culture. The story revolves around universal problems that have plagued every society since the dawn of time: love and money. Though the storyline is much of what makes the production of *Poldark* noteworthy, what is particularly unique about this show is the careful research done in order to represent the appropriate Cornish dialect among the mining community.

Much in this time period determined social status, marriageability, and the like. However, the effect of language is often overlooked when considering these issues. The most affluent families in the show speak in the standard dialect that much of the world today would consider the "correct" form of British English. A rough sounding Cornish dialect frequently graces the lips of the poverty-stricken miners who are under the stewardship of Mr. Poldark. Words such as "afeard" instead of "afraid" and the exclamatory phrase "Judas!" are differentiations from the refined speech of the sophisticated. In addition, the "h" sound was often dropped when placed at the beginning of words. Not only do the rags and illnesses mark the Cornwall mining community as inferior, but their language does as well. It is not easy to fake something so identifying. Take the example of Eleanor Tomlinson, the actress who plays the character of Demelza, a woman who grew up in a local mining town. She had the difficult task of learning the Cornish dialect in order to convincingly portray her character. In the eighteenth century, when language coaches did not exist, learning a new aspect of the language was almost impossible to do. Needless to say, social status did not change easily in part because of an "inferior" dialect.

I would highly recommend watching *Poldark* for its thorough portrayal of life in eighteenth-century Britain (especially if you are mesmerized by British English dialects). While watching, consider the world today and our use of language to classify people. Do we see language different than ours as inferior or do we perceive it as pleasant diversity? Is language and should language be a barrier in society? Without providing spoilers, it is significant to point

out that an inspiring aspect of this British show is the comradery between individuals of differing groups—interactions that were not normal at that time but rightly accepting of hard-working, honest people. These people were falsely labeled as inferior because of natural conditions such as birth situation and the inevitable formation of a dialect that happened to be different from what was considered appropriate by the higher social class.

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Language and Gender Habits: Portrayal in Television

By Breanna Herbert

In this article, the researcher looked at which gender speaks more as reflected in the media. The researcher used a website to access the scripts of two popular television shows in two different decades: The Brady Bunch (1960s) and Modern Family (present). The researcher counted lines and words of each character and compared the numbers based on gender. She found that gender may play a role in how many lines a character gets, but it must also be in conjunction with the character's age and the decade in which the show was produced.

A pin found on Pinterest states "Men say approximately 12,500 words per day, whereas women say 22,000." A cartoon shows a man and a woman in the living room; the speech box above the woman's head only contains the word *blah*. This word is repeated over and over again until the man slowly fades into a mere skeleton in his recliner. A comment was overheard on campus: "My sister is such a chatterbox; she can never just sit quietly." These are all examples of the common stereotype that women talk more than men. Representations of these stereotypes like the pin, the cartoon, and the comment circle around us each day. Janet Holmes (1998) claims, however, that this stereotype is a myth. She says, "The question 'Do women talk more than men?' depends on many different factors" (p. 48–49). These factors include the social context, the subject, the confidence of the speakers, the social roles being fulfilled, and the speaker's familiarity with the topic.

Cheris Kramarae gives an example of one social setting in which females talk less than men (Pfeiffer, 1994). Kramarae was the only female in an important policy-shaping committee. She suggested to the chairman of the committee a few things that should be added to the agenda. He nonchalantly nodded and brushed the comments aside. As the meeting progressed, other conversations were pursued. When the chairman reviewed the agenda once more he highlighted Kramarae's ideas and then stated, "I don't remember who suggested these changes. I think it was Dick here." Kramarae responds to the event of oftentimes being heard but not listened to, "as if [she] were speaking behind a glass" (p. 492). Holmes (1998) explains that men talk more in public contexts where informative and persuasive talk is used to maintain status—perhaps not letting females speak as much. On the other hand, women talk more in private contexts where informal talk is used to maintain relationships (p. 45).

Dale Spender states that males tend to speak more in the classroom than females. "Teachers who try to restore the balance by deliberately 'favoring the girls' were astounded to find that despite their efforts [teachers] tended to devote more time to the boys" (Holmes, 1998). In another study, a teacher tried to manage a classroom in which boys and girls had an equal contribution in the classroom. The teacher reported that in order to do this he felt like he was devoting 90 percent of the speaking time to the females,

and the males in the classroom felt the same way. "They complained vociferously that the girls were getting too much talking time" (p. 48).

Another difference between males and females in speech is their patterns in interrupting. One study placed a mixed-gender group of college students around a table where they were asked to solve a problem, forcing them to collaborate and to produce dialogue. Their conversation was recorded through a one-way mirror; each interruption was noted. The results of the study were that men interrupt women more than men interrupt men. Women interrupt other women and men equally (Smith-Lovin & Brody, 1989, p. 428, 430). This study shows that men and women both interrupt, but males are more likely to interrupt females.

A study focusing primarily on the social roles in the home recorded and transcribed tapes of conversations at the dinner table over a period of thirty years. The researchers concluded that mothers spoke more, showing that they were perhaps the emotional center of their families. Fathers acted more as historians. Both mothers and fathers used language that formed emotional and social bonds; however, mothers and daughters conversed the most with each other. This shows that in the home females tend to speak more than males. (Merrill, Gallo, & Fivush, 2015). Tannen (1991) explains that to males, talking is for information, but to females talking is for interaction. Women think communicating is a way to show involvement, and listening is a way to show interest and care (p. 113). This could explain why females tend to talk more in the home.

The above-mentioned studies portray some of the differences between males and females in speech. Pfeiffer (1994) illustrates more differences saying that men spend considerable time playing the dominance game, often through joking or topping one tall tale with another, while women's contributions support other women's stories. Men are more likely to address the group as a whole, but women are more likely to address individuals (Pfeiffer, 1994, p. 493). Males' arguments are more straight forward and last a few minutes, while females' arguments are far less direct and last weeks (p. 495).

Method

There are many more differences between the genders and their speech habits, and many studies have focused on these differences. But it is also important to consider how these differences are being portrayed on Facebook, in comics, in advertisements, and throughout other media. Are they being portrayed in a manner that shows how men and women actually speak? Or is media creating more language myths, like the example stated above, that women talk more than men?

I will contribute to this research by comparing the differences between gender speech habits—decisions and patterns made in conversation and daily interaction based on one's gender—as discovered through scientific studies and gender speech habits as portrayed in the media, specifically TV shows. I will be looking at two TV shows: *Modern Family* (Lloyd, 2009) and *The Brady Bunch* (Schwartz, 1969). I chose these specific TV shows because they are similar in the sense that they portray family life. Also, both TV shows have a considerable variety of male and female main characters. I found the shows' scripts on *Wikiscripts*. *Wikiscripts* had a small portion of dialogue from varying seasons and episodes. I will use these scripts to determine in which era gender speech habits were more accurately portrayed in the media. Specifically, I will look at which gender speaks more. I will gather each character's spoken parts, and I will count each line and each word that is spoken. I will then compare the males' results and the females' results to one another in each show, comparing which gender has the most lines and which gender has the most words. I will then average the lines and words between both genders in both TV shows and will run a two-tailed Fisher's Chi-Square test to see if there is any significance between the amount that men and women speak in each TV show. I chose this test because my experiment contains two independent variables: male and female. It also contains a count of the categorical data because I will be counting the specific number of words and lines for each character. This research will contribute to the field because it will illustrate whether society and gender speech habits, as portrayed in media, have changed over time or whether they have stayed the same.

The Brady Bunch was aired from the late 1960s to the mid-1970s. *Modern Family* was first aired in 2009 and continues with episodes today. Between the years that these two TV shows have aired much has changed in society. Feminist movements have come about, more studies have been done on gender speech habits, and society has increased its focus on equality. Because of these factors, I hypothesize that the *Modern Family* will have a more equal amount of lines and words between males and females than *The Brady Bunch*.

Results

First, we will look at *The Brady Bunch*. The list below gives the name of each character, the total counted number of lines given to each character, and whether the character is male (M) or female (F). First, the children are listed starting with Cindy and ending with Greg. The adults are then listed starting with Alice and ending with Carol. The number of lines are as follows: Cindy (F) forty-five, Bobby (M) sixty-two, Jan (F) twenty-nine, Peter (M) thirty-five, Marcia (F) thirty-four, Greg (M) forty-five, Alice (F) twenty-three, Mike (M) forty-seven, and Carol (F) fifty-seven. These numbers are illustrated in Graph 1 below.

Graph 1
The Brady Bunch Lines
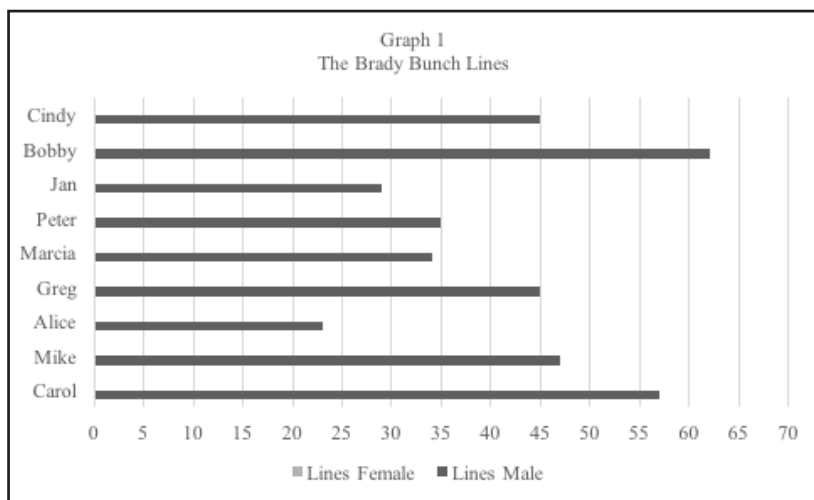
As portrayed in the chart, the order of characters with the most lines to fewest lines is as follows: Bobby (M) sixty-two, Carol (F) fifty-seven, Mike (M) forty-seven, then Greg (M) forty-five, and Cindy (F) forty-five have the same number of lines, Peter (M) thirty-five, Marcia (F) thirty-four, Jan (F) twenty-nine, and last Alice (F) twenty-three. The character with the most lines is Bobby, the third and youngest son, with sixty-two lines. The character with the fewest number of lines is Alice, the female housekeeper, with twenty-three lines. The children and the adults, both males and females, fill in the rest of the places from second to most lines to second to least lines at a random order.

Now we will look at the number of words spoken by each character. The characters are listed in the same order as above: Cindy (F) 261, Bobby (M) 438, Jan (F) 209, Peter (M) 319, Marcia (F) 270, Greg (M) 330, Alice (F) 244, Mike (M) 353, and Carol (F) 601. The numbers are illustrated in Graph 2 below.

Graph 2
The Brady Bunch Words
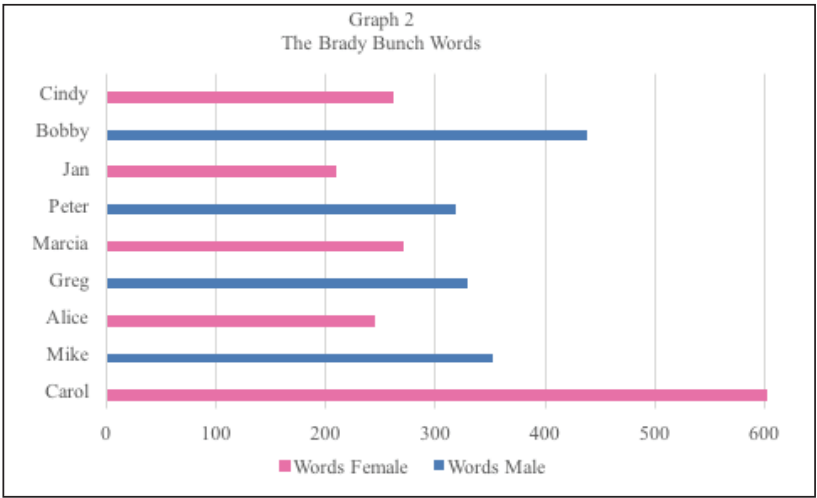
As we can see in the graph, the order of most words to least words is as follows: Carol (F) 601, Bobby (M) 438, Mike (M) 353, Greg (M) 330, Peter (M) 319, Marcia (F) 270, Cindy (F) 261, Alice (F) 244, and Jan (F) 209. The character with the most words is Carol, the mother, with 601 words. The character with the least amount of words is Jan, the second oldest daughter, with 209 words. The adults and children fill in the rest of the places at a random order. However, unlike the lines, the words have a specific

pattern for male and female characters. The mother, Carol, has the most amount of words. She is then followed by the five male characters; the four female characters then follow after all the males. Carol also has the most amount of lines. This could be because she is the mother figure and is often portrayed at home helping the children more than the other adult characters. In Graph 1, the males and females had varying amount of lines, but after counting the words, it is apparent that the males, both adults and children, have more words per line than the females.

Now we will look at *Modern Family.* The list below gives the name of each character, the total counted number of lines given to each character, and whether the character is male (M) or female (F). First, the children are listed starting with Luke and ending with Manny. The adults are then listed starting with Gloria and ending with Phil. The number of lines are as follows: Luke (M) fourteen, Alex (F) thirty-six, Haley (F) seventeen, Manny (M) fifteen, Gloria (F) thirty-five, Jay (M) fifty-four, Mitchell (M) fifty, Cameron (M) forty-five, Claire (F) sixty-eight, and Phil (M) seventy. The numbers are illustrated in Graph 3 below.
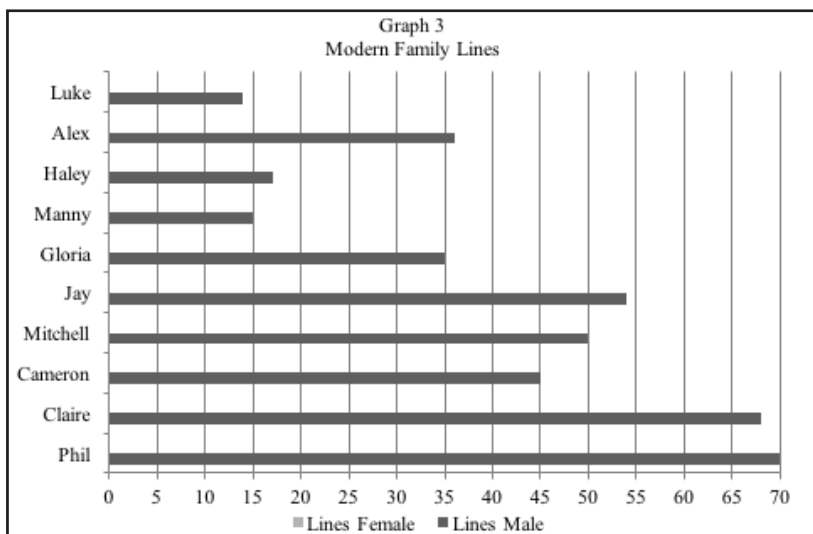
As shown in the chart, the order of the characters with the highest number of lines to the least number lines is as follows: Phil (M) seventy, Claire (F) sixty-eight, Jay (M) fifty-four, Mitchell (M) fifty, Cameron (M) forty-five, Alex (F) thirty-six, Gloria (F)

thirty-five, Hayley (F) seventeen, Manny (M) fifteen, and Luke (M) fourteen. The character with the most amount of lines is Phil, one of the main father figures in the series, with seventy lines. He is followed closely by his wife, Claire, with sixty-eight lines. The character with the least amount of lines is their son, Luke, with fourteen lines. Both males and females filled in the other places in varying order from the second most amount of lines to the second least amount of lines. The adults, however, all had more lines than the children except for one case with Gloria and Alex. Gloria having thirty-five, and Alex having thirty-six—only a one-line difference.

Now we will look at the words spoken by each character in *Modern Family*. The characters are listed the same as above: Luke (M) 120, Alex (F) 374, Hayley (F) 178, Manny (M) 120, Gloria (F) 557, Jay (M) 605, Mitchell (M) 576, Cameron (M) 635, Claire (F) 731, and Phil (M) 1373. The data are illustrated in Graph 4 below.

Graph 4
Modern Family Words
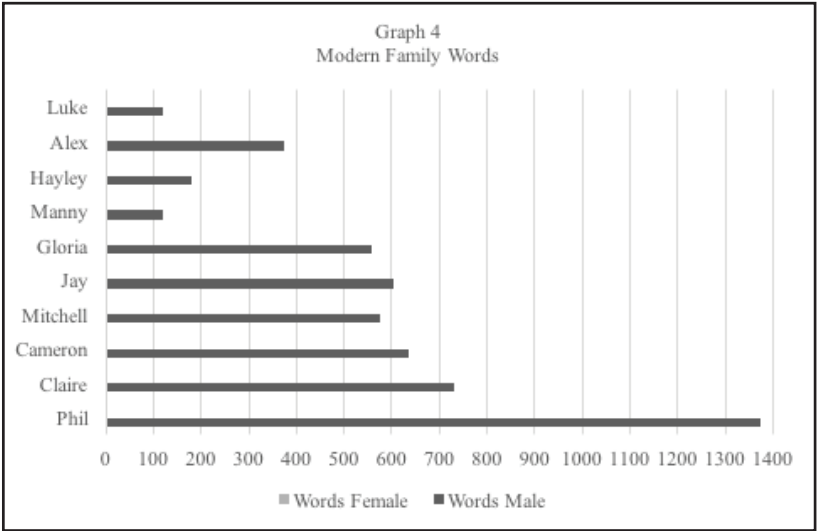
The order of most words to least words is as follows: Phil (M) 1,373; Claire (F) 731; Cameron (M) 635; Jay (M) 605; Mitchell (M) 576; Gloria (F) 557; Alex (F) 374; Hayley (F) 178; and Manny (M) and Luke (M) both having 120 words. The character that had the most amount of words was Phil with 1,373 words, again being followed by Claire, having 731 words, and the characters with the least amount of words was Manny, Claire's step-brother, and again,

his son Luke scoring 120 words. The other places were filled by the characters from the second most amount of words to the second least amount of words in nearly the same order that they had filled in the lines. The adults scored a higher amount of words followed by the children. This shows that the characters in *Modern Family* have a more equal amount of words per line than the characters in *The Brady Bunch*.

After calculating the lines and the words of each TV show, I took the average number of lines per gender for each series and rounded them to the nearest whole number. Males had a higher average of lines than females in both TV shows. In *The Brady Bunch* males had an average of forty-seven lines, and females had an average of thirty-eight lines. In *Modern Family* the males had an average of forty-one lines, and the females an average of thirty-nine. I then used the website *graphpad.com* to perform a two-tailed Fisher's chi-square test. By doing so I was able to calculate the statistical significance of the study. The p-value was 0.6407, which means that the correlation between genders, number of lines, and the span of time was not significant.

I also took the average number of words per gender for each TV show and rounded them to the nearest whole word. Males had a higher average of words than females in both TV shows as well. In *The Brady Bunch*, the males had an average of 360 words, and the females had an average of 317. In *Modern Family*, the males had an average of 476 words, and the females an average of 460. I used the same website to run the same chi-square test. The p-value was 0.3638, also not showing and significance between the correlation of genders, number of words, and the span of time.

Discussion

Based on the data and the chi-squared tests, my hypothesis was incorrect: *The Brady Bunch* does not have less equality of lines and words between genders than *Modern Family*. This means that my hypothesis that *Modern Family* would have more equality in the amount of lines and words between genders than *The Brady Bunch* does not hold true. However, my hypothesis is correct in the sense that significant changes have been made in the portrayal of gender speech acts.

Looking at the data from both TV shows, I noticed that the differences between the average number of words and lines for males and females are getting smaller. In *The Brady Bunch* the average difference between males and females in lines was nine, but in *Modern Family* it was only two. In *The Brady Bunch* the average difference between males and females in words was 43, and in *Modern Family* it dropped to sixteen. These differences are important because the gap between how often women speak on television and how often men speak is being reduced.

As mentioned above, males in *The Brady Bunch* had more words per line than the females. This was shown through the ordering of greatest to least in number of words and lines. If the characters would have had about the same number of words per line, then it would have made sense that the ordering would be generally the same in both words and lines. The characters would have roughly been in the same places because the more lines a character speaks, the more words they would speak as well. But because the ordering of characters was not the same, and the four males ranked higher than all the females—except for the protagonist Carol—this shows that the male characters had a higher number of words per line than the females. Looking down the road about fifty years, however, we find that in *Modern Family* the characters generally have the same rank in the ordering of lines and words. This shows that over time the rate of words per line has become more equal between genders.

In *The Brady Bunch* there is a male and a female child that are the same age, making three pairs. I noticed that in each pair the male had more lines than the female: Greg had forty-five lines, Marcia thirty-four; Peter had thirty-five lines, Jan twenty-nine; Bobby sixty-two, and Cindy forty-five. When looking at words, it was the same result: boys had more. The results show that Greg had 330 words and Marcia 270; Peter had 319 words and Jan 209; Bobby had 438 words and Cindy 261. Looking at *Modern Family*, I noticed that this was not the case. In fact, both the female children had more lines and more words than both male children. I decided to run two-tailed Fisher's chi-square tests on the words and lines of the TV shows, looking at the adults and the children separately. Comparing the adults' lines, the p-value was 0.7731, which is not statistically significant. Adult males had the highest average line

count in each TV show. The p-value on adult words, however, was statistically significant at 0.0370. In *The Brady Bunch,* women had the highest average word count, but in *Modern Family* men had the highest average word count. The p-value for children's lines and children's words were both less than 0.0001, which means that both values are significant. For both words and lines in *The Brady Bunch,* the male children had the highest average, but in *Modern Family,* females had the highest average for both words and lines. This finding shows that there has been a change in gender speech habits when taking age into consideration.

Further research needs to be done in order to more fully accept any of these claims. My corpus was not as big as I would have liked it to be. I also did not look at all the episodes or all of the season, only parts of them. A better study would look at all the lines and words of each episode. Some other research that could be done would be looking at other sources of media like the news, social webpages, and advertisements. Other TV shows could also be taken into account to more accurately prove that gender speech habits have changed over time. Overall, I believe that gender speech habits, as shown in the discussion above, have changed, and will continue to change over time.

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Yorkshire English in Georgette Heyer's *The Unknown Ajax*

By Heather Johnson

This article analyzes Georgette Heyer's use of Yorkshire English in her novel The Unknown Ajax to determine how accurately Heyer represented Yorkshire English. The author discusses research that has been performed on other writers' usage of nonstandard speech before looking at the lexical and phonological use of Heyer. Based on the results of the study, the author believes Heyer did accurately represent Yorkshire English in her novel and acknowledges that further research may be done to improve the study.

The use of nonstandard varieties of English in novels is a significant area of study (Toolan, 1992). Much of the research on novels with this kind of language has focused on the rhetorical use of nonstandard varieties of English rather than the accuracy of the portrayal (Ferguson, 1998). In the British fiction of the 1700s, speakers of nonstandard varieties usually fell into stereotypical roles, but by the nineteenth century, novelists began to represent nonstandard variety speakers as rounded, real characters (Hodson & Broadhead, 2013). Much work has been done in analyzing the language and dialect representations of the writers of the nineteenth century (e.g., Ferguson; Hodson and Broadhead; and Melchers), but little research has been done on Georgette Heyer and her novels that were set in this time period. Thus, the purpose of this study is to determine whether Heyer accurately represented the Yorkshire dialect in her novel *The Unknown Ajax* (2011).

Literature Review

Fiction writers who introduce characters speaking a nonstandard variety of English do so with an overriding purpose—they do not want to introduce unnecessary noise that would distract from the story (Macaulay, 1991). This study is focused on literary dialects. The term *literary dialects* describes nonstandard speech occurrences in literature that would normally be written in Standard English. This is different from *dialect literature* where the work is wholly composed in a nonstandard variety and is written for the local population (Melchers, 2011). Nonstandard English is used for a variety of reasons: to mark class, to establish relationships among the players, to establish a setting, and so forth (Ferguson, 1998). The way a character speaks can give readers clues to the personality, gender, age, education, occupation, region, and social status of the character (Walpole, 1974). There is little question that language is an effective characterization tool.

But how accurate are representations of nonstandard dialects? Readers are conditioned to expect certain conventions from fictional dialogue, and most readers would be jarred to find dialogue akin to a transcript in a novel (Walpole, 1974). Scholars are divided when it comes to varieties in fiction. Toolan describes one group

as the realists, who claim that literature is "metonymically related to the rest of life and discourse" (1992, p. 31). The second group he describes is the symbolist group, whose followers see language representations in fiction as "creative otherness" (Toolan, 1992). For the symbolists, these fictional representations of language are simply that—fictional.

It seems that the representations of nonstandard English in British literature of the 1800s and early 1900s often fall into this second camp; many dialect features in fiction of the time are applied inconsistently and sometimes inaccurately (Ferguson, 1998). During the time between 1800 and 1836, literary dialect representations broadened, and many more characters with non-standard dialects were written (Hodson & Broadhead, 2013). Many studies have been done on the British fictional work of this time period. Ferguson analyzed Charles Dickens's *Bleak House* (published 1853) and Emily Brontë›s *Wuthering Heights* (published 1847). Ferguson notes that variety representation in fiction writing will always be at least somewhat inaccurate because authors typically only use the non-phonetic writing of English—a reader can only guess what is meant by the nonstandard orthography (1998). Brontë›s speech for Joseph in *Wuthering Heights* turned out to be surprisingly consistent though orthographically confusing (Ferguson, 1998). Ferguson also found that Victorian writers will elevate certain characters' speech to a more standard variety than is to be expected for their lot in life to portray them as more virtuous, as is evidenced in Dickens's *Bleak House*. According to the two main characters' social class, they should have spoken nonstandard English, but, being virtuous characters, they spoke standard (Ferguson, 1998).

Much work has also been done on the dialects in Thomas Hardy's *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* (published 1891). Cooper argues that Hardy's use of dialect cannot be considered authentic. Rather, Cooper sees its use as a political critique not specifically concerned with being accurate (1994).

In evaluating Elizabeth Gaskell's *North and South* (published 1855) and *Wives and Daughters* (published 1865), Melchers found that Gaskell used regional vocabulary as her biggest indicator of nonstandard dialect and that the features Gaskell chose to include were portrayed accurately (2011). Melchers used a more systematic

approach by looking at the regional dialectal lexical items, phonology, and morphosyntax in turn. I will replicate some of her methods later in my analysis of *An Unknown Ajax* (Heyer, 2011).

Though much research has been done on some of these more famous nineteenth century authors, little has been done on Georgette Heyer—a British novelist who lived from 1902 to 1974 and wrote fiction, much of which was set in the early 1800s. Heyer has been dubbed the Queen of Regency Romance, and "her work is a byword for historical accuracy" (Newton, 1991). Thus, the purpose of this study is to determine whether her historical accuracy continues to shine in her representation of nonstandard English, specifically the Yorkshire variety, by looking at her novel *The Unknown Ajax* (Heyer, 2011).

Methodology

The Unknown Ajax is set in the year 1812. The Darracotts, a family of English nobility, live on a country estate in Kent. Belonging to a high social class, the family speaks Received Pronunciation (RP). Lord Darracott's family all believe that Lord Darracott's heir is his third son, the first two having died without having any children (Heyer, 2011).

But, at the beginning of the story, Lord Darracott reveals that his second son did in fact marry and have a son, who is now the heir. The heir, Hugo, was born and raised in Huddersfield, West Riding, Yorkshire. Just before the story begins, Hugo has sold out of the army where he was a major. Everyone in the family expects him to be a country bumpkin. When summoned by Lord Darracott, Hugo comes to the estate and decides to play along with the family's expectations. He speaks a Yorkshire variety of English, despite being educated at Harrow and being a very proficient speaker of RP. Eventually Hugo's secret comes out, and the family learns that he is not a country bumpkin but an educated, wealthy mill owner worth over a million pounds (Heyer, 2011).

Hugo has four cousins who are also staying at his grandfather's house. All four of these cousins are RP speakers. The one other particularly important character for my purpose is the groom that Hugo brings with him from Yorkshire. This groom, John Joseph, is a native speaker of Yorkshire English (Heyer, 2011).

I hope to replicate to some degree Melchers's form of analysis that she applied to Gaskell's *North and South* and *Wives and Daughters*. First I gathered all the features that appeared to be Yorkshire English. Then I compared what I found with my sources on Yorkshire English. I then looked at lexical features. I went through and collected all the regional dialectal lexical items from both Hugo and John Joseph's speech. One weakness to my approach is that I am not an expert on Yorkshire English. I simply picked out the terms that seemed different from what the other characters, who were all RP speakers, were saying. I started out with a longer list than my final one. As I researched different words, I found that some of the words that I thought were Yorkshire did not have any strong ties to any particular region. These I deleted. In determining which lexical items were authentic Yorkshire English, I used six different sources. I began by looking up the words in *A Glossary of the Dialect of Almondbury and Huddersfield* (Easther, 1965/1833). This book covers the specific part of Yorkshire that Hugo is supposed to be from—Huddersfield. I then looked up the words in the *Survey of English Dialects: The Dictionary and Grammar* (Upton & Parry, 1994). For each entry in this dictionary, it gives the region where the word is used. If I did not find the word in these two sources, I then turned to *A Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words, Obsolete Phrases, Proverbs, and Ancient Customs from the Fourteenth Century* (Wright, 1857), which also gives the region for each term, and the *Oxford English Dictionary*. I also used *The Cambridge History of the English Language* (Ihalainen, 1994), and I found one of the lexical items in Giner and Montgomery's paper "Yorkshire English Two Hundred Years Ago" (2001).

For my phonology analysis, I relied on the chapter entitled "The dialects of England since 1776" in *The Cambridge History of the English Language* (Ihalainen, 1994). I will describe all the Northern phonological features listed on pages 213 and 214 and compare those features to what I was able to find in *The Unknown Ajax* (Heyer, 2011).

Results

My hypothesis was that Heyer's historical accuracy would extend to her representation of Yorkshire speech. I found some support for this hypothesis, but there is still further research that could be done.

Lexical Items

Of the sixty-nine Yorkshire terms (see Appendix for the full list) that I looked at, there were only seven terms for which I was unable to find clear support for their being Yorkshire features. These terms were *and-all* (e.g., Hugo's aunts ask him if he's seen much of the world. He replies, "I have and-all!" [Heyer, 2011, p. 66]); *champion* (used as an adjective, e.g., "I'd look champion." [p. 110]); *hodgobbin* (e.g., Hugo describes a disliked general as "a sackless hodgobbin" [p. 68], which may be an army term rather than a Yorkshire term, but I was unable to find a clear reference to it anywhere.); *noan* (e.g., "It was noan so bad." [p. 66]); *Jack rag* (e.g., "I'd be fain to be shut of every Jack rag of them!" [p. 217]); *frining* (e.g., ". . .frining that there was a flaysome thing jangling." [p. 218]); and *nighest-about* (e.g., "I brung him nighest-about." [p. 306]).

There were two terms on my list, *jangling* and *nappered*, that were in the *Survey of English Dialects: The Dictionary and Grammar*, but they were not classified as being from Yorkshire. Other than these nine terms (*and-all, champion, hodgobbin, noan, Jack rag, frining, nighest-about, jangling*, and *nappered*), I found support for all the lexical items as coming from Yorkshire. It is a very real possibility that these nine words are Yorkshire terms but that I looked in the wrong places. Heyer was a meticulous researcher, but often she did not note where she had found her information. One obituary (she died in 1974) written for her says, "An Israeli barrister wrote to her last month: 'The language is particularly enchanting. Where did you find the delicious word "thatchgallows," for which I looked in vain in the OED?' The answer sent on her behalf was that the OED might not have it, but you could bet your bottom dollar it had existed" (Hebert, 1974).

Phonology

To begin, Heyer does not represent all the Yorkshire features listed in *Cambridge*. These unrepresented features are as follows:

- *Oo-fronting.* A writer might represent this feature in the word *soon* writing is as *se'an.*

- *Long a. Name* might be represented as *ne'am.*

- *Yod-formation.* This is when *one* is said more like *yan.*

- *Linking v.* This could be represented in standard orthography as *tiv another* for *to another.*

- *FOOT-STRUT merger to /ʊ/.* This merger gives *soom* for some.

- The *house* to *hoose* vowel change and *y-laxing* are also not present.

The following are features she does represent:

Lack of rounding.

To represent this feature in writing, a person may write *wark* for *work.* Heyer is aware of this feature and incorporates it into the speakers' dialogue. John Joseph uses the word *thou* instead of *you,* a common feature of Yorkshire (Ihalainen, 1994) when talking to Hugo. But Heyer represents this word as *tha*—the unrounded form. Hugo also uses this form when talking to his nervous horse, "Tha's seen the sea afore, think on!" (Heyer, 2011, p. 121). Another example from John Joseph is his pronunciation of *goes.* He says it *gaes,* as in "What gaes on here?" (Heyer, 2011, p. 217).

/ai/-monophthongization.

As an example of this, *fine* might be written as *faan.* Hugo and John Joseph never use the word *right.* It is always *reet.*

l-vocalization/dropping.

Sometimes Heyer represents this one and other times she does not. At one point Hugo says, "It doesn't make a ha'porth of difference" (Heyer, 2011, p. 256), meaning that it does not make a half penny's

worth of difference. Here Heyer represents Hugo's speech as dropping the *l*. We also have John Joseph dropping the *l* in *thyself,* so it is *thysen* (Heyer, 2011, p. 306). But later on, when John Joseph is talking about "the old barn up yonder," we might expect the *l* to be dropped; instead he says, "t'ould barn up yonder" (Heyer, 2011, p. 306). He keeps the *l* but changes the vowel a bit. This change may be indicating some degree of *l* vocalization, but it is hard to tell what sounds Heyer exactly meant.

Second person singular verb.

We saw this feature in an earlier example by Hugo, "Tha's seen the sea afore, think on!" (Heyer, 2011, p. 121), and John Joseph also has this feature. He uses the contraction of *thou is* several times, such as "If tha's shaping to wink at smuggling" (Heyer, 2011, p. 217).

Dropping th.

This feature is represented, though not consistently for Hugo. Sometimes Hugo uses *them* and other times he uses *'em.* This makes sense because Hugo is switching between dialects. John Joseph never says the *th*'s in *with* or *them*.

Definite article as a stop.

This is represented by writing *t'* for *the*. John Joseph never says the word *the*. With him it is always *t'gaffer, t'gentry, t'tapper,* etc. Hugo only uses this feature on occasion. At one point he is talking to a stranger in Kent. Hugo says something about "the inhabitants of the town," (Heyer, 2011, p. 192), pronouncing *the* all the way. But when he learns that the stranger's family is from Yorkshire, he asks, "Is ta from t'West Riding?"

Mun for Must

Another common feature of Yorkshire is pronouncing *must* as something like *mun* (Ihalainen, 1994). John Joseph always follows this rule.

From this list, we see that Heyer does not account for all the phonological features of Yorkshire. There are many possible reasons for this. First, John Joseph only appears in less than ten pages of the book. John Joseph would be the most likely character to have

these features. Heyer simply might have not written in these features because she did not need John Joseph to say them. Hugo, of course, speaks more than John Joseph, but Hugo is an RP speaker pretending to speak Yorkshire. To do this, he mostly relies on lexical features rather than phonological ones.

Another reason for not fully representing the phonology of the dialect may be Heyer's desire for John Joseph to remain somewhat intelligible. Consider this utterance from John Joseph: "T'young Riding-officer's more frack than t'owd one, and since t'last run, when him and them dragoons was made April-gowks of, chasing after nobbut a few loads o'faggots, Peasmarsh way, while t'run was carried off, it were rumoured, not so very far from here, I'll take my accidavy he's got his eye fixed on Spurstow again" (Heyer, 2011, p. 218). Granted, this is taken out of context, but even in context, it is hard work for the Standard English reader to understand John Joseph. Using even more phonological features than she already had might have made him almost impossible to understand.

It could have also simply been that Heyer did not know about these other features. But considering her thorough research into other aspects of Yorkshire English, this seems unlikely.

Conclusion

It appears that Heyer in many ways does remain historically accurate even in the language of her characters. She is especially adept at using the correct lexical items for the time and place of the story. Her phonological representations are not complete in her dialogue, but it is debatable whether a full representation of the nonstandard variations from the standard is a desirable quality in a novel.

My study barely scratched the surface of what linguistic research could be done with *The Unknown Ajax*. It would be informative to look at both the syntactic and pragmatic features of Yorkshire that Heyer chooses to display. One item that I'm particularly curious about is her use of the phrase "think on!" that seems to be commonly tacked on to the ends of utterances. In my analysis, I focused on what Heyer got right and what she left out. To get a complete picture, we would need to also consider what she did wrong.

Beyond the *Unknown Ajax,* Heyer wrote over forty other historical novels, each with a least a few different varieties of English being spoken. These are a treasure trove for linguistic research

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KEY TO TABLES	
	word not found in any of the 6 sources
	word found, but not labeled as Yorkshire feature
y	word found
n	word not found
GOA&H	A Glossary of the Dialect of Almondbury and Huddersfield
SED	Survey of English Dialects: The Dictionary and Grammar
dict of obsolete	A Dictionary of Archiac and Provincial Words. . .
cam	The Cambridge history of the English Language
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
mont	"Yorkshire Enlish Two hundred Years Ago"

HUGO'S YORKSHIRE LEXICAL ITEMS				
	GDA&H	**SED** ENTRY	**YORK-SHIRE**	**OTHER SOURCE**
afore	n	y	y	
and-all	n	n	n	
April-gowk	n	n	n	dict of obsolete
betwixt				mont
champion	n	n	n	
clart	y	y	n	
ee	y	n	n	
ettling	n	n	n	OED—Scottish
fidget yourself	y	y	y	
flay-boggards	y	y	y	dict of obsolete
flusk	y	n	n	
fratch	y	n	n	
gradley	y	y	y	
happen (used as perhaps)	y	n	n	
hodgobbin	n	n	n	
kith	n	n	n	dict of obsolete
lad	y	y	y	
lass	y	y	y	
lug	y	y	y	
naggy	n	n	n	dict of obsolete
nappered	n	y	n	
nattered	n	y	n	dict of obsolete

	GDA&H	SED	YORK-SHIRE	OTHER SOURCE
nay	n	y	y	
nesh	y	y	n	
noan	n	n	n	
nor (used for than)	y	y	y	
othergates				dict of obsolete
porriwiggle	n	n	n	dict of obsolete
sacklass	y	y	y	
sare-baned	n	n	n	dict of obsolete

JOHN JOSEPH'S YORKSHIRE LEXICAL ITEMS				
	GDA&H	**SED** ENTRY	**YORK-** SHIRE	**OTHER SOURCE**
accidavy	n	n	n	dict of obsolete
at-after	y	n	n	
boggart	n	y	y	
clouterly	n	y	y	
Jack rag	n	n	n	
eyeable	n	n	n	OED
faffling	n	n	n	OED-dial
fettle	y	y	y	
flaid				dict of obsolete
flappy	n	n	n	dict of obsolete
flaysome	y	n	n	
floutersome	n	n	n	dict of obsolete
flue-full	n	n	n	dict of obsolete
frining	n	n	n	
frumping	n	n	n	dict of obsolete
gadger	y	n	n	
gaffer	y	y	y	
gaurning	y	y	y	
in a piece	y	n	n	
jangling	n	y	n	
naffling	y	n	n	
nay	n	y	y	
nazy	n	n	n	OED-regional York
nighest-about	n	n	n	
now-and-now	n	n	n	dict of obsolete

sackless	y	y	y	
scaddle	n?	n	n	dict of obsolete
scuggery	n	n	n	dict of obsolete
sithee	n	n	n	cam
slamtrash	y	n	n	
slibber-slabber	n	n	n	dict of obsolete
stackering	n	y	y	
sticklebutt	n	y	y	
sunk-like	n	y	y	
tits	n	y	y	

May I vs. *Can I:* Grammar and Usage Change

By Megan Judd

This article explores the necessity of avoiding can I in favor of the grammatically correct may I when asking for permission. The rule is strictly followed in formal writing, but in informal speech, the rule is broken much more often. Modern scholars acknowledge that it is widely accepted to use can to ask for permission. According to the Corpus of Contemporary American English and the media, can I is used much more often than may I to ask for permission. The author also includes the interesting ethical reason behind why many would ask, "Can you help me?" rather than, "Would you help me?" and demonstrates how language constantly changes.

O nce in elementary school, I summoned up the courage to ask my teacher a sensitive question.

"Can I go to the bathroom?" I asked in a small voice.

"Well, I certainly hope you can!" was the abrupt answer.

I was so startled, perplexed, and embarrassed by this response that I retreated to my seat. It wasn't until a little later that I learned that she had wanted me to say *may* instead of *can*. What is fascinating to me is that this difference was so vital when I was younger, but now it does not seem to matter so much—especially among my peers. My little sister who is about to graduate elementary school is still saying, "Can I go outside?"

But then sometimes one of my teenaged sisters will still answer, "I hope you can."

How necessary was that childhood nightmare? How much does getting *may* and *can* straight really matter today, and how much is it going to matter in the future?

Grammarian View

The traditional rule for generations has been that can denotes physical ability, and may denotes permission. According to Gilman, one of the first to publicize this rule was the famous propriety expert Samuel Johnson. As he states in his dictionary: "[Can] is distinguished from may, as power from permission; I can do it, it is in my power; I may do it, it is allowed me: but in poetry they are confounded" (Gilman, 1989). Ironically, Gilman says, the word can originally had nothing to do with physical ability, but was used to indicate mental ability. It was later "extended to physical ability," but also included "possibility." Even prescriptivists like Fowler have used can the "wrong" way in their dictionaries: e.g. "That d[ifferent] *can* only be followed by from & not to is a SUPERSTITION" (p. 218, emphasis added). Today, the distinction between can and may is still an issue in formal writing (and is taught to children in school), but does not matter very much in general speech.

Literature Review

While scholars today obviously know to follow the traditional rule in their writing, it seems that how *may* and *can* should be used is not as important to them as how the words are actually used in general speech and writing. Drobot explains: "The role these verbs have is, mainly, 'to estimate the event as . . . not having reliable evidence (should, may), [or] presumably possible due to the existing potential (can, there is reason to expect)'" (Drobot, 2016, p. 85). However, many scholars like Kjellmer admit that, "as is generally agreed, there are other uses of *can*, primarily expressing permission, as in 'Can I . . . read it just a little bit so people get the idea'" (Kjellmer, 2003, p. 148). In this era, even scholarly articles that specifically address the use of *can* and *may* don't forbid bending the rules a little.

Corpus

According to *The Corpus,* fewer and fewer Americans are following the traditional rule today (Davies, 2008). For example, some of the most common phrases that are used after either *can I* or *may I* are "ask you," "call you," and "say something." For all of these examples, it would be traditionally correct to use *may I,* because it is always physically possible to do those things (especially since by stating the question, the person has already proven that he or she is physically able to "ask," "call," or "say something"). However, if the Corpus is a good representation of the population, then a majority of Americans break the rule and say *Can I say something? Can I ask you?* etc.

Corpus Spoken Instances
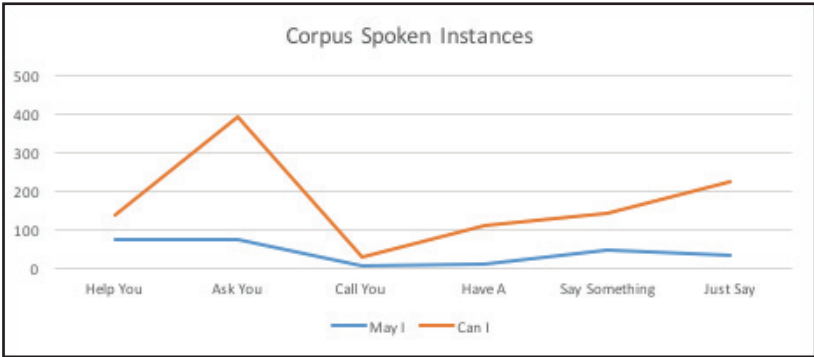
Even in formal academic writing, *can I* is used much more often than *may I* to ask for permission. However, this could be because most of the instances come from quotes, and *can I* is much more common in speech. Very few academic papers contain petitions for permission to do something. The most common phrase in academic writing is *can I help you,* and that only occurs 15 times compared to nearly 400 times in speech.

Corpus Academic Instances
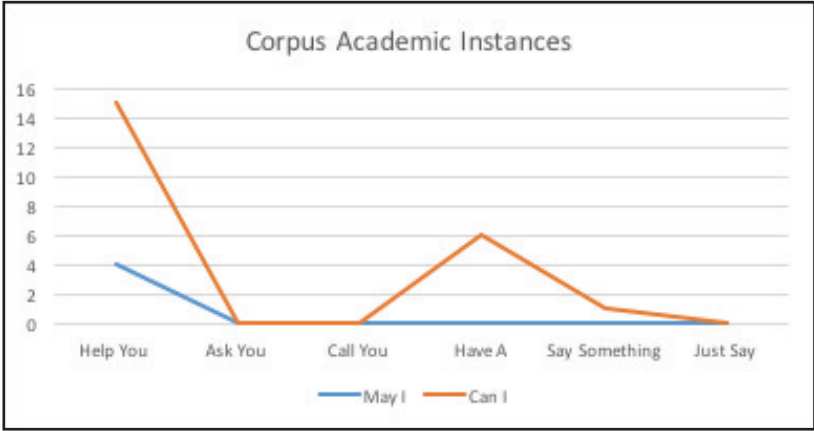
In addition to this shift away from the traditional rule, the general use of *may I* has been declining over the years, and the use of *can I* has increased. If the trend holds, *can I* might possibly replace *may I* by 2030 (more likely in speech than in writing).

SECTION (CLICK FOR SUB-SECTIONS) (SEE ALL SECTIONS AT ONCE)	FREQ	SIZE (M)	PER MIL

May I

	FREQ	SIZE (M)	PER MIL	
1990-1994	1,183	104.0	11.38	
1995-1999	838	103.4	8.10	
2000-2004	766	102.9	7.44	
2005-2009	722	102.0	7.08	
2010-2015	707	121.6	5.82	
TOTAL	8,432			SEE ALL TOKENS

Can I

	FREQ	SIZE (M)	PER MIL	
1990-1994	2,916	104.0	28.04	
1995-1999	3,465	103.4	33.50	
2000-2004	3,019	102.9	29.33	
2005-2009	3,353	102.0	32.86	
2010-2015	4,645	121.6	38.21	
TOTAL	34,796			SEE ALL TOKENS

*(Bar graphs created by The Corpus of Contemporary American English—select "Chart" and search "Can I * *" and "May I * *" respectively.)*

Media

In the media today, it appears that *can* is used much more often for asking for permission, just like in general speech. The exception would be in websites and books on grammar where the rule is taught. The petition "Can you . . . ?" is found frequently in the new Disney-Pixar movie *Finding Dory* (Collins, 2016). The main protagonist, Dory, has an extremely short-term memory, and she continually asks other characters, "Can you help me?" On one hand, this could simply reflect how *can* has been replacing *may* in this form (nobody says "May you help me?" anymore). On the other hand, it could be argued that Dory is really asking whether others are *physically able* to help her. She comes across a few who are *willing* to help her, but don't know how to help.

Another possible conclusion is that "Can you help me?" is actually code for "Would you help me?" Many characters that Dory asked were not even willing to help her. In real life, it can be hard for us to ask "Are you willing to help me?" when we don't want to be

intrusive and question the other person's morals. Instead we ask a humble "Can you help me?" which allows the other person more of a possibility to refuse because he or she is "unable."

It could be that the transition from "Would you help me" to "Can you help me" reflects an unconscious shift in human ethics. Instead of giving assistance out of willingness, people sometimes judge whether a good deed should be done based on ability. "Sorry, I can't," is a common response even when it is *physically possible* for one to help. Few people would simply say, "I won't."

Conclusion

How much does getting may and can straight really matter today, and is it going to matter in the future? While the traditional rule is alive and well with editors, English teachers, and the conscientiously educated, *can I* appears increasingly more often in general usage than *may I*. In fact, it may be because of editors, English teachers, and the conscientiously educated that *may I* won't die off so quickly. The best thing for someone to do is to consider the situation: in a formal situation, like an interview for a higher-class job or in an academic publication, it would be best to be strict with that rule. In informal conversations, it is a waste of energy to correct people who say *can I* to ask for permission do something that is already physically possible. As for dealing with the English teachers who tend to correct students' speech as well as their writing, the best thing one can do is let them have their teaching method, and remember that the reality of language change will catch up to everyone eventually.

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Corrective Feedback Review: Which type is best for low-proficiency L2 learners?

By Jessica Neilson

This article first looks at underlying linguistic theories concerning corrective feedback. Focus is then placed on different types of feedback and the corresponding errors that low-proficiency L2 learners often make. Based on this research, the author specifies which types of corrective feedback seem to be most effective when paired with certain types of errors. Research shows that corrective feedback that elicits responses from the learner is most effective, except perhaps in the case of phonological errors.

T here are many aspects of second language acquisition (SLA) teaching methodologies. One such aspect is corrective feedback (CF). Corrective feedback occurs when a learner is corrected in some way in their use of language. Much research has been done in this field to determine which types of CF are most effective. The purpose of this review is to answer the following question:

- Are some types of oral CF more effective than others for low-proficiency learners?
- Are some types of oral CF more effective when used in response to different types of errors?

For the sake of this study, "effective" will be used to mean that students understand that they are being corrected and then apply the correction into their L2 use. Some researchers have dubbed this practice "uptake" or "repair." We will use both terms throughout this review. The target audience of this article is language teachers of low-proficiency learners. Although these teachers are fluent in the target language, many receive little to no training on second language teaching methodologies, including CF. All the CF referred to in this study will be oral. We will begin by focusing on linguistic theories behind CF and if CF seems to have a positive effect in general. Then we will move to the different types of CF and treat them in categories. That will be followed by a conclusion to this review of literature. I hope that my efforts will allow L2 teachers to more effectively help learners acquire their target language by understanding how and when to use CF effectively.

Theories behind CF

There have been many studies regarding CF in recent decades. Some focus on whether CF is helpful at all, others focus on which type of CF is most effective, and still others focus on CF of specific forms.

A series of linguistic theories lay the groundwork for why CF should be effective. One such theory is the Output Hypothesis formulated by Merrill Swain (2000). The Output Hypothesis posits that learner output is necessary for acquisition. As restated by

Brown and Larson-Hall (2012), output has four functions: "production (practice that enhances fluency); noticing [when a learner realizes that there is a discrepancy between the form he or she is producing and the target language form]; hypothesis testing (the learner thinks the language works a certain way and produces an utterance to test her hypothesis); and a metalinguistic or reflective function (frequently seen when students get a chance to observe their production)." One of the functions that is of particular importance to CF is noticing. If a learner does not notice the discrepancy, he or she will not be able to change to improve his or her acquisition.

Another important theory behind CF is the Interaction Hypothesis. Negotiation work between a learner and a more competent speaker facilitates acquisition because it connects input, internal learner capacities, selective attention, and output in helpful ways (Long, 1996). Learners must interact while producing output and receiving input in order for them to improve in their target language. The Interaction Hypothesis supports Swain's theory about "collaborative dialogue," which is "dialogue that constructs linguistic knowledge." She explains that collaborative dialogue is a type of negotiation which allows learners to produce output and receive input (2000).

The last hypothesis we will look at that supports CF is the Sociocultural Theory (Vygotsky, 1980; Lantolf, 1995). The Sociocultural Theory states that learning is social. Language allows us to mediate our own thoughts. Speaking with others helps us to realize what we know and what we need to know. CF is what helps the learner know what he or she needs to know so that learning can continue.

We will learn more further on about how these theories connect to CF. While there may be more theories that can help us understand the groundwork of CF, we will move on to studies that have applied some of the above hypotheses to show that CF is, in general, effective for L2 learners.

Does CF Have a Positive Effect on Uptake in General?

Many studies show that CF is generally helpful in ESL classrooms. For example, Lyster and Panova concluded from their study on patterns of CF and uptake in adult ESL learners that "in all studies the learners receiving corrective feedback do better in the post-tests than their control groups. It can therefore be assumed that corrective feedback facilitates language acquisition" (2002). Another study, done by Ahangeri and Amirzadeh, brought forth the idea that "finely tuned feedback is an important tool for teachers to prevent their learners' errors from getting fossilized and help them progress along their interlanguage continuum" (2011). While some researchers claim that written CF is ineffective (Truscott, 2008), almost all the studies on oral CF support that corrective feedback is beneficial in the L2 acquisition process (Panova & Lyster, 2002; Lyster, 2004; Havranek, 2002; Russell & Spada, 2006). In effect, CF generally helps improve second-language accuracy. However, some types are more helpful than others. We will now look with more detail at the different types of CF and how they are best used in the classroom regarding low-proficiency learners. To do that, we will define what types of CF we are looking at and the types of errors they might be paired with.

Lyster and Ranta (1997) present six different categories of CF:

- Explicit correction ("You mean this . . .")
- Recasts (Learner: "The dog eat that." Teacher: "The dog eats that.")
- Clarification requests ("Pardon me? Can you say that again?")
- Metalinguistic feedback ("That was an error. How can we make it feminine?")
- Elicitation or prompts ("The dog is what?")
- Repetition ("The dog eat that?")

For the sake of this paper, we will treat recasts and explicit correction together, mostly because these types seem to elicit similar results and because there has been little found about explicit

correction by itself. We will also treat repetition, prompts, metalin-guistic feedback, and clarification requests as one type of feedback, which we will call negotiation of form (Lyster, 1998). These four types all try to elicit a response from the learner, thus encouraging self-repair (meaning the learner comes up with the correct form himself or herself). Because findings concerning these four types of CF are similar, we will consider them as one. In conjunction with the types of CF, we will categorize and consider errors as follows (Lyster, 1998):

- Grammatical (closed-class forms, feminine/masculine, etc.)
- Lexical (vocabulary)
- Phonological (pronunciation)

Now that we have defined the terms we will be using, let us move on to answering our research questions. Answering these questions will help us create some guidelines that will help L2 teachers of low-proficiency learners.

Explicit Correction and Recasts

Explicit correction and recasts are similar in that neither type elicits correct forms from the learners themselves. The correct form is provided by the teacher. The majority of studies that have looked at explicit correction and recasts have found them to be the least effective type of feedback, particularly with low-proficiency learners, for two reasons. The first is because it does not encourage learners go through the cognitive process to contribute to seeking the correct answer. Research shows that CF is most likely to be successful if the learner is able to provide the correct form when he or she is alerted to the error (Havranek, 2002; see also Lyster & Panova, 2002; Lyster & Ranta, 2007). The second reason is because learners often do not recognize that they are being corrected (see Ahangeri &Amirzadeh, 2002). Because of the small amount of data on explicit correction, the main portion of this section will focus on recasts.

Lyster and Ranta (1997) performed a study in which they observed about 100 hours of classroom instruction in primary French immersion classrooms in Montreal. Upon analyzing the

results, the researchers found that recasts, though the most-used method of correction, were the least likely of the corrective methods to lead to uptake, or output with the correct form. Researchers have conjectured that recasts are used most often because they provide an uninterrupted flow of language and are also the least threatening. (Havrenak, 2002). However, low-proficiency learners often do not realize that they are being corrected when a teacher simply reformulates their utterance without the student being involved.

Ahangeri and Amirzadeh (2002) validated this claim when they conducted a study of Iranian EFL learners. They observed that *highly* proficient learners noticed and repaired errors when recasts were given, while *less-proficient* learners often took recasts as validation and didn't fix their errors. The learners were not noticing their error. Ammar and Spada (2006) conducted a similar study of French-immersion students looking only at prompts and recasts. While the control group for high-proficiency learners seemed to do just as well on the tests as those in the prompt and recast high-proficiency group, the low-proficiency learners in the prompt group did better on the tests than those in the recast group. The proficiency of the learner seemed to be a particularly significant factor. These studies reveal that it is more difficult for low-proficiency learners to notice errors on their own, which is one of the reasons why recasts are often ineffective—the error in an utterance is never pointed out, it is just fixed.

However, an exception to recasts' ineffectiveness might be found in the case of phonological errors, in which recasts may be the best choice. Lyster (1998) postulates:

> The retrieval of target language knowledge that results in self-repair following a teacher's metalinguistic clue or elicitation requires more attentions to the analysis of target-nontarget mismatches than does repetition of a teacher's recast or explicit correction. In this sense, different feedback types could have differential effects on learning, insofar as different types of repair entail varying degrees of attention.

In effect, Lyster is saying that some errors may be better corrected using different feedback, depending on the error. In

conjunction with Saito, Lyster tried this in a study on L2 pronunciation of /ɹ/ by Japanese learners (2012). Testing adult intermediate native Japanese speakers living in Canada, the researchers had the learners pronounce minimal pairs such as "correct" and "collect" and "pray" and "play" while a native speaker listened. If the /ɹ/ was not pronounced correctly, the teacher corrected them using one of the six types of CF outlined above. The researchers noted that "the role of teachers' immediate feedback might be relatively important for pronunciation teaching, because students need to (a) receive the teachers' feedback on the intelligibility of their output . . . and (b) practice the correct form in response to their teachers' model pronunciation." They further concluded that "pronunciation recasts might be especially effective for L2 pronunciation development."

The results of this study are supported by Lyster's study in 1998. Observing four French-immersion classrooms at an elementary level, he concluded that "the majority of phonological repairs were learner repetitions following recasts" (see also Carpenter, Jeon, MacGregor, & Mackey, 2006).

Thus, recasts seemed to be a good tool for phonological errors because it allows learners a model for what their utterance should sound like. However, explicit correction and recasts seem to be in general ineffective for low-proficiency learners. First, because learners do not have to go through the cognitive process to self-repair, and second, because low-proficiency learners often don't notice that they have erred. Therefore, explicit corrections and recasts are largely ineffective, unless the type of error is phonological.

Negotiation of Form

(i.e., prompts, clarification requests, repetition, metalinguistic feedback)

In general, researchers have agreed that "the most successful technique for eliciting uptake is elicitation," or getting learners to repair their own utterance (Lyster & Ranta, 1997; see also Lyster, 1998; Havranek, 2002; Nasaji, 2016). Havranek (2002) found that learners who commit an error were most likely to use the corrected structure successfully in a test if the learner had been invited to self-correct and had been able to do so. If the learner could not correct the error himself or herself, even the repetition

of the correct form seemed to promote learning. Lyster and Ranta supported this, saying, "our data indicate that the feedback-uptake sequence engages students more actively when there is a negotiation of form, that is, when the correct form is not provided to the students." Furthermore, "feedback types such as metalinguistic feedback, elicitation, clarification requests, and repetition of error create opportunities for negotiation of form by promoting more active learner involvement in the error treatment process than do feedback types that reformulate learner errors" (1997). In another study, Lyster and Panova wrote, "The corrective techniques of clarification request, elicitation, metalinguistic feedback, and repetition of error correlate more positively with learner uptake and immediate repair" (2002). Nasaji (2016) continues, "Pushed output assists language acquisition in a number of ways: by promoting the retrieval of the target language form, by helping learners notice the difference between their own non-target output and the correct input, and by engaging learners in syntactic rather than semantic processing." Thus we see that negotiation of form CF is beneficial because it encourages the learner to engage in a cognitive process to find the correct form. As mentioned in the section on recasts and explicit correction, low-proficiency learners often struggled to notice errors when the CF was a recast. Negotiation of form CF helps the learners to notice the errors they have made and thus this type of CF is more effective in general than recasts and explicit correction, except in the case of phonological errors.

In that regard, just as recasts are potentially the most beneficial CF when paired with phonological errors, some researchers have posited that negotiation of form CF, while preferable over recasts in general, seem to be most particularly beneficial when paired with certain errors. According to Lyster (1998), peer- and self-repair occurred most often with negotiation of form CF when they followed grammatical and lexical errors. Lyster & Ranta found, "Corrective sequences involving negotiation of form (i.e., feedback types that provide clues for self-repair rather than correct reformulations) were more likely than recasts and explicit corrections to lead to immediate repair of lexical and grammatical errors, whereas recasts were found to be effective in leading to repair of phonological errors" (1998). Thus, we see that negotiation of form

CF is most effective in general, but particularly with grammatical and lexical mistakes.

Conclusion

Effective use of CF is obviously not as simple as always using one type and not another. We have seen that although recasts are used most frequently, they are typically the least effective type of CF for low-proficiency learners, unless the type of error is phonological. Negotiation of form CF in general is considered more effective, particularly when paired with grammatical and lexical errors, but even the evidence that this type of feedback is the best is not conclusive. It seems that the best suggestions we can give to L2 teachers is to focus on eliciting repair from their students, instead of yielding to the temptation to give just give them the answer. Much more research must be done to streamline any of the conclusions into surefire ways to correct, including more research on other factors, such as the culture and the anxiety level of the learner.

Taking all of this into account, second language teachers may argue that CF is no panacea for all language errors. The instructor has probably found that often learners do not respond to feedback, no matter the kind, or perhaps they observe that one type of CF works for one learner while that same type of CF seems to have no effect whatsoever on another learner. In hopes of remediation for this, Russell and Spada wrote, "Without researchers' attention to the constellation of moderating variables that could make a difference regarding CF effectiveness, we will not be able to establish clear patterns across studies. Thus, there is a need not only for a greater volume of studies on CF, but also for studies that investigate similar variables in a consistent manner" (2004). In that light, although we cannot say with finality that the conclusions we present will cure all language error maladies, we do hope that our review will grant second language teachers with some tools to help them empower their students with confidence in their target language.

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Spatial Stories in Roman War Rituals

By Sarah Keenan

This article examines how language can be used to transform a place into a claimed space. In order to accomplish this, the author places Michel de Certeau's ideas about spatial stories in the context of Roman religious rituals and General Lee, a character in Charles Frazier's novel Cold Mountain. The article focuses particularly on two Roman rituals: the three-part fas ritual and the spear ritual.

n the beginning of Charles Frazier's *Cold Mountain*, Inman has a flashback of his time fighting in the Confederate Army. He recalls how General Lee "made it clear he [Lee] looked on war as an instrument of clarifying God's obscure will," ranking battle second only to "prayer and Bible reading" (Frazier, 1997, p. 12). This practice of creating a "spatial story" for warfare using religion is reminiscent of Michel de Certeau's article "Spatial Stories," in which Certeau describes some spatial practices the Roman Empire used when waging war against their foes. This article aims to examine specifically how the Romans used rituals—particularly the three-part *fas* ritual and the spear ritual—to lay claim to a space and, like General Lee, create a new spatial story using religious justification.

In his article, Certeau is able to use Roman warfare as an effective example of spatial stories because the Romans were very concerned with defining and redefining space. In her book, *The Material Life of Roman Slaves*, Joshel and Petersen (2015) mentions how Roman lawyers documented and tracked in "almost obsessive detail" who had the authority to shape urban and rural space (p. 9). "Romans of various houses thought about architecture as in terms of power. The construction or remodeling of houses, villas, and public monuments expressed the builder's assertion of control over nature" (p. 9). Since having an awareness of space was so vital to the Romans, the Roman concept of war was also spatial in nature. The religious rituals that framed and accompanied warfare "served to inculcate [Rome's] borderline . . . and to justify its crossing in exceptional circumstances" (Rüpke, 2016).

Roman warfare rituals centered around priests and fetial law. Near the beginning of the Roman Empire, a class of priests, known as fetial priests or the *fetiales*, were instituted by Rome's early kings (Rich, 2011, p. 187). The *fetiales* consulted with the leaders of government on important religious issues and rituals. Their main duties were interacting with foreign countries, enacting rituals, and ensuring that fetial law was followed. According to Circero's *De* Officiis 1.36, fetial law dictated that "no war is justified unless it is waged after compensation has been demanded . . . and refused by the enemy" (qtd. in Wiedemann, 1986, p. 478). Although the Romans' accordance with this law may seem to imply that Rome only engaged in war when it was the aggravated party, recent

scholars have viewed the activities of the *fetiales* as a "psychological mechanism for assuaging the guilt feelings which even Romans will have been unable to escape when initiating totally unjustified wars of aggression" (p. 478).

The first ritual, the three-part *fas* ceremony that Certeau describes in his article, is one of the most important of the *fetiales*' activities. When the Romans felt as if another nation had wronged Rome, the head of the College of Fetails, also called the *pater patratus*, was dispatched to the offending nation's territory. Once the *pater patratus* crossed the frontier into the enemy nation, he would recite a formula that specifically requested reparation be made. The *pater patratus* would then return to Rome and would wait for exactly thirty-three days for an answer. If the settlement was refused, or no reply was ever given, the *pater patratus* would return to the transgressing country and would recite a second formula, this one proclaiming that the nation was "unjust" and condemning them for "not act[ing] agreeably before the law" (Bederman, 2006, p. 232). The Senate and the people of Rome would then choose whether or not they wanted to declare war and, when the decree for declaring war was finalized, the *pater patratus* would make one last journey to the enemy nation's territory. Upon arriving, in front of at least three adult male witnesses, he would officially declare war on the country.

As Certeau observed, the Roman *fas* ritual was a very efficient way to create a new spatial story. By using a theatrical "narration in acts," the *fetiales* became ceremonial storytellers and "narrated a social field inside which acts of war, alliances and the like could . . . take place" (Neumann, 2011, p. 87). The *fetiales* could effectively narrate the events that were occurring and could shift the blame for warfare on the opposing nation, allowing Rome to be seen as the aggravated party. This social field opened and authorized "dangerous and contingent social action," so that the Romans could engage in warfare without worrying about breaking fetial law (Certeau, 2013, p. 125).

The *fas* ritual was also a method of claiming enemy territory for Rome. In "Spatial Stories," Certeau (2013) mentions that things like rituals can transform a concrete and defined place into a space, an entity "composed of intersections of mobile elements" (p. 117). The formulas recited on enemy territory by the *pater patratus*

changed the opposing country's "place" into Roman "space," giving even more credence to the Romans' requested reparations. Furthermore, by calling upon the god Jupiter in the recited formulas, the Romans were able to banish their enemies' gods and bring in their own, again establishing authority over their foes before the battle had even begun.

The spear ritual, which takes place directly after the *fas* ritual, similarly claims the enemies' "place." Once war was officially declared to the opposing nation, the *fetiales* was tasked with throwing a blood-colored spear onto the territory of the enemy (Wiedemann, 1986, p. 478). This ritual was so important to the Romans that, even when the Romans decided to wage war overseas and could not throw the ceremonial spear directly onto the other nation's territory, they captured one of Pyrrhus's soldiers and made him purchase a spot in the Circus Flaminus, so they could legitimately declare war "as though in a place belonging to the enemy" (qtd. in Wiedemann, 1986, p. 480).

Throwing a spear into enemy territory seems to allude to a ceremonial claiming of the enemy nation's land, transforming the enemy's "place" into Roman "space." Unfortunately, since little is known about the original purpose of the spear ritual, this supposition is not considered an established fact. Some critics are unsure that the spear ritual has anything to do with property rights, seeing it as a ceremony that is "strikingly different from the other fetial rituals, all of which involved communication with another nation" (Rich, 2011, p. 209). However, other critics argue that, since the spear ritual originated from the Greeks, who saw the spear as "a symbol that something had been conquered, and has become the legitimate property of the conqueror," it is likely that the Romans' reasoning for using the ritual was similar (Wiedemann, 1986, p. 483).

Just as General Lee in *Cold Mountain* saw sacredness in war and used "God's will" as a justification to attack the Federal Army, Romans also used rituals to create new spatial stories that justified their military actions and helped them lay claim to enemy territory. Just as Certeau (2013) states in his article, these rituals "'[provide] space' for the actions that will be undertaken . . . [and] '[create] a field' which serves as their 'base' and their 'theater'" (p. 124). Both

the Romans' and General Lee's words gained power over space and ultimately preceded historical realization.

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Eats, Shoots & Leaves: A Great Book for Language Nerds Everywhere

By Kayla Shields

In the eyes of every grammar stickler, the use of correct punctuation is paramount to the survival of the English language. This article reviews a brilliant book on punctuation by Lynne Truss entitled Eats, Shoots & Leaves. *The book takes a "zero tolerance approach to punctuation" in a hilariously relatable way. Thanks to Truss's witty yet informative style,* Eats, Shoots & Leaves *is a must-read for every grammar enthusiast.*

Have you ever been accused of playing the role of the "grammar police" by your friends or family? Do you ever wish you could put up big neon signs in convenient places that say things like "Best friend is two words, not one" or "Ending a noun in *'s* does NOT make it plural"? I will readily admit that I am one of these closeted grammar geeks. When I was little, I would steal my older sister's diary and correct all her grammatical mistakes with a red pen. As I got older, I would go through the books my family owned and fold down the corners of all the pages that, to put it lightly, should have been edited with a heavier hand. Eventually, to save myself the junior high horror of coming across as a nerd, I learned how to tame my inner grammar monster. And then I came across a little book by Lynne Truss called *Eats, Shoots & Leaves*— and the monster came back with a vengeance.

When I was reading the book, Truss's skill with descriptions was immediately apparent to me. She has a wonderful way of unfolding the embarrassingly true experiences that come with seeing an incorrectly executed use of grammar or punctuation: "For any true stickler, you see, the sight of the plural word 'Book's' with an apostrophe in it will trigger a ghastly private emotional process similar to the stages of bereavement, though greatly accelerated. First there is shock. Within seconds, shock gives way to disbelief, disbelief to pain, and pain to anger. Finally . . . anger gives way to a righteous urge to perpetrate an act of criminal damage with the aid of a permanent marker" (Truss, 2009, p. 2). I loved reading her various stories about viewing others' errors and her grammatical mistakes, but especially riveting to me was the way that she turns these real experiences into introductions for each chapter on different punctuation marks. She then brilliantly weaves each of these stories into her explanations for the correct usages for each punctuation mark. Truss's lively tone helps make something as dry as the history of rule changes sound interesting. By constructing her chapters this way, Truss makes her book delightfully engaging; I would hope that even non-grammar enthusiasts would agree that this book isn't nearly as hard to get through as one might suppose.

Even though I do consider myself to be among the grammar enthusiasts of the world, I've still made my fair share of mistakes in writing. Many parts of this book showed me that there are several rules about punctuation that I had never even stopped to consider,

and I can almost certainly guarantee that there is information in this book that even the most elite of grammar sticklers would benefit from. I certainly hadn't known all the rules for using the apostrophe for words ending in *-s*. Considering that Truss herself received several letters stating that she hadn't used the apostrophe correctly in her book, I would venture a guess that the vast majority of English speakers don't know the current agreed-upon rules for its usage either.

The only problem I have with this book is that I feel that I've now regressed to my old prescriptivist ways. I suppose this was inevitable, as reading a book about punctuation would surely only get me more enthused about correct usage. On one hand, it was fascinating to see the ways in which the rules of punctuation have changed throughout the centuries and even the decades. On the other, I was unhappy to see in writing my own subconscious fears about the effect the internet has had on our changing language. I always get slightly annoyed—and occasionally suffer some of the same symptoms described by Truss in the introduction—when I see a small grammatical error on the internet, but before reading this book, I had never stopped to consider what the long-term and widespread impact of our acceptance of these mistakes might mean for the future of the English language. The rational, descriptivist side of me has shrunken considerably, and I want to do something to preserve our language! Truss has managed to get me to unconsciously join her ranks of pedants: in her own words, I now "have an Inner Stickler that, having been unleashed [by this book], is now roaring, salivating, and clawing the air in a quite alarming manner" (p. 29).

In all seriousness, Lynne Truss's *Eats, Shoots & Leaves* was an unpredictably enjoyable book. I learned a lot about punctuation from its chapters and I really think that even those who don't have much of an interest in the study of the English language would at least be able to tolerate it. I had originally planned on reselling this book when I finished reading it, but now I think I'll keep it next to my set of usage dictionaries. Maybe I'll even make my roommates read it as payment for all the times they asked me to edit their horribly boring chemistry papers.

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Differences in Relative Pronouns in the Bible and the Book of Mormon

By Michelle Turner

This article addresses the discrepancies between the respective use of the relative pronouns which and who in the Bible and the Book of Mormon. The author first examines the evolution of pronouns within the English language and then conducts a corpus study of the frequency of which and who in two translations of the New Testament. It is concluded that both pronouns appear in the Bible and the strict use of who in the Book of Mormon is the result of modern practices.

“Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father *which* is in heaven” (Matthew 5:16, King James Version).

“Therefore let your light so shine before this people, that they may see your good works and glorify your Father *who* is in heaven” (The Book of Mormon, 3 Nephi 12:16; italics added).

The semantic differences in the preceding scriptural passages are not significant, but the differences in syntax are another matter. Another example from scripture of differing uses of relative pronouns (*who*, *whom*, *which*, and *what*) can be found in passages describing the Lord’s Prayer. The passage “Our Father *which* art in heaven” in the Gospel of Luke and “Our Father *who* art in heaven” in 3 Nephi contain similar inconsistencies. The relative pronoun w*hich* does not exist in the Book of Mormon, yet it should, based on the archaic biblical style of the Book of Mormon.

This raises the question as to why differences occur between the relative pronouns in the above scriptural passages. It can be concluded that these inconsistencies were either a mistake in Joseph Smith’s translation, or that there is no mistake at all. These questions lead to the topic of this article, which is the relative pronouns in Early Modern English and how they are used in New Testament texts. This article will account for the differences in related scriptures by examining the history of the relative pronouns *who* and *which* and their change of usage in the history of the English Language.

History of Relative Pronouns *Which* and *Who*

Most Germanic languages, including Old English, did not have true relative pronouns. In Middle English, there were generally two relative pronouns to choose from: *which* and *that.* In Early Modern English, *which* was used as personal antecedent, referring to things that were animate. *Who* first appeared around the year 1300 but was not considered to be a relative pronoun until the beginning of the sixteenth century. Instead, *who* was used as a non-personal antecedent; it referred to things which were inanimate.

Given these usage patterns of the late 1500's, it is not surprising that the 1611 King James Version of the New Testament used *which* with reference to God, an animate being. While this construction of relative pronouns can be understood today, it does seem rather archaic and would likely not be used by present-day English speakers.

Who gradually gained popularity between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Both the interrogatives *who* and *which* were used, but only in isolated cases. As relative pronouns, *who* referred mainly to people and *which* to things. By the time of the translation of the King James Bible in 1611, the development and use of relative pronouns had attained certain distinct features. The most striking difference in usage was that *that* referred to pronouns and *which* referred to nouns. The use of *which* steadily increased and displaced *that*, while *who* and *what* gained more frequent use. In the sixteenth century, only one-third of *which* usage occurred with a human antecedent, and by the seventeenth century, it decreased to one-tenth (Rissanen, 2002). Thus, there was a move to present-day English usage as *which* became increasingly confined to non-personal antecedents.

In the seventeenth century, an animacy parameter was established and by the eighteenth century, language very much resembled present-day English usage. It should be noted, however, that a reaction against the "dehumanizing" use of *that* with human antecedent took place after the end of the eighteenth century. The use of *that* with a personal antecedent would eventually be replaced by *who,* again decreasing the functional load of *that*. At this time, *which* was still being used with a personal referent by the uneducated class (Rissanen, 2002). Even in educated circles, *which* was used instead of *who* for personal referents when the relative had a predicative function.

Why *Who* Was Late to Develop

The late development of the relative pronoun *who* and its use in English can be attributed to stylistic and pragmatic factors because the antecedent of the relative pronoun *who* in its earliest attestations is consistently God, Jesus, or another religious entity as summarized by Vickers (2002). As *who* continued to develop as

a relative pronoun in Late Middle English, it did not fill any structural gap. Its distribution is determined by a performance factor, or a need to be expressive or extravagant. As Berg said, "From its beginning as a highly marked relative used in highly marked contexts, *who* underwent a gradual reduction in markedness consonant with grammaticalization by speaker-hearer reanalysis" (2003).

Present-day Relative Pronoun Constructions

Now we can compare the past uses of *who* and *whom* with how they are used today. The present-day purpose of using relative pronouns is to unite short statements into longer sentences to make discourse smoother. There are three prescriptions for the use of *who*. First, *who* usually refers to individuals or people. Second, *who* has three case forms: *who, whose*, and w*hom*. Third, the forms are not affected by person or the number of the antecedent.

There are four present-day prescriptions for *which*. "First, *which* refers to animals, things, or ideas, rather than to persons. Second, it is not inflected for gender or number. Third, it is nearly always third person, rarely second. Lastly, it has two case forms, *which* for the nominative and objective, *whose* for the possessive" (Baskervill, 1896).

Corpus Analysis of Religious Texts

A corpus study of the New Testament conducted by Waterman Hewett illustrates the dramatic exchange frequency of the uses of *which* and *who*. Hewett compares the uses of the relative pronouns in Wycliffe's (1384) and in Tyndale's (1526) translations of the Gospels, which are separated by approximately a century and a half. In the following paragraphs, the number of occurrences obtained by Hewett are given along with the number of occurrences in the King James Bible, which were obtained by the author.

Occurrences of 'which' by translation version

Occurrences of 'who' by translation version
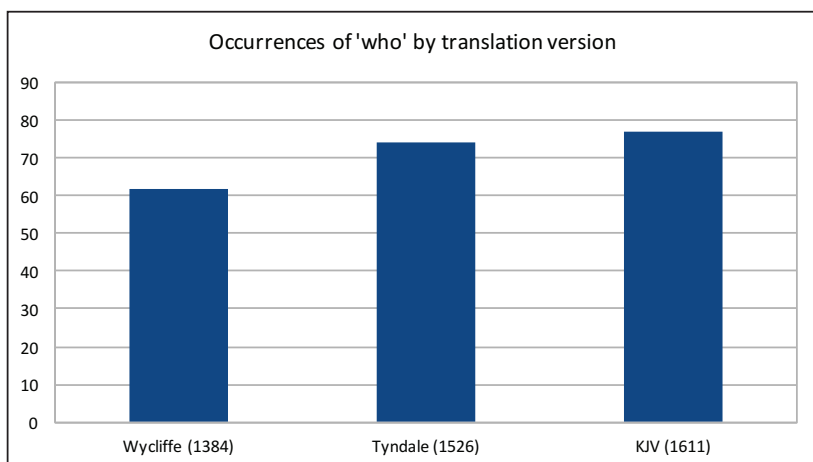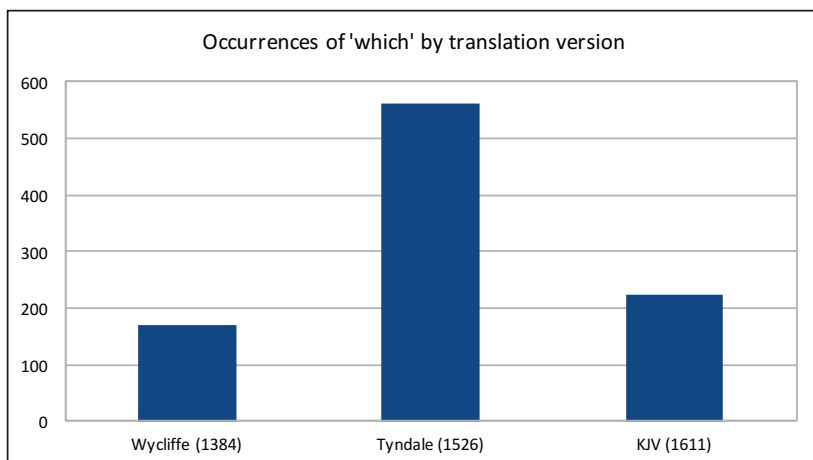
In Wycliffe's 1384 version of the Gospels, *which* occurs twenty-nine times in Matthew, eighteen in Mark, ninety-seven in Luke, twenty-seven in John, (171 total times in the four Gospels). In Tyndale's 1526 version of the Gospels, *which* occurs 135 times in Matthew, sixty-one in Mark, 241 in Luke, 125 in John, (526 total). In the King James Version of the Bible, (1611) *which* occurs sixty-seven times in Matthew, thirty-one in Mark, forty-seven in Luke, and sixty eight in John (223 times total).

In Wycliffe's 1384 version of the Gospels, *who* occurs eight times in Matthew, eight in Mark, twenty-one in Luke, twenty-five in John, and sixty-two total in the four Gospels. In Tyndale's 1526 version of the Gospels *who* occurs thirteen times in Matthew, ten in Mark, twenty-one in Luke, thirty in John, and seventy-four total

in the four Gospels. In the King James Version of the Bible (1611), *who* occurs seventy-seven times total in the four gospels: sixteen times in Matthew, eleven in Mark, twenty-one in Luke, and thir-ty-three in John.

The two translations of the Bible by William Tyndale and the translators of King James present similar features in the use of words. The translators of the King James Version had essentially the same usage as Tyndale. Nothing shows the dependence of the translators of the King James Version to Tyndale more than a comparison of the use and relative frequency of certain forms. For example, the uses of the relatives *which* and *that* in the King James Version do not differ greatly from the uses of these pronouns in the version of Tyndale. As Waterman Hewett said,

> We note a striking change which the language had undergone since the period of Wyclif (sic). The relative pronoun *which* refers in the greatest number of cases to nouns, the relative pronoun *that,* in addition to its use with nouns, is used almost universally with personal and indefinite pronouns (1904).

Cause of Differences in the Book of Mormon and KJV

According to Dr. Royal Skousen, an expert on the critical text of the Book of Mormon, the printer's manuscript of the 1830 version of the Book of Mormon shows that *which* was used frequently in the original copies of the Book of Mormon (2006). Joseph Smith later made changes to the 1837 edition by replacing *which* with *who*. The reason for this change was that there were many complaints from non-Mormons who questioned the credibility of the Book of Mormon as the word of God. They argued the Book of Mormon lacked correct modern grammar in regards to relative pronouns, which in the 1830's would have required the use of *who* instead of *which*. This complaint was somewhat ironic because the modern changes estranged the style of the Book of Mormon from the Bible. Despite the irony, Joseph made the syntactic changes. Perhaps his justification for doing so was that with the modern

usage, individuals would be less put off by the outdated grammar and could instead focus on the spiritual message of the Book of Mormon.

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The Importance of Preserving Linguistic Diversity

By Kira van Dyk

This article discusses different viewpoints about whether language diversity should be preserved. Over half of existing languages are expected to become extinct in the next century and replaced by more dominant languages such as English. Many people see this as a good thing because language differences can be socially divisive. However, this article points out that language diversity enhances environmental knowledge, science, education, socioeconomics, and identity.

"Taha, ua, tolu," I muttered, thumbing pages as I hurried through the New Zealand airport. I was learning all the last-minute Tongan I could before embarking on a one-month research expedition to record and transcribe the Tongan language. Upon landing, I met my host family, who greeted me warmly in effortless English. I used very little Tongan for the duration of the trip. Despite my personal appreciation for languages, I could not help but wonder why it mattered that English was replacing other languages. Due to my exposure to anthropological linguistics, I was aware of the importance of cultural diversity. Language is an ethnic marker, and recording Tongan is useful in social assimilation for Tongans who move to the U.S, but are there more compelling reasons for governments, linguists, and philanthropists to preserve languages? In a passing conversation, a native Tongan girl expressed her sorrow at how few of her peers understood their culture compared to previous generations. In a world where over half of existing languages are expected to become extinct in the next century, it is important to prevent the obsolescence of language diversity. Currently, English poses the leading threat to the vitality of many of the world's languages. Although many people believe that language diversity is socially divisive, research suggests that preserving linguistic diversity has pragmatic value for environmental knowledge, science, education, socioeconomics, and identity.

Ethnologue: Languages of the World, a website containing information for over seven thousand languages, states in "Summary by Language Size" that although Chinese and Spanish outrank English in number of speakers, English is considered by most to be the current universal language. Carlos Torres, a political science and comparative education professor at University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), classifies English as the universal language because it serves the following functions: the world's second-largest native language, the language of technology, the official language in seventy countries, the language of most pop culture (such as music, television, and movies), the language most understood worldwide, and the language of countries responsible for 40 percent of the world's GNP. Torres explains that English is currently the universal language due to the expansion of the British Empire in the sixteenth century and the United States' economic,

political, and military power in the twentieth. Before widespread communication was possible, languages like Greek, Latin, and French were also considered universal. However, these languages did not pose the kind of threat that English does today (Torres, 2016). People have more access to English via technology than they had to Greek, Latin, and French. Himmelmann, a general linguistics professor at *Universität zu Köln*, states that the rate and extent to which languages die has increased drastically in the twentieth century (2008). If this trend continues, half of the world's 6,000 languages will be extinct in the next hundred years, according to Hale, a linguist at Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). Ajit Kumar Mohanty, a psychology of education professor at Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi, emphasizes how English impacts minority languages in the following statement:

> English is the language of power; it is the language of the elites, the privileged, and of those who control access to resources. In the power game, English pushes the major state-level regional languages out of favor and use. These regional languages, in turn, are pushing the minority and indigenous languages out. In India, English is a killer language since it is learned with a subtractive effect on other languages (Pattnaik, 2005).

English sits atop a hierarchy of language extinction. It is estimated that not only will half of the world's languages cease to exist, but another 2,400 languages will become endangered within the next century. In fact, *Ethnologue* states that a language dies every two weeks (Simons & Fennig, 2017a).

A language's vitality, or the extent to which a language is used, depends on power dynamics within a community (Templin, Seidl, Wickström, & Feichtinger, 2016). A language rises to power when an economically dominant culture establishes its dominant language. Language loss then occurs in three phases. The first, diglossia, ensues when a minority language loses official function; it is not used in mass media or government. Speakers of a minority language are then forced to use the dominant language in order to participate in government and politics. Phase two is bilingualism. In this phase, speakers of minority languages learn the dominant language in addition to their own language, and the younger

generation tends to become monolingual in the dominant language. In the third phase, language replacement, there is a move toward general monolingualism. Sometimes bilingualism can last for a couple more generations, but the end result tends to be the same (Templin, Seidl, Wickström, & Feichtinger, 2016).

Sociolinguist Miriam Meyerhoff (2011) discusses factors contributing to language vitality. These include: economic, social, sociohistorical, and language status; language demography; formal institutional support via education, government, and mass media; and informal support via industry, religion, and culture (p. 113). The Foundations for Endangered Languages Manifesto, an organization which documents, protects, and promotes endangered languages, asserts that most languages are confined to one country and subjugated to the laws of a single government (Foundation for Endangered Languages, 2016). This limits the number of outside resources a language has for support and consequently decreases its chance of survival. Bechert, a speaker at the International Congress of Linguists, quotes Peter Mühlhäusler, a professor specializing in ecolinguistics, intercultural communication, language maintenance, language planning, and pidgin and creole languages when he says, "Why is it that linguists in general are not concerned about this imminent loss of a major part of their empirical basis?" Bechert notes the astonishing lack of support linguists have offered regarding language assimilation: "Biologists . . . at the time had already been very successful in making the large-scale extinction of biological species a well-established topic of concern to the public" (Himmelmann, 2008, p. 339). Considering this work is still being done primarily by linguists, it is ironic that linguists have not focused more of their efforts on maintaining the domain of their field of study.

Critics often argue that language diversity is more divisive than it is unifying, and that there is no need to preserve languages. They believe that it leads to the inability of people to speak to one another. Thieberger, an Australian linguist, believes that this notion is inconsequential because quite a bit of variation can exist within a single language belonging to a unified group. Admittedly, variation within a language is not as large as variation between languages. Although the lexicon and pronunciation may differ, grammar and alphabet remain constant within a language.

Additionally, areas of the world where language diversity is high are often underdeveloped. Thieberger admits that "mother-tongue diversity shows a positive correlation with low levels of urbanization, industrialization, GNP, energy use and literacy" (2016).

However, Thieberger (2016) maintains that this is merely a correlation, not a causal link, and it would be an erroneous assumption by Westerners to assert that urbanization and development quotients are enough to determine a culture's value. Many speakers of minority languages are bilingual or multilingual. Switzerland is an example of a unified country with multiple official languages such as: French, Italian, and German (Simons & Fennig, 2017b). The belief that multilingualism is harmful to social cohesion assumes that those who speak another language do not speak English; yet studies have shown that most do. It is better to acknowledge and protect diverse cultures. In anthropology, an emic approach is a method of evaluating a culture from its own reference point. This contrasts to an etic approach, which involves evaluating a culture from an outsider's perspective. Both approaches must be taken for a holistic view of the qualities of a culture. Language maintenance empowers members of a culture to choose which aspects of their own language should continue to exist, rather than having the choice imposed upon them.

Environmental Knowledge

Preserving language diversity, especially through documentation, has pragmatic value because cultural and environmental knowledge is embedded in minority languages. Given that language arises from combinations of arbitrary symbols, or the meaning of words is independent from their sounds, one could argue that preserving a diverse range of languages is obstructive or unnecessary. After all, if the same concepts can be represented in any given language, why should not everyone speak the same language? Whorf, an American linguist, claims that diverse languages present different ways of viewing the world (Thieberger, 2016). This is true not only in terms of basic vocabulary but, more importantly, the abstract concepts that arise out of vocabulary: metaphors, imagery, and idioms. Advanced rhetorical techniques like idiomatic phrases and poetry cannot necessarily be translated; one cannot reduce a

complex, living language to a determinate combination of arbitrary symbols. When a language falls to extinction, so does a vast wealth of ideas and experiences.

Language transmits differing interpretations of the world and thus can offer unique perspectives on neurology, psychology, and particularly the way in which humans interact with their environment. Tadgh Ó Ceallaigh, a lecturer on language, literacy, and mathematics at the Mary Immaculate College, states that there is a correlation between hotspots of linguistic diversity and hotspots of biodiversity. Regions containing 80 to 85 percent of the world's languages also contain 80 percent of the world's biodiversity. Furthermore, there exists a parallel between language extinction and biodiversity extinction (Ó Ceallaigh, 2015). More languages will result in more oral and written transmission of knowledge because botanical and zoological information is encoded in language (Thieberger, 2016). Krauss, the founder and head of the Alaska Native Language Center, contends that such variation exists within single languages. Socioeconomic and occupational jargon will always exist. However, in practice, linguistic maintenance uncovers important information that extends far beyond the typical diversity found within a single language. That is not to say that the choice to preserve or neglect a language can be boiled down to pragmatics. Himmelmann cautions that focusing on a language's usefulness has the potential to undermine people's cultural heritage (2008, p. 339).

Science

Languages are inherently useful in their unique transmissions of information, but languages themselves—their structures, grammar, and idiosyncrasies—have their own merits. Language diversity is a resource for many scientific disciplines, including cognitive, cultural, historical, and other sciences. As confirmed by Ó Ceallaigh (2015), the link between language diversity and biodiversity is significant; so the implications of language preservation extend to biology and ecological science. Other scientific fields also lose information each time a language is lost (Foundation for Endangered Languages, 2016). Psychologists lose information about the ways humans construct a method of communication.

Anthropologists lose cultural knowledge. Historians lose information on artifacts and literature. Biologists lose information on plants and animals. Because linguistics is a subcategory of neuroscience, the study and preservation of language is especially important to neuroscience.

European colonization in the New World resulted in a loss of intellectual wealth. Similarly, Western assimilation is limiting potential sources for academia. The loss of linguistic "mental wealth" went unnoticed in the New World in contrast to the loss of material wealth (Hale, 1992). John McWhorter (2014), an associate professor at Columbia University specializing in linguistics and literature, asserts that contrary to popular belief, language preservation is not valuable for its information on cultural differences in cognition. This would assume a position of linguistic determinism—a theory that suggests that a community's language limits its members' cognitive functions to concepts found in that language. Mihalicek and Wilson demonstrate that linguistic determinism has been disproved because ideas excluded from a language's lexicon, such as certain colors, numbers, or cardinal directions, are learnable due to the nearly identical cerebral anatomy shared by all humans (2015, p. 467). Nicholas Evans, head of the Department of Linguistics in the School of Culture, History and Language at the Australian National University, and Stephen Levinson, a director at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, discuss the importance that linguistic diversity holds for academia:

> Recognizing the true extent of structural diversity in human language opens up exciting new research directions for cognitive scientists, offering thousands of different natural experiments given by different languages, with new opportunities for dialogue with biological paradigms concerned with change and diversity, and confronting us with the extraordinary plasticity of the highest human skills (Evans and Levinson, 2009).

Language is arguably the most unique human characteristic. We are the only species with communication that varies at every level—semantically, phonologically, morphologically, and syntactically. Neuroscience benefits from over 7,000 conjectures from languages. Such questions include: Is there a fixed language

acquisition device? How does a child learn ten sounds as opposed to a hundred? Do linguistic universal patterns exist across all languages? How do people dissect and understand polysynthetic languages? For example, in Bininj Gun-wok, an Australian aboriginal language, the single word "abanyawoihwarrgahmarneganjginjeng" essentially takes the place of the following entire sentence in English: "I cooked the wrong meat for them again" (Evans and Levinson, 2009). These questions are not only important in language and neuroscience; they contribute to our understanding of the patterns and processes of human existence.

Education and Socioeconomics

When students' education is in their native language, there is a correlation to high literacy rates and numeracy skills, a thorough transition to the official language, decreased poverty, shared social power among linguistic minorities, and empowered women. Ó Ceallaigh explains that "providing quality education to the poorest requires teaching them through the language they understand best. Nevertheless, this commonsense principle is the exception rather than the rule worldwide." Literacy is a necessary tool for education and lifelong learning, yet speakers of indigenous, minority languages are at a severe academic disadvantage (Pattnaik, 2005). The SIL (formerly the Summer Institute of Linguistics), a worldwide organization that documents languages, discusses in *Why Language Matters* how ethnolinguistic language development is vital to meeting the United Nations' eight Millennium Development Goals (SIL International, 2017). These objectives aim to eradicate extreme poverty, achieve primary education universality, promote gender equality, reduce child mortality, promote maternal health, reduce diseases, ensure environmental sustainability, and create a global partnership for development. SIL contends that higher literacy rates result in higher per capita income, and that higher literacy is achieved by offering vital information in a language people understand.

More than half of children who do not attend school live in areas where schools do not use their native language (Ó Ceallaigh, 2015). When students attend a school in which the primary language of instruction is not their mother tongue, they are not likely

to understand anything for the first three years. Only in the fourth year of school are they able to understand basic classroom operations. This is evident in the children of the Kondh tribe in Orissa, India. The disadvantage of being taught in a second language rivals other statistically significant disadvantages like poverty, nutrition, quality of early schooling, and teacher and societal expectations (Pattnaik, 2005). Mother-tongue education allows a foundation from which to learn basic numeracy, literacy skills, and subsequent languages. For example, despite five decades of development and education in Africa in English and other European languages, ninety percent of Africans do not speak European languages, preventing them from participating in politics, community developmental efforts, and health education. Half of primary-school-aged children in Sub-Saharan Africa reach adolescence without basic literacy or numeracy skills (Ó Ceallaigh, 2015). In India, 25 percent of primary school children belong to different linguistic groups. Sixty percent of those tribal children drop out of school after primary education due to a severe learning disadvantage (Pattnaik, 2005). Ajit Kumar Mohanty indicates that the Indian Census of 2001 shows that the rate of literacy in the tribal population is 38.4 percent, against a national average of over 60 percent; consequently, dropout rates for tribal children are proportionally very high (Pattnaik, 2005).

Sebahattin Abdurrahman, a member of the Federation of Western Turks in Europe, spoke at a European Parliament conference on language, identity, and power. He stated that some doctors in Greece are prohibited from speaking Turkish, a minority language (UNPO, 2015). Courts do not offer Turkish translators, and there are no Turkish kindergartens despite the existence of a substantial Turkish community. Consequently, we can expect a lack of participation in government functions and an imbalance in the effectiveness of existing government functions. From the perspective of a Western culture intent on maintaining stability and democracy in other parts the world, we should recognize the corrosive and anti-democratic effects of universal language conformity. Students who speak at least two languages proficiently—their native language and the official language—perform better academically. This is evident in the Kondh children of India. The children who speak the official language, Oriya, but also maintain

their Kui mother tongue perform better academically than Kondh children who speak only Oriya (Pattnaik, 2005) It is worth noting that two thirds of the 775 million illiterate adults are women. In many of these regions, which are primarily less developed, women are encouraged to stay at home; they lack the resources to continue education on their own because educational resources are not offered in a language they understand (SIL International, 2017). The lack of education for women propagates gender inequality in this region. The data is overwhelmingly clear that education in a native tongue has significant bearing on community participation, socioeconomic mobility, and gender equality.

Identity

Individuals and groups identify with language. However, it is important to note that this is not strictly the case with all languages and all groups. There is no clear link between language and identity and no evidence to suggest that language is vital to the continuity of a culture. Smolicz and Secombe believe that cultures possess "core values" (Thieberger, 2016). While language is a core value in nearly every community, this intrinsic value is subject to change and relies upon members' continual support. The problem is that these members are often economically disadvantaged. Their interpretations of values are subject to the influence of a changing environment. Individuals continue to select endangered and extinct languages as points of identity. Individuals and groups should be allowed to choose the parts of their cultures that they deem important at a given time. Abdurrahman indicates that language, and therefore identity, can be preserved via education and official acknowledgement (UNPO, 2017). The people of a dominant culture need to be conscious of the effect they have on diminishing languages; they should not project their own influence on a vulnerable population. Those in positions of power need to be aware of the importance of less dominant languages under their jurisdictions, and allow diverse language, as an important part of identity, to flourish. They also need to make efforts to temper their own influence, starting with providing education and government functions in the language of the people they serve.

We should not preserve languages merely for academic purposes. Language maintenance counteracts a pervasive Western influence that is actively preventing cultures from developing. According to Ajit K. Mohanty, the global trend toward language universality and subsequent suppression of minority languages is "forced, uninformed, and contrived by systematic socio historical processes designed to serve vested interests (Pattnaik, 2005). Therefore, such choices cannot be treated as a form of exercising a right to choose." Language carries the significance that people assign to it, but people are being denied the option of awarding their own value to the components of their culture that they appreciate. Language preservation work has the potential to have a profound influence on biodiversity, neuroscience, and human rights. It is part of a movement toward mindfulness that must be undertaken if we seek to develop a peaceful and diverse global community.

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Structural and Lexical Ambiguities in Hobby Board Games

By Jordan Wheeler

The English language is often filled with ambiguities in both sentence structure and word choice. An understanding of basic sentence valency patterns is helpful to avoid these structural and lexical ambiguities. This article examines the use of valency patterns in eliminating ambiguities in hobby board games. Avoiding ambiguities in the hobby board game industry is important, in order to eliminate possible confusions for consumers. As game designers understand and use the correct valency patterns in card wordings, ambiguities will be less common.

The structure of the English language can often lead to ambiguities in sentences and phrases. Comedians often take advantage of these ambiguities to create humor, but those not in the comedy industry often have problems when they encounter these ambiguities, because they can lead to miscommunication, confusion, and frustration. One industry that often struggles from structural ambiguity is the hobby board game industry. The nature of explaining rules and game effects in a concise way to the players of the game is naturally difficult, but being unaware of potential ambiguities in a manual or on a card can be detrimental for a game designer's success. Because players must read the manuals or cards on their own and understand the intentions and of the game designer without he or she being present, it is critical for game designers to have an understanding of basic clause and sentence types in order to craft game rules and effects with the least amount of ambiguity as possible. In this article, I will provide examples of ambiguous sentences or phrases in games and will demonstrate how some ambiguities in recent hobby board games could have been avoided through the application of the syntactical principles of word features and sentence types as well as the aspect of pragmatics known as deixis.

The first example comes from the card game entitled *Smash Up*, published by AEG, and specifically from the expansion for the game called *Smash Up: The Obligatory Cthulhu Set*. In this game, there is a card called *Shoggoth*. Its text reads in part, "Each other player may draw a Madness card. Destroy a minion here belonging to each player who does not do so" (Peterson, 2013). This card's ability is ambiguous and has led to arguments between players. Some argue that the player who played the card needs to destroy one of his minions because he or she did not draw a Madness card. However, since the card did not allow the player to draw a Madness card, other players argue that forcing the player to destroy a minion is unfair. This issue could be solved by an understanding of word features, and the selection of a different word for the card. The ambiguity would be cleared up by wording the card this way: "Each *opponent* may draw a Madness card. Destroy a minion here belonging to each *opponent* who does not do so." This clarifies the ambiguity because the word *opponent* has as one of its features that it must be a person other than you, who is opposing you

in a game or contest and, therefore, does not include the player initiating the effect. This clarification shows how an understanding of word features could help game designers choose the best and clearest words for card effects and avoid ambiguities.

A second example comes from the *Pathfinder Adventure Card Game: Skull and Shackles Base Set*. This ambiguity has to do with a lack of understanding of sentence types. In one of the game's scenarios called *Press Ganged!*, the scenario effect reads, "Each character's hand size is equal to the number of cards in the bane pile" (Brown, O'Connor, Peterson, Selinker, & Weidling, 2014). In this game, a character's hand size is important, because if a character tries to draw a card but has none in his or her deck, he or she will die. On average, characters will have a hand size of around 5 cards. This scenario forced characters to draw 15 or more cards from their 15 card decks, usually leading to the death of the characters. This ambiguity and confusion was caused because the designer of the game scenario chose to use a Subject + Verb + Subjective Complement (SVC) sentence type. The subject of the sentence—"each character's hand size"—had as its complement—"the number of cards in the bane pile"—meaning that these two items were interchangeable with this sentence structure. In order to avoid this ambiguity, the designer should have used a Subject + BE + Adverbial (SVA) sentence structure. This sentence structure could potentially read, "Each character's hand size cannot be greater than the number of cards in the bane pile." This makes "the number of cards in the bane pile" a part of the adverbial phrase which describes what the subject cannot be, rather than the subjective complement of the sentence. This clears up the ambiguity and shows that player's hand sizes may start different than normal, but cannot grow to be unreasonably large. With a basic understanding of sentence types and what words are required to make those sentence types, the designer of the *Pathfinder Adventure Card Game* could have created a clear scenario effect that players would immediately understand.

A third example comes from a different expansion to *Smash Up* entitled *Smash Up: Pretty Pretty Smash Up*. There is a card called *Rainbow*, and the card ability reads, "Talent: If you have played a minion here, draw a card" (Peterson, 2015). The ambiguity

in this card's effect comes from the lack of a time-deictic word in the phrase. The game designers likely did not include the word, because they wanted the card to be concise, but leaving a phrase actually results in the opposite of the purpose of concision: ambiguity. Players are left to wonder if the card means they can activate the effect if at any point throughout the course of the game they had played a minion there. Simply adding the phrase "this turn" to the effect so that it reads, "Talent: If you have played a minion here this turn, draw a card," would help clear up the ambiguity on the card. An understanding of the principle of deixis can help avoid unnecessary ambiguities.

Ambiguities in language can be either structural, as with the first two examples, or lexical, as with the last example. By gaining a basic and working understanding of different syntactical and pragmatic principles, hobby board game designers can avoid the ambiguities that frequently arise with different game effects. Avoiding these ambiguities will lead to a more satisfied community of players, and more positive experiences all around.

References

Brown, C., O'Connor, T., Peterson, P., Selinker, M., & Weidling, G. (2014). *Pathfinder Adventure Card Game: Skull and Shackles–Base Set*. Paizo Publishing.

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