I

English Language

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This chapter has fourteen sections: 1. General; 2. History of English Linguistics; 3. Phonetics and Phonology; 4. Morphology; 5. Syntax; 6. Semantics; 7. Lexicography, Lexicology and Lexical Semantics; 8. Onomastics; 9. Dialectology and Sociolinguistics; 10. New Englishes and Creolistics; 11. Second Language Acquisition. 12. English as a Lingua Franca; 13. Pragmatics and Discourse Analysis, 14. Stylistics. Sections 1 and 2 are by Viktorija Kostadinova; section 3 is by Marco Wiemann; sections 4 and 5 are by Gea Dreschler and Sune Gregersen; section 6 is by Beáta Gyuris; section 7 is by Ai Zhong; section 8 is by Maggie Scott; section 9 is by Lieselotte Anderwald; section 10 is by Beke Hansen and Sven Leuckert; section 11 is by Tihana Kraš; section 12 is by Shawnea Sum Pok Ting, Ida Parise, and Alessia Cogo; section 13 is by Elisabeth Reber; section 14 is by Furzeen Ahmed.

1. General

It is fitting to start this section on English studies of general interest with the third edition of *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language* by David Crystal. This publication presents an impressively comprehensive coverage of all aspects of the English language and its study. It successfully combines the treatment of established areas in the field of English studies with the inclusion of new, highly relevant topics and new English-language phenomena. The book is beautifully organized and illustrated, striking the right balance between introducing important concepts in a simple and clear way and discussing topics dealing with the latest developments in the field. While it will serve as a definitive

reference book for students as well as teachers of English language and linguistics, it is at the same time a book that will appeal to anyone interested in the English language. The book is organized into six parts. After a brief note on the study of variation in English, and how this variation is modelled, it opens with Part I, on 'The History of English' (pp. 4–125). This covers OE, ME, eModE, PDE, and WE. There are notable additions here in the form of a treatment of the subject of 'Original Pronunciation' (pp. 72–3) (OP) in the eModE part, exemplified and discussed with reference to Shakespeare productions in OP. The treatment of Modern English is also enriched with a discussion of current trends in language change (p. 96), as well as a section on 'Linguistic Memes' (p. 97). Finally, 'Euro-Englishes' (p. 124) are covered in the context of WE. Part II, 'English Vocabulary' (pp. 126–99), is divided into five sections, discussing points in the nature, sources, and structure of the lexicon, as well as etymology and a range of lexical dimensions (examples include swearing, jargon, political correctness). Part III covers 'English Grammar' (pp. 200–45), beginning with 'Grammatical Mythology' and a discussion of historical developments in the study of grammar, including traditional and prescriptive grammar. The sections on morphology and syntax provide a wealth of visual material to support the introduction and discussion of morphological and syntactic concepts. In Part IV on 'Spoken and Written English' (pp. 246–97), there is a notable addition in the form of a separate section on the 'Punctuation Problem' (pp. 296–7), which discusses variation in the use of punctuation marks, as well as attitudes towards and discussions of such variation. Entertaining and pertinent examples from news items are used to cover issues such as the apostrophe, the use of full stops, and 'The Great Typo Hunt', an adventure of two friends, which involved travelling through the US finding and correcting punctuation mistakes in public spaces. Part V on 'Using English' (pp. 298–475) is the longest part of the book, covering a wide variety of topics in English-language variation stemming from discoursal, regional, social, and personal factors. This part also has the most additions in the new edition. The new sections in the first chapter here, 'Varieties of Discourse', discuss pragmatics and cognitive approaches to discourse, as well as a very timely addition of the topic of 'panchronicity' associated with computer-mediated texts, in which Crystal coins the term 'panchronic' to refer to 'texts whose identity is dependent on features from different time frames' (p. 317). The chapter on regional variation is also expanded with a discussion of 'Culture Talking', the way in which the expansion of English in new areas of the world means that the local cultures also affect the regional variation thus developing. A discussion of forensic linguistics is also added. At the end of this part, the new edition contains an entirely new section on 'Electronic Variation', covering netspeak and its distinctive features. Finally, Part VI covers 'Learning English as a Mother Tongue' (pp. 478–86), and 'New Ways of Studying English' (pp. 488–506).

We continue with three introductions, which differ from one another in terms of approach, scope, and subject matter. The first one, *A Systemic Functional Grammar of English* by David Banks, provides a useful entry into the SFG approach to the study of English. The introductory chapter contextualizes SFG among other theoretical approaches to language, introducing its main points of departure. Chapter 2 covers the basic elements of the clause, in terms of the main 'group types' (i.e. categories such as NP, VP, etc) and the words they are

composed of. Chapter 3 describes the basic notions related to the ideational metafunction of language in SFG, specifically explaining material, mental, relational, verbal, and existential processes, as well as oblique participants. The next chapter covers the interpersonal metafunction and how it is used to model and explain 'the speaker's relationships' (p. 47), distinguishing between mood and modality. In chapter 5, the author talks about the textual metafunction, explaining and richly exemplifying aspects of thematic structure and progression, and information structure, as well as the two main dimensions of cohesion, reference and lexical chains. Next, the book goes into the extension of the interpersonal metafunction to how speaker attitudes can be expressed in the text, also addressing aspects such as engagement and graduation. The next two chapters introduce text-related concepts. The first of these discusses non-congruence, or grammatical metaphor, in order to show how different grammatical options, or forms, can be used to express the same meaning. The second, and final, chapter then covers register, in terms of its semiotic functions field, tenor, and mode. Overall, the book is clear and consistently structured, and the presentation of the concepts is supported by a range of activities and exercises. Concepts are introduced and discussed with clearly illustrated examples, gleaned from actual language use found in recent news sources. Each chapter ends with a useful summary of the main points covered.

The second introduction extends beyond the English language, and introduces the study of language in general. Kristin Denham and Anne Lobeck's *Why Study Linguistics* takes the reader on a relatively fast-paced, yet informative, tour through linguistics, from the initial stages of asking questions relevant to linguistic study, through the major concerns of linguistics and how these concerns are addressed, to the professional and career-related aspects of doing linguistics. Following a short introductory chapter, the authors address 'Questions Linguists Ask' in chapter 2 (pp. 5–47), defining language, linguistics, grammar, and language knowledge, and addressing what it means to study language scientifically. The following four chapters introduce the study of a specific level of linguistic structure, or area of language: phonetics and phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics and pragmatics. The next three chapters present the study of language change (i.e. historical sociolinguistics), language variation (i.e. sociolinguistics) and language in the brain (i.e. psycholinguistics), respectively. The book closes with a chapter discussing the professional options and directions that can be taken after studying linguistics. This chapter, which is a welcome addition to an introductory volume on linguistics, shows the richness of the discipline from a different perspective. The chapter covers how a degree in linguistics can lead to a career in education, editing, language pathology, lexicography, the tech industry, forensic linguistics, and much more.

The third introductory volume is David Adger's *Language Unlimited*, which aims at a general audience, discussing core questions in the study of language. The main argument the book makes is that 'hierarchy and self-similarity underlie our creative use of language' (p. 15). The book addresses aspects of linguistic structure by drawing mainly on English as a point of departure, but regularly extending to examples from other languages, both signed and spoken. It starts with discussing creativity in language and the infiniteness of new sentences that can be created as a result of the nature of linguistic structure. It then explores the

relationship between symbols and signals on the one hand and linguistic structure on the other, showing how signs and symbols, such as emoji, are not enough to create linguistic structure, and that language is more than just a correspondence or a connection between symbols and what they stand for. In the third chapter, the author continues on this theme, showing how humans impose structure on the linguistic input they receive from their surroundings, whether the language happens to be spoken or signed. Chapter 4 discusses one of the central questions in linguistic theory: is the human capacity of language specific, and thus distinguished from other human cognitive abilities, or is it merely the result of such general cognitive abilities? The case of homesigners developing their own language, or imposing linguistic structure on the unstructured gestural input deaf children receive from their hearing parents, serves as the main support for the argument for specific linguistic capability in humans. The next chapter addresses the issue of specific linguistic capabilities by showing how not everything that is cognitively possible is linguistically possible. Chapter 6 delves deeper into the difference between patterns in general and linguistic patterns, and how they are represented in the mind. It draws on interesting studies on language-processing in the brains of premature babies, showing that the human brain is attuned to picking up language-specific categories even before the end of the nine-month gestational period. It also talks about how the categories humans associate with language are entirely non-referential, compared to animals, whose communication signals are connected to their surroundings. The chapter that follows develops the argument for why the linguistic capacity in humans represents more than a general cognitive ability, this time by showing how linguistic structure is more than just a consequence of cognitive mechanisms such as chunking and analogy. Chapter 8 goes into natural language-processing, addressing how, although the way computers process language may be effective, this effectiveness is based on a very different approach to processing linguistic information from the way the human brain does it. Chapter 9 discusses 'merge', one of the central principles of generative linguistics, and manages to explain it admirably well with minimal recourse to linguistic terminology. The final chapter addresses grammar and culture, or how language is used to express our identities and how it helps us structure social relationships. This volume is a refreshing addition to general-audience books on language. It discusses aspects of linguistic structure with a minimum of theoretical or disciplinary terminology, and yet manages to explain central concepts in a detailed way. Although it will be evident to readers familiar with linguistics that the main arguments of the book align with Chomskyan linguistic theory, the manner in which both arguments and counter-arguments are presented, built, and substantiated with evidence is generally clear, effective, and creative. Even those readers who may not be entirely convinced by all the arguments are likely to derive pleasure from reading the book.

Two important contributions to methodology and conducting research were published in 2019. Luke Curtis Collins's *Corpus Linguistics for Online Communication: A Guide for Research* presents a clear, yet detailed and richly illustrated, introduction to the application of corpus-linguistic tools to working specifically with online data. The first chapter introduces corpus linguistics as a methodological approach in general, as well as in relation to disciplines such as discourse analysis, pragmatics, stylistics, and sociolinguistics. The next chapter

talks about building corpora, providing a usefully detailed overview of a range of practical aspects involved in using online data for corpus-building, such as the ethics of using web resources for corpus-building, as well as data preparation and processing steps like annotation. The analysis of corpus data is covered next, taking the reader through topics such as tokenization, n-grams and lemmatization, and how they can be used to analyse corpus data at different levels. A variety of metrics, such as frequency, keyness, dispersion, and statistical measures, are discussed, and the chapter closes with short descriptions of a number of useful tools. Chapter 4 then moves on to online communication, summarizing the state of the art of online communication research, and focusing on both structural and interpersonal features of online communication. Also pointed out are particular aspects of power, identity, and community that may arise in the new social spaces created by online communities. Each of the four chapters that follow discusses a specific corpus-based case study in online communication. The first shows how a self-compiled corpus of Facebook posts by a Nottingham-based shop can be used to explore the ways in which the shop creates and communicates brand identity. The second case study explores the process of online learning through the perspective of a corpus of comments collected by students in a MOOC course, showing how corpus-linguistic tools like frequencies, keywords, and collocation analysis can be applied to analysing the process of learning in online contexts. The third study shows how user comments on newspaper websites, on the topic of antibiotic resistance in this case, can be used to analyse user engagement on the web, through an application of the UCREL semantic analysis system. The final case study shows how analysing data from the dating app Tinder can be used to explore linguistic patterns in dating profiles. The book closes with a short recap chapter. In all, the book presents an excellent guide to approaching online data with a range of corpus-linguistic approaches in order to explore a wide range of research questions of sociolinguistic relevance; it also seems particularly relevant to students of English, as it deals with English data.

From Data to Evidence in English Language Research, a volume edited by Carla Suhr, Terttu Nevalainen, and Irma Taavitsainen, presents the second methodological contribution, a collection of papers discussing aspects of the treatment of data in empirical research in English. The introduction by the editors, 'Corpus Linguistics as Digital Scholarship: Big Data, Rich Data and Uncharted Data' (pp. 1–26), contextualizes corpus linguistics within the field of digital humanities more broadly. The rest of the volume is divided into three parts. Part I comprises five chapters, each relating to 'Big Data'. Antoinette Renouf's discusses 'Big Data: Opportunities and Challenges for English Corpus Linguistics' (pp. 29–65) on the basis of her work with a 1.3-billion-word corpus of newspaper texts spanning 1984–2013. She uses morphological and lexical linguistic features as the basis for illustrating and addressing the advantages and considerations of using big corpus datasets. Next, Mark Davies ('Corpus-Based Studies of Lexical and Semantic Variation: The Importance of both Corpus Size and Corpus Design', pp. 66–87) shows how both size and corpus make-up matter in the case of studying lexical and semantic variation, but makes a special case for the importance of understanding corpus structure, representativeness, and register variation as crucial for meaningful corpus-based analysis of linguistic variation. Lieselotte Anderwald follows with 'Empirically Charting the Success of Prescriptivism:

Some Case Studies of Nineteenth-Century English' (pp. 88–108), where she shows the limited effects that prescriptive grammars seem to have on language use as documented in corpus data, on the basis of a comparative empirically based analysis of normative grammars and corpus data. Closing the first part is 'Warning against -ing: Exceptions to Bach's Generalization in Four Varieties of English' (pp. 109–30), Mark Kaunist and Juhani Rudanko's treatment of the development of warn with covert and overt object control complements, in the structure warn (NP) against -ing, aiming to contribute quantitative and variation-informed evidence on Bach's Generalization, and finding that covert object control complements have increased in frequency to closely approximate overt object control patterns.

In Part II, contributions revolve around 'Rich Data'. Thomas Kohnen presents a study of 'Commonplace Books: Charting and Enriching Complex Data' (pp. 133–50) from the late medieval and eModE periods, specifically showing how a range of information can be added to the existing datasets, such as metalinguistic data about how these texts were compiled or the genre conventions they followed so as to produce richer digital data enabling more detailed analysis. Next, Tanja Rütten presents 'Mining Big Data: A Philologist's Perspective' (pp. 151–68), in which she discusses the benefits of rich metadata in philological datasets, arguing that big data should also be accountably rich in order for the proper kinds of analysis to be conducted. Daniela Landert next talks about 'Function-to-Form Mapping in Corpora: Historical Corpus Pragmatics and the Study of Stance Expressions' (pp. 169–90), showing how textual material with a pragmatic function, which is otherwise difficult to automatically extract from corpus data, can be identified on the basis of the tendency of such material to occur in clusters in the data. This approach shows how the study of historical pragmatics can be enriched with new data. Irma Taavitsainen and Gerold Schneider present 'New Corpus Evidence' on the 'Scholastic Argumentation in Early English Medical Writing and its Afterlife' (pp. 191–221), revealing how new specialized diachronic corpus data on medical writing can be analysed by means of Document Classification in order to uncover features of scholastic writing.

Part III contains five chapters on innovations with respect to working with data; these innovations include both 'Evidence from Uncharted Data and Rethinking Old Data'. In the first contribution, 'Language Surrounding Poverty in Early Modern England: A Corpus-Based Investigation of How People Living in the Seventeenth Century Perceived the Criminalised Poor' (pp. 225–57), Tony McEnery and Helen Baker analyse corpus data from Early English Books Online to identify the attitudes to the criminalized poor in England in the seventeenth century. Next, Stefania Degaetano-Ortlieb, Hannah Kermes, Ashraf Khamis, and Elke Teich present 'An Information-Theoretic Approach to Modeling Diachronic Change in Scientific English (pp. 258–81), specifically focusing on uncovering whether and how scientific writing has evolved in terms of density of information. The information-theoretic measures they apply to the analysis of the data, i.e. average surprisal and relative entropy, generally confirm the increase in density of information. In 'Frequency and Dispersion in Uneven Datasets' (pp. 282–306), Turo Hiltunen and Jukka Tyrkkö study the use of 'Academic Vocabulary in Wikipedia Articles', showing that a comparison with research articles from the same discipline reveals that Wikipedia articles do not differ much in terms of

academic vocabulary. Next, David Brett and Antonio Pinna present 'The Automatic Retrieval and Analysis of Popular Song Lyrics' (pp. 307–25), discussing the steps involved in compiling a very large corpus of song lyrics, as well as presenting preliminary results on lexical and structural variation in lyrics and similarity across sub-genres of music. Finally, Mikko Laitinen, Magnus Levin, and Alexander Lakaw 'Charting New Sources of EFL Data: A Multi-Genre Corpus Approach' (pp. 326–50), where they discuss the creation of a multi-genre corpus for the purposes of tracking the development of ELF features. Overall, the volume presents a unique and highly relevant contribution to working with data, both in terms of state-of-the-art techniques and applications and in terms of important expansions of research possibilities in historical sociolinguistics, as well as empirical English linguistics in general.

Ewa Dąbrowska and Dagmar Divjak's *Cognitive Linguistics* is a three-volume collection of chapters covering cognitive linguistic perspectives on language. It is a theoretically and methodologically oriented collection, in that it covers areas of research with respect to cognitive linguistics and its applications. Given the scope of the work and the variety of topics covered, in what follows I provide an exceptionally brief description of the coverage of the three volumes in general. The first volume addresses the *Foundations of Language* from a cognitive linguistic perspective. The topics covered in the various chapters focus on cognitive linguistic phenomena such as embodiment, attention and salience, frequency and entrenchment, categorization, abstraction, construal, metonymy, and metaphor. There are also chapters discussing semantic representation, blending theory, and co-operative communication. The second volume, *A Survey of Linguistic Subfields*, covers the study of linguistic areas, such as phonology and lexical semantics, as well as research areas like historical and variationist linguistics, and first and second language acquisition. Usage-based construction grammar is also covered, as are discourse and poetics. The third volume is organized into chapters on *Key Topics*; these include semantic typology and polysemy, the expression of space, time, motion, and fictive motion in language. Further chapters cover prototype effects in grammar, argument structure, and default non-literal interpretations. Tense, aspect, and mood from a cognitive linguistic perspective are also covered, followed by chapters on grammaticalization, individual differences in grammatical knowledge, signed languages, and the emergentism paradigm in the study of language. The three-volume publication strikes a successful balance between introducing the broad range of questions, concerns, and contributions in cognitive linguistics and presenting the state of the art in terms of depth and detail. The broad range of topics covered is a testament to the development, as well as the richness and interdisciplinarity of the field. In that sense, it is of interest both to students of language in general and to experienced researchers. While it is overall a general introduction to cognitive linguistics, it is of relevance to English studies not only in terms of English cognitive linguistics but also because many of the examples and illustrations provided in the chapters are from English.

Another contribution in the area of cognitive linguistics is Dagmar Divjak's *Frequency in Language: Memory, Attention and Learning*. It provides an excellent coverage and discussion of the topic of frequency in language, illustrating the importance of frequency in cognitive linguistics as well as in linguistics in

general. The book is divided into four parts. The first part provides the background to the study of frequency in linguistics and cognitive studies. The first chapter covers the history of the study of frequency in language from an interdisciplinary perspective. It also discusses lexical statistics and word frequency, and the application of word lists in psycholinguistics. Chapter 2 then moves towards the role of frequency and repetition for the emergence of grammatical structures, focusing on the evidence coming from usage-based studies. Chapter 3 discusses the development of probabilistic studies of language how they have contributed to our understanding of the role of probability in language learning. In Part II, two chapters cover issues surrounding memory, discussing the importance of studying memory for understanding a range of phenomena related to language learning and linguistic knowledge, and addressing entrenchment from the point of view of basic issues in the relationship between entrenchment and the mind, as well as entrenchment and society. Part III is devoted to discussing 'attention' in two chapters. The first chapter defines it in terms of four theoretical perspectives and discusses how attention is important in understanding frequency effects in language; the second covers salience in relation to attention, discussing the role of attention in encoding specific aspects of experience in linguistic structure, but also how linguistic structure can direct attention, and the role of salience in this respect. Part IV, finally, covers the role of prediction in language cognition and the role of learning in relation to frequency effects in language in two separate chapters. The final chapter provides a useful summary of the rich and detailed discussion of the various topics and the myriad of interdisciplinary perspectives on the importance of frequency for language and linguistics presented in the book.

2. History of English Linguistics

Processes of Change: Studies in Late Modern and Present-Day English, a volume edited by Sandra Jansen and Lucia Siebers, contains two contributions that relate to aspects of the history of English linguistics (two more chapters from this volume are discussed in Section 9 below). The first of these is Joan C. Beal's chapter on 'Enregisterment and Historical Sociolinguistics' (pp. 7–23), which looks at historical discourse about variation in English, applying a third-wave variationist perspective to shed light on how such discourse has changed over time. The chapter starts with a discussion of the concepts of indexicality and enregisterment, and identifies both how these concepts have been applied successfully to historical data and how such applications face issues with lack of access to historical evidence. In view of this gap, Beal shows how historical comments on variation in English can be analysed from the perspective of their indexicality and enregisterment. She finds evidence explaining why two seemingly contradictory tendencies existed side by side, namely, awareness of dialect levelling as well as of dialect distinctiveness. Furthermore, the analysis shows how different types of linguistic evidence from the sources analysed (i.e. linguistically relevant observations, or metalinguistic and metapragmatic discourse in terms of language use advice) can supplement and contribute to our present knowledge of indexicality and enregisterment in the history of English.

Contributing more specifically to the history of English linguistics, there is the chapter by Kate Burridge, which looks at 'Early to Late Modern Views on Language Change' (pp. 25–47), approaching dictionaries of the period from the perspective of the prescriptive/descriptive distinction, revealing the characteristics of historical lexicography of the period. The study is based on an exploration and analysis of three dictionaries: *The New World of English Words Or, A General Dictionary*, by Edward Phillips [1658, 1662, 1671, 1678, 1696 edns.], *Universal Etymological English Dictionary Vol. II*, by Nathan Bailey [1727 edn.] and *Lingua Britannica Reformata* by Benjamin Martin [1749, 1754 edns.]. Burridge examines the treatment of so-called 'hard words' in these dictionaries, contextualizing it in the lexicographical currents of the time, to establish that these dictionaries were characterized by conservatism and prescriptivism. However, Burridge takes the analysis further, exploring more carefully these lexicographers' notions of norms and conventions on the usage of hard words, and finding features resonating with modern linguistics thinking. Following the treatment of specific examples and cases, the paper then moves to a discussion of both the tension and the inextricable links between prescription and description, concluding that looking at these dictionaries, or any metalinguistic works for that matter, in terms of prescriptive conservatism is too simplistic, and that a view focusing on the common ground between the two positions is more adequate.

The history of grammar writing is enriched by Beatrix Busse, Kirsten Gather, and Ingo Kleiber's 'Paradigm Shifts in 19th-Century British Grammar Writing: A Network of Texts and Authors', a chapter published in *Norms and Conventions in the History of English*, edited by Birte Bös and Claudia Claridge (pp. 49–71). The study presents a detailed analysis of a corpus of nineteenth-century British grammars, consisting of a combination of methods from network analysis and corpus linguistics. The chapter opens by introducing the specific aspects of nineteenth-century grammar writing, identifying a gap in the study of these grammars compared to the century before that. After introducing the corpus used, as well as their methodology, the authors discuss the results in terms of the frequency of references both made by and made about specific grammarians. On the basis of these references, the authors then present the results of a network analysis, showing a change in the references identified; namely, references to eighteenth-century grammarians became rarer, while those to contemporaries increased. This, the authors point out, suggests a move away from relying on prescriptive grammar sources, which in turn directs the study to the second part of the analysis. In this part, the authors investigate the question of whether the move away from citing eighteenth-century prescriptive grammar sources also meant a change in the treatment of grammar in eighteenth-century grammars. Relying on the analysis of linguistic keywords in their corpus, the authors specifically look at keywords that may signal the grammars' treatment of historical linguistic or comparative linguistic topics, as well as their prescriptive or descriptive orientations. This analysis provided some evidence that a change in the treatment of linguistic features was not going on, although the authors did find occurrences of the keywords they investigated.

The same volume also contains two contributions on metalinguistic works on language intended for the general public. The first one is Ingrid Tieken-Boon

van Ostade's 'Usage Guides and the Age of Prescriptivism' (in Bös and Claridge, eds., pp. 7–28). Tieken-Boon van Ostade starts with a discussion of the use of the terms 'prescription' and 'prescriptivism', arguing that the 'Age of Prescriptivism', a phrase used to describe the eighteenth century, is more appropriate to the present day. The eighteenth century, she argues, was the time of the codification stage, followed by the prescription stage and the rise of the usage guide as a genre. In other words, prescriptivism is seen as the latest stage in the standardization process. On the basis of definitions and instances of use of a set of words related to prescriptivism and prescription gleaned from the *OED*, the author argues that prescriptivism as a stage in the standardization process emerged as an American phenomenon. The chapter then proceeds with an analysis of the treatment of irregular verbs in usage guides, as the basis for exploring the 'nature of the usage guide as a text type' (p. 9). The analysis is based on data from the Hyper Usage Guide of English database, which contains seventy-seven British and American usage guides. Specific cases of irregular verbs and related forms are explored and discussed, including *quit*, *lie/lay*, *hang*, *beat*, *dive*, *prove*, *light*, *go*, *sneak* and *drink*. The analysis shows a lack of consensus in the treatment as well as coverage of irregular verb forms in usage guides, which seems to be a matter of personal preference of usage guide authors. The effects of usage guide pronouncements are found to be almost non-existent. Finally, the author argues that some evidence from a questionnaire investigating speaker attitudes to prescriptivism and usage problems may suggest a turn towards a sort of anti-prescriptivism.

The other chapter on usage guides, as well as the final study covered in this section, is Don Chapman's '"Splendidly Prejudiced": Words for Disapproval in English Usage Guides' (in Bös and Claridge, eds., pp. 29–47). Don Chapman looks at terms of linguistic disapproval found in usage guides from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, specifically focusing on the most frequently used terms. The discussion is organized into three points: the constructions, or linguistic features, that are disapproved, the language associated with the use of such constructions, and the people identified as using those constructions. The chapter is specifically concerned with identifying the most frequently used terms of disapproval in two corpora of usage guides, and with tracking possible changes over time in the use of these terms. The two corpora used are the *Complete-Handbook Corpus*, consisting of twenty-nine usage guides published between 1770 and 2003, and the Hyper Usage Guide of English database, mentioned above, consisting of seventy-seven usage guides published between 1770 and 2010. Chapman searched for terms of disapproval identified in the first usage guide contained in the corpora, and then derived additional terms of disapproval on the basis of a collocation analysis of the initial list. Of the ten most frequent terms in each of the two corpora eight are the same: *wrong*, *incorrect*, *error*, *fail*, *informal*, *mistake*, *fault*, and *colloquial*. The analysis of trends over time suggests two main findings. First, terms associated with correctness have always predominated but appear to be especially linked to nineteenth-century usage guides; second, terms of disapproval seem to have been declining in the course of the twentieth century, which, as Chapman concludes, goes alongside 'showing a little more awareness of the complexity of variation in language' (p. 43).

3. Phonetics and Phonology

This year's contribution to English phonetics and phonology discusses selected articles on BrE, New Englishes, NZE, and AusE, before turning to four notable book publications in the field. The works are discussed in the same order as mentioned above. Therefore, we start off this section with a sociophonetic study on RP. In 'Comparing the Received Pronunciation of J.R. Firth and Daniel Jones: A Sociophonetic Perspective' (*JIPA* 49[2019] 381–400), Joanna Przedlacka and Michael Ashby present a phonetic analysis of these two famous phoneticians' RP, based on recordings from 1929 and 1932. They show that after normalization of the results, their accents only differ significantly in the TRAP and DRESS sets and in the onset of PRICE (p. 389). With respect to PRICE, the onset is closer in Firth's speech than in Jones's. Moreover, Firth's TRAP and DRESS vowels are both closer and more front than Jones's and, in fact, sometimes overlap in the data of the former, whereas for the latter they never do (p. 388). Przedlacka and Ashby's paper does not only constitute a valuable contribution to studying early twentieth-century pronunciation of English and intra-accent variation in RP, but it furthermore shows that detailed acoustic analyses of recordings from the 1920s are easily possible. Hence, it expands the methods available to scrutinize the late history of English pronunciation. Moreover, it might also be that we will be able to review some more of their work on the subject in next year's *YWES* as Przedlacka and Ashby state in their conclusion: '[i]n our own further work, already under way, we will widen the study to include other speakers who are heard in the recordings from which our corpus is taken. [...] Since similar electric recordings begin in 1925–1926, this opens the prospect of acoustic studies of speakers with birth years as early as the 1850s' (p. 397).

For the next contribution we shall remain focused on BrE. In fact, if you have ever wondered about the seemingly peculiar pronunciation [sɪŋg] that your friends from Greater Manchester use for words such as *sing* or if you have ever asked yourself why Sheffield-born singer Alex Turner sings things like *go on, tell me I'm wrong* [ɹɒŋg], George Bailey might have an answer for you as he tried to reveal recent developments of this phenomenon in 'Ki(ng) in the North: Effects of Duration, Boundary, and Pause on Post-Nasal [g]-Presence' (*LabPhon* 10(1):iii[2019] 1–26). Bailey scrutinizes the relationship between the presence of velar nasal plus variants in such monomorphemic words and their prosodic and phonological environment in the speech of thirty speakers from the north-west of England. He finds that the 'presence and duration of a following pause provides the strongest explanation of probabilistic [g]-presence' (p. 20). Moreover, his apparent time data show a highly significant trend in the presence of [g] before pauses as younger speakers use it much more frequently in this environment than older speakers.

For the next two articles, we shift our attention to two New Englishes, viz. NigE and TrinE. Nisad Jamakovic and Robert Fuchs investigate 'The Monophthongs of Formal Nigerian English' (in Gernot Kubin, and Zdravko Kačič, eds., *Proceedings Interspeech 2019*, pp. 1711–15). Their acoustic analysis of thirteen vowels in formal speech elicited from nine speakers of NigE reveals a reduced phoneme system that contains nine phonemes instead of thirteen, which we would expect in RP for the analysed vowels. Out of those, seven are

monophthongs, and two vowels, viz. FACE and GOAT, are variably realized as monophthongs or diphthongs, while the monophthongal realization constitute over half of all tokens. Interestingly, they find that this system aligns with the vowel system of the speakers' L1, namely the indigenous language Igbo. Their finding confirm impressions stated in earlier research and moreover show that NigE is, when compared with different forms of RP, closer to "old" RP than more recent forms of RP. The second study on New Englishes was conducted by Wiebke Ahlers and Philipp Meers and concerns 'Sibilant Variation in New Englishes: A Comparative Sociophonetic Study of Trinidadian and American English /s(tr)/-Retraction.' (in Kubin and Kačič, eds., pp. 291–5). Ahlers and Meers's investigation, which is based on speech from in total 181 speakers from two different corpora, suggests that retraction is more advanced in TrinE than in AmE, meaning that realizations are closer to [ʃtɹ] in TrinE. Their findings confirm impressions stated in earlier research and moreover show that NigE is, when compared with different forms of RP, closer to 'old' RP than more recent forms of RP.

Turning to Australasian varieties, Michele Gubian, Jonathan Harrington, Mary Stevens, Florian Schiel, and Paul Warren discuss ongoing sound changes in NZE and try 'Tracking the New Zealand English NEAR/SQUARE Merger Using Functional Principal Components Analysis' (in Kubin, and Kačič, eds., pp. 296–300). Gubian et al.'s data display that SQUARE is 'more central' and 'more monophthongal' than NEAR and that the sound change comprises a shift of SQUARE towards the direction NEAR (p. 299). Moreover, they hypothesize that the shift of SQUARE could be connected to a previously reported raising of DRESS in NZE. With respect to method, they add that the 'more general conclusion from this study is that FPCA provides a new way to quantify sound changes in a multidimensional space' (p. 299).

The teams working on the phonetics and phonology of AusE at Macquarie University and the University of Melbourne, amongst others, seem to have been extremely busy lately, at least if we regard the recent research output of Felicity Cox, Janet Fletcher, and Joshua Penney to name only a few scholars. Hence, this year's contribution touches on a number of AusE studies. The first study that should be mentioned is from 2018 and was not discussed last year but is still worthy of consideration. Debbie Loakes, Kirsty McDougall, Joshua Clothier, John Hajek, and Janet Fletcher investigate 'Sociophonetic Variability of Post-Vocalic /t/ in Aboriginal and Mainstream Australian English' (in Julien Epps, Joe Wolfe, John Smith, and Caroline Jones, eds., *Proceedings of the 17th Australasian International Conference on Speech Science and Technology*, pp. 5–8). Their analysis suggests the presence of a considerable number of variants for post-vocalic /t/ in both varieties. In total, they describe 11 variants of /t/, including for instance, ejective, fricative and affricated variants. While there is some overlap between realizations in Aboriginal English and mainstream AusE, their results show that some variants are almost exclusive to Aboriginal English, viz. glottal, ejective, voiced, and approximant variants. In sum, they show a clear stratification of /t/-variants according to variety, with Aboriginal English speakers favouring 'glottal' variants whilst mainstream AusE employ more 'breathy' variants (p. 8). They conclude that their study 'highlights previously undocumented variation across L1 Aboriginal English and mainstream Australian English' (p. 8).

In the next study to be mentioned here, Joshua Penney, Felicity Cox, and Anita Szakay looked at 'Perception of Coda Voicing: Glottalisation of Word-Final Stops in Australian English Unstressed Syllables' (in Sasha Calhoun, Paola Escudero, Marija Tabain, and Paul Warren, eds., *Proceedings of the 19th International Congress of Phonetic Sciences, Melbourne, Australia 2019*, pp. 1863–7) in the second syllable of words such as *syrup*, *parrot*, *barrack* and in those ending in voiced stops such as *Arab* and *carob*. It is crucial to remark that they are not discussing glottal replacement of stops but glottalized forms. Regardless of the place of articulation of the plosives in question, they show that glottalization indeed occurs before all stops in AusE in unstressed syllables. Moreover, they observe social effects on the frequency of glottalization, with younger speakers and female speakers displaying higher frequencies than older speakers and male speakers (p. 26). Someone who is familiar with the phonetic and phonological characteristics of English accents will know that the phoneme /l/ is subject to considerable variation, depending on a number of factors such as region or age. Some English varieties have been described as clear-only varieties (e.g. local Dublin English), some have an allophonic distribution of clear and velarized variants (e.g. traditional RP), and others show increasing vocalization in non-initial position (e.g. London English). While this is a somewhat simplified description of the properties of /l/ in English, it already shows that /l/-variation is more than worthy of an investigation in English varieties around the world. Therefore, Tünde Szalay, Titia Benders, Felicity Cox, and Michael Proctor set out to scrutinize the 'Lingual Configuration of Australian English /l/' (in Calhoun et al. eds., pp. 2817–20) and offer a study of the articulatory properties of /l/, with the focus on tongue elongation. In this experiment with two AusE speakers, their aim was 'to develop a metric of tongue elongation that can potentially quantify /l/-vocalisation' (p. 2818). The idea is that, due to the lack of contact between the tongue tip and the alveolar ridge in vocalized variants, the tongue is assumed to be less elongated in these instances. Compared to /d/, they found that /l/ is more elongated. Moreover, elongation is greater for /l/ in onset positions than in coda position. Therefore, they claim that their data 'demonstrate the utility of tracking change in tongue elongation as a metric for lateral production' (p. 2819) and suggest incorporating measurements of tongue elongation in future articulatory studies on the properties of /l/.

The following two studies present another contribution to studying articulation in AusE, but this time they concern vowel length. Louise Ratko, Michael Proctor, and Felicity Cox's article titled 'Articulation of Vowel Length Contrasts in Australian English' (in Kubin and Kačič, eds., pp. 3312–16) constitutes the first of two studies on length contrasts in AusE that will be discussed in this section. In this experiment, the articulatory character of the long and short vowels /ɐː/ and /ɐ/ (the START/BATH and STRUT sets in AusE) was studied in two speakers of AusE at two different speech rates (normal and fast). Their main findings contain that vowel gestural durations and gestural nucleus durations are shorter in short vowels, irrespective of speech rate. Moreover, they show that short vowels exhibit higher acceleration rates, and that coda consonants started earlier in words containing short vowels. The second study on vowel length concerns 'Onset—Vowel Articulatory Coordination—Voiceless Stops and Vowel Length' (in Calhoun et al. eds., pp. 1535–9). Louise Ratko, Michael Proctor, and

Felicity Cox focus on the same vowels as in the study described above, viz. /ɐː/ and /ɐ/. However, in this article they concentrate on the onset of syllables that contain either long or short vowels, e.g. *parp*, *tart*, *pup*, and *tut*. To mention only one of their main results, it can be said that the Voice Onset Time (VOT) is longer in voiceless stops if long vowels followed (p. 1538). Nevertheless, they point to the need for more data to 'determine how these patterns hold in larger populations of speakers, and in other varieties of English' (p. 1538).

We now move from articulatory phonetics to the first of two studies on speech perception in AusE. Joshua Penny, Felicity Cox, and Anita Szakay are interested in the 'Perception of Coda Voicing: Glottalisation, Vowel Duration, and Silence' (in Calhoun et al., eds., pp. 1863–7). In this article, we can find an experiment on the influence of glottalization, duration, and silence on the perception of coda voicing in AusE. In line with other studies on the subject, their data reveal that glottalization and short vowel durations trigger voiceless perception in the participants, whereas longer vowel durations cause more voiced responses. In the second study on perception, it is going to get 'fuzzy' as Michael Walker, Anita Szakay, and Felicity Cox answer the question 'Can Kiwis and Koalas as Cultural Primes Induce Perceptual Bias in Australian English-Speaking Listeners?' (*LabPhon* 10(1):vii[2019] 1–29). In this speech perception experiment, seventy-five AusE native speakers were played sentences performed in either AusE and NZE, with different priming conditions in the form of stuffed toy kiwis and koalas placed on the desk of the participants taking part in the experiment. The samples contained three target variables in phrase-final position, namely TRAP, DRESS, and KIT words. Participants were asked to match synthesized vowel sounds which they heard afterwards with those in the sentences. However, in contrast to previous studies, Walker et al. found that their use of primes does not cause significant differences in the participants' vowel selection.

To round off the works on AusE, we shall turn to the second edition of Felicity Cox's 2012 publication *Australian English Pronunciation and Transcription*. Despite the fact that it was published in 2017, it has not been discussed in any of the previous *YWES* volumes. However, it certainly deserves a mention. For the second edition, Felicity Cox is joined by Janet Fletcher, who is not only an expert on the phonetics and phonology of AusE, but moreover of indigenous Australian languages too. In this book, Cox and Fletcher take their readers by the hand and commence by introducing them to AusE speech production (chapter 1) and by presenting them with the vowel and consonant system of AusE (chapter 2) and its syllable structure, stress patterns, and intonation (chapter 3). They explain all the essentials in an easy-to-follow yet detailed manner, without being overwhelming, with MRI and spectrogram images and exemplifying schemes that allow readers to grasp the basics in speech production and acoustics of AusE with ease. The chapters on broad and narrow transcription (chapters 4 and 5) provide a good overview on the differences between transcription types and conventions in AusE. Thankfully, while introducing the modern HCE, named after Harrington, Cox, and Evans, as well as the traditional MD, named after Mitchell and Delbridge, transcription conventions for broad transcription of AusE, they decide to use the former, which employs symbols close to the actual IPA vowel values. The symbols have their 'foundation in an acoustic analysis of vowels produced by speakers represented in the Australian National Database of

Spoken Language (ANDOSL)' (p. 175)—a database you might be already familiar with (see *YWES* 99[2020] 30–1). These five chapters make the book read like a well-crafted introduction to phonetics and phonology, perfectly combined with work on the phonetics and phonology of AusE and thus create a valuable textbook for students, researchers, and teachers alike. It is furthermore the number of exercises, a corresponding website, a glossary, and audio samples that make this a good resource for several different purposes. For those amongst us who are more interested in the acoustics of AusE, the appendix, which is new to the second edition, includes a list of formant frequencies of AusE vowels taken from the AusTalk project. In the final chapter, Cox and Fletcher end the book with an illustrative but detailed '[e]valuation of two broad transcription system' (chapter 6), which I had sometimes wished somebody would write because of the different and at times (from an IPA standpoint) misleading transcription conventions we find in some of the works on SSBE and RP. In this chapter, they convincingly discuss the merits of both transcription systems, the HCE one, which is closer to the IPA, and the MD system, which is closer to RP.

Even in the study of BrE, the use of RP as a reference point, and the maintenance of the term itself for that matter, have, for some scholars at least, gone out of fashion. Reasons for this are not only the negative connotations of the term RP, but also recent changes in SSBE pronunciation, which have caused the SSBE phonological system to deviate from the one traditionally collated under the term RP. However, in my opinion, the discipline of English phonetics and phonology had still lacked a concise yet comprehensive overview on the 'new' variety and the details of those changes, represented by IPA symbols that closely reflect the actual values we would hear in SSBE speakers. Fortunately, this year's publication *English after RP: Standard British Pronunciation Today* by Geoff Lindsey has changed that. Lindsey goes through the vowels and consonants of SSBE and provides us with a very accurate picture of what contemporary SSBE actually sounds like. With respect to vowels, for instance, he describes an anticlockwise vowel shift, which involves the raising of the LOT and PALM sets, from /ɒ/ to /ɔ/ and from /ɑː/ to /ʌː/ respectively, and the THOUGHT and CHOICE sets, from /ɔː/ to /oː/ (chapter 4). Other notable vowel changes mentioned by Lindsey as part of this shift are the centralization of GOAT, FOOT, CURE and GOOSE, and the lowering of the front vowels FLEECE, DRESS, FACE, TRAP, SQUARE (chapter 4). Moreover, he illustrates the disappearance of centring diphthongs, e.g. NEAR, CURE, SQUARE (chapter 13) and the diphthongization of FLEECE, GOOSE (chapter 5). Notable consonantal features receiving attention are, to name only a few, YOD-dropping and coalescence (chapter 15), the use of glottal stops (chapters 19 and 26), and the increasing vocalization of /l/ in final or preconsonantal position (chapter 20). Intonation patterns, such as the use of a rising tone towards the end of a sentence (uptalk) (chapter 31) and stress shifts (chapters 23 and 24), partially towards American English norms, are also discussed. This book gives such a good overview of contemporary SSBE that our department decided to implement it in its introductory courses and in some subsequent courses on English phonetics and phonology. In the past, my students were often confused concerning some of the traditional RP-pronunciations and transcription conventions as those seemed to differ from what they are used to hearing.

Should you, however, like a more casual read on English phonetics and phonology that you can enjoy before going to bed or on your train ride to the next conference—if you are not busy finishing your presentation for said conference of course—David Crystal's *Sounds Appealing: The Passionate Story of English Pronunciation* might be the book of your choice. In thirty-one short chapters, Crystal narrates the story of English pronunciation for an audience without a need for a background in linguistics. Nevertheless, he still employs linguistic terminology and IPA symbols commonly used in the description of StE varieties. Contrary to what the title of the book may suggest, it is not a historical description of English pronunciation, but rather an introduction to English phonetics and phonology, filled with anecdotes, a picture or poem every now and then, and references to and examples from well-known literary texts, films, series, and public figures, be it Anthony Daniels's RP accent as a voice actor for the protocol droid C-3PO in *Star Wars* in chapters such as 'Where Are You From, Robot?' (p. 211) or an anecdote about Crystal's daughter Lucy asking him for help when she encounters Donald Duck's accent, performed in *buccal voice*. The book touches on a number of topics ranging from his experiences on BBC Radio 4, over the role of the phonetician Henry Higgins in *My Fair Lady/Pygmalion*, and early phoneticians like Henry Sweet, Daniel Jones, and Paul Passy (introduction and chapters 1–2), to a description of the basic phonological system of English, pitch and speed, vowel qualities, consonants, syllables, connected speech, and all the essentials (chapters 3–23). The remaining eight chapters (chapters 24–31) deal with accents, speech accommodation, a historical view on RP, the pronunciation of Isaac Newton, and other historical topics such as the question of how Shakespeare might have pronounced his own name and how we may correctly pronounce the name *Purcell*. Moreover, we can read about themes such as 'Where Is English Pronunciation Going?' or expand our knowledge concerning the fields in which phonetics may be used outside an academic context. Despite the fact that, from a scientific point of view, there are a few passages that do not live up to the complexity of some phenomena, Crystal's book indeed does sound appealing!

The next monograph to be discussed is Ratree Wayland's *Phonetics: A Practical Introduction*. As this is the year's work in *English* studies, I should remark that Wayland did not design her book as an introduction to the phonetics and phonology of English specifically, but to create a general foundation in phonetics for students without any prior knowledge or at graduate level; still, as a textbook on phonetics, which often draws on AmE examples, it is worth mentioning. Wayland herself states that the book 'can be used as the primary source for an introductory undergraduate or graduate course on phonetics' (p. xxiii), but may also be helpful for students in 'speech and hearing science, cognitive psychology, and some branches of computer science and electrical engineering' (p. xxiii). As such, it essentially comprises articulatory, acoustic, and auditory phonetics. Thus, its chapters discuss articulation, including transcription, and phonemic and morphophonemic analyses (chapters 1–5), acoustics (chapters 6–8), hearing, and speech perception (chapters 9–10), and experimental tools in articulatory phonetics (chapter 11). While the book might seem to be rather technical at first glance, it features very good illustrations and explanations of complex topics. Every chapter features a list of learning objectives, a chapter summary, a

number of exercises and further reading, and at times they include info-boxes in which students, especially those new to the field, are given the opportunity to gain interesting insights. For instance, one box informs them about the 'The Reality of Phonemes' and describes a famous example from Edward Sapir's article 'The Psychological Reality of Phoneme' (p. 95). AmE examples are frequent in Wayland's practical introduction, but other languages that Wayland employs to illustrate, for instance, sounds that are not present in English, or possible relationships between phones and phonemes, include Hindi, Thai, Turkish, and many others. In the chapter on transcribing speech, however, the focus lies on the transcription of American English (chapter 4). Furthermore, in the chapter on acoustics, students can find a list of formant frequencies for AmE vowels. From the point of view of someone who teaches undergraduate students in English phonetics and phonology, I personally always find these a helpful addition in explaining differences between varieties and accents to students.

Finally, to close the section, I should remark that, in addition to Ratree Wayland's *Introduction*, there is another introductory work which has to be mentioned, i.e. the third edition of Philip Carr's *English Phonetics and Phonology: An Introduction*, the second edition of which has turned out to be beneficial and of great help in teaching phonetics at the Bachelor level. Unfortunately, due to the ongoing pandemic I have not been able to get hold of a review copy yet. Therefore, the third edition will hopefully be discussed in next year's *YWES*.

4. Morphology

The Old Northumbrian glosses have attracted much attention this year. Marcelle Cole's 'Subject and Adjacency Effects in the Old Northumbrian Gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels*' (*ELL* 23[2019] 131–54) looks at the determinants of verbal -*s* in the Lindisfarne gloss, in particular the type of subject and whether the verb is adjacent to a subject pronoun. She argues that the so-called Northern Subject Rule (NSR) is already operative in the language of this tenth-century gloss, although it works differently from the NSR of later northern dialects. Cole also discusses various contact explanations for the emergence of the rule and the wider implications of her findings. A special issue of *NOWELE* is entirely devoted to the Old Northumbrian glosses. It contains an introduction to the topic, 'The Northumbrian Old English Glosses' by Elly van Gelderen (*NOWELE* 72[2019] 119–33), and five articles on the Lindisfarne and Durham glosses. In 'Verbal Morphology in the Old English Gloss to the Durham Collectar' (*NOWELE* 72[2019] 134–64), Julia Fernández Cuesta and Christopher Langmuir investigate the variation in verbal suffixes in the Durham gloss, which is commonly believed to have been written by the same person as the Lindisfarne gloss. This paper thus forms a nice companion piece to Cole's article discussed above. Unlike Cole, Fernández Cuesta and Langmuir find no evidence of the NSR in their gloss. They suggest that this may be due to an 'intentional or unconscious accommodation to the prestigious southern dialect' (p. 156), i.e. West Saxon influence. Also on verbal morphology, Johanna Wood studies 'The Subjunctive in the Lindisfarne Gloss' (*NOWELE* 72[2019] 165–91). Wood investigates whether

the glossator translates the Latin PST.SBJV form *esset* with an OE indicative or subjunctive form. The subjunctive is generally used as would be expected from other OE texts, except that it is often found in temporal clauses. In William F. Kruger's contribution the focus is on 'Verbal Prefixes in Old Northumbrian' (*NOWELE* 72[2019] 192–219), specifically *eft*, *ymb*, and *ofer* as used in the Lindisfarne gloss. Looking at orthography, word order, and co-occurrence patterns, he argues that only *ymb* is clearly a verbal prefix, whereas the glossator treats *eft* as an independent adverb; *ofer* is less easily categorized, having properties both of a prefix and an adverb. Elly van Gelderen looks at 'Reflexive Pronouns in the Lindisfarne Glosses' (*NOWELE* 72[2019] 220–44), i.e. the use of *seolf* to express reflexive and intensive meaning. The latter function is absent in Matthew and Mark and rare in Luke and John, whereas the reflexive use is attested in all four gospels. Finally, Letizia Vezzosi asks 'What Does *āgen* Mean in the Lindisfarne Gospels? (*NOWELE* 72[2019] 245–72), carefully scrutinizing the uses of *agnian* 'own (vb.)', *agan* 'own, ought', and *agen* 'own (adj.)' in the Lindisfarne gloss.

A paper by Elżbieta Adamczyk and Arjen P. Versloot, 'Phonological Constraints on Morphology: Evidence from Old English Nominal Inflection' (*FLH* 40[2019] 153–76),, considers the factors determining the retention or substitution of irregular morphology, specifically the endless forms of *r*-stems (e.g. *sweostor*, *broþor*) and root nouns (e.g. *hnut*, *burg*) in the DOE Corpus. The factors investigated include the frequency of the lemmas and the individual inflectional forms, the saliency of the inflectional morphemes, and phonological characteristics like syllable weight and number. Interestingly, and perhaps somewhat surprisingly, saliency and phonological structure appear to be stronger predictors of regularization than frequency, leading the authors to the conclusion that phonology not only triggers analogical change but 'also controls the direction and the rate of the changes' (p. 172). Elżbieta Adamczyk is also the author of *Reshaping of the Nominal Inflection in Early Northern West Germanic* [2018], where three other West Gmc languages are investigated along with OE: OFris, Old Saxon, and Old Low Franconian. The focus of this detailed study is the complex of analogical changes affecting the minor declension classes, i.e. root nouns and *i*-, *u*-, *r*-, *nd*-, *s*-, and *þ*-stems, in the attested periods of the four languages. After a theoretical and methodological introduction (chapter 1), Adamczyk gives an overview of PGmc nominal morphology (chapter 2) and then examines the changes in the four languages in turn (chapters 3–6). The two final chapters compare the developments observed in the languages (chapter 7) and identify the central mechanisms and factors determining the changes (chapter 8). A fairly clear distinction can be made between OE and OFris on the one hand, where the direction of change is generally towards *a*- and *ō*-stems, and Old Saxon and Old Low Franconian on the other, where plural marking by *i*-mutation becomes productive. The reasons for these divergent developments—most of them of a phonological nature—are discussed at length. The author's OE material is also used in 'The Dynamics of Changes in the Early English Inflection: Evidence from the Old English Nominal System (in Claudia Claridge and Birte Bös, eds., *Developments in English Historical Morpho-Syntax*, pp. 9–33). Here the focus is on innovative plural forms, and the main factors found to determine

analogical restructuring are the salience of the plural suffixes and the frequency of the plural relative to the singular forms.

Ronald I. Kim's 'Old English *cyme* and the Proto-Indo-European Aorist Optative in Germanic' (*TPS* 117[2019] 96–111) concerns the unexpected umlauted subjunctive form *cyme* of OE *cuman*, which does not show umlaut in any of the other older Gmc languages. Kim argues that this form, primarily found in early OE texts, is an archaism going back to the PIE aorist optative and discusses possible consequences for the reconstruction of the PGmc verbal system. Continuing with work on comparative Germanic, we also feel compelled to mention D. Gary Miller's 700-page *Oxford Gothic Grammar*, the first comprehensive grammar of this language in English in more than a century. In addition to the topics usually covered in such historical grammars—phonology, orthography, and morphology—the volume also contains several chapters dealing with issues of syntax as well as a selection of glossed texts with commentary. Similarities and differences between Gothic and the other old Gmc languages, including OE, are discussed throughout, and the challenging *Quellenlage* of Gothic—almost all surviving texts are close translations from Greek—receives ample attention. The grammar will thus undoubtedly also be of value to scholars working on the history of English or other Gmc languages.

'The Old English Verbal Prefixes *for-* and *ge-*: Their Effects on the Transitivity of Morphological Causative Pairs' is the title of a conference contribution by Esaúl Ruiz Narbona (in Michela Cennamo and Claudia Fabrizio, eds., *Historical Linguistics 2015*, pp. 218–41). The author analyses a large number of examples of causative pairs (of the type *byrnan*/*bærnan*, *bugan*/*bigan* etc.) and their prefixed forms with *for-* and *ge-*, in order to arrive at a better description of the two prefixes. He suggests that *for-* was not a transitivizer, as some authors have suggested, but served to indicate telic *Aktionsart*. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the results for the elusive prefix *ge-* are less clear. In a contribution to the same volume, Martina Werner and Gianina Iordachioaia look at 'The Development of Gender and Countability Effects in German *ung-* and English *ing-*Nominals' (pp. 116–32). The authors propose a rather speculative explanation for the divergent developments of these two nominalizers in English and German, linking their different semantics to the development of the inherited Gmc gender system in the two languages.

Stefan Dedio, Peter Ranacher, and Paul Widmer present 'Evidence for Britain and Ireland as a Linguistic Area' (*Language* 95[2019] 298–522), specifically quantitative evidence of areal convergence in the use of reflexive markers. These markers are surveyed in forty-three medieval and modern languages of northwestern Europe, and the variables investigated include the inflection of the reflexive marker, its position relative to the verb, and whether number is distinguished in the third person (compare PDE SG *him-/herself*, PL *themselves* to Modern German SG/PL *sich*). Their findings indicate that the grammatical properties of reflexive markers have become increasingly similar in the languages of the British Isles since the medieval period, cross-cutting linguistic subfamilies: English patterns with Celtic rather than its closer Gmc relatives. On the other hand, Breton clearly diverges from the other Celtic languages, which the authors attribute to its relative isolation and contact with northern Romance languages.

A few of the contributions to *Revisiting the Medieval North of England*, edited by Anita Auer, Denis Renevey, Camille Marshall, and Tino Oudesluijs, deal with the morphology of northern ME. 'Linguistic Regionalism in the York Corpus Christi Plays' (pp. 111–22) by Anita Auer investigates the variation between the 3SG verb endings *-s* and *-th* in the plays in Additional MS 35290 (unfortunately, the author does not give separate counts for verbs in rhyming position). In another contribution, Merja Stenroos discusses the '*Langage o northrin lede*: Northern Middle English as a Written Medium' (pp. 39–57) and the linguistic features which are most characteristic of northern ME. Most of these are phonological (or orthographic), but a few of them concern morphology, such as verbal *-s* and the present participial ending *-and*.

Laurie Bauer's concise and lucidly written *Rethinking Morphology* is called a textbook on its cover but should also be of interest to more senior scholars interested in recent developments in morphological theory. The book contains a brief introduction (chapter 1) and six chapters on various issues in morphology and the solutions offered by different theoretical approaches. The theories covered are traditional 'morphemic' morphology (chapter 2), the 'Word-and-Paradigm' approach where the notion of morpheme is done away with (chapter 3), and the 'syntax of words' approach where morphemes are analysed 'hierarchically' like syntactic units (chapter 4). The following two chapters discuss a number of morphophonological processes, such as assimilation, truncation, and haplology (chapter 5), and various phenomena at the 'borders' of morphology, such as phonaesthemes, clippings, and backformations (chapter 6). The final chapter 7 then briefly sketches an approach to morphology grounded in exemplar theory, which Bauer suggests may be more cognitively realistic than more traditional approaches and avoid some of the problems of description connected with these. Each chapter is followed by suggestions for further reading and discussion questions. If used as a textbook, this is certainly one for more advanced students, who will likely benefit from collateral reading of works belonging to the different morphological traditions under discussion. Bauer is also the author of the overview article 'Compounds and Multi-Word Expressions in English' (in Barbara Schlücker, ed., *Complex Lexical Units: Compounds and Multi-Word Expressions*, pp. 45–68), a contribution to a volume on multi-word expressions in European languages. Bauer first discusses the problem of defining wordhood and then treats various constructions consisting of multiple lexical items, including nominal and adjectival compounds, phrasal verbs, idiomatic expressions, and rhyming slang.

An example of traditional 'morphemic' argumentation is seen in Richard S. Kayne's 'What Is Suppletion? On **goed* and on *went* in Modern English' (*TPS* 117[2019] 434–54), which proposes an account of the non-existence of **goed* in PDE. Kayne suggests that verbal *-ed* is actually bimorphemic, consisting of a theme vowel *-e-* and the past-tense/participial marker *-d*. The non-existence of **goed* is argued not to be due to any 'blocking' effect of the form *went*, but to follow from the inflectional class of *go* itself, which disallows the insertion of the theme vowel.

A monograph by Laura Rupp and David Britain is called *Linguistics Perspectives on a Variable English Morpheme: Let's Talk About -s* (see also Section 9 below). The core of the book consists of a treatment of four case

studies about the morpheme -*s*. The first (chapter 2) examines verbal -*s* in contexts other than marking third-person singular, with a focus on the NSR. Chapter 3 addresses verbal zero, i.e. the absence of verbal -*s* on third person singular forms. Chapter 4 studies variation in past forms of *be*, specifically *was* and *were*; finally, the topic of chapter 5 is the use of -*s* in *there*-existentials with plural NPs. Each chapter brings together work from various research traditions such as historical linguistics and variationist studies, as well as different theoretical approaches. The authors review previous research in considerable detail and subsequently present their own analysis to account for the phenomena; in these analyses, too, they take a broad approach by including sociolinguistic, grammatical, and functional factors. A main concept throughout all chapters is the notion of a functional shift: a new interpretation of the function of -*s*, which changes from an agreement marker to an expression of a range of functions related to discourse status, iconicity, and also social identity.

5. Syntax

(a) Modern English

A Dependency Grammar of English by Timothy Osborne bears the appropriate subtitle *An Introduction and Beyond*. This accessible and well-written volume, which runs upward of 450 pages, is indeed more than just an introduction. While it introduces the fundamentals of dependency grammar and how these can be applied to English, it also contains a number of more detailed case studies illustrating the potential of this syntactic framework. The dependency approach to syntax, which developed in France and Germany in the late twentieth century, differs in a number of ways from the phrase structure grammars more common in the English-speaking world. The most important differences between these traditions, as well as a number of fundamental notions in dependency grammar, are introduced in chapters 1–3. Chapters 4–6 then introduce the various structural units distinguished in the author's version of dependency grammar as well as the different types of dependencies: morphological (agreement), semantic (selection), prosodic (clitics), and syntactic (valency). The remaining chapters are devoted to a number of specific grammatical phenomena and how these may be dealt with in a dependency framework: word order (chapter 7), discontinuities such as topicalization and scrambling (chapter 8), syntactic 'islands' such as preposition stranding and *wh*-fronting (chapter 9), co-ordination (chapters 10–11), ellipsis (chapters 12–13), and finally the syntax of comparatives (chapter 14). The book should be relevant to anyone interested in contemporary syntactic theory, especially those looking for an alternative to current generative theorizing but uncomfortable with the more unconstrained construction grammars. Select chapters might also profitably be used in a syntax course for more advanced students, for instance one showcasing different syntactic frameworks.

English Comparative Correlatives: Diachronic and Synchronic Variation at the Lexicon-Syntax Interface by Thomas Hoffmann explores comparative clauses of the type *the more money we come across, the more problems we see*. After an introductory chapter outlining the phenomenon, the author's CxG approach, and the corpus data used, chapter 2 surveys the relevant literature on comparative

correlatives in English and other languages. The four main chapters then investigate the English comparative correlatives from various angles: diachronically (chapter 3), synchronically in BrE and AmE (chapter 4), in comparison with present-day German (chapter 5), and across a number of WE (chapter 6). The diachronic chapter proposes an analogy-based account of the rise of the *the . . . the. . .* comparative correlative at the end of the OE period. The 'constructional network' of different comparative correlatives in ME is then explored with the help of the CMEPV. In the synchronically oriented chapters, data from the BROWN, COCA, and ICE corpora are used. One part worth highlighting here is the investigation of the prosodic characteristics of the construction in present-day BrE in chapter 4. Using spoken recordings from the ICE-GB, the author shows that the *the . . . the . . .* construction is associated with a particular prosodic pattern where the protasis has a rising pitch contour, the apodosis a falling contour. One even finds 'double-bind structures' where the second of three clauses (with rising pitch) acts as a bridge between the first and the last: [*the more*]↑ *you open the throttle*, [*the more fuel*]↑ *will go through*, [*the faster*]↓ *the machine will go* (p. 133). Various types of ellipsis (*The busier the better*) and complementation patterns (e.g. *the smaller the particle, the more likely that it will lodge in the lung*) are also investigated and classified.

Thomas Hoffmann is also one of the contributors to 'The More Data, the Better: A Usage-Based Account of the English Comparative Correlative Construction' (*CogLing* 30[2019] 1–36), which is co-authored with Jakob Horsch and Thomas Brunner. Here an analysis of the comparative correlative construction is presented on the basis of COCA data. The authors' collocational analysis shows that there are certain frequent patterns in the combination of elements in the first and second slot, and in deletion phenomena in both slots. They then propose a CxG analysis whose most important characteristic is the idea of several meso-constructions. Another paper presenting a CxG analysis is Isabel Negro Alousque's 'A Case for Construction Grammar: *Wh*-X$_{VP}$Y Constructions' (*ES* 100[2019] 206–19). The author proposes that a group of interrogative sentences with an implicational meaning of anger, such as *What on earth is happening here?*, constitute a family of seven constructions whose implicational meaning is part of the properties of the construction.

Relative Clauses: Structure and Variation in Everyday English is the title of a monograph by Andrew Radford (the book is also briefly mentioned in Section 13 below) Radford investigates a number of 'non-canonical' relative constructions in a colloquial spoken English material collected by the author over several years. These are resumptive relative constructions, relative clauses with 'preposition doubling', and 'gapless' relatives. The introductory chapter surveys earlier work on relative constructions and introduces the generative framework adopted by the author and how this deals with 'canonical' relative clauses in English. Chapter 2, the first of the three case studies, deals with resumptive relatives of the type *We're afraid of things that we don't know what they are*. Radford argues against an explanation of such clauses in terms of the Accessibility Hierarchy, showing that the availability of the construction does not depend on the (in)-accessibility of the antecedent. The structural similarities and differences between resumptive relatives and topicalization constructions are then explored. In chapter 3, the focus is on relatives of the types *the world in which we live in*, where a

preposition is doubly represented, and *the direction in which he came from*, where there is an additional, 'intrusive', preposition. Different accounts of these phenomena are considered, e.g. syntactic 'copying', hypercorrection, and explanations in terms of production errors. It is suggested that the doubling phenomenon may be considered a kind of 'spell-out redundancy', whereas intrusive prepositions are more likely to be production errors. Chapter 4, finally, looks at 'gapless' relatives where there is neither a gap nor a resumptive pronoun in the relative clause: *It's a decision that I know where they were coming from*. Radford discusses (and rejects) a number of earlier analyses according to which the gapless relative contains a silent preposition, and instead suggests that at least some of the examples in the material may be due to processing errors. The four main chapters are followed by a brief epilogue and an extensive glossary of the syntactic terminology used throughout the book. Also on relative clauses, 'Control into Infinitival Relatives' (*ELL* 23[2019] 469–94) by Jamie Douglas describes the properties and provides a generative account of sentences such as *This is her game to lose*, which contain a head noun premodified by a possessor and postmodified by an infinitival relative clause. The analysis focuses on the control relation between the premodifier and the infinitival clause.

Gunther Kaltenböck, in 'Delimiting the Class: A Typology of English Insubordination' (in Karin Beijering, Gunther Kaltenböck, and María Sol Sansiñena, eds., *Insubordination: Theoretical and Empirical Issues*, pp. 167–98) provides a useful categorization of 'insubordination', i.e. (apparent) subordinate clauses which are used as main clauses. On the basis of two criteria—syntactic independence *vs.* dependence and pragmatic independence *vs.* dependence—he defines subordination and two types of insubordination, 'stand-alone' and 'elaborative', and discusses in some detail the types of clauses included in each category.

Four papers consider the status of various co-ordinators and/or subordinators. Lizzie Hutton and Anne Curzan examine 'The Grammatical Status of *However*' (*JEL* 47[2019] 29–54), describing the issue of *however* being used as a co-ordinator, despite linguists and grammar guides treating it only as a conjunctive adverb. With data from COHA and COCA, Hutton and Curzon show that *however* has become less frequent, which they connect to colloquialization, and that it is more often placed in initial position, which they take as a suggestion—although it is of course only an indirect way of determining this—for a development towards a 'marginal coordinator', like *so* and *yet*. Brent Woo considers 'Innovation in Functional Categories' by arguing that '*slash*' is 'a New Coordinator in English' (*ELL* 23[2019] 621–44). He describes the meaning and syntactic behaviour of *slash* when it is pronounced, as in *John is a linguist slash musician*. He claims that it has grammaticalized from a punctuation mark into a syntactic coordinator, where it indicates different properties of one individual or alternative options, although it cannot co-ordinate all types of elements. Bas Aarts asks 'What *for*?' (in Nuria Yáñez-Bouza, Emma Moore, Linda van Bergen, and Willem B. Hollmann, eds., *Categories, Constructions, and Change in English Syntax*, pp. 54–80). Aarts reviews earlier analyses of *for* followed by a clause, which has often been analysed as a subordinator in the literature. He reviews the evidence in detail and argues against the analysis of *for* as a subordinator and for an analysis as a preposition followed by a clause. His main argument is that the

preposition analysis is simpler and accounts for the parallels between *for* followed by a clause (*too cold for us to go out*) and *for* followed by an NP (*too cold for a swim*). Finally, Carl Bache investigates the uses of 'Narrative *until* in English' (*ALH* 51[2019] 1–30). Building on earlier work on temporal conjunctions, Bache suggests that *until* has a distinct 'narrative' use where the clause it introduces contains foregrounded information, as in the example *She was so enjoying life, until she suddenly realized that all her efforts had been in vain* (p. 3). The semantic and syntactic properties of these clauses are discussed and compared to similar uses of *before* and *when*.

On inversion, there is 'On the Subject of Negative Auxiliary Inversion' (*CJL* 64[2019] 32–61) by Frances Blanchette and Chris Collins, who describe its properties, as in *Ain't nobody done you wrong*, found in several varieties of AmE. They provide a theoretical analysis within a generative framework, which is based on the principle that the subject DP needs to be negative. On fronting, there is the paper by Gary Thoms and George Walkden, '*v*P-Fronting with and without Remnant Movement' (*JL* 55[2019] 161–214). They describe the properties of two types of *v*P-fronting: *v*P-preposing (*We wanted John to eat the pies, and eat the pies he did*) and participle preposing (*Sitting at the table should be a bottle of wine*), and propose two distinct analyses for them within a minimalist framework; the key of the analyses is that *v*P-fronting does not involve movement but a matching procedure, while participle preposing involves subject extraposition.

Two papers discuss colloquial phenomena. In 'Expressive Updates, Much?' (*Language* 95[2019] 107–35), Daniel Gutzmann and Robert Henderson present an analysis of the colloquial English 'shunting operator' *much*. In this construction, seen in such examples as *Angry much?* and *Cliché much*, *much* is used to express the speaker's (negative) attitude towards an excessive degree of some property. The authors document the construction with numerous attested examples and discuss its syntactic and formal semantic properties. Louise Mycock, in 'Right-Dislocated Pronouns in British English: The Form and Functions of ProTag Constructions' (*ELL* 23[2019] 253–75) examines right-dislocated non-clausal tags as in *I like things a bit offbeat, me.* Based on data from various, mostly spoken, BrE corpora, she describes their form (for instance, the demonstratives *this* and *that* occur, but the personal pronoun *it* does not) and function (broadly speaking, social interaction), and also briefly touches on their history. She proposes that although ProTags share some properties with other tag constructions, they are a distinct type of tag.

Beth Levin and Bonnie Krejci, in 'Talking About the Weather: Two Construals of Precipitation Events in English' (*Glossa* 4[2019] 58.1–29), in a theoretical article which focuses on English data, propose that precipitation events can be construed in two different ways which predict their grammatical behaviour. Substance-emission event structure correlates with unergative syntax, while direct-motion event structure correlates with unaccusative behaviour. James Baker proposes a new analysis for 'Split Intransitivity in English' (*ELL* 23[2019] 557–89). Instead of the binary division into unergative and unaccusative verbs, he identifies six classes of intransitives, using the semantic properties of initiation, state, change, and inherent telicity. The classification is based on various known diagnostics and supported by results from surveys, and is then formalized in a

generative framework, with the *v*P being split into several hierarchically ordered functional heads.

Charlotte Maekelberghe's 'The English Gerund Revisited: Exploring Semantic Differences through Collocational Analysis' (*CL&LT* 15[2019] 205–37) uses a distinctive collexeme analysis with COCA data to analyse differences between verbal and nominal gerunds. The results show that a previously proposed distinction between fact and action is not accurate; instead, Maekelberghe argues for an approach in terms of referential profiles, i.e. what type of situation the gerund refers to. She also proposes a scale from noun- to verb-like, both at the level of verbal and nominal gerund as well as distinct uses identified in the analysis.

Dan McColm and Graeme Trousdale, in aiming to answer the question 'Whatever Happened to *Whatever*?' (in Yáñez-Bouza et al., eds., pp. 81–104), provide data from COHA, COCA, and part of the *Corpora from the Web* on the frequency of different functions of *whatever* including reduced forms, aiming to provide a quantitative confirmation of earlier qualitative studies about its development. They conclude that their data confirm a previously proposed scenario for its development as a discourse marker which is based on multiple sources, and discuss implications for various CxG concepts, such as directionality and chunking.

Verb complementation was another area that received a considerable amount of attention this year. Eunkyung Yi, Jean-Pierre Koenig, and Douglas Roland investigate whether 'Semantic Similarity to High-Frequency Verbs Affects Syntactic Frame Selection' (*CogLing* 30[2019] 601–28). Using dative alternation as a test case with data from BNC, they establish *give* as the 'anchor verb' and examine, using various statistical methods, whether verbs that are semantically more similar to *give* also follow *give*'s preference for the NP-NP pattern over the NP-PP pattern. The results confirm their Verb Anchor Hypothesis, but they also discuss how anchors at a more specific level influence the choice of syntactic frame. Patrick Duffley and Pierre Larrivée examine 'The Use of *Any* with Factive Predicates' (*Ling* 57[2019] 195–219). Their corpus data from COCA, NOW, and BNC show that the polarity-sensitive item *any* is found mostly with negative (*regret*) or counter-expectative (*be amazed*) factives and much less frequently with positive factives (*be glad*). They conclude that the meaning from the context (the at-issue meaning) licenses the use of *any* with factive predicates, just as is the case for other uses of *any*. Henrik Kaatari and Tove Larsson are 'Using the BNC and the Spoken BNC2014 to Study the Syntactic Development of *I Think* and *I'm Sure*' (*ES* 100[2019] 710–27). Both of these can occur in different positions in the clause and increasingly allow for omission of the complementizer *that*, which the authors take as signs of grammaticalization. In the comparison between the two corpora, it is unclear why the authors accept one type of result (increase in *that*-omission) but seem reluctant to accept another (a decrease instead of the expected increase in clause-medial and clause-final use). Juho Ruohonen and Juhani Rudanko's 'Comparing Explanatory Principles of Complement Selection Statistically: A Case Study Based on Canadian English' (*SN* 91[2019] 296–313) aims to determine which factors influence the variation after *afraid* between *to*-infinitives (*afraid to hang up*) and *of* -*ing* complements (*afraid of going it alone*) in the Strathy Corpus of CanE. Their regression analysis with six factors shows that Choice, i.e. agency in the non-finite clause, is

the strongest factor, closely related to Voice, which, however, by itself is only a weak factor.

Also on verb complementation, there is the monograph by Mark Kaunisto and Juhani Rudanko, *Variation in Non-Finite Constructions in English: Trends Affecting Infinitives and Gerunds*. The book does exactly what the title promises: it investigates variation in complement choice, especially between gerunds and *to*-infinitives, through five case studies which make use of several of the big corpora of PDE and nineteenth- and twentieth-century English. After an introduction (chapter 1), three chapters discuss case studies which involve a subject control complement: the variation between *work at -ing* and *work on -ing* (chapter 2), between *frightened to speak* and *frightened of being* (chapter 3), and between *submit to be* and *submit to being* (chapter 4). Two further case studies concern object-control complements: the variation between *warn someone against -ing* and *warn against -ing* (chapter 5) and between *prevent someone from -ing* and *prevent someone -ing* (chapter 6). The conclusion (chapter 7) discusses some general principles and findings based on all case studies, such as a confirmation of the Choice Principle (infinitives prefer agentive contexts) and the Great Complementation Shift (an increase in gerunds over infinitives in the twentieth century). However, the case studies are very specific and also quite different—for instance, not all involve a choice between infinitives and gerunds, and some but not all involve specific lexical variation with respect to preposition choice—which means that it is hard to see overall conclusions come to light. In that sense, the book faces the same problems as a similar book co-authored by one of the authors, Juhani Rudanko, with Paul Rickman, which we discussed last year (*YWES* 98[2019] 38). That being said, the book provides a good empirical basis for future studies either on these specific patterns or the general principles discussed in the book.

Han Luo is the author of a short monograph on *Particle Verbs in English: A Cognitive Linguistic Perspective*. After an introductory chapter defining the class of particle verbs and outlining the contents of the book, chapter 2 introduces the author's cognitive grammar framework and surveys the existing literature on particle verbs in PDE. Chapter 3 then proposes an analysis of English particle verbs in terms of the event types they express. The class of particle verbs is argued to fall into three basic categories, expressing motion/directionality (e.g. *throw out*, *kick in*), change of state/result (*cheer up*, *blow out*), and aspectual notions (*write up*, *work away*). A fourth category, 'unanalysable', is added for idiomatic particle verbs whose meaning cannot be decomposed. In addition to this analysis, the author also presents the results of a rather odd study where ten native speakers were asked to group prefabricated sentences with particle verbs into the author's semantic categories. No metadata on the participants (e.g. dialectal or educational background) are provided, but judging from the remarks on page 86 they do not appear to be linguistically trained. The following two chapters explore different aspects of the grammar of particle verbs. Chapter 4 focuses on the order of particle and object with transitive verbs, suggesting that there is a difference in 'construal' between the particle-object and object-particle patterns. In chapter 5, the author discusses the various kinds of semantic extension undergone by verb, particle, or both. The examples for analysis throughout the book are drawn from the

COBUILD Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs, a learner's dictionary, rather than any of the many corpora of actually attested written or spoken language.

Kristin Davidse and Ngum Meyuhnsi Njende propose a unified account of 'Enumerative *There*-Clauses and *There*-Clefts' (*ALH* 51[2019] 160–91), which have been analysed as subtypes of different constructions in the literature. The authors instead analyse them as closely related variants of the same construction: enumerative *there*-clauses (e.g. *there's Tresco and Bryer and St Martins…*) are reduced *there*-clefts (e.g. *there's Q V C that's quite fun as well*). The semantic and information-structural properties of the two patterns are investigated in a number of spoken and written corpora. Also working on information structure, Wout Van Praet looks at 'Focus Assignment in English Specificational and Predicative Clauses' (*ALH* 51[2019] 222–41). Specificational clauses are clauses where a specific value or individual is assigned to more general category (e.g. *the overall winner was Dr Kathy Lewis*), while predicative clauses describe the properties of an individual (e.g. *Becks is a working-class man from East London*). The author analyses the prosodic prominence patterns of 600 such clauses from the London-Lund Corpus of Spoken English. Contrary to received opinion, it is shown that specificational clauses do not usually have a topic–comment structure where only the specific value is focused; in the majority of cases the more general and the more specific term are both focused.

An ELL special issue, edited by Tine Breban and Julia Kolkmann, was devoted to 'Different Perspectives on Proper Noun Modifiers', as in *the Watergate Scandal* and *the many Shakespeare biographies*. After an introduction by the editors (*ELL* 23[2019] 749–58), the first contribution is Anette Rosenbach's 'On the (Non-)Equivalence of Constructions with Determiner Genitives and Noun Modifiers in English' (*ELL* 23[2019] 759–96). Rosenbach reinforces her earlier position on the alternation between determiner genitives (the FBI's director) and noun modifiers (the FBI director). Working with a variationist view on equivalence, which is 'softer' than certain semantic-pragmatic definitions, she argues that there are certain contexts in which the two forms express the same meaning and so are equivalent, going against recent work that claimed the opposite. In 'The Impact of Semantic Relations on Grammatical Alternation of (*ELL* 23[2019] 797–826), Tine Breban, Julia Kolkmann, and John Payne present the results of 'An Experimental Study' investigating semantic relations in the alternation between 'Proper Name Modifiers' (*the Obama government*) 'and Determiner Genitives' with a proper name as in *Obama's government*. Participants were asked to rate the naturalness of the two and provide paraphrases. The results show that some semantic relations are more closely related to one form (name to proper-name modifier, possessor to determiner genitive), but that all relations are possible for both forms. A comparative perspective is provided by Jenny Ström Herold and Magnus Levin, who study examples such as '*The Obama presidency, the Macintosh keyboard* and *the Norway fiasco*' in their examination of 'English Proper Noun Modifiers and Their German and Swedish Correspondences' (*ELL* 23[2019] 827–54). Using a parallel translation corpus of English, German, and Swedish non-fiction texts, they find that English proper-noun modifiers are most commonly translated as compounds in German and Swedish, followed by genitives and prepositional phrases. They also find that proper-noun modifiers are rarer in texts that are translated into English than

in original English texts, which they describe as an effect of it being a recent development in English. Another contrastive study is provided by Artemis Alexiadou's 'Proper Name Compounds: A Comparative Perspective' (*ELL* 23[2019] 855–77), which aims to explain the observation that Greek does not allow proper-name compounds as English does. Her analysis builds on the principles of compounding and the structure of proper names in both languages. In 'From *Twig-Skinny* to *Kate Moss Skinny*: Expressing Degree with Common and Proper Nouns' (*ELL* 23[2019] 901–27), Turo Vartiainen investigates the use of common and proper nouns as degree modifiers in compounds with adjectives. A corpus study of COHA, supplemented with various other corpora, shows an increase in type and token frequency, with proper nouns as quite a recent addition. In other publications, too, the PDE NP was a frequently discussed topic. Thomas Berg's 'Adjective Phrases with Doubly Modified Heads: How Lexical Information Influences Word Order and Constituent Structure' (*ELL* 23[2019] 341–61) is a study of BNC occurrences of adjective phrases containing a grading adverb, an adverb, and an adjective, as in *more cognitively complex*. Berg discusses various factors that influence the flexible ordering of the three words, one of them the type of adverb as domain or non-domain, and argues for including some lexical information in the syntactic analysis. In '*No Cat Could Be That Hungry! This/That* as Intensifiers in American English' (*AJL* 39[2019] 151–73), Javier Calle-Martín investigates the use of these degree modifiers in COCA and COHA. Frequencies are given and co-occurrence patterns with various types of adjectives are discussed. In a special issue of *Linguistics* on adjective order in Gmc languages, Kristin Davidse and Tine Breban's 'A Cognitive-Functional Approach' presents a detailed model of 'The Order of Adjectives in the English Noun Phrase' (*Ling* 57[2019] 327–71). Working from a cognitive-functional and CxG perspective, they identify six functions of adjectives and review the semantics, grammar, dependencies, and ordering options for each of these functions. The connection between order and function in the model accounts for various synchronic and diachronic observations. In the same special issue, Elnora ten Wolde's 'Linear vs. Hierarchical: Two Accounts of Premodification in the *of*-Binominal Noun Phrase' (*Ling* 57[2019] 283–326) addresses binominal NPs, as in *a beast of a man*, with a focus on evaluative forms, where the first noun describes the second instead of being the head, as in *a beast of a Hollywood year*. Using COCA, she investigates patterns of premodification for both the first and the second noun in these NPs, and evaluates whether a CxG or FDG analysis better accounts for the developments.

John Payne asks 'What Is Special about Pronouns?' (in Yáñez-Bouza et al., eds., pp. 25–53) and presents a corpus study of a sample of *of*-PP constructions with pronouns, as in *a whole waterfall of them* (distinct from the pattern *a friend of his*), in an attempt to gain better insight into the *of*-PP as a construction overall, i.e. with NPs, and its relation to the *'s*-genitive. He categorizes a sample of examples from the BNC based on semantic relations, and finds a wide range of functions (and also some fossilized expressions), which leads him to confirm that the *of*-PP is a superset of the relations expressed by the *'s*-genitive, discussing also whether it can be analysed as a distinct construction. Also on genitives, Benedikt Heller and Benedikt Szmrecsanyi's 'Possessives World-Wide: Genitive Variation in Varieties of English' (in Yáñez-Bouza et al., eds., pp. 315–35)

addresses the variation between the *'s*-genitive and the *of*-genitive in a selection of varieties in ICE. Looking at frequencies as well as the effect of animacy, constituent length, information status, and lexical density, the authors find some differences between inner- and outer-circles varieties. An inference tree leads to a split of the varieties into two new groups, which the authors relate to the degree of linguistic conservatism.

Marta Carretero presents an analysis of 'Evidentiality in Adverbs of Manner of Perceivability: The Case of English *Manifestly*, *Noticeably*, *Patently* and *Visibly*' (*FuL* 26[2019] 275–307). The four adverbs in question are argued to have both manner and evidentiality readings though with very different frequencies; for instance, *noticeably* often allows a manner reading as well, whereas *patently* is much more frequently found as an unambiguous evidential adverb (e.g. *The interests of birds are patently not best served by proximity to military manoeuvres and firing*).

One new textbook on English syntax was published in 2019, Christina Tortora's *Understanding Sentence Structure: An Introduction to English Syntax*. The structure of the book is as one would expect, starting with an introduction to the idea of structural analysis, following with the basics of NPs, VPs, and PPs, and then moving to more complex VPs, NPs, and sentence structure. The book also addresses more theoretical issues, such as traces, null pronouns, and X-bar theory; the approach is generic generative but no specific version of it. The book is clearly aimed at undergraduate students who have no previous experience with syntax, taking them step by step through the syntactic argumentation, and ending with quite advanced topics. The cover and format of the book do not quite do justice to its accessible style. It is clear that the materials have been tested extensively in courses, which gives the sense of an interaction between student and teacher (questions are addressed when they are known to come up), and the book has a pleasant conversational style.

(b) Earlier English

Cynthia L. Allen is the author of *Dative External Possessors in Early English*, a detailed and thought-provoking study of an Early English construction where a possessor is expressed by a NP-external dative argument, as in *& him se maga micla þindeþ* 'and his stomach is greatly distended' (*Bald's Leechbook*). Allen traces the development of this construction from early OE to early ME and discusses the various explanations for its demise that have been proposed in the literature. The book contains eight main chapters and three appendices with information about the corpus and search methods used. After defining the 'dative external possessor' (DEP) construction and surveying the existing literature in chapter 1, chapters 2 and 3 give an overview of a number of related constructions in OE and define the envelope of variation of the phenomena investigated in the book. Chapters 4 to 6 present the findings of the OE corpus study, first on DEPs occurring with 'body'-nouns such as *maga*, *eage*, and *toþ*, then on 'mind'-nouns like *mod* and *ingehygd*. A comparison of early and late OE texts reveals that the DEP construction was already in decline in the OE period and that, contrary to what has been claimed in the literature, it was not the usual way of

expressing inalienable possession in OE: 'internal' possessive constructions like *his eare* are in the majority throughout the attested history of the language. Chapter 7 investigates the situation in early ME, documenting its continued decline. Allen also shows that the presence or absence of the DEP in early ME texts does not depend on whether these texts have lost the distinction between accusative and dative pronouns. In chapter 8, six earlier explanations of the loss of the DEP are discussed in light of the new data; three of these are system-internal, having to do with case loss, the loss of expletive determiners, and the changing structure of the NP. Allen argues convincingly that none of these on their own suffices to explain the loss of the DEP. The three other ('external') explanations attribute the change to contact with Latin, Scandinavian, and Celtic. Of the three, the Celtic explanation is the one that best fits the early English developments, but as Allen reminds the reader in the concluding chapter 9, while such an explanation 'is not implausible [...] it is not provable either' (p. 234). While further studies of the developments in other European languages are necessary to assess the likelihood of such a scenario, Allen's book provides a solid empirical basis which should be of use to anyone interested in possessive constructions and case marking more generally.

Two papers and one monograph deal with OE–ON contact. Leonard Neidorf and Rafael J. Pascual reconsider the 'Old Norse Influence on the Language of *Beowulf*' (*JGL* 31[2019] 298–322). A number of apparent linguistic and stylistic parallels between *Beowulf* and ON poetry have been suggested in the literature, which have been used to argue for a late date of composition of the OE poem, most prominently in the work of Roberta Frank (see e.g. *YWES* 64[1986] 98; *YWES* 68[1990] 124). Neidorf and Pascual argue that these parallels—such as the use of *missan* with a genitive object, the postponed demonstrative *þone*, and lexical items like *missere* 'half-year' and *heoru* 'sword'—are more likely to be due to shared inheritance than ON influence. A strong argument for inheritance is the fact that several of the relevant items are also found in other West Gmc languages, such as OHG and OFris, underscoring why evidence from these languages has to be taken into account when evaluating ON influence on OE. The other contribution on this topic is Paola Crisma and Susan Pintzuk's 'The Noun Phrase and the "Viking Hypothesis"' (*LVC* 31[2019] 219–46). Crisma and Pintzuk also reconsider an earlier claim in the literature, namely Joseph Emonds and Jan Terje Faarlund's suggestion that ME syntax is closer to ON than OE, and that ME and ModE should thus be considered direct descendants of ON (see *YWES* 97[2018] 48–9). The present contribution closely examines syntactic evidence to test this hypothesis, specifically the structure of the NP in the three relevant languages OE, ME, and Old East Norse (spoken in Denmark and Sweden), the dialect closest to 'Danelaw Scandinavian'. Comparing the structure of the NP in these languages, including the obligatoriness of articles and the position of possessive pronouns and other determiners, the authors find that 'the noun phrase syntactic patterns observed in ME evolve from the OE ones without apparent influence from Scandinavian (or, for that matter, from any other language)' (p. 241). On OE–ON contact, there is also Florian Dolberg's *Agreement in Language Contact: Gender Development in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. This monograph investigates the changing gender system in late OE by tracing its development in different versions of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. After a brief

introduction to the topic and the main hypotheses of the book (chapters 1–2), chapter 3 provides a detailed and rather long-winded survey of earlier research on grammatical gender cross-linguistically and in early English. Chapter 4 gives an overview, again very detailed, of the evidence of OE–ON contact, including place names, direct metalinguistic evidence in sagas and other written sources, and archaeological and genetic findings, after which chapter 5 introduces the methods and material chosen for the investigation. This is then presented in chapter 6. The author first investigates nominal gender agreement in an excerpt of the *Orosius* and then compares this to four selections from the Anglo-Saxon chronicles, two from southern and two from more northerly MSS. A clear difference is observed between the latest text excerpt (*Peterborough Chronicle*, 1125–54) and the other three: whereas the other three show more or less the same agreement patterns as the *Orosius*, the system in the *Peterborough Chronicle* is much closer to PDE, e.g. in *& wende þe tun betere þan it ær wæs* (AD 1137) with neuter *it* referring to (originally masculine) *tun* 'town'. The implications of the findings are discussed and summarized in chapters 7–8. Dolberg argues that the differences between Peterborough and the earlier chronicles are difficult to explain with reference to language-internal developments alone, and suggests that contact with ON speakers in the Danelaw must have contributed significantly to the demise of the older nominal gender system.

Yet another contribution on language contact is Carola Trips and Achim Stein's 'Contact-Induced Changes in the Argument Structure of Middle English Verbs on the Model of Old French' (*JLangCon* 12[2019] 232–67). The authors use the PPCME2 to investigate the changing argument structure of the 'native' verbs *quemen* and *liken* ('please, like') in ME, along with the OF loanword *please*. They then turn their attention to the argument structure of another native verb, *give*, which they appear to argue must have been influenced by OF because the use of the preposition *to* is more frequently found in translations from this language. It is not clear to us why this could not merely be a translation effect, e.g. similar to the phenomena discussed by Anna Cichosz and colleagues in *Element Order in Old English and Old High German Translations* (see *YWES* 97[2018] 47–8). Also on ME, Elizabeth Cowper, Bronwyn Bjorkman, Daniel Currie Hall, Rebecca Tollan, and Neil Banerjee discuss 'Illusions of Transitive Expletives in Middle English' (*JCGL* 22[2019] 211–46). The authors propose a generative account of a particular type of *there*-clause in late ME which typically contains both a modal verb and a negation, as in *þer xal no wedyr ne tempest noyin þe* (*Book of Margery Kempe*, *c.*1475).

Two papers study variation in verbal constructions in Early English. The so-called locative alternation (e.g. *load the hay on the wagon* vs. *load the wagon with hay*) is the topic of Katarzyna Sówka-Pietraszewska's 'The Locative Alternation with *Spray/Load* Verbs in Old English' (in Cennamo and Fabrizio, eds., pp. 445–57). The author investigates whether a similar locative alternation was found in OE and identifies a number of verbs where this was indeed the case, such as *sawan* 'sow' and *smerwan* 'smear'. Ayumi Miura's '*Me Liketh/Lotheth* but *I Loue/Hate*: Impersonal/Non-Impersonal Boundaries in Old and Middle English' (in Yáñez-Bouza et al., eds., pp. 170–89), compares *like* and *loath* as examples of impersonal verbs and *love* and *hate* as non-impersonal verbs. Miura presents a corpus study of YCOE and PPCME2 and focuses on

differences between the verbs in terms of causation, transitivity, duration, and animacy, which turn out to have slightly different effects in OE than in ME. She also includes in her study *be lief* and *be loath*, as well as ME *have lief.*

Cynthia L. Allen's 'The Definite Article in Old English: Evidence from Ælfric's *Grammar*' (in Yáñez-Bouza et al., eds., pp. 130–46) revisits the question whether OE had a definite article. She examines Ælfric's choices in translating bare singular Latin count nouns in the *Grammar* in an attempt to gain more insight into the status of the demonstrative *se.* She finds that *se* is obligatory for subjects and objects, but more variable for prepositional objects, and concludes that in prose texts there is a definite article for subjects and objects, i.e. definiteness marking is obligatory, which in turn paves the way for later developments. Although her textual material is different, Allen's overall conclusion is thus in agreement with the one reached in Lotte Sommerer's recent book (see *YWES* 99[2020] 39–40). A monograph by Kristian A. Rusten addresses *Referential Null Subjects in Early English.* The book provides detailed quantitative studies, complemented with various statistical tools, in an attempt to assess some unresolved issues and hypotheses presented in the literature. After the introduction, which sets out the aims and methods, chapter 2 presents a study of null subjects in OE prose and poetry on the basis of which Rusten concludes that OE is not a canonical pro-drop language, most importantly because null subjects only occur at low frequencies, at 1–2 per cent. Instead, null subjects can be seen as a linguistic 'residue'. The OE study in chapter 3 finds no significant effects of dialect, translation status, or period on the occurrence of null subjects. Chapter 4 examines the effect of even more factors: clause type, person and number, and position of the final verb. Here, verb-initial position is found to have an effect on the occurrence of null subjects, but all effects are small and statistically not significant. Chapter 5 is a more theoretical chapter, in which several proposals about licensing null subjects in OE are reviewed, such as the role of topicality and inflectional morphology. Here, Rusten suggests that an analysis in terms of ellipsis may be the best option. The final data chapter (chapter 6) looks at the developments in ME and eModE. Interestingly, there are no major changes compared to the OE data. Chapter 7 provides a brief and to-the-point conclusion. The material in the book is presented clearly and the studies are thorough. It is perhaps a pity that the book does not provide a new account, but this should not be a surprise, as the aim to reassess earlier proposals is stated explicitly. Although the results are in a way disappointing—almost all answers are negative—this is crucial information nonetheless; one could ask, however, whether the extensive statistical work is helpful, considering that null subjects are such a low-frequency item to begin with.

Most of the contributions to *Historical Dialectology in the Digital Age*, edited by Rhona Alcorn, Joanna Kopaczyk, Bettelou Los, and Benjamin Molineaux, deal with phonological and orthographic variation, but a few are devoted to historical syntax. (Two more articles from this volume will be discussed in Section 9 below.) One is 'A Parsed Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English' (pp. 19–38) by Robert Truswell, Rhona Alcorn, James Donaldson, and Joel Wallenberg. The authors present their ongoing work on PLAEME, a corpus of syntactically annotated texts from the period 1250–1325, based on LAEME and employing the familiar annotation scheme of the Penn-Helsinki corpora. They illustrate the

potential of this new resource with three case studies on negation, ditransitives, and *wh*-relativizers. A contribution by Trinidad Guzmán-González is entitled '"*He was a good hammer, was he*": Gender as Marker for South-Western Dialects of English' (pp. 244–65). The author carries out a small-scale corpus study of south-western ME texts in order to investigate the origins of the gender system found in later West Country dialects. In this system, *it* is reserved for non-count nouns, whereas *he/him* (or a corresponding form) is used for most count nouns, including non-human ones. However, the patterns observed in the ME texts in fact turn out to be more like standard PDE, with *it* being used for most non-human nouns. Another contribution on historical dialectology is Lisa Gotthard's 'Why *Do*-Support in Scots Is Different' (*ES* 100[2019] 314–38), which investigates the occurrence of *do*-support in Older Scots texts in the Breadalbane Collection and the Corpus of Scots Correspondence. The author suggests that *do*-support spread to Scots from the south, but that the language was more resistant to this development because of the nature of the Northern Subject Rule.

The proceedings of ICEHL19 (Claudia Claridge and Birte Bös, eds., *Developments in English Historical Morpho-Syntax*) of course contain several contributions on English historical syntax. Kirsten Middeke is the author of '"Subsumed under the Dative"? The Status of the Old English Instrumental' (in Claridge and Bös, eds., pp. 35–56). The quotation in the title is due to Bruce Mitchell, but as Middeke points out, the conventional analysis of the OE instrumental as a 'remnant' case is only part of the story. Carrying out a collexeme analysis of all unambiguous instrumental forms in the YCOE, she shows that these forms are almost exclusively found in expressions of place, time, and manner, and that this use of the instrumental was still productive in late OE. The instrumental was thus not limited to fixed expressions, meaning that it must be recognized as a separate grammatical category in OE, even if it showed a great deal of syncretism with the dative. Also on OE, Rebecca Colleran's 'Leveraging Grammaticalization: The Origins of Old Frisian and Old English' (in Claridge and Bös, eds., pp. 77–110) approaches the question of Anglo-Frisian relations from a morphosyntactic angle, by comparing the development of two constructions in OE and OFris: *agan to* 'ought to, have to' and the use of present participles as verb complements. Colleran argues that the parallel developments observed in the two languages are indicative of shared inheritance rather than language contact, suggesting that they go back to an Anglo-Frisian proto-language. Ilse Wischer looks at 'Old English *Wolde* and *Sceolde*', offering 'A Semantic and Syntactic Analysis, (in Claridge and Bös, eds., pp. 111–27). The focus here is on the semantics of these two forms as they are used in the OE poetic record (which Wischer takes to be the 'most authentic layer' of OE, p. 113). Not very surprisingly, the most frequent meaning of *wolde* is volition/desire, while that of *sceolde* is obligation/necessity. Sofie Bemposta-Rivas's 'A Corpus-Based Study on the Development of *Dare* in Middle English and Early Modern English' (in Claridge and Bös, eds., pp. 129–48) suggests that the appearance of weak-verb morphology (*dares*, *dared*, etc.) and *to*-infinitives after *dare* in eModE may have been caused by the obsolescence of the verb *tharf* 'need' and its replacement by *need*. It is unclear to us what role *need* plays in the author's scenario, however, and why the appearance of weak morphology

and *to*-infinitives is not simply a straightforward case of analogy with more frequent inflection and complementation patterns. Judith Huber studies 'Counterfactuality and Aktionsart' as 'Predictors for *be* vs. *have* + Past Participle in Middle English' (in Claridge and Bös, eds., pp. 149–74). Following a suggestion by Bettelou Los, Huber investigates the role played by *Aktionsart* in the choice between *be* and *have* as perfect auxiliaries in ME. For the eight motion verbs investigated in the CMEPV, *Aktionsart* is indeed found to be a factor: *be* is preferred when the verb expresses change of location, *have* when it expresses a process. However, counterfactuality is an even better predictor than *Aktionsart*: in counterfactual clauses (e.g. *and hys hors had be slayn yf he had not lept a syde*, Caxton), *have* is used almost categorically. In 'From *Time-before-Place* to *Place-before-Time* in the History of English,' Susanne Chrambach presents 'A Corpus-Based Analysis of Adverbial Clusters' (in Claridge and Bös, eds., pp. 223–46), using the Penn-Helsinki corpora to examine the changing word-order preferences in clusters of adverbials. The overall change is towards the order 'place before time', which Chrambach links to the change away from verb-final order: complements are more likely to be placed adjacent to the verb than adjuncts, and since place adverbials are more often complements, they are more likely to be placed earlier in the clause than time adverbials. A number of contributions investigate change and variation in various constructions in ModE. Ole Schützler looks at 'Variation and Change at the Interface of Syntax and Semantics: Concessive Clauses in American English' (in Claridge and Bös, eds., pp. 247–68), specifically the variation between *though*, *although*, and *even though* in the material in the COHA. 'Further Explorations in the Grammar of Intensifier Marking in Modern English' by Günter Rohdenburg (in Claridge and Bös, eds., pp. 269–85) looks at the variation between zero and *-ly* in intensifying adverbs (e.g. *mighty conspicuous* vs. *mightily proud*) in a number of ModE corpora. Finally, Uwe Vosberg and Günter Rohdenburg investigate 'The Rivalry Between *Far from Being* + Predicative Item and Its Counterpart Omitting the Copula in Modern English' (in Claridge and Bös, eds., pp. 287–307).

Günter Rohdenburg is also the author of 'Rivalling Noun-Dependent Complements in Modern English: *That* Clauses and "Complex" Gerunds' (*Anglia* 137[2019] 217–54). Here the variation between complement clauses and gerunds after fifteen nouns (e.g. *chance*, *probability*, *risk*, *proof*) is investigated on the basis of a collection of electronic sources covering the eighteenth to the late twentieth century. Somewhat surprisingly in light of earlier studies, the use of complement clauses with most of these nouns (e.g. *the probability that the disease is radiation-linked*) is found to have increased at the expense of 'complex' gerunds (e.g. *the probability of the results occurring by chance*). Rohdenburg discusses the possible reasons for this and also points to a number of differences between BrE and AmE newspaper sources. Another paper on the diachrony of complement selection is Caroline Gentens and Juhani Rudanko's 'The Great Complement Shift and the Role of Understood Subjects' (*FoL* 53[2019] 51–86). The authors examine the variation between different complements of the adjective *fearful* in the last two centuries (e.g. *too fearful to speak for change* vs. *too fearful of starting fresh quarrels*). Using data from COHA and COCA, they find a decline in the use of the *to*-infinitive pattern, but also in the overall usage frequency of *fearful*. Concerning the difference between *to*-

infinitive and gerundial complements, they show that agentive understood sub-
jects are more likely to occur with the *to*-infinitive. (For several other contribu-
tions on complement selection, see also Section 5(*a*) on Modern English.)
Several papers traced the diachrony of specific phenomena. Meta Links examines
different ways of 'Expressing Conditionality in Earlier English' (*ELL* 23[2019]
155–82). She reports on the frequency of three forms—*(g)if*, *and*, and verb-initial
conditional clauses—using the parsed corpora of OE, ME and eModE, and also
discusses the factors influencing the use of the resumptive adverb *then* in the
main clause. She finds that *if* conditionals are consistently most frequent, while
verb-initial conditionals become restricted syntactically and semantically, which
she connects to the loss of V2 and a decrease in the use of *then*. Caroline
Gentens studies 'The Diachrony of *the Fact That*-Clauses' (*ES* 100[2019] 220–
39) in lModE, using CLMET and OBC. She argues that *the fact that*-clauses are
introduced as nominalizing devices in contexts where an unintroduced *that*-clause
was dispreferred and that the semantics are flexible, i.e. not always strictly speak-
ing factive. Anna Cichosz studies 'Parenthetical Reporting Clauses in the History
of English: The Development of Quotative Inversion' (*ELL* 23[2019] 183–214),
focusing on the variation between *he said* and *said he* in clause-medial or
clause-final reporting clauses. Using the parsed corpora of historical English, she
shows that inversion dominates in the early periods and variation only increases
in lModE, which she connects to an increase in types of verbs used in the pat-
tern. She also argues that quotative inversion is not part of V2 or V1 patterns but
a separate construction from OE onwards. Laurel J. Brinton, in '*That's Luck, If
You Ask Me*: The Rise of an Intersubjective Comment Clause' (in Yáñez-Bouza
et al., eds., pp. 190–209) investigates the current use and history of *If you ask
me*, and finds that it starts out (in the sixteenth century) as a full clause, but later
becomes syntactically incomplete and develops a pragmatic/procedural meaning
as a comment clause. Elizabeth Closs Traugott asks the question 'Are
Comparative Modals Converging or Diverging in English? Different Answers
from the Perspectives of Grammaticalisation and Constructionalisation' (in
Yáñez-Bouza et al., eds., pp. 105–29). The author considers comparative
modals—*had/'d sooner/rather/better*—and their development in BrE, adding to
existing work on AmE. Traugott provides an overview of their origin from OE
on, based on various sources and a more detailed study of occurrences in OBC.
She concludes that the grammaticalization process is similar for all three forms,
but that in terms of the constructional analysis there is some divergence, with
better moving in a different semantic direction that *sooner* and *rather*.

Two chapters from the volume *Patterns in Language and Linguistics: New
Perspectives on a Ubiquitous Concept*, edited by Beatrix Busse and Ruth
Möhlig-Falke, are relevant for this section. Elizabeth Closs Traugott's
'Constructional Pattern-Development in Language Change' (pp. 125–55) dis-
cusses two case studies on grammatical structure—*all but X* and *X after all*—and
one on word formation—*X-licious*—to investigate the role of 'patterns' in the
emergence of new constructions. In her theoretical reflection, she argues that not
all patterns are constructions, i.e. they do not all represent a conventionalized
form-meaning pairing, and some may represent a step in the development of a
construction, but all constructions are patterns. Peter Petré's 'How Constructions
Are Born: The Role of Patterns in the Constructionalization of *be going to* INF'

(in Busse and Möhlig-Falke, eds., pp. 157–92) also considers the emergence of new constructions. Focusing on the seventeenth century, using data from EEBO, he identifies three patterns of constructions which combine with the pre-construction string *be going to* INF: topicalization, present-tense assertions, and passives. He argues that these so-called 'assemblies' and their frequencies play a role in the emergence of the construction.

Two papers look at English verbs from a cross-linguistic perspective. Kersti Börjars and Nigel Vincent, in 'Modelling Step Change: The History of *Will*-Verbs in Germanic' (in Yáñez-Bouza et al., eds., pp. 283–314), compare cognates of *will* in various Gmc languages: all have the same root but the development in each language is different. The authors aim to find general patterns, focusing on semantic and formal changes (e.g. agreement and complementation), and subsequently provide a model using LFG. Olga Fischer and Hella Olbertz illustrate their view on 'The Role Played by Analogy in Processes of Language Change' by examining 'The Case of English *have-to* Compared to Spanish *tener-que*' (in Yáñez-Bouza et al., eds., pp. 253–82); in both languages, a lexical verb of possession developed into a modal verb of obligation/necessity. The authors argue that grammaticalization does not follow a universal pathway, but rather is the result of an interaction between function, form, and context. The authors argue how in both languages neighbouring constructions provided analogical models, stressing in particular the fixation of SVO order and frequent collocations with other expressions of necessity involving a noun/verb meaning 'need'.

Teresa Fanego's article 'A Construction of Independent Means: The History of the *Way* Construction Revisited' (*ELL* 23[2019] 671–99) provides more detail, using a CxG framework, on the development of the *way* construction (*Frank found his way to New York*), especially on possible precursors and their contribution to the construction in later periods. Fanego also examines the relation between the *way* construction and the intransitive motion construction (*He walked into the room*), focusing on the extent of semantic overlap between the two.

Three papers address diachronic developments in the passive. Sarah Schwarz, in '"This Must Be Looked Into": A Corpus Study of the Prepositional Passive' (*JEL* 47[2019] 249–73), examines this passive (*The patient was operated on*) in COHA. Her data show a decrease in frequency, similar to *be*-passives overall, and she also examines several factors proposed in the literature to influence the use of this type of passive. Affectedness, although difficult to measure, in fact does not seem to play an important role, while the prepositional passive turns out to be relatively productive. Another paper by Sarah Schwarz zooms in on the development of the *get*-passive in the last two centuries, 'Signs of Grammaticalization: Tracking the GET-Passive through COHA' (in Claridge and Bös, eds., pp. 199–221). Focusing on central (i.e. verbal) passives, she shows that there is a large increase in these in the twentieth century and that there are indications of further grammaticalization of the *get*-passive: expansion of situation types (stative, dynamic, telic, etc.), of subject type (animate/inanimate), and of types of past participles. Also on passives, Elena Smirnova, Robert Mailhammer, and Susanne Flach analyse 'The Role of Atypical Constellations in the Grammaticalization of German and English Passives' (*Diachronica* 26[2019] 384–416). Focusing on the eleventh to fourteenth centuries, they present an alternative proposal to the grammaticalization process of the passive with the ME

and OHG equivalents of *become* (*weorðan*/*werden*), which is based on the verb's *Aktionsart* (activity, semelfactive, accomplishment, and achievement) and subsequently tested in two corpus studies. The claim is that this CxG approach explains the development of a grammaticalized passive with *werden* in German as well as the lack of a similar development for *weorðan* in English.

Elly van Gelderen examines *The Diachrony of Verb Meaning: Aspect and Argument Structure* [2018]. After an introduction and a background chapter on argument structure, theta-roles, and aspect, the following chapters discuss specific types of verbs and types of change throughout the history of English. Chapter 3 discusses intransitives and the way the two types (unergatives and unaccusatives) change throughout the history of English. Chapter 4 discusses causatives and unergatives, focusing on changes in morphological marking of valency. Chapter 5 addresses theta-roles, aspect, and origin of copular verbs, while chapter 6 looks at similar questions for *psych*-verbs, and chapter 7 for perception verbs. Chapter 8 examines ditransitive verbs, and chapter 9 discusses outer aspect, specifically perfective and imperfective marking. Chapter 10 provides a brief conclusion. Central aims of the book are to trace changes in argument structure, theta-roles, and morphological marking of certain relations from OE to PDE, with a strong focus on OE. Van Gelderen's main conclusion is that there is systematicity and stability in the developments. Another central question is a more theoretical one on the analysis of argument structure, theta-roles and aspect; some general principles are discussed here, but the focus is on the generative framework. Although corpus data are used, the book is mostly qualitative in nature. The book contains a wealth of information and provides a useful overview of relevant issues with reference to the core literature, but the general scope comes at the expense of detail, and the type of approach, strongly qualitative and theoretical, may make the book less of general interest than the topic perhaps deserves.

Focusing on one type of change described by van Gelderen, Eva Zehentner's monograph addresses *Competition in Language Change: The Rise of the English Dative Alternation*. Rather than only focusing on the well-known alternation between *John gave Mary a book* and *John gave a book to Mary*, the author also studies related, alternative patterns and examines their relation to the dative alternation. After an introduction (with a rather long discussion of general CxG principles), the next two chapters provide an overview of previous research: CxG approaches to argument structure in PDE (chapter 2) and the diachrony of ditransitives and related patterns in English (chapter 3). This is followed by a corpus study of PPCME2, which considers a range of aspects (frequency, word order, verb classes, productivity) of the direct-object construction and various prepositional alternatives, and includes a regression analysis and collexeme analysis. The main conclusion here is a confirmation that the dative alternation, i.e. the systematic variation between the two options, is established in early ME. Chapters 5 to 7 build a case for analysing the developments in a so-called evolutionary CxG framework: chapter 5 introduces evolutionary linguistics and applies evolutionary game theory to the dative alternation; chapter 6 combines the perspectives from evolutionary linguistics and CxG; and chapter 7 provides an account of the data using this combined approach. This account uses well-known CxG notions such as constructionalization, semantic widening/narrowing, and constructional networks, but adds to these the notion of co-operation (coexisting

constructions, closely associated but with clearly distinctive functions and mean-
ings) and an emphasis on mutual influence and continuous interaction between
factors such as word order and case marking. The book is thorough and carefully
argued, which does, however, result in a book that is perhaps longer than is
strictly necessary; it is also worth noting that a major focus is CxG theory devel-
opment. However, the author does succeed in adding new perspectives to a well-
studied phenomenon, and combines a strong empirical study with a thoughtful
analysis.

Various papers deal with developments in verb complementation. Mark Davies
and Jong-Bok Kim describe 'Historical Shifts with the INTO-CAUSATIVE
Construction in American English' (*Ling* 57[2019] 29–58), as in *frighten me into
doing that wrong thing*. Data from COHA, COCA, and the Time corpus show a
great lexical diversity, and the authors discuss various developments between
1800 and 2000, such as an increase in 'positive' verbs, indirect causation, and re-
flexive causation. Michael Klotz's 'Explaining Explain: Some Remarks on Verb
Complementation, Argument Structure and the History of Two English Verbs'
(*ES* 100[2019] 339–56) reviews the complementation patterns of *say* and *explain*,
starting from the observation that these verbs do not allow a ditransitive pattern
with two nominal complements even though semantically similar verbs do. He
argues for a view on complementation that takes into account general patterns
(i.e. constructions) as well as lexical information for individual verbs.

Bettelou Los's chapter 'How Patterns Spread: The *to*-Infinitival Complement
as a Case of Diffusional Change, or "*To*-Infinitives, and Beyond!"' (in Yáñez-
Bouza et al., eds., pp. 149–69) reconstructs the development of the *to*-infinitive,
which already had clausal status in OE but derives from a PP. On the basis of
work by Hendrik De Smet about stages in the development of the gerund, she
describes the development from a niche *to*-PP, to use with specific groups of
verbs, and an extension to other verbs that are no longer associated with the ori-
ginal semantics. The pattern is very similar to the gerund, except for the last
stage, the *to*-infinitival ECM construction, which she argues to have a different
source. Merja Kytö and Erik Smitterberg, in 'The Conjunction *and* in Phrasal
and Clausal Structures in the *Old Bailey Corpus*' (in Yáñez-Bouza et al., eds.,
pp. 234–50), aim to add to our knowledge of changes in spoken language in
lModE. They investigate the type of material—phrasal or clausal—co-ordinated
by *and* in OBC, as a representative of spoken language, and also examine the in-
fluence of gender, class, and change over time. They see some signs of further
colloquialization of the genre, with the texts showing more signs of typically
'oral' features.

In 'Misreading and Language Change: A Foray into Qualitative Historical
Linguistics' (in Yáñez-Bouza et al., eds., pp. 201–33), Sylvia Adamson argues
we should not forget the value of qualitative research in historical linguistics in
this era of quantitative corpus research. She shows what a close reading and care-
ful analysis of specific examples can add to research on the relation between pre-
scriptivism and actual linguistic behaviour, using two cases: the use of *that* in
restrictive relative clauses and generic *he*; and most importantly, not to take all
texts at face value. Christian Mair considers 'American English' and asks: was
there 'No Written Standard before the Twentieth Century?' (in Yáñez-Bouza
et al., eds., pp. 336–65). He uses various established corpora, as well as the

Google Books Ngram Viewer to investigate three areas of variation between BrE and AmE: simplified AmE spellings, *toward/towards* and *got/gotten*, and complementation patterns for *help* and *prevent*. Mair concludes that the final phases of standardization for AmE take place later than previously assumed, i.e. during the twentieth century.

This year also saw the publication of a revised and much enlarged edition of the *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization* by Tania Kuteva, Bernd Heine, Bo Hong, Haiping Long, Heiko Narrog, and Seongha Rhee, originally published by the first two authors in 2002. The lexicon contains a wealth of data on grammaticalization changes, most of them of a semantic nature, that have been observed in the world's languages. It should be of value to anyone interested in language change, but also deserves mention here because of the many examples from the history of English, which (after Chinese) is the second most cited language in the book (see the index, pp. 623–4). Unsurprisingly, the breadth of the data comes at a cost in terms of depth, but abundant references are provided to relevant studies. On a more conceptual level, we note that it is not always intuitive to us why a given change should be considered a case of grammaticalization, because we fail to see how the outcome is more 'grammatical' than the starting point (e.g. 'obligation' > 'permission', p. 290, or 'relativizer' > 'complementizer', p. 367). In some respects, then, the volume is perhaps better thought of as a catalogue of semantic changes more broadly—but a very useful one indeed.

'Constructions Waxing and Waning: A Brief History of the Zero-Secondary Predicate Construction' (*JEL* 47[2019] 3–28) by Frauke D'hoedt, Hendrik De Smet, and Hubert Cuyckens investigates the history of the secondary-predicate (or 'object-complement') construction, as in *I consider this man an idiot*. The authors classify the verbs used in this construction into nine different subtypes and use the Penn-Helsinki corpora to investigate their history from OE to lModE. A number of differences are observed between these subtypes, but as a whole the construction appears to have increased its productivity. The authors also suggest that it has become increasingly 'internal' since OE, being used more frequently with verbs of thinking and wanting, such as *consider*, *think*, and *wish*.

Paula Rodríguez-Puente's *The English Phrasal Verb, 1650–Present: History, Stylistic Drifts, and Lexicalisation* investigates the development of phrasal verbs from 1650 onwards. The book contains five main chapters in addition to the introduction and conclusion. In chapter 2, the corpus and search methods are described. The main corpora used for the diachronic investigation are ARCHER and the Old Bailey Corpus, but the author has also excerpted examples from many other sources. Chapter 3 defines the topic under investigation, namely phrasal verbs of the type *calm down*, *fill out*, and *run away*, and illustrates the various syntactic criteria that have been proposed to delimit this class and distinguish it from prepositional verbs. Chapter 4 explores the relation between phrasal verbs and the notions of grammaticalization, lexicalization, and idiomatization, which have all been invoked in treatments of this class of verbs. Chapters 5 and 6 present the author's empirical investigation, first focusing on grammatical and semantic changes and then on the distribution of phrasal verbs across different text types. The productivity, frequency, and meaning of various verb–particle combinations are discussed and illustrated with more than 200 numbered examples. A number of innovative verbal particles are also documented, such as

around, *ahead* (both from the nineteenth century), *across*, and *along* (both found already in the eighteenth-century material, but increasing in frequency since then).

Two articles consider the prenominal position in NPs using data from COHA. Bin Shao, Yingying Cai, and Graeme Trousdale, in 'A Multivariate Analysis of Diachronic Variation in *a bunch of* NOUN: A Construction Grammar Account' (*JEL* 47[2019] 150–74) use a case study of *a bunch of* to investigate constructional change after a construction has come into being. Using data from COHA, they trace *a bunch of* changes from a partitive use (a 'bundle') to a quantifier use (a 'group') in the early twentieth century, and use various statistical measures to investigate the interaction between semantic, pragmatic, and discourse factors. In 'A Difficult to Explain Phenomenon: Increasing Complexity in the Prenominal Position' (*ELL* 23[2019] 645–70), Christine Günther reports an increase in adjectival premodification, including complex adjective phrases, especially in the last two decades of the twentieth century. Most are fixed expression or variations of those (*better-than-average*), with the exception of adjectives followed by an infinitive, as in *difficult-to-explain*. With reference to processing principles, Günther explains how these more complex phrases still follow English word-order principles. Also on prenominal adjectives, Belén Méndez-Naya writes 'Of *Right Heirs*, *Right Idiots* and *Bad Data*: The Diachrony of the Intensifying Adjective *right*' (*SN* 91[2019] 273–95). Here the diachronic development of *right* as a noun-intensifying adjective is investigated, as is *she was in a right mess*. This use of *right*, which is attested from the sixteenth century onwards, turns out to be relatively infrequent, but with the use of a number of large corpora, Méndez-Naya manages to trace its development from the earlier meaning 'true' to the intensifying function observed in PDE. Finally, adding a historical perspective to the question of proper noun modifiers, Tine Breban and Hendrik De Smet ask 'How Do Grammatical Patterns Emerge?' in their investigation of 'The Origins and Development of the English Proper Noun Modifier Construction' (*ELL* 23[2019] 879–99). Using various historical corpora, the parsed Penn corpora of historical English, the COHA, and an additional ME corpus, they identify two OE sources—proper names that are unmarked for genitive case and compounds of a proper name and noun—and trace the development of these two types, as well as the emergence of new semantic types and the merging of different types up to PDE.

The volumes *Grammar—Discourse—Context*, edited by Kristin Bech and Ruth Möhlig-Falke, and *Crossing Linguistic Boundaries*, edited by Paloma Núñez-Pertejo, María José López-Couso, Belén Méndez-Naya, and Javier Pérez-Guerra, eds.) have yet to be received from the publishers. We intend to cover these in next year's chapter.

6. Semantics

It is well known that the groundwork for the formal semantic study of natural language was laid by philosophers and mathematicians in the late nineteenth and throughout the twentieth century. One of the most influential pioneers among these was Gottlob Frege (1848–1925), whose works are revisited by Dale

Jacquette in a voluminous monograph entitled *Frege: A Philosophical Biography*. Chronologically following the order of Frege's writings, Jacquette provides complete and in-depth discussion, without shying away from either philosophico-mathematical topics like foundations and fundamental laws of arithmetics or from algebraic logic as laid out in the famous calculus called *Begriffsschrift* (literally 'concept-writing'). Jacquette retraces Frege's mathematical thinking in transferring the notion of function to the analysis of natural-language predicates and the impact this has had on the idea of semantic compositionality. Detailed coverage is given to the consequential theory of aboutness designed to capture the difference in informativity arising from expressions with identical reference but different senses (*The evening star is the evening star* versus *The evening star is the morning star*). Ramifications of this in the analysis of negation, propositional attitudes, and clause combining—necessitating the ontological distinction between thought, judgement, and assertion—are equally carefully pursued. Given the historical frame a biography brings, Jacquette focuses more on debates with and influences on Frege's contemporaries, such as Bertrand Russell and Ludwig Wittgenstein.

The actuality of Fregean themes, however, is clearly in evidence today where they have become textbook items. This can be verified by even a cursory glance at the contents of *Philosophy of Language* by Zoltán Gendler Szabó and Richmond H. Thomason. Published in the series Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics, this work primarily aims to familiarize early students of linguistics with foundational issues of natural-language interpretation. The main topics of Part I, entitled 'Philosophy of Semantics', are compositionality, reference and quantification, tense and modality, and intentionality. Matters of meaning in context are addressed in Part II ('Philosophy of Pragmatics'). The final part deals with 'meaning as a philosophical problem', discussing the delimitation of conventional and inferential aspects of meaning and use, mentalist versus externalist perspectives on the ultimate nature of meaning, and classical challenges arising from paradox and vagueness. Much emphasis is put on a clear and comprehensive exposition of standard theories as developed by key figures like Donald Davidson, John Searle, and David Lewis. At the same time, the authors expertly filter in recent contributions—sometimes their own—to ongoing controversies about, for example, proper names and acquaintance relations, the feasibility of providing actual truth conditions, and the ontological status of events, possibilia, and propositions. A twenty-two-page bibliography provides ample guidance for further study.

The seven-volume collection *Semantics*, edited by Klaus von Heusinger, Claudia Maienborn, and Paul Portner, is a paperback version of the three-volume handbook with the same title, published as volumes 33/1–3 of the series Handbooks of Linguistics and Communication Science by Mouton in 2011–13. This outstanding reference work contains 110 accessible reviews written by world-class experts of the respective subfields on fundamental topics for the study of natural-language semantics and is intended for a broader audience of linguists (including advanced students), philosophers, cognitive scientists, and computer scientists, among others. Volume 1, on *Foundations, History, and Methods*, contains the papers 'Meaning in Linguistics' (pp. 1–13) by the three editors, 'Meaning, Intentionality and Communication' (pp. 14–32) by Pierre Jacob;

'(Frege on) Sense and Reference' (pp. 33–61) by Mark Textor; 'Reference: Foundational Issues' (pp. 62–93) by Barbara Abbott; 'Meaning in Language Use' (pp. 94–121) by Georgia M. Green; 'Compositionality' (pp. 122–55) by Peter Pagin and Dag Westerståhl; 'Lexical Decomposition: Foundational Issues' (pp. 156–81) by Stefan Engelberg; 'Meaning in Pre-19th Century Thought' (pp. 182–216) by Stephan Meier-Oeser; 'The Emergence of Linguistic Semantics in the 19th and Early 20th Century' (pp. 207–41) by Brigitte Nerlich; 'The Influence of Logic on Semantics' (pp. 242–72) by Albert Newen and Bernhard Schröder; 'Formal Semantics and Representationalism' (pp. 273–305) by Ruth Kempson; 'Varieties of Semantic Evidence' (pp. 306–39) by Manfred Krifka; 'Methods in Cross-Linguistic Semantics (pp. 340–61) by Lisa Matthewson; 'Formal Methods in Semantics' (pp. 362–86) by Alice G.B. ter Meulen; and 'The Application of Experimental Methods in Semantics' (pp. 387–408) by Oliver Bott, Sam Featherston, Janina Radó, and Britta Stolterfoht. The contributions to Volume 2, entitled *Lexical Structures and Adjectives*, address 'Semantic Features and Primes' (pp. 1–46) written by Manfred Bierwisch; 'Frameworks of Lexical Decomposition of Verbs' (pp. 47–98) by Stefan Engelberg; 'Thematic Roles' (pp. 99–125) by Anthony R. Davis; 'Lexical Conceptual Structure' (pp. 126–51) by Beth Levin and Malka Rappaport Hovav; 'Idioms and Collocations' (pp. 152–71) by Christiane Fellbaum; 'Sense Relations' (pp. 172–200) by Ronnie Cann; 'Dual Oppositions in Lexical Meaning' (pp. 201–35) by Sebastian Löbner; 'Ambiguity and Vagueness: An Overview' (pp. 236–71) by Christopher Kennedy; 'Semantic Underspecification' (pp. 272–320) by Markus Egg; 'Mismatches and Coercion' (pp. 321–49) by Henriëtte de Swart; 'Metaphors and Metonymies' (pp. 350–80) by Andrea Tyler and Hiroshi Takahashi; 'Adjectives' (pp. 381–414) by Violeta Demonte; 'Comparison Constructions' (pp. 415–76) by Sigrid Beck; 'Adverbs and Adverbials' (pp. 477–514) by Claudia Maienborn and Martin Schäfer; 'Adverbial Clauses' (pp. 515–42) by Kjell Johan Sæbø; and 'Secondary Predicates' (pp. 543–68) by Susan Rothstein. Volume 3 is devoted to the discussion of *Theories* of semantic interpretation, including 'Cognitive Semantics' (pp. 1–28) by Leonard Talmy; 'Prototype Theory' (pp. 29–56) by John R. Taylor; 'Frame Semantics' (pp. 57–85) by Jean-Mark Gawron; 'Conceptual Semantics (pp. 86–113) by Ray Jackendoff; 'Two-Level Semantics: Semantic Form and Conceptual Structure (pp. 114–53) by Ewald Lang and Claudia Maienborn; 'Word Meaning and World Knowledge' (pp. 154–81) by Jerry R. Hobbs; 'Model-Theoretic Semantics' (pp. 181–231) by Thomas Ede Zimmermann; 'Event Semantics' (pp. 232–66) by Claudia Maienborn; 'Situation Semantics and the Ontology of Natural Language' (pp. 267–94) and 'Situation Semantics: From Intexicality to Metacommunicative Interaction' (pp. 295–320) by Jonathan Ginzburg; 'Discourse Representation Theory' (pp. 321–84) by Hans Kamp and Uwe Reyle; 'Dynamic Semantics' (pp. 385–412) by Paul Dekker; and 'Rhetorical Relations' (pp. 413–40) by Henk Zeevat. Volume 4 is concerned with *Noun Phrases and Verb Phrases*, with papers reviewing the semantics of 'Pronouns' (pp. 1–32) by Daniel Büring; 'Definiteness and Indefiniteness' (pp. 33–69) by Irene Heim; 'Specificity' (pp. 70–111) by Klaus von Heusinger; 'Quantifiers' (pp. 112–48) by Edward Keenan; 'Bare Noun Phrases' (pp. 149–76) by Veneeta Dayal; 'Possessives and Relational Nouns' (pp. 177–203) by Chris Barker; 'Mass Nouns and Plurals' (pp. 204–31) by Peter Lasersohn;

'Genericity' (pp. 232–73) by Gregory Carlson; 'Aspectual Class and Aktionsart' (pp. 274–312) by Hana Filip; 'Perfect and Progressive' (pp. 313–68) and 'Verbal Mood' (pp. 369–406) by Paul Portner; 'Deverbal Nominalization' (pp. 407–35) by Jane Grimshaw; 'Tense' (pp. 436–62) by Toshiyuki Ogihara; 'Modality' (pp. 463–502) by Valentine Hacquard; 'Conditionals' (pp. 503–31) by Kai von Fintel; 'Propositional Attitudes' (pp. 532–61) by Eric Swanson; and 'Indexicality and *De Se* Reports' (pp. 562–618) by Philippe Schlenker. Volume 5 is devoted to *Sentence and Information Structure*, with papers discussing the semantics of 'Scope and Binding' (pp. 1–45) by Anna Szabolcsi; 'Negation' (pp. 46–68) by Elena Herburger; 'Negative and Positive Polarity Items' (pp. 69–134) by Anastasia Giannakidou; 'Coordination' (pp. 135–70) by Roberto Zamparelli; 'Questions' (pp. 171–224) by Manfred Krifka; 'Imperatives' (pp. 225–49) by Chung-hye Han; 'Copular Clauses' (pp. 250–80) by Line Mikkelsen; 'Existential Sentences' (pp. 281–305) by Louise McNally; 'Ellipsis' (pp. 306–38) by Ingo Reich; 'Information Structure and Truth Conditional Semantics' (pp. 339–80) by Stefan Hinterwimmer; 'Topics' (pp. 381–413) by Craige Roberts; 'Discourse Effects of Word Order Variation' (pp. 413–49) by Gregory Ward and Betty J. Birner; 'Cohesion and Coherence' (pp. 450–80) by Andrew Kehler; 'Accessibility and Anaphora' (pp. 481–510) by Bart Geurts; and 'Discourse Particles' (pp. 511–44) by Malte Zimmermann. Volume 6 discusses topics at the *Interfaces*, including 'Semantics of Intonation' (pp. 1–40) by Hubert Truckenbrodt; 'Semantics of Inflection' (pp. 41–74) by Paul Kiparsky and Judith Tonhauser; 'Semantics and Derivational Morphology' (pp. 75–102) by Rochelle Lieber; 'Semantics of Compounds' (pp. 103–42) by Susan Olsen; 'Semantics in Distributed Morphology' (pp. 143–68) by Heidi Harley; 'Syntax and Semantics: An Overview' (pp. 169–232) by Arnim von Stechow; 'Operations on Argument Structure' (pp. 233–76) by Dieter Wunderlich; 'Type Shifting' (pp. 277–93) by Helen de Hoop; 'Constructional Meaning and Compositionality' (pp. 293–324) by Paul Kay and Laura A. Michaelis; 'Scalar Implicature as a Grammatical Phenomenon' (pp. 325–67) by Gennaro Chierchia, Danny Fox, and Benjamin Spector; 'Semantics/Pragmatics Boundary Disputes' (pp. 368–402) by Katarzyna M. Jaszczolt; 'Context Dependence' (pp. 403–62) by Thomas Ede Zimmermann; 'Deixis and Demonstratives' (pp. 463–94) by Holger Diessel; 'Presupposition' (pp. 494–528) by David Biever and Bart Geurts; 'Implicature' (pp. 529–62) by Mandy Simons; 'Game Theory in Semantics and Pragmatics' (pp. 563–97) by Gerhard Jäger; and 'Conventional Implicature and Expressive Content' (pp. 598–622) by Christopher Potts. The final volume 7 addresses issues having to do with *Typology, Diachrony and Processing*, including 'Semantic Types across Languages' (pp. 1–28) by Emmon Bach and Wynn Chao; 'Count/Mass Distinctions across Languages' (pp. 29–56) by Jenny Doetjes; 'Tense and Aspect: Time across Languages' (pp. 57–91) by Carlota S. Smith; 'The Expression of Space across Languages' (pp. 92–112) by Eris Pederson; 'Theories of Meaning Change: An Overview' (pp. 113–46) by Gerd Fritz; 'Cognitive Approaches to Diachronic Semantics' (pp. 147–76) by Dirk Geeraerts; 'Grammaticalization and Semantic Reanalysis' (pp. 177–209) by Regine Eckardt; 'Meaning in Psycholinguistics' (pp. 210–36) by Lyn Frazier; 'Meaning in First Language Acquisition' (pp. 237–73) by Stephen Crain; 'Meaning in Second Language Acquisition' (pp. 274–302) by Roumyana Slabakova; 'Conceptual

Knowledge; Categorization and Meaning' (pp. 303–40) by Stephanie Kelter and Barbara Kaup; 'Space in Semantics and Cognition' (pp. 341–65) by Barbara Landau; 'Semantic Research in Computational Linguistics' (pp. 366–408) by Manfred Pinkal and Alexander Koller; 'Semantics in Corpus Linguistics' (pp. 409–43) by Graham Katz; 'Semantics in Computational Lexicons' (pp. 444–81) by Anette Frank and Sebastian Padó; 'Web Semantics' (pp. 482–98) by Paul Buitelaar; and 'Semantics Issues in Machine Translation' (pp. 499–535) by Kurt Eberle.

According to standard assumptions, declarative and interrogative clauses are used to convey information and raise questions respectively. Formal semantics models this difference by having declaratives denote sets of worlds, so-called 'propositions', and interrogatives sets of such propositions. In stereotypical discourse, speakers use declaratives to claim that the actual world is a member of the associated proposition and interrogatives to make the addressee choose a member from the associated set of propositions to serve as answer. However, a look at disjunction reveals that intermediate cases exist. Interrogatives expressing alternative questions (*Does Mary like books or does she prefer films?*) are quite informative in narrowing down considerably what speakers take the actual world to be like. And disjunctive declaratives (*Bill is at home or he is at work.*) do leave an issue to be resolved, i.e. they are 'inquisitive' to some extent. Facts like these have inspired *Inquisitive Semantics* by Ivano Ciardelli, Jeroen Groenendijk, and Floris Roelofsen. Published as part of the Oxford Surveys in Semantics and Pragmatics, this work proposes to fully overhaul the formal semantics of information exchange and assimilate the meaning of declaratives to that of interrogatives. Through sophisticated use of algebraic logic, the authors define a category of 'inquisitive proposition', whose internal structure variably reflects degrees of informativity and inquisitivity. Sentence moods, conjunctions, and intonational features are analysed as manipulating these parameters. As a result, it becomes possible to provide a uniform denotation to disjunctive connectives like *or*, irrespective of the clause types they combine. Also, inquisitive propositions are able to serve as multifunctional context-storing devices in recording both information accumulated as common ground and questions under discussion. Beyond spearheading a new perspective on the formal semantics of clause types, this monograph recommends itself by possessing textbook qualities. Formal tools and technical notions are carefully described, explicitly defined, exemplified, and put up for rehearsal in particular exercises. Chapters are carefully summarized, and in addition to bibliographic references an additional commented section of further readings is provided.

In 'Negation, Alternatives, and Negative Polar Questions in American English' (in von Heusinger et al., eds., pp. 118–71) Scott AnderBois uses a 'two-tiered' version of inquisitive semantics to compositionally account for the difference in the interpretation of positive polar questions like *Is John cooking a Mexican dish?*, 'low negation' and 'high negation' negative polar questions like *Is John not cooking a Mexican dish?*, and *Isn't John cooking a Mexican dish?* respectively. M. Teresa Espinal and Susagna Tubau reviews current work on 'Response Systems: The Syntax and Semantics of Fragment Answers and Response Particles' (*ARL* 5[2019] 261–87).

Turning to embedded interrogatives, a number of papers propose semantic strategies for predicting the complementation patterns of matrix predicates. Wataru Uegaki's review of 'The Semantics of Question-Embedding Predicates' (*L&LC* 13[2019] e12308) presents four strategies for dealing with the complementation pattern of predicates that can combine with both propositions and questions, like *know* and *agree*. It is shown that only the Proposition-to-Question reduction and the uniform approaches can accommodate Predicates of Relevance, such as *care* and *matter*, which introduce a presupposition only when followed by a declarative complement. In 'Triviality and Interrogative Embedding: Context Sensitivity, Factivity, and Neg-Raising' (*NLS* 27[2019] 227–78) Clemens Mayr notes that the behaviour of *be certain*, which embeds interrogative clauses only in certain contexts, presents a problem for Jane Grimshaw's [1979] theory of clause embedding, which encodes the type of complement clauses they can combine with in the lexical specification of main clause predicates. He proposes a unified semantics for declarative and interrogative embedding instead, where the apparent unembeddability of an interrogative clause under a given predicate is attributed to the triviality of the potential meaning. Wataru Uegaki and Yasutada Sudo apply the same reasoning in 'The *Hope-Wh Puzzle' (*NLS* 27[2019] 323–56) to a type of anti-rogative predicates (i.e. those that can only embed declarative complements) without the neg-raising property, namely, non-veridical preferential (or order-based) and focus-sensitive predicates like *hope*. 'Picky Predicates: Why *Believe* Doesn't Like Interrogative Complements, and Other Puzzles' (*NLS* 27[2019] 95–134) by Nadine Theiler, Floris Roelofsen and Maria Aloni claims that the selectional restrictions of neg-raising predicates like *believe*, truth-evaluating predicates like *be true*, inquisitive predicates like *wonder*, and predicates of dependency like *depend on* can all be derived from independently motivated semantic assumptions. Floris Roelofsen, Michele Herbstritt, and Maria Aloni address 'The *Whether Puzzle' (in von Heusinger, Zimmermann and Onea, eds., pp. 172–97), first observed by Lauri Karttunen [1977], according to which emotive factive verbs like *amaze*, *surprise*, *bother*, *disappoint*, or *be happy* can take *wh*-questions as their complement but not *whether*-questions. It is argued that the two types of questions bring different semantic objects (namely propositions vs. properties) into salience, a property that emotive factives are sensitive to. Turning to ellipsis of embedded interrogatives, 'Polarity Reversals under Sluicing' (*Sem&P* 12[2019] Art. 18, 1–49) by Margaret Kroll presents a previously unobserved phenomenon, i.e. polarity reversal between the elided content and the antecedent content in sluicing constructions, as in *I don't think that* [*California will comply*]$_A$*, but I don't know why* [*California won't comply*]$_E$, and suggests that sluicing is a pragmatics-sensitive phenomenon subject to contextual licensing.

There's more on the semantics of sentence types. 'Imperatives under Coordination'(*NLLT* 37[2019] 869–914) by Ezra Keshet and David J. Medeiros argues, on the basis of new empirical evidence, for the presence of directive force in all conjoined imperatives, e.g. *Ignore your homework and you'll fail the class*. Justin Bledin and Kyle Rawlins analyse four main kinds of *what if* questions in 'What Ifs' (*Sem&P* 12[2019] Art. 14, 1–55), referred to as 'hypothetical', 'elaborative', 'challenging', and 'suggestive', and argue that *what if*s combine the suppositional semantics of regular conditionals and a post-update

requirement for an inquisitive context, characteristic of questions in general. Turning to conditionals, Elena Herburger, 'Bare Conditionals in the Red' (*Ling&P* 42[2019] 131–75) suggests that conditionals without an overt adverb of quantification, modal or probability expression in their consequent exhibit Conditional Duality: in downward entailing environments they have existential force, whereas in other contexts they have universal force. John Mackay argues for a 'Modal Interpretation of Tense in Subjunctive Conditionals' (*Sem&P* 12[2019] Art. 2, 1–29), which contain a 'layer of past tense morphology beyond what one would expect from their temporal interpretation' (p. 1) (*If it were raining now, the sidewalks would be wet*), as opposed to 'indicative' conditionals (*If it is raining now, the sidewalks are wet*). 'What "Must" Adds' (*Ling&P* 42[2019] 225–66) by Matthew Mandelkern investigates the differences in the interpretation of claims with vs. without *must*, as in *It must be raining out* vs. *It is raining out.* It is suggested that a 'must'-claim is only felicitous if an argument for its prejacent is salient to all the interlocutors. We conclude the discussion of verb phrase semantics by mentioning 'The Syntax and Semantics of Nonfinite Forms' (*ARL* 5[2019] 309–28) by John J. Lowe, who considers nonfinite verb phrases to be defective from a syntactic perspective, lacking functional projections or features that are an obligatory part of finite phrases. This has a direct impact on semantic interpretation: certain aspects of the meaning of nonfinite phrases (e.g. tense, aspect, modality) are not independently specified but must be derived from semantic properties of a superordinate finite clause.

We turn now to the semantics of nominal expressions. *Semantic Plurality. English Collective Nouns and Other Ways of Denoting Pluralities of Entities* by Laure Gardelle is a comparative study of NP types having the semantic feature /plurality/, 'defined as the component of meaning "more than one"' (p. 11). These include three noun and four NP types, differing as to whether the /plurality/ feature is part of their lexical specification or acquired in the context: lexical plurals (non-count plural nouns denoting entities, e.g. *clothes*), count collective nouns (*committee, collection*), non-count singular nouns that denote several entities (*furniture*), NPs headed by a noun that itself carries a plurality feature (*new garden furniture*), conjoined NPs (*John and Mary*), NPs headed by plural count nouns (*the Romans*), and NPs headed by a count noun in the singular that implies a plurality of units in the situation (*every bag*, *every student*). The central proposal of the work is the semantically based Scale of Unit Integration for pluralities of entities, consisting of five major stages, from which several grammatical properties can be derived. 'Collective wholes' represent the strongest type of integration, having non-additive properties of size, shape, or age, which may be denoted by count collective nouns, e.g. *collection* (of which only those referring to pluralities of humans or to animals display hybrid agreement). One step down the scale are 'aggregates' (e.g. *cattle*), which can consist of pluralities of heterogeneous or homogeneous entities, and where the whole does not have properties of its own for age, size, or shape. Aggregates may be denoted by singular-only or plural-only nouns or NPs, or by partly substantivized adjectives. A looser form of integration is constituted by 'groupings', which show cohesion, but whose units can be counted, e.g. *sheep.* The next stage is referred to as 'sets of loosely connected elements', denoted by conjoined NPs (*John and Mary*), where the units do not have to be of the same kind, but there

is cohesion within the plurality. The loosest form of integration is represented by 'bound variable singularities', denoted by quantificational NPs like *every child*, where the units do not represent any cohesion, and thus the plurality is indirect, being incompatible with collective predicates (*every child met).

Still on plural NPs, 'Distributivity in Formal Semantics' (*ARL* 5[2019] 289–308) by Lucas Champollion analyses influential theories of distributivity in formal semantics with particular attention to what role they attribute to world knowledge vs. word meaning and silent operators, how they view the relation between distributivity and plurality, and whether they recognize nonatomic distributivity. Manuel Križ provides a general introduction to 'Homogeneity Effects in Natural Language' (*L&LC* 13[2019] e12350), which arise when a plurality is not homogeneous with respect to the property ascribed to it, i.e. the truth-conditions of affirmative sentences are not complementary to those of their negations. Homogeneity is claimed to be a pervasive phenomenon, not only connected to pluralities *per se*: it also plays a role when a property is ascribed to a mereologically complex object, as well as outside the nominal domain, with respect to conditionals, embedded interrogatives, or bare plural generics. Simon Goldstein's new semantic theory of Free Choice permission ('Free Choice and Homogeneity', *Sem&P* 12(23)[2019] 1–47) argues for Free Choice also being a homogeneity effect. This means that the claim 'possibly A or B' is defined only when A and B are homogeneous with respect to their modal status, both being either possible or impossible. However, there are critical views on homogeneity-based approaches, too. In 'Experimental Studies on *It*-Clefts and Predicate Interpretation' (*Sem&P* 12(11) 1–50) Agata Renans and Joseph P. De Veaugh-Geiss argue against the homogeneity approach in Daniel Büring & Križ [2013], Križ [2016], and Križ [2017] to the semantics of *it*-clefts, which predicts that a series of sentences like *It wasn't Kimberly who did the dishes. Kimberly and Helen did the dishes* cannot be acceptable. It is suggested instead that the exhaustive inference associated with *it*-clefts depends on the semantics of the predicate. Mary Byram Washburn, Elsi Kaiser, and Maria Luisa Zubizarreta also disagree with the standard view that exhaustivity is structurally encoded in the *it*-cleft, presenting a theoretical argument and experimental evidence against it in 'The English *It*-Cleft: No Need to Get Exhausted' (in von Heusinger, Zimmermann and Onea, eds., pp. 198–236), and suggesting that exhaustivity is a conversational implicature arising from the interaction between the maxims of quantity and quality.

Still on NPs, Hans Kamp and Ágnes Bende-Farkas distinguish between two aspects of epistemic specificity in 'Epistemic Specificity from a Communication-Theoretic Perspective' (*JSem* 36[2019] 1–51), the speaker-related aspect of using an indefinite specifically and the hearer-related aspect of taking the speaker to have made a specific use of an indefinite. The account makes use of MSDRT, a DRT-based formalism designed for the description of propositional attitudes and attitudinal states. 'Any*: Logic, Likelihood, and Context', Parts 1–2 (*L&LC* 13[2019] e12353, e12354), by Luka Crnič, argues that the fact that *any* has a more restricted distribution than other determiners (particularly in entailment-reversion, modal, and non-monotone environments) can be accounted for by assuming that *any* is accompanied by covert *even*. 'Numerals under Negation: Empirical Findings' (*Glossa* 4[2019] Art. 113, 1–31) by Stephanie Solt and

Brandon Waldon presents the results of a corpus analysis and two experiments, which show that bare numerals in the scope of sentential negation are only felicitous if the negated numeral value is made salient in the discourse context, and proposes a formal account based on Peter Gärdernfors's [2004] theory of the convexity of linguistic meanings. Isabelle Charnavel explores the so-called 'supersloppy' readings of person indexicals in VP-ellipsis in 'Supersloppy Readings: Indexicals as Bound Descriptions' (*JSem* 36[2019] 453–530), as in the utterance *I do too*, uttered in response to the utterance of *I love you*, which can be interpreted as a declaration of love in return (i.e. *I love you too*). It is claimed that *I* and *you* can be construed as e-type pronouns dependent on each other.

The papers in the collection *Secondary Content: The Semantics and Pragmatics of Side Issues*, edited by Daniel Gutzmann and Katharina Turgay, are concerned with modelling the contribution of secondary content, which is independent from the main truth conditional content of utterances and can equally be contributed by expressions or structures. The four types of secondary content the editors distinguish in their introduction ('Secondary Content: An Introduction', pp. 1–25) include supplements (non-restrictive relative clauses, nominal appositives, *as*-parentheticals and other, completely isolated parentheticals), which offer truth-conditional content and lead to parallel multidimensionality; expressives and other use-conditional items, which lead to parallel multidimensionality but are non-truth-conditional; presuppositions, which are truth-conditional, but lead to hierarchical multidimensionality, and information structure (e.g. focus-background structure), whose contribution is non-truth-conditional and non-parallel. Ana Aguilar-Guevara, 'Literal and Enriched Meaning of Sentences with Weak Definites and Bare Singulars' (pp. 26–57), analyses nominal constructions in English that contain weak definites or bare singulars, and convey two kinds of content, the literal meaning (LM) and the enriched meaning (EM), as in *Marta called the doctor* (LM: Marta called a doctor, EM: Marta called for medical assistance) or *Lu is in jail* (LM: Lu is in jail, EM: Lu is to serve a sentence). 'Concessive Clauses or How to Be Pragmatically Humble' (pp. 87–106) by Claudia Borgonovo argues that event-related concessive clauses (e.g. *(Al)though it was snowing, Pete went for a run*) should be analysed as secondary or backgrounded assertions. Robert Henderson and Elin McCready's 'Dogwhistles and the At-Issue/Non-At-Issue Distinction' (pp. 222–45) is a pioneering study of dogwhistles, that is, 'language that send one message to an outgroup while at the same time sending a second (often taboo, controversial, or inflammatory) message to an ingroup' (p. 223), making a distinction between two types. 'Rise-Fall-Rise as a Marker of Secondary QUDs' (pp. 376–404) by Matthijs Westera provides a unified meaning for English Rise-Fall-Rise tune, both used as a marker of secondary information and as a topic marker: it indicates non-compliance with a maxim relative to the main Question Under Discussion (QUD), while addressing a secondary QUD compliantly.

The Oxford Handbook of Experimental Semantics and Pragmatics, edited by Chris Cummins and Napoleon Katsos, is the first comprehensive overview of the questions and methods used in past and current research aiming to obtain experimental data relevant to issues in semantics and pragmatics. In addition to presenting the best practice in the field, the editors' aim is also to catalyse future work by identifying 'under-researched questions and under-utilized techniques' (p. 1),

and raising the awareness of the wider linguistic community of the benefits of experimental research. The chapters addressing distinct linguistic phenomena or debates are carefully arranged around six loosely defined themes. The chapters 'Language Comprehension, Inference, and Alternatives' (pp. 7–20) by Dimitrios Skordos and David Barner, 'Constraint-Based Pragmatic Processing' (pp. 21–38) by Judith Degen and Michael K. Tanenhaus, and 'Scalar Implicatures' (pp. 39–61) by Richard Breheny address fundamental issues about the processing of pragmatic phenomena and the semantics/pragmatics interface, with particular attention to implicature. The chapters on 'Event (De)composition' (pp. 62–82) by Sherry Yong Chen and E. Matthew Husband, 'Presuppositions, Projection, and Accommodation' (pp. 83–113) by Florian Schwarz, and 'Spatial Terms' (pp. 114–23) by Myrto Grigoroglou and Anna Papafragou discuss topics less strongly connected to the rest of the issues addressed in the volume. They are followed by a block on quantifiers and operators: 'Counterfactuals' (pp. 124–42) by Heather Ferguson, 'Distributivity' (pp. 143–55) by Kristen Syrett, 'Genericity' (pp. 156–77) by Dimitra Lazaridou-Chatzigoga, 'Modified Numerals' (pp. 178–94) by Rick Nouwen, Stavroula Alexandropoulou, and Yaron McNabb, 'Negation' (pp. 195–207) by Ye Tian and Richard Breheny, 'Plurality' (pp. 208–27) by Lyn Tieu and Jacopo Romoli, 'Processing Quantification' (pp. 228–45) by Adrian Brasoveanu and Jakub Dotlačil, and 'Quantifier Spreading' (pp. 246–62) by Patricia J. Brooks and Olga Parshina. The chapters on 'Adjective Meaning and Scales' (pp. 263–82) by Stephanie Solt, 'Ironic Utterances' (pp. 283–97) by Nicola Spotorno and Ira Noveck, 'Metaphor' (pp. 298–315) by Nausicaa Pouscoulous and Giulio Dulcinati, 'Metonymy' (pp. 316–30) by Petra B. Schumacher, 'Vagueness' (pp. 331–53) by Sam Alxatib and Uli Sauerland, 'Verbal Uncertainty' (pp. 354–68) Marie Juanchich, Miroslav Sirota, and Jean-François Bonnefon, and 'Word Senses' (pp. 369–86) by Hugh Rabagliati and Mahesh Srinivasan are about resolving lexical ambiguities in a broad sense. The next block of chapters is concerned with disambiguation and licensing in discourse contexts: 'Antecedent-Contained Deletion' (pp. 387–400) by Kristen Syrett, 'Exhaustivity in It-Clefts' (pp. 401–17) by Edgar Onea, 'Focus' (pp. 418–35) by Christina S. Kim, 'Negative Polarity Items' (pp. 436–51) by Ming Xiang, 'Pronouns' (pp. 451–73) by Hannan Rohde, 'Reference and Informativeness' (pp. 474–93) by Catherine Davies and Jennifer E. Arnold, and 'Prosody and Meaning' (pp. 494–511) by Judith Tonhauser. Finally, the chapters on 'Politeness' (pp. 512–23) by Thomas Holtgraves, 'Theory of Mind' (pp. 524–36) by Paula Rubio-Fernández, and J.P. de Ruiter's 'Turn-Taking' (pp. 537–48) address interactional factors in interpretation. The thematic chapters present a wide range of experimental methods, including language acquisition studies, sentence processing (investigated with the help of reaction times or eye-tracking), neuroscientific methods, analysis of corpus data and computational modelling, using data from neurotypical child or adult populations speaking or comprehending their dominant language, data from second-language acquisition, and from persons with individual developmental disorders (Autism Spectrum Disorder). This makes the collection an accessible overview of past and current achievements and a source of inspiration for future research in experimental semantics and pragmatics.

A separate collection, *Experiments in Focus: Information Structure and Semantic Processing*, edited by Sam Featherston, Robin Hörnig, Sophie von Wietersheim, and Susanne Winkler, is devoted to the experimental study of the domain of information structure, including the theory of focus, issues of markedness, and contextual licensing. Jutta M. Hartmann compares the information structure of specificational copular clauses (*The winner is Susan*) and predicational copular clauses (*Susan is the winner*) in 'Focus and Prosody in Nominal Copular Clauses' (pp. 80–103). Her rating study using auditory stimuli shows that only the focus structure of the latter can be altered by manipulating the intonation contour and the presence of prior context questions. The contrast is attributed to the fact that the information structure of specificational copular constructions is coded by the syntax: they are inversion structures, with focus assignment to the postcopular DP. Thomas Weskott, Robin Hörnig, and Gert Webelhuth ('On the Contextual Licensing of English Locative Inversion and Topicalization', pp. 153–82) test the hypothesis that English, similarly to German, exhibits sensitivity to contextual properties for certain marked word orders, including locative inversion (*Under the table is the box*) and topicalization of the direct object (*Frank washed his car every Sunday. The side mirror, he forgot this week.*). Whereas a self-paced reading experiment and an elicited production of spatial relational assertions has confirmed the hypothesis for locative inversion (when the discourse status of the prepositional argument is given, the locative inversion is easier to process than the unmarked word order), a rating study and a self-paced reading experiment did not confirm the hypothesis for the contextual licensing of topicalization by a poset relation. Still on the experimental study of focus, 'The Life and Times of Focus Alternatives: Tracing the Activation of Alternatives to a Focused Constituent in Language Comprehension' (*L&LC* 13[2019] e12310) by Nicole Gotzner and Katharina Spalek looks at the time-course of the activation of focus alternatives.

There are new experimental studies on nominal quantifiers as well. 'An Experimental Investigation of the Scope of Object Comparative Quantifier Phrases' (*JSem* 36[2019] 285–315) by Kristen Syrett and Adrian Brasoveanu shows that, contrary to the predictions of current decompositional accounts based on introspection data, comparative quantifier phrases (CQPs) in object position can uncontroversially take scope over an indefinite subject, and identifies three factors that influence the availability of the inverse scope reading. These are the form of the subject indefinite, the form of the object CQP, and the felicity conditions supporting the use of a CQP. Dimitra Lazaridou-Chatzigoga, Linnaea Stockall, and Napoleon Katsos argue in 'Contextualising Generic and Universal Generalisations: Quantifier Domain Restriction and the Generic Overgeneralisation Effect' (*JSem* 36[2019] 617–64) that the fact that adults accept statements like *All tigers have stripes* and *All ducks lay eggs* as true is not due to the generic interpretation being the default one, as previously claimed, but to the fact that context makes a significant contribution to the interpretation of universally quantified statements.

In *Universal Semantic Syntax: A Semiotactic Approach*, Egbert Fortuin and Hetty Geerdink-Verkoren introduce a comprehensive theory of form–meaning mapping, originally developed by Carl Ebeling. At the heart of this framework are so-called 'semiotactic representations', which depict the structure of complex

meanings as they arise from the syntactic combination of simple meaning-bearing elements. Most noteworthy here is an inventory of signs that explicitly specify a large number of different syntactico-semantic relations. Thus, at the level of NPs, restrictive adjective-noun modification is captured by a 'limitation relation', adjective-noun compounding by a 'compounding relation', and degree modifiers are added via a 'gradation relation'. Core ingredient for coding predicate-argument structure is a 'nexus relation' holding at clause-level between subject and main predicator. More global information such as tense and mood is registered on a placeholder symbol Σ, which indicates that the content of the entire clause is to characterize a 'situation'. By abstracting away from syntactic surface phenomena, semiotactic representations—like logical forms, conceptual forms, or f(unctional)-structures—become cross-linguistically applicable and are 'universal' in this sense. While the authors pay great attention to the analysis of numerous examples (involving, among other things, genitives, negation, gerunds, and various types of infinitives), matters of notation and matters of semantic interpretation proper remain to be disentangled.

7. Lexicography, Lexicology, and Lexical Semantics

This section begins with a discussion of publications in the field of lexicography, and goes on to look at work in lexicology and lexical semantics. In each part, the more general publications related to each sub-field will be discussed first, followed by more specialized publications. Research on current synchronic topics will precede historical studies.

Arleta Adamska-Sałaciak's article 'Lexicography and Theory: Clearing the Ground' (*IJL* 32[2019] 1–19) is aimed at answering a controversial question: is lexicography a science? By examining relevant terms including 'science', 'lexicography', and 'theory' in corpora, the author concludes that 'theoretical lexicography (metalexicography) is not a science' (p. 12)—at least in English. The dictionary/encyclopaedia border has been a hot topic in the past few years. Michael Hancher looks at the dividing line between lexicography and encyclopedism in 'Dictionary vs. Encyclopedia, Then and Now' (*DJDSNA* 40[2019] 113–38). Hancher first discusses the approaches taken by a number of previous lexicographers and philosophers of language, including Richard Chenevix Trench, James A.H. Murray, John Stuart Mill, Philip B. Gove, Stephen P. Schwartz, and Paul Grice. He goes on to explore the distinction in current practice, examining an excellent example of the clear differences between Wiktionary and Wikipedia, which 'differ not as the ideal dictionary and the ideal encyclopedia should differ, but more or less as actual dictionaries and actual encyclopedias have differed in the past' (pp. 131–2).

Thomai Dalpanagioti's paper 'From Corpus Usages to Cognitively Informed Dictionary Senses: Reconstructing an MLD Entry for the Verb *Float*' (*LexAsia* 6[2019] 75–104) is concerned with the relationship between cognitive linguistics and lexicography. Dalpanagioti reviews the entries for *float* in the 'Big Five' monolingual learners' dictionaries and compiles a new *float* entry based on corpus data and cognitively oriented analysis, aiming at 'contributing to the field of cognitive lexicography' (p. 76). In 'Defining your P's and Q's: Describing and

Prescribing Politeness in Dictionaries' (*DJDSNA* 40[2019] 61–92), M. Lynne Murphy investigates the treatment of politeness markers such as *please*, *thank you/thanks*, and *sorry*—normally ignored by handbooks of lexicography—in thirteen English dictionaries. The findings reveal that learners' dictionaries are generally more explicit and descriptive than the *OED* and traditional dictionaries; regarding the country of origin, American dictionaries provide less useful information than those produced elsewhere, probably because they are 'too constrained by style sheets that try to fit interactional words into denotational styles of definition' (p. 87). Mariusz Piotr Kamiński examines the factors determining the 'Use of Hedges in Definitions: Out of Necessity or Theory-Driven?' (*Lexikos* 29[2019] 55–74). The dictionaries selected in this study were mostly published between 1785 and 2011, 'a period of time covering a large part of the history of English monolingual lexicography' (p. 58). The results reveal that hedges have appeared in English lexicography since Johnson's *Dictionary*, and are extensively used in more recent dictionaries due to the rise of prototype theory, though there are other factors at play, such as dictionary type, defining policy, lexicographers' preferences, and stylistic guidelines, meaning variations in practice.

As always, learners and learners' dictionaries are the focus of several publications this year. In 'Homogeneous or Heterogeneous? Insights into Signposts in Learners' Dictionaries' (*IJL* 32[2019] 432–57), Anna Dziemianko finds that heterogeneous signposts are significantly useful for sense identification and reception, while the effect of homogeneous signposts on immediate and delayed meaning retention is more significant. Therefore, the results of this study have convincing implications for dictionary-making: if dictionaries are 'designed primarily for quick consultation and comprehension, heterogeneous signposts should be employed in the microstructure'; if dictionaries are 'used as learning tools, in the hope that much of the searched information will be retained, homogeneous signposting is more recommendable' (p. 446). Bartosz Ptasznik and Robert Lew focus on 'New-Line and Run-On Guiding Devices in Print Monolingual Dictionaries for Learners of English' (*Lexikos* 29[2019] 180–98). By carrying out a study with 100 participants, Ptasznik and Lew investigate whether the position of guiding devices affects consultation time and sense selection accuracy of dictionary users but find no evidence of this. They also note that this study has tested entries in their print format, so the results may be different in digital dictionaries. In 'Structuring Polysemy in English Learners' Dictionaries: A Prototype Theory-Based Model' (*IJL* 32[2019] 20–37), Huaguo Lu and Xiangqing Wei examine the entries for *lift* from *MEDAL2* to evaluate the weaknesses of logical sense-ordering, and go on to propose a Prototype Theory-based model featuring semantic graph and full-sentence illustrations to represent the multidimensional structure of polysemy in learners' dictionaries. Giovanni Iamartino surveys 'Recent Bilingual English–Italian Lexicography: Insights into Usage' (*DJDSNA* 40[2019] 133–54) by analysing four recent and representative English–Italian dictionaries. The study demonstrates that the strong pedagogical aims of bilingual dictionaries 'have a considerable impact on the dictionary's macrostructure and the entries' microstructure' (p. 150). In 'Interpreting Collocations: An Analysis of Collocation Dictionaries' (*Lexicographica* 35[2019] 191–216), Armine Garibyan analyses three printed collocation dictionaries in three languages, 'English, German, and Russian', in an attempt to examine

whether the amount and scope of language-specific information in these dictionaries are directed at language learners of different levels.

There has been a great deal of work this year on the interaction between learners' dictionaries and e-dictionaries, providing insightful theoretical, methodological, practical, and pedagogical suggestions for e-lexicography. Donna M.T.Cr. Farina, Marjeta Vrbinc, and Alenka Vrbinc look at 'Problems in Online Dictionary Use for Advanced Slovenian Learners of English' (*IJL* 32[2019] 458–79). The target dictionary used in this qualitative study was the online *Merriam-Webster Learner's Dictionary*, which had not been used by the participants before. The study records the look-up process and problems of nine Slovenian advanced learners of English, and also provides recommendations for dictionary makers, noting that 'while dictionaries are created by experts, they can be improved if dictionary makers "can learn something about average users"' (p. 472). Using a latent-class analytical tool, Xiqin Liu, Dongping Zheng and Yushuai Chen explore motivation for L2 learning through mobile applications in 'Latent Classes of Smartphone Dictionary Users among Chinese EFL Learners: A Mixed-Method Inquiry into Motivation for Mobile Assisted Language Learning' (*IJL* 32[2019] 69–91). In addition to providing practical ideas for e-dictionary customization, the authors conclude that 'Chinese EFL learners need training on how to choose and use e-dictionaries' and 'dictionary use training could be integrated into regular language classrooms' (pp. 83–4). Also focusing on Chinese EFL learners and their use of smartphone dictionaries, Yuanjun Dai, Zhiwei Wu, and Hai Xu examine 'The Effect of Types of Dictionary Presentation on the Retention of Metaphorical Collocations: Involvement Load Hypothesis vs. Cognitive Load Theory' (*IJL* 32[2019] 411–31). The study finds that better design of collocation presentation and better findability of multiword units in digital dictionaries can reduce students' look-up time. Sergi Torner and Blanca Arias-Badia also focus largely on collocations in electronic dictionaries for L2 learners by using 'Visual Networks as a Means of Representing Collocational Information in Electronic Dictionaries' (*IJL* 32[2019] 270–95). A number of measures are proposed, illustrating the potential of collocational networks as useful tools to represent lexical combinatorics in dictionaries. Taking a very special perspective, Anna Dziemianko compares the free online version of OALD9, which includes advertisements, and the advertisement-free OALD9 Premium, and reveals that '[t]he role of online dictionary advertisements in language reception, production, and retention' (*ReCALL* 31[2019] 5–22) is statistically negative.

The role of the dictionary is said to 'necessarily be related to social development and changes' (p. 1) in *Studies on Multilingual Lexicography*, edited by María José Domínguez Vázquez, Mónica Mirazo Balsa, and Carlos Valcárcel Riveiro. This volume presents a collection of articles which also focus on the intersection between multilingual lexicography and electronic lexicography. Both have been hot topics for many years since we all live in such a multilingual and digital world, but very few studies have brought the two topics together, and this collection, therefore, is a timely contribution and also a nice introduction to the field. The volume consists of eleven research articles, plus the editors' introduction. The three papers in Section I carry out theoretical analysis of the observed developments of multilingual lexicography in the digital era, whereas the eight in

Section II look at more practical issues based on materials from a variety of dictionary projects and tools. Many of the lexicographical resources mentioned in this volume, unsurprisingly, cover English, the most widely spoken language over the globe.

The development of electronic versions of already established dictionaries is well represented in publications this year. Javier Ruano-García's focus is 'On the Colonial Element in Joseph Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary*' (*EDD*) (*IJL* 32[2019] 38–57). By examining the colonial items in the electronic version of the *EDD*, the study attempts to discover the role of colonial terms in the context of the dictionary, and ascertains that the *EDD Online* provides useful information to investigate the history of early regional Englishes, though there is an unequal treatment of the dialectal elements in the vocabulary of different colonial varieties. Also based on the *EDD*, Manfred Markus's short paper 'The *Supplement* to the *English Dialect Dictionary*: Its Structure and Value as Part of *EDD Online*' (*IJL* 32[2019] 58–67) focuses on the *Supplement*. Wright's remarkable *EDD* puts the *Supplement* in the shade, but the latter's value, and the quality and quantity of information it includes, should not be neglected.

In 'The *Middle English Dictionary* Revenant' (*DJDSNA* 40[2019] 201–19), Paul Schaffner outlines how technical innovations bring the *MED* alive and discusses the problems in the process of editing the online version of the *MED*. Ammon Shea reviews '*Green's Dictionary of Slang Online* by Jonathon Green' (*DJDSNA* 40[2019] 227–33) and explores the digital features in this significant, historical, and, most importantly, free-of-charge dictionary. Though there are bound to be technical glitches, the digital edition 'outperforms' the printed one, as Shea states, 'with the ability [to] move quickly through space, the simultaneous access of information spread widely across a work, and the potential to remove some aspects of human error from one's queries' (p. 233).

This year there have been several accounts of the history of lexicography, or the history of particular dictionary traditions. A major work is *The Cambridge World History of Lexicography*, edited by John Considine. In thirty-two chapters gathered to tell a long story, this substantial volume provides a comprehensive account of the full history of global lexicography, spanning thousands of years and involving hundreds of languages. The volume is divided into four parts in historical sequence, and in each part, chapters are devoted to different languages or to different geographical and cultural areas. This special arrangement allows readers to approach the volume in a variety of ways: it is possible to read chapter by chapter to get the whole picture of the global history of lexicography, or to read selective chapters dealing with lexicographical events during a particular period, or to read chronologically sequenced chapters on a particular language or area 'to follow one thread in the whole story from period to period' (p. 3). English is just one of a large number of languages that feature, and there is careful attention to different varieties, with chapters on 'Standard Varieties of English from c.1700' (pp. 484–508) by Charlotte Brewer and 'Regional Varieties of English' (pp. 509–29) by Michael Adams. Nevertheless, other chapters in this book will also be interesting for many lexicographers and dictionary lovers, though this book, as Considine says, 'is a history of lexicography, not of dictionaries' (p. 3). It is inevitable that this single volume has to be very selective about the dictionaries mentioned so that many specialist ones are excluded or hardly

touched on, such as dictionaries of spoken languages, sign language dictionaries, learners' dictionaries, recently published dictionaries, and online dictionaries. It would also have been fascinating to hear more about the future of lexicography and link the historical picture with new directions in the field.

Another key publication in 2019 is the second edition of *The Handbook of World Englishes* edited by Cecil L. Nelson, Zoya G. Proshina, and Daniel R. Davis. Although most chapters of the volume deal with areas not relevant to this section, there are noteworthy chapters on 'World Englishes and Corpora Studies' (pp. 523–37) by Gerald Nelson and 'World Englishes and Lexicography' (pp. 725–40) by Fredric T. Dolezal, which demonstrate wonderful overlaps in different areas of linguistics. Within the scope of WE, various aspects of English lexicography are dealt with in Dolezal's chapter, including the standards, the traditions, the circumstances, the influence, and the idea of dictionaries, which are 'artifacts that represent the cultural, bibliographic, and linguistic heritage of a language community' (p. 725).

In Donna M.T.Cr. Farina's chapter on 'Lexicography: The Invention of Language' (in Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose, eds., *A Companion to the History of the Book*, pp. 787–800), the functions and structure of dictionaries, defining process, authority of dictionaries, and dictionary controversies are brought in to the discussion. Although this chapter is not restricted to the lexicography of English, it draws examples from dictionaries of English. When discussing the authority and prestige of dictionaries, the story of *Webster's Third* is mentioned as 'the story *par excellence* of a dictionary controversy' (p. 793), which has been brought up repeatedly by others (e.g. Peter Martin and Stefan Dollinger, whose publications are reviewed below).

Among this year's work on American dictionaries and lexicographers is Peter Martin's *The Dictionary Wars: The American Fight over the English Language*. Martin's account of these wars is divided into two parts. Part I, 'Noah Webster's Battles', begins with the patriotic fervour for gaining lexical independence from BrE and British dictionaries and then centres particularly on the battle between Noah Webster and his lifelong rival Joseph Emerson Worcester, whose dictionaries dominated the American dictionary market in the nineteenth century. Webster's death in 1843 marked a watershed in the history of American lexicography. In Part II, as the title 'The Merriams at War' indicates, the dictionary wars continued since the Merriam brothers bought the rights to publish Webster's dictionary in 1844. Martin's conclusion is fascinating and reasonable: neither Webster nor Worcester was the winner of the dictionary wars. Webster's dictionary was a commercial failure when he was alive, and the Merriams progressively revised and eliminated his lexicography after his death, though the title bore his name and became iconic in America. Even more importantly, his dream of AmE reforms was never realized. As for Worcester, without a shadow of doubt the Merriam brothers defeated him in the end, and his dictionaries were sidelined by the general public. Martin's book to some extent supports the underdog and brings this nearly forgotten lexicographer back into the spotlight on the stage of American lexicographical history. The final winners of the dictionary wars were without doubt the Merriams, who carried Webster's dictionary to incredible success and won a fortune for themselves as well. Along with these main

participants, the volume presents many other figures and newspapers, who played a part in the battle that progressed the evolution of the American language.

Lexicographical conflicts are also the focus of Stefan Dollinger's book, *Creating Canadian English: The Professor, the Mountaineer, and a National Variety of English*. The introductory chapter raises the question 'What is Canadian English?' and leaves this question to later chapters. Chapter 2, on 'The Heritage of Canadian English', and chapter 3, on 'Avis Pulls It Off', tell the life stories and legacies of two pioneers of Canadian English and Canadian lexicography, Charles Lovell and Walter Avis. Interestingly, Lovell was an American. But it was this American, an outsider, who convinced Canadians that there was something special about their English and freed them 'from their dependence on American and British reference works' (p. 60). Besides Lovell and Avis, other names that feature prominently in this book include Matthew Scargill, Patrick Drysdale, Douglas Leechman, and Charles Crate; with the pioneers collectively called the 'Big Six' by the author. These six men were a group of scholars who published 'the first significant landmark in the study of Canadian English' (p. 25), that is, *A Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles* (*DCHP-1*), the flagship of the dictionary series called the *Dictionary of Canadian English*. Without the 'Big Six' and *DCHP-1* and its sister dictionaries, the study of Canadian lexicography, and CanE more generally, would have developed in a very different way or perhaps would not have developed at all. Another noteworthy finding by Dollinger is that the 'Big Six' were all white males, which reflects 'the academic biases (of gender) and cultural biases (of ethnicity) of the day' (p. 21) in the hope of drawing attention to the diversity in gender in the field of lexicography. Chapter 4, 'The "Technology": Slips, Slips, and More Slips', focuses on the actual making of *DCHP-1*, which required 'hard, painstaking, and detailed work over prolonged periods of time' (p. 87). Two chapters are dedicated to the rise and fall of *DCHP-1*: chapter 5, on '1967—Excitement and Hype', and chapter 6, on 'Riding the Wave of Success'. Similar to Martin's findings on the American dictionary wars, the turning point of the Canadian version was Avis's death in 1979. After that, *DCHP-1* was soon replaced by a more affordable and publisher-driven edition and forgotten by the public and academia later. By contrast, Leechman, one of the 'Big Six', was the prime Canadian consultant-reader for Burchfield's *Supplements* (the first three volumes) to the *OED*; if Leechman had contributed his more or less 25,000 quotation slips to *DCHP-1* rather than the *OED*, the outcome for *DCHP-1* might have been different. Chapter 7 brings the story of 'A Global Village and a National Dictionary War' to a climax, in allusion to the American dictionary war about one century ago. The Canadian dictionary war in the 1990s, or 'Great Canadian Dictionary War' in Dollinger's terms, was also between publishers. Dollinger compares three Canadian desk dictionaries and looks at 'Canadianisms' found in them. Chapter 8 spots a colonial bias in *DCHP-1* and makes some suggestions on 'Decolonizing *DCHP-1* and *DCHP-2*'. Dollinger uses several entries to exemplify errors, outdated terms, bias, and misinformation in *DCHP-1*. The volume ends with another question, 'Is There Really a Canadian English?' (chapter 9), and considers it from different perspectives: the press, the academic world, the field of WE, the Canadian schools, the nation, and the Canadians themselves. As

a whole, Dollinger's book is not just a story about Canadian dictionaries or lexicographers, it is about the development of the entire field of CanE.

Michael Adams's third instalment, 'The Dictionary Society of North America: A History of the Early Years (Part III)' (*DJDSNA* 40[2019] 1–54), moves from the founding and leaders of DSNA to its members. Adams's account asks in his introduction, 'who were they, why did they join, why did some lapse temporarily, others permanently, and why did still others continually renew their connection to DSNA?' (p. 2), and is therefore 'a chapter in the history of the language sciences' as well as 'a contribution to the sociology of organizations' (p. 1), and definitely whets the reader's appetite for the final instalment.

Moving to Europe, a large-scale survey on 'The Image of the Monolingual Dictionary across Europe. Results of the European Survey of Dictionary Use and Culture' (*IJL* 32[2019] 92–114) is provided this year, aiming to probe European users' specific usage patterns of and attitudes towards monolingual dictionaries. This survey brings together a striking number of researchers: the core group includes Iztok Kosem, Robert Lew, Carolin Müller-Spitzer, Maria Ribeiro Silveira, and Sascha Wolfer, along with fifty-four local partners in participating countries. Although the survey covers a range of languages, it involves a number of English speakers and asks questions relevant to English dictionaries. One of the findings reveals that 'checking a new word', 'resolving a dispute', and 'writing assigned work' are the top three situations in which a monolingual English dictionary is used.

The introduction to dictionaries can be of great value, in 'providing an insight into an editor's (or publisher's) view of the target audience and an understanding of what they believed their readers wanted' (p. 56), as stated in Elizabeth Knowles's 'One Dictionary, Two Introductions: *The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*, 1941' (*DJDSNA* 40[2019] 50–80). This work was published in 1941 in separate British and American versions, identical except for their prefatory parts. Based mainly on archival sources, Knowles examines the wartime backdrop of this publication and compares the two different introductions for different markets.

Turning to etymology, William Sayers looks at some unresolved etymological problems in the *OED* in a number of pieces, including 'The Etymologies of the English Polysemes *Clout* and *Cuff*' (*ANQ* 32[2019] 1–5); '*Skulduggery*: Etymology' (*ANQ* 32[2019] 58–67), in which he challenges the origin of and offers a plausible etymology for *skulduggery*; and a more frequent word with uncertain origin in the *OED* in 'The Etymology of English *Boy*' (*ANQ* 32[2019] 69–70). Keith Briggs explores 'The Etymology of "Beach"' (*N&Q* 66[2019] 370–4), which is stated as 'origin unknown' and 'apparently first a dialect word' in the *OED*, and suggests that this ordinary word comes from a specific place name: the Beach in Eastbourne. In another note, Keith Briggs presents some new evidence for 'Middle English *Rōde* "A Ride" and its Compounds' (*N&Q* 66[2019] 499–502), concluding that *rōde* and its compounds did not 'affect the standard language' (p. 501) and thus we need not re-evaluate the etymology of 'road', whose modern form originated from the semantic shift of *rōde* in the seventeenth century. Philip Durkin sheds 'New Light on Early Middle English Borrowing from Anglo-Norman: Investigating Kinship Terms in *Grand-*' (*Anglia* 137[2019] 255–77), such as *grandsire*, *granddame*, *grandfather*, and

grandmother, and finds great disruption and semantic instability in these similarly structured terms in both ME and French.

Kelly-Anne Gilbertson discusses several 'Further Unrecorded Middle English Lexical Items in the Fifteenth-Century Treatise *Medicines for Horses*' (*N&Q* 66[2019] 204–9), including *gravellynge*, *rowe*, *wyndegalle*, *valeis*, *splynt*, *cordis*, *dewe*, *ryngebone*, *scabbe*, *nerval*, and the like, which are neglected in the *MED* and the *OED*. Juhani Norri explores the relevant entries for '"Star of the Eye" in English Historical Dictionaries' (*N&Q* 66[2019] 222–4), including the *MED* and the *OED*, and several medical dictionaries.

Borrowing, as always, features in a couple of works in 2019. The first is Alexander Tulloch's very thought-provoking and well-illustrated dictionary *It's All Greek: Borrowed Words and Their Histories*, reviewed last year, though this is a 2019 publication. As Tulloch states in the introduction, unlike previous dictionaries that mainly deal with literary, scientific, scholarly, or medical contributions from Greek to the English language, this dictionary is aimed at the 'surprises'—those 'commonly used words which may raise even classicists' eyebrows with their Greek provenance or connections' (p. 4). Compared to Greek, Yiddish is a minor donor language contributing fewer words to the English lexicon, but its contribution should not be neglected. On the basis of data from the *OED* and *Webster's Unabridged*, Julia Schultz examines 'The Impact of Yiddish on the English Language' (*EnT* 139[2019] 2–7). Schultz categorizes Yiddish-derived words into several subject areas, including gastronomy, faith and religion, people and everyday life, and the like, and explores their features in each domain. Focusing on the Slavic languages, Danko Šipka's chapter on 'Lexeme-Level Culture-Bound Words, Divisions, and Features' (in his book *Lexical Layers of Identity: Words, Meaning, and Culture in the Slavic Languages*, pp. 65–81) also discusses the characteristics of semantic fields (such as history, food, zoology, music, and politics) that reflect the cultural identity of Slavic speakers. Šipka states that most borrowings from Slavic languages into English are 'zero equivalents', which are borrowed 'because there is a lexical gap for that word in English' (pp. 67–8). To investigate Chinese borrowing in the English lexicon, Ai Zhong looks at 'The Top 100 Chinese Loanwords in English Today: Can One Recognise the Chinese Words Used in English?' (*EnT* 139[2019] 8–15), deriving data from 'A report on the awareness of Chinese discourse overseas' (p. 8). Though the 100 words are all in their Pinyin forms and many well-established Chinese loanwords are not included, these words do reflect the acceptance of Chinese borrowing by the English speakers 'with nearly half of them being included in the *OED Online* through different borrowing processes' (p. 12).

Publications on lexical semantics include those appearing in the special issue of *Critical Quarterly* (*CQ* 61:iii[2019]) on 'Keywords for Today: Reactions, Reflections, Futures', edited by Kathryn Allan. This special issue brings together scholars to celebrate the publication of *Keywords for Today*, the first major publication of the Keywords Project. After the editor's introduction (*CQ* 61:iii[2019] 4–9), Noel Malcolm presents a 'Review of *Keywords for Today*' (*CQ* 61:iii[2019] 10–16), exploring its birth, topics, entries, and political opinions, and comments that the book's main effect 'is to get us to think more carefully about changes of meaning that many terms carry with them, like the tanks welded to ships' hulls by drug-smugglers, below the line of visibility' (p. 13).

Keywords for Today is an updated version of Raymond Williams's classic work *Keywords*, and Paul Gilroy's piece '*Keywords* and Conflict, Then and Now' (*CQ* 61:iii[2019] 10–23) compares the context in which Williams's work was written with that of contemporary culture. He particularly reflects on the absence of military-related words, which is 'much more than matters of language' (p. 20). The loss of words is also the focus of 'Missing Keywords and the Political Unconscious' (*CQ* 61:iii[2019] 36–8) by Akeel Bilgrami, which perfectly explains why *unconscious*, or more specifically *political unconscious*, is a relevant and 'apt overarching keyword' (p. 38). In 'Nationality and "Otherness" in *Keywords for Today*' (*CQ* 61:iii[2019] 24–7), M. Lynne Murphy recognizes problems in the treatment of words for 'otherness' and non-'otherness', for example, including *black* but excluding *white*, and concludes that the project 'deserves to be something much bigger' (p. 26). Next, Antoinette Renouf evaluates the up-to-dateness or 'The Contemporary Relevance of *Keywords for Today*' (*CQ* 61:iii[2019] 28–31) from a lexicographer's perspective. Terttu Nevalainen's short piece on '*Keywords* and Triangulation' (*CQ* 61:iii[2019] 32–5) looks at the connections between history and social theory. She uses the list of eighteen central terms in Peter Burke's *History and Social Theory* as a '*tertium comparationis*' (p. 32) in order to find out how the contemporary *Keywords* relates to Williams's *Keywords*. Louise Sylvester looks at one keyword, '*Narrative* in *Keywords for Today*' (*CQ* 61:iii[2019] 39–41), and how this term is used elsewhere in the book, wondering 'how far the ideologies that the *Keywords* volume indicates are associated with its recent use would make themselves felt when it was not the focus of the discussion' (p. 39). Clare Bucknell discusses several 'Eighteenth-Century Keywords' (*CQ* 61:iii[2019] 42–5) whose usage experienced significant changes in social contexts. For a future *Keywords* project, M. Madhava Prasad recommends 'Two Keywords for South Asia: *English* and *Translation*' (*CQ* 61:iii[2019] 46–51), which are of central importance in today's globalized world. In 'Keywords in Lipstick' (*CQ* 61:iii[2019] 52–9), Akshi Singh tells the stories of a film, a novel, and her family memory in which lipstick plays an important role, nicely illustrating the relationship between language and experience. The last three pieces of this special issue pay particular attention to *Keywords*-style entries. Two words for South Asian English, namely *subject* (by Sasinindu Patabendige and Nadeeka Priyadharshani: *CQ* 61:iii[2019] 60–3) and *green* (by Layanvi Tennakoon and Udani Wijerathne: *CQ* 61:iii[2019] 64–6), are investigated in Sri Lankan English. Kathryn Allan and Alan Durant present a draft entry for *environment* (*CQ* 61:iii[2019] 67–84), bringing together a summary and extracts of *OED* entry, a linguistic analysis of uses, and an essay on its significance. A version will be published in *Exploring Keywords in Modern English*, a volume currently in preparation. Noel Malcolm remarks in *Keywords for Today* that 'while no single large-scale doctrine emerges, little flares of light are set off here and there throughout the book' (p. 13), and the same is true of this special issue, which covers a broad range of interesting topics on some of the most important words in contemporary culture.

Seth Mehl employs corpus semantic methods to investigate 'Light Verb Semantics in the *International Corpus of English*: Onomasiological Variation, Identity Evidence and Degrees of Lightness' (*ELL* 23[2019] 55–80). He finds that the onomasiological consistency across regional varieties of English is

remarkable and calls for future research in 'onomasiological variation in World Englishes' (p. 78). Other publications that use corpus evidence to examine English words or expressions include Susanne Wagner's 'Why *Very Good* in India Might Be *Pretty Good* in North America' (*IJCL* 24[2019] 445–89), Javier Calle-Martín's '*No Cat Could Be That Hungry! This/That* as Intensifiers in American English' (*AuJL* 39[2019] 151–73), and Andreea Calude's 'The Use of *Heaps* as Quantifier and Intensifier in New Zealand English' (*ELL* 23[2019] 531–56), which will also be of interest to researchers across corpus linguistics, WE, sociolinguistics, and other disciplines.

Several textbooks on lexical semantics and lexicology are worth a brief mention. The first is *The Lexicon* by James Pustejovsky and Olga Batiukova, a new addition to the Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics series. As the editors explain in the preface, this textbook is written for a wide readership, and is suitable for both introductory and advanced courses. The book is divided into three parts that deal with different aspects of the lexicon. Each chapter opens with an 'Overview' and ends with a 'Summary', followed by 'Further Readings' and 'Exercises'. Part I is concerned with the role of the lexicon in linguistic theory: some key concepts in lexical study are discussed in the introductory chapter; the relations between 'Lexicon and Syntax' and 'Lexicon and Semantics' are introduced in chapter 2 and chapter 4 respectively; and chapters 3 and 5 present how lexical information is treated in syntactic and semantic theoretical frameworks. The four chapters (chapters 6–9) in Part II discuss lexical structures from a general level to more specific ones. Part III examines the lexicon as 'an independent but interconnected system' (p. 287), aiming to answer the following questions: how the lexicon is structured globally (chapter 10) and how lexical information is accessed by other parts of the grammar (chapter 11). Overall, this is a thoughtfully structured textbook in lexical study, touching upon a wide range of linguistic disciplines such as lexical semantics, syntax, lexicography, ontology, morphology, and the like, which makes it a welcome addition to the field and to the linguistic classrooms.

It is also worth mentioning that two previously published books appeared in paperback in 2019, making them more accessible to students and researchers: *The Routledge Handbook of Semantics*, edited by Nick Riemer, and *The Routledge Handbook of Historical Linguistics* edited by Claire Bowern and Bethwyn Evans. Although they may be reviewed in previous issues and in other sections, there are helpful chapters on 'Lexical Semantic Change and Semantic Reconstruction' and 'Etymology' in *The Routledge Handbook of Historical Linguistics*, while Part V of *The Routledge Handbook of Semantics* is devoted to 'Lexical Semantics'.

Another textbook is Barry Blake's very concise and readable *English Vocabulary Today: Into the 21st Century*. After a brief history of the English language in chapter 1, the remainder of the book is devoted to a range of topics in English studies, covering word-formation, the mental lexicon (also touched upon in *The Lexicon*), semantic change, lexical borrowing, etymology, and the like. With fruitful examples from different varieties of English, this volume presents a clear overview of how contemporary English vocabulary developed into what it is today and how it continues to develop. The mental lexicon is given a lot of attention this year, as it is also discussed in 'When *Blue* Is a Disyllabic Word:

Perceptual Epenthesis in the Mental Lexicon of Second Language Learners' (*BLC* 22[2019] 1141–59) by Isabelle Darcy and Trisha Thomas. Focusing on Korean learners of English, this study deals with how they store the pronunciation of words in their mental lexicon and in particular, how their L1 influences the lexical representations and lexical access in their bilingual mental lexicon.

At the popular end of the market, Simon Horobin's interesting book *Bagels, Bumf, and Buses: A Day in the Life of the English Language* is likely to be of interest to everyone, whether they are in the field of linguistics or not. Horobin takes the reader on a linguistic journey through daily lives—from dawn to evening, from workplace to eating-place to sports field—which are full of words whose origins we may never think of.

8. Onomastics

The collective academic output of works on onomastics in 2019 underlines the diversity and interdisciplinarity of the questions that the subject may shed light upon. While the remit of this piece is primarily publications relevant to English linguistics, it would be remiss not to highlight the areas where the linguistic dimensions of onomastics are being applied to the understanding of naming practices, notably in understanding the rhetoric of branding and marketing.

By way of illustration, Christopher J. Bryant and Julie C. Barnett explored the persuasive influence of terms including 'clean' and 'lab-grown' meat in 'What's in a Name? Consumer Perceptions of In Vitro Meat under Different Names' (*App* 137[2019] 104–13). Attitudes to names and their impact on perception may surface in virtually any discipline. Another pertinent example for the year in question is the paper by Manuel Anglada-Tort, Jochen Steffens, and Daniel Müllensiefen, 'Names and Titles Matter: The Impact of Linguistic Fluency and the Affect Heuristic on Aesthetic and Value Judgements of Music' (*PACA* 13[2019] 277–92). The findings of this research argue that 'aesthetic and value judgments of music were significantly influenced by the linguistic manipulation of the names' (p. 277). Linguistics and psychology are combined in the investigation of several perceptual phenomena in the paper by David M. Sidhu, Kristen Deschamps, Joshua S. Bourdage, and Penny M. Pexman, 'Does the Name Say it All? Investigating Phoneme-Personality Sound Symbolism in First Names' (*JExPG* 148[2019] 1595–1614). The authors draw several conclusions from their analyses of perception, finding for example that 'names with sonorant phonemes (e.g., *Mona*, *Owen*) were associated with high Emotionality, Agreeableness, and Conscientiousness, whereas names with voiceless stop phonemes (e.g., *Katie*, *Curtis*) were associated with high Extraversion' (p. 1595). These examples serve to underline the influence and power of names, and the scholarly attention applied onomastics currently commands.

Journals devoted purely to onomastics have suffered notably in recent years from the underfunding and lack of support commonplace across the arts and humanities, being largely dependent on the unpaid activities of beleaguered editors and reviewers working in their 'spare' time. Without wishing to make any specific assumptions about the reasons, it is nevertheless against this backdrop

that we note, with sadness, the suspension of publication of the journal *Onomastica Canadiana*, its most recent volume being that of 2018. Against the odds, however, 2019 witnessed the recovery of the publication schedule for *Onoma*, the journal of the International Council of Onomastic Sciences, with the release of all three volumes originally intended for 2015, 2016, and 2017. The progression of the *Journal of Literary Onomastics* has happily continued, apparently unimpeded by the loss of the 2018 volume, with the 2019 volume appearing as expected. *Nomina*, the journal of the Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland, has fared less well; although 2018 saw the publication of *Nomina* 39[2016–18], a volume for 2019 has yet to materialize. One of the important, regularly occurring onomastic publications of 2019 was *Locality and Globality in the World of Names: Proceedings of the 26th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences, Debrecen, 27 August—1 September 2017*, which occupies volumes 10–14 of the journal *Onomastica Uralica*, and is available online at http://mnytud.arts.unideb.hu/onomural/. A helpful summary is provided by Martyna Gibka (*BeP* 15[2018] 181–90); the papers are very wide-ranging, covering international topics in onomastics in a variety of languages (*OnU* [2019] 10–14).

The EPNS continues to chart the linguistic evidence for an etymological interpretation of England's place names through its ongoing publication of material, organized by county. In 2019, the ninety-third edition to this monumental series arrived in the form of *The Place-Names of Leicestershire Part 8*, by Barrie Cox. Publication of the volumes for this county began in 1998 (*EPNS* volume 75), with the main survey work covered in the first seven parts. Part 8 focuses on 'Rivers, Roads, Folk, Analyses, [and] Overview', additionally providing an index to all of the Leicestershire work. The completion of this volume therefore marks an important milestone in the progress of the EPNS series, and Cox is to be highly commended for his sustained, detailed research and analysis.

The EPNS also continues to publish the Your City's Place Names series, with the fourth volume, on Cambridge, by Richard Coates, appearing in 2019 to complement the existing set covering Bristol, Brighton and Hove, and Leeds. The series is written very accessibly, with several very helpful guides in the front matter included to aid the reader not yet well versed in the history of England's languages, or indeed of onomastics as a discipline. An additional feature of the 2019 volume is the appendix on the origins of the names of Cambridge University's colleges (pp. 109–19).

The edited volume by Oliviu Felecan, *Onomastics between Sacred and Profane*, is ambitious in scope, drawing together a fascinating collection of chapters on naming and belief across international contexts including Africa, Finland, Japan, and the United States. The papers are organized into five sub-sections: 'Names of God(s) in Different Religions/Faiths and Languages'; 'Toponymy between Sacred and Profane'; 'Anthroponymy between Sacred and Profane'; 'Ergonomy between Sacred and Profane'; and 'Literature and Onomastic Wordplay between Sacred and Profane'. The book will therefore be of wide-ranging interest to sociologists and cultural historians as well as onomasticians. Another important text that deserves special mention here is Martyna Gibka's *Literary Onomastics: A Theory*, which 'aims to change the chaotic direction' of the subdiscipline by setting it up with a more stable theoretical basis on which to

build (p. 142). This work makes an important contribution to the field and will no doubt be highly influential on the investigations that follow. It tests existing approaches and offers new models of analysis. A useful review is provided by Grant W. Smith (*Onoma* 53[2018] 119–24), with Gibka's work providing the starting point for that thematic volume on literary onomastics, which will be addressed in the next volume of *YWES*, given its actual publication date of 2020.

Other specialized books with an onomastic focus from 2019 include *Personal Names and Naming Practices in Medieval Scotland*, edited by Matthew Hammond. This volume showcases the range of applications of the database on the 'People of Medieval Scotland', available online at https://www.poms.ac.uk/ and will prove a valuable work of reference. In addition, the introduction, written by the editor, has already been marked out for its particular importance in providing a historiography of academic investigation of British and Irish anthroponymy to date (*JSHS* 40[2020] 167–9). As Alex Woolf has noted, Hammond's survey 'should probably now be the first place to which students embarking on any study in this field should be directed' (p. 167). Much of the material relates to the active uses and cultural inheritance of Scottish Gaelic anthroponymy, and the individual chapters are predominantly written by specialists in the history of Celtic languages and cultures. Nevertheless, the book will be of wider interest to onomasticians whose interests include the full historical spectrum of language in Scotland (i.e. including Scots and its Germanic ancestor, OE, as well as ON, French, and Latin). In this context particular attention should be drawn to the chapter by Valeria Di Clemente on 'Masculine Given Names of Germanic Origin in the Ragman Roll (1296)' (pp. 148–65), and the chapter by Thomas Owen Clancy and Matthew Hammond, 'The Romance of Names: Literary Personal Names in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Scotland' (pp. 166–86). Readers with an interest in hagionyms may be interested to explore the individual chapters by Tom Turpie and Rachel Butter, which focus respectively on 'Duthlac Wigmore and Ninian Wallace: Scottish Saints and Personal Names in the Later Middle Ages' (pp. 213–20) and 'Saints in Names in Late Medieval Argyll: A Preliminary Enquiry' (pp. 221–43). A further exploration of the influence of religion on medieval naming can be found in the chapter by John Reuben Davies on 'Old Testament Personal Names in Scotland before the Wars of Independence' (pp. 187–212).

Continuing with the study of Scottish names, the *Journal of Scottish Name Studies* 13[2019] covers a range of topics of both broad and narrow focus, ranging from place names of Pictish etymology to commemorative urbanonyms. The paper perhaps most likely to be of broad interest to readers of *YWES* is Rex Taylor's critical toponymic examination of 'Street Names and National Identities: An Exploratory Study between Montblanc, France and Dumfries, Scotland' (*JSNS* 13[2019] 83–90). Moving our focus to the south of Britain, the 2018 volume of the journal of the EPNS (published 2019) marks its Golden Jubilee with a celebratory editorial contributed by Richard Coates, which charts some of the key points in the publication's history since its inception in 1968 under the direction of the then secretary of the society, John McNeal Dodgson (*JEPNS* 50[2019] 5–9). The other papers in the volume are closely focused historical studies of individual names, concentrating on name etymologies and origins, and seeking to identify and explain several lost names by connecting them to the

landscape through the cultural clues and trace evidence left behind. Keith Briggs asks, 'Where in Suffolk Was *Wicklaw*?', narrowing the field of possible solutions through close analysis of surname data (*JEPNS* 50[2019] 11–15). In his article on 'Dorking, Surrey', Rob Briggs reviews the etymological evidence for this complex and puzzling name (*JEPNS* 50[2019] 17–54). Richard Coates similarly considers a range of possible explanations for 'Two Lost Place-Names in the West Midlands: Gaia in Lichfield and The Gay in Shrewsbury' (*JEPNS* 50[2019] 55–64). In her article on 'Two Chiltern Place-Names Reconsidered: Elvendon and Misbourne', Anne Cole revises the etymologies of these toponyms from the interpretations provided in early EPNS volumes (*JEPNS* 50[2019] 65–74). In 'Medieval Place-Names in a Landscape: Branscombe', John Torrance draws inspiration from the work of Margaret Gelling and Anne Cole as he decodes the onomastic clues to the origins of valleys, hill, hamlets, and routes within the local area (*JEPNS* 50[2019] 75–96).

The onomastic questions investigated in *Nomina Africana* [2019] of most direct relevance to the study of English take a different focus, typically considering names through more critical and less descriptive lenses. Gibson Ncube explores 'Gender and Naming Practices, and the Creation of a Taxonomy of Masculinities in the South African Soap Opera *The Queen*', reading the patterns of representation in the television programme as a commentary on the social identities of post-apartheid South Africa (*NomAf* 33[2019] 1–8). In '*Syungu Namutitima* or Victoria Falls? Contest for Place and Place Naming', Khama Hang'ombe, Emmanuel Chabata, and Zvinashe Mamvura explore the competing claims on the locale and its identity and purpose by the Leya people and the Zambian government (*NomAf* 33[2019] 19–31). Johan Moll reviews the perceptions and applications of new names as an impetus for change that took place within South Africa's Department of Correctional Services in 2011 in 'Prison Renaming: Solving Intractable Internal Problems by External Renaming?' (*NomAf* 33[2019] 61–70). Bertie Neethling considers the intersection of 'Economics, Gender and Onomastics: Liquor Brand Names in South Africa', providing an extensive, detailed compendium of commercial names, contextualized against the social backdrop of a country undergoing considerable social change (*NomAf* 33[2019] 99–115).

Three volumes of *Onoma*, the journal of the International Council of Onomastic Sciences (ICOS), were published in 2019: 50[2015], 51[2016], and 52[2017]. Consequently, the periodical now looks likely to recover its publication schedule fully, which is very good news for the organization and for the discipline as a whole. ICOS conferences provide a significant platform for international scholarship and research networks, and bring together onomastic scholars from all over the world. *Onoma* 50 is a general non-themed volume with papers on English, Danish, and Mari names. In 'Naming Shirehampton and the Name *Shirehampton*' (*Onoma* 50[2015] 5–43), Richard Coates uses this place name to provide 'an object lesson in the lexical-semantic and phonological difficulties of historical onomastics' (p. 5). Lasse Hämäläinen examines 'User Names of Illegal Drug Vendors on a Darknet Cryptomarket' (*Onoma* 50[2015] 45–71), and Donna L. Lillian considers 'Names and Magic: Onomancy in Suzette Haden Elgin's Ozark Trilogy (*Onoma* 50[2015] 103–19). Volume 51 takes Asian onomastics as its focus; it contains a wealth of cross-cultural material and several papers which

will be of immediate relevance to onomasticians with an interest in postcolonial naming practices and contested names. These include Phùng Thị Thanh Lâm's '(Re)Naming Hanoi Streets after Historical People from Colonialism to Postcolonialism: Creation and Recalling Collective Memories' (*Onoma* 51[2016] 25–44) and Peter Kang's 'From Cairo to the Nationalistic Geography of China: Street-Naming in Taipei City Immediately after WWII' (*Onoma* 51[2016] 45–74). *Onoma* 52 is non-themed, with papers covering a range of quite disparate subjects from Finnish slang names to French toponymic inscriptions in Beirut. Despite its stated lack of a theme, Richard Coates's theory of 'Properhood' features in no fewer than four of the articles. The first is a rejoinder, by Coates, to previous criticisms of his arguments: 'The Meaning of Names: A Defence of the Pragmatic Theory of Properhood (TPTP) addressed to Van Langendonck, Anderson, Colman and McClure' (*Onoma* 52[2017] 7–26). Later in the volume, Coates also offers a short note proposing the term 'Onymoids' (*Onoma* 52[2017] 109–14) for proper names that are 'lexically and grammatically transparent in the language with which [they are] most closely associated' (p. 109). Adrian Koopman revisits element of Coates's theory in 'Call Me Brigadier Sir Nils Olav: Properhood in Bird Names and the Naming of Military Mascots' (*Onoma* 52[2017] 67–86), while Evgeny Shokhenmayer proposes a translation of Coates's 'Properhood' into French in a short note (*Onoma* 52[2017] 115–22). Another paper to note here is Valeria de Clemente's 'Women's Names of Germanic Origin in the Ragman Roll (1296)' (*Onoma* 52[2017] 27–44), which forms a companion piece to her chapter in Hammond, discussed above.

The year under consideration also saw the welcome publication of the next volume of the *Journal of Literary Onomastics*, after a brief hiatus; the series therefore continues with *JLO* 7[2019] following *JLO* 6[2017]. In 'Hrothgar and Wealhtheow: An Onomastic Approach to a Story of Good Governance', D. Marie Nelson explores the names of two of the most important characters in *Beowulf* after the eponymous hero (*JLO* 7[2019] 1–11). In 'Place-Names and Politics in *The Awntyrs off Arthure*', Andrew Breeze interrogates the medieval text for information about fifteenth-century Scottish–English border geopolitics (*JLO* 7[2019] 12–27). Moving away from medieval mythologies into the realms of modern children's literature, Janine A.E. Strandberg looks at strategies for remaking fictional names in other languages, in 'Multilingual Moomins: Examining the Translation of Tove Jansson 's Nonsense Character Names from Swedish to English and Finnish' (*JLO* 7[2019] 28–44). The theme of modern fictional works continues with Martyna Gibka's article on the 'Permanent Functions of Characters' Proper Names in *Harry Potter*' (*JLO* 7[2019] 45–52).

Names, the journal of the American Name Society, as ever, covers a very wide spectrum of materials, locations, and approaches to onomastics. Critical toponymy is again evident in several contributions, notably Lucie A. Möller's article on 'Multilingual Place Names in Southern Africa' (*Names* 67[2019] 5–15), and Liora Bigon and Michel Ben Arrous's 'A Tale of Two Brazzas: Intertwining (Post-)Colonial Namescapes', which explores the politics of the Brazzaville Street in Holon, Israel, and Quay of Brazza in Bordeaux, France (*Names* 67[2019] 40–53). In 'The Intangible Heritage of the Anthropocene: The Toponymic Revolution in the Human Age' (*Names* 67[2019] 125–35), Gian Franco Capra and Antonio Ganga argue that 'place names have been historically

characterized by their intrinsic self-capacity to survive', but that since the Industrial Revolution, 'this important self-capacity of toponyms appears to have been partially lost' (p. 126). The assertion that this is a modern phenomenon is difficult to support, however; as attested by records that far pre-date the Chthulucene, colonizing practices have involved the partial or complete over-writing of pre-existing names by the incoming settlers in numerous contexts.

More traditional historical onomastics is represented by papers such as Paul R. Peterson's 'Old Norse Nicknames: Origins and Terminology' (*Names* 67[2019] 89–99). Minor names are explored in the article by Nadja Penko Seidl, 'Engraved in the Landscape: The Study of Spatial and Temporal Characteristics of Field Names in the Changing Landscape' (*Names* 67[2019] 16–29). This theme continues in Michael D. Sublett's 'Upstate, Downstate, and Outstate Across the United States', which considers the use of these unofficial terms as referents for generalized locations, and their application in commercial contexts (*Names* 67[2019] 212–27).

An important addition to onomastic theory is provided by Jan Tent and David Blair in 'A Clash of Names: The Terminological Morass of a Toponym Class' (*Names* 67[2019] 65–77). This paper highlights the problems and inadequacies of the place names hitherto often classified as 'tautologous'; these are toponyms which include elements from different languages which have been combined to form names which essentially would translate literally as if repeating the same word. A classic example is Knockhill in Fife, Scotland, from Scottish Gaelic *cnoc* 'hill' and (Scottish) English *hill* 'hill', the existence of which is indicative of an older 'Knock' name becoming semantically opaque to the point where it could be renamed 'the hill at Knock' during a subsequent phase of (re)naming. In critiquing the logic of previous attempts at labelling this group of names, Tent and Blair show that the assumptions made by such labels are often unhelpful; Knockhill could only be considered a 'tautology' when looking at the literal translation of its component parts, and thus ignoring the purpose of the original coinage, which identified 'the hill at Knock'. It remains to be seen whether their proposed suggestion of the term 'macaronic duplex toponym' (p. 72) will be taken up by the onomastic community at large, but their intervention is timely and draws attention (perhaps with unintended irony) to a weakness in onomastic terminology that has been waiting to be addressed fully.

Socio-onomastics is represented in papers including Emilia Aldrin's exploration of 'Naming, Identity, and Social Positioning in Teenagers' Everyday Mobile Phone Interaction' (*Names* 67[2019] 30–9), and in a particularly detailed study by Lauren MacAulay, Daniel Siddiqi, and Ida Toivonen into 'The Age of Aidans: Cognitive Underpinnings of a New Trend in English Boys' Names' (*Names* 67[2019] 160–74). Additional insightful papers in the 2019 collection include two of keen significance: Krisda Chaemsaithong's 'Names and Identities in Courtroom Narratives' (*Names* 67[2019] 185–98), and Sharon N. Obasi, Richard Mocarski, Natalie Holt, Debra A. Hope, and Nathan Woodruff's 'Renaming Me: Assessing the Influence of Gender Identity on Name Selection' (*Names* 67[2019] 199–211). Both of these papers draw attention to the ways in which names can influence perception in situations of extreme personal and legal importance, and provide critical examples of how onomastics could (but has yet to) inform the justice system and actively work to eradicate prejudice.

Personal names continue to dominate the discussions at the centre of some of the more historically concerned articles. In 'Grizzel Greedigut: A Name "No Mortall Could Invent"', Joseph Pentangelo examines a name attributed to a sixteenth-century English woman accused of witchcraft by witch hunter Matthew Hopkins (*Names* 67[2019] 78–88). Sara L. Uckelman challenges some widespread assumptions about the literary origins of female first names in 'Names Shakespeare Didn't Invent: Imogen, Olivia, and Viola Revisited' (*Names* 67[2019] 153–9). In 'Re-using the Names of Newborns: Symbolic Reincarnation in an Age of Infant Mortality', Stephen J. Bush draws on historical birth records to gain new insights into this practice (*Names* 67[2019] 100–12).

It is not possible to do justice to all of the contributions to onomastics here, nor to comment fully on all of the areas of research which intersect with onomastics; apologies are therefore included for any omissions or errors of unforced brevity. The books, chapters, collections, and articles under consideration again serve to underscore the diversity of activities for which names are important, while also demonstrating that theories about names and naming continue to evolve, thanks to the activities of the highly engaged research community. The international reach of the 2019 publications is further evidence of the subject's direct relevance to ongoing social and academic debates, with onomastic research becoming increasingly visible in relation to questions of politics, identity, and culture.

9. Dialectology and Sociolinguistics

We start this year's overview of studies in English dialectology and sociolinguistics with general works before moving on to more specific regional investigations. Beginning with textbooks, we note the third, revised edition of Miriam Meyerhoff's *Introducing Sociolinguistics*. The structure has remained the same, as has the book's interwoven structure with the accompanying reader (Miriam Meyerhoff and Erik Schleef, eds., *The Routledge Sociolinguistics Reader* [2010]), but chapters have been revised and the whole book is now thirty pages longer. Enjoy!

Paul Simpson, Andrea Mayr, and Simon Statham have contributed the second edition of their textbook on *Language and Power*, in Routledge's Resource Book series. This is divided into a discussion of 'Key Topics in the Study of Language and Power' (Part A, pp. 1–56), which includes the sociolinguistically relevant contexts of language and gender, and language and race, and Part B, 'Development: Approaches to the Study of Language and Power' (pp. 57–124), where they introduce the reader to Critical Discourse Analysis, leading to more in-depth studies in Part C, 'Exploration: Analysing Language and Power' (pp. 125–67). Part D, 'Extension: Readings in Language and Power' (pp. 169–248), includes extracts from various authors, such as Srikant Sarangi, Deborah Cameron, and Robin Tolmach Lakoff. Variationist sociolinguistics does not feature, but then this is an interesting integrated volume on various aspects of language and power directed at introductory classroom use.

For advanced students, Paul McPherron and Trudy Smoke contribute *Thinking Sociolinguistically: How to Plan, Conduct and Present Your Research Project*.

They take their readers through data collection (covering surveys, interviews, participant observation, and linguistic landscapes) to data analysis (with some qualitative and some quantitative measures) and to writing it all up. This book is hands-on, providing students with important questions at all levels ('Can you define all of the concepts? [...] What would constitute evidence to answer your questions?', p. 31), and also serves as an introduction to the main researchers and research topics of sociolinguistics, where the authors also note how research questions have changed over time. A recommended read from our side.

In a general vein, Christian W. Chun explores 'Language, Discourse, and Class: What's Next for Sociolinguistics?' (*JSoc* 23[2019] 332–45), and calls for a model of class as 'process and performativity' (p. 333) to 'explore the ways in which working-class people in differential and interanimating domains of gender, race, ethnicity, age, and sexuality may or may not talk in the same manner depending on the particular local, national, and trans-global context' (p. 340). Penelope Eckert uncovers 'The Limits of Meaning: Social Indexicality, Variation, and the Cline of Interiority' (*Language* 95[2019] 751–76) and argues against a modular approach to language.

Laura Rupp and David Britain this year are shedding light on a humble linguistic variable in *Linguistic Perspectives on a Variable English Morpheme: Let's Talk About -s*. They distinguish several large patterns, each of which is the topic of a long chapter. Non-standard verbal <-s> in English patterns according to the Northern Subject Rule (depending on the type of subject—pronoun or not—and on the distance from the subject—adjacent or not) or the reverse pattern, which the authors call 'East Anglian Subject Rule'—an example of a new grammatical distinction that has only become possible with the historical demise of inflectional person marking. Variation in the past tense (*was* vs. *were*) patterns in three distinct ways, *was*-generalization, *were*-generalization, or the mixed system of *was* used in positive clauses, *weren't* in negative ones—an example of exaptation (Roger Lass [1990]), or recycling of a morphological distinction (past-tense person) for a new purpose (indicating polarity). Finally, <-s> is found in plural existentials (*There's some pork pieces left*). The authors' decision to have each chapter followed by its own bibliography is unusual but makes this comprehensive monograph—or indeed just single chapters—ideal as teaching material for advanced students, or Ph.D. programmes.

Starting the regional overview with Ireland, Niamh E. Kelly comes to the perhaps not quite unexpected insight that there are differences between 'The Perception of Dental and Alveolar Stops Among Speakers of Irish English and American English' (*ELL* 23[2019] 277–302), due to the fact that dental stops are an IrE (but not AmE) realization of TH. Most studies of IrE this year come from Raymond Hickey's collection of letter-based studies, *Keeping in Touch: Emigrant Letters across the English-Speaking World*, clearly dominated by the Irish not just because of the predilections of its editor but also because Irish emigrants did indeed spread across the whole world. Hickey points out the value of emigrant letters, especially of the first generation of emigrants, and claims that despite various caveats (authorship, subject matter, addressee, letter-writing formulae, lack of biographical information), 'emigrant letters [...] can yield a variety of insights regarding the linguistic structure of varieties at the time of writing' (p. 1). On a historical note, Emma Moreton and Chris Culy trace the

linguistic items linked to 'Homesickness, Recollections and Reunions: Topics and Emotions in a Corpus of Female Irish Emigrant Correspondence' (in Hickey, ed., pp. 87–118). In the same collection, Kevin McCafferty claims '"I have not time to say more at present": Negating Lexical HAVE in Irish English' (in Hickey, ed., pp. 119–38), where DO-support 'remained rare in IrE' (p. 119)—instead, bare negation and negation with *have no* are used. Carolina Amador-Moreno assures us that '"Matt & Mrs Connor is with me now: they are only beginning to learn the work of the camp": Irish Emigrants Writing from Argentina' (in Hickey, ed., pp. 139–62) and demonstrates that 'IrE was preserved in a non-English speaking environment' (p. 139) by Irish immigrants in Argentina before later generations switched to Spanish. Raymond Hickey himself uncovers 'Grammatical Variation in Nineteenth-Century Irish Australian Letters' (in Hickey, ed., pp. 163–84) but finds that 'virtually all [. . .] features were not adopted into the emerging supraregional form of AusE' (p. 163), probably because of their stigmatization as IrE features. Dania Jovanna Bonness finds something similar for New Zealand immigration in 'Seas May Divide and Oceans Roll between but Friends is Friends Whatever Intervene' (in Hickey, ed., pp. 185–209). In another collection, Kevin McCafferty and Carolina P. Amador-Moreno quote more letter-writers in '"But [ah] Hellen d[ea]r sure you have it more in your power in every respect than I have"—Discourse Marker *Sure* in IrE' (in Sandra Jansen and Lucia Siebers, eds., *Processes of Change*, pp. 73–93), and they find that *sure* employed at the beginning or end of clauses does not signal emphasis but 'expected consensus' (p. 73), thus patterning differently from PDE, but AmE *sure* 'might have originated in IrE uses' (p. 73). John M. Kirk investigates 'The Modal Auxiliary Verb *May* and Change in IrE' (in Jansen and Siebers, eds., pp. 183–202), where 'epistemic uses predominate in spoken data' of ICE-Ireland.

On the northern Scottish isles, Viveka Velupillai investigates 'Gendered Inanimates in Shetland Dialect: Comparing Pre-Oil and Contemporary Speech' (*EWW* 40[2019] 269–98). The use of (mainly) *he*, but also *she* referring to inanimate referents (*Is du seen my mobile phone? I cannot find her*) is surprisingly robust, and not linked to traditional lexemes. The use seems conditioned by concreteness and topic-hood, and favoured for semantically active roles, but overall seems to operate below the 'radar of consciousness' (p. 295) in this remote community.

For historical Scots, Warren Maguire, Rhona Alcorn, Benjamin Molineaux, Joanna Kopaczyk, Vasilios Karaiskos, and Bettelou Los are 'Charting the Rise and Demise of a Phonotactically Motivated Change in Scots' (*FoLiH* 40[2019] 37–59), Older Scots that is. Their very careful orthographic analysis shows that far from being random spelling variation, Older Scots had 'automatic devoicing of any fricative that appeared in word-final position' (p. 37) and then only came to align with EngEng under increasing English influence from the sixteenth century onwards. The same authors, Benjamin Molineaux, Joanna Kopaczyk, Warren Maguire, Rhona Alcorn, Vasilios Karaiskos, and Bettelou Los, also uncover 'Early Spelling Evidence for Scots L-Vocalization: A Corpus Based Approach' (in Alcorn et al., eds., *Historical Dialectology in the Digital Age*, pp. 61–87) and find that L-vocalization is 'a very low-level phenomenon throughout the fifteenth century' (p. 76). Marina Dossena traces 'Scotland's Contribution to English Vocabulary in Late Modern Times' (in Jansen and Siebers, eds., pp. 96–

114) on the basis of quotations taken from nineteenth-century writers, lexicographers, and periodicals in the *OED*, and it is striking that especially the highly popular novels by Sir Walter Scott were influential here. For present-day Scots, Gary Thoms, David Adger, Caroline Heycock, and Jennifer Smith give a formal analysis of 'Syntactic Variation and Auxiliary Contraction: The Surprising Case of Scots' (*Language* 95[2019] 421–55), where 'auxiliary contraction involves prosodic incorporation of clitic auxiliary forms onto adjacent material' (p. 452).

Moving to the north of England, Sandra Jansen uncovers both 'Change and Stability in GOOSE, GOAT and FOOT: Back Vowel Dynamics in Carlisle English' (*ELL* 23[2019] 1–29)—as in many other locales, GOOSE is fronting also in this remote north-west corner of England, promoted by middle-class women. However, this change does not seem to be part of a wider back vowel shift—GOAT is prevented from fronting by being monophthongal, and FOOT is kept in place by the lack of the FOOT–STRUT split. Jansen also looks at 'Levelling Processes and Social Changes in a Peripheral Community: Prevocalic /r/ in West Cumbria' (in Jansen and Siebers, eds., pp. 203–26), where 'levelling of prevocalic /r/ is under way and has progressed further in Carlisle than in Maryport' (p. 203), levelling referring to the replacement of trills and taps by the supralocal approximant /r/, which is felt to be more standard.

For the north-east, Laura Rupp and Sali A. Tagliamonte examine '*This Here Town*: Evidence for the Development of the English Determiner System from a Vernacular Demonstrative Construction in York English' (*ELL* 23[2019] 81–103), linking the use of complex demonstratives (as in the title) with another local York phenomenon, Definite Article Reduction (which they would prefer to analyse as Demonstrative Reduction), as in *We loved going to ? Lake District*—for this development they propose a 'definiteness cycle' of reduction and subsequent reinforcement of the determiner. Closely related to this study, Laura Rupp and Sali A. Tagliamonte also look at '"They Used to Follow Ø River": The Zero Article in York English' (*JEngL* 47[2019] 279–300). However, for this phenomenon they observe age grading, with middle-aged speakers suppressing this feature perhaps for prestige reasons. Instead of change, they see essentially a continuation of the use of zero as in OE, making this a very conservative northern feature.

For a phonetic variable, Kate Whisker-Taylor and Lynn Clark examine a local phenomenon not investigated before, 'Yorkshire Assimilation [YA]: Exploring the Production and Perception of a Geographically Restricted Variable' (*JEngL* 47[2019] 221–48)—this involves a complete devoicing of voiced obstruents before a voiceless segment. Their corpus data show that YA was on the rise in the early decades of the twentieth century and has been in massive decline since. It is heard today as old-fashioned but also as friendly. Speaking of language ideologies, Paul Cooper investigates 'The Enregisterment of "Barnsley" Dialect: Vowel Fronting and Being "Broad" in Yorkshire Dialects' (*L&C* 64[2019] 68–80)—a fronted /a/ especially in the town name itself is used also by non-local speakers to differentiate Barnsley from the wider Yorkshire area, and this feature is linked to 'broad', working-class speech and old-fashioned, traditional values. Also for the north-east, Claire Childs finds 'Interviewer Effects on the Phonetic Reduction of Negative Tags, *Innit*?' (*JPrag* 142[2019] 31–46), such that *innit* is used more when the interviewer is more familiar with the interviewee.

Further south, George Bailey sees Manchester's Velar Nasal Plus (the presence of /g/ in <–ing> endings) 'Emerging from Below the Social Radar: Incipient Evaluation in the North West of England' (*JSoc* 23[2019] 3–28). While there is widespread use but no evaluation in older speakers, younger speakers show an incipient stage of awareness although the evaluation is not uniform: -/ing/ is heard as northern but also as more educated—perhaps because it seems closer to the orthographic norm.

Urszula Clark discusses *Staging Language: Place and Identity in the Enactment, Performance and Representation of Regional Dialects*, looking in particular at comedy and parody of Black Country performers (chapter 3), in Afro-Caribbean artists (chapter 4), and in poetry and drama, by local artists for local audiences. Besides the performances, Clark also includes interview materials with the performers themselves and with audiences, showing that her performers use different degrees of local, indexical meanings. Interestingly, the density of dialect features in her Black Country performers is notably higher in the performances, whereas in the backstage interviews, performers use more standard English. The Afro-Caribbean artists investigated use a mix of local Birmingham features, Jamaican Creole features and Multicultural London English features to index their 'Black Brum' (p. 90, sc. Black Birmingham) identity.

Tam Blaxter, Kate Beeching, Richard Coates, James Murphy, and Emily Robinson claim that 'Each P[ɚ]son Does It Th[ɛː] Way: Rhoticity Variation and the Community Grammar' (*LVC* 31[2019] 91–117), reporting on data from Bristol. They warn against pooling data across several speakers since constraints 'that differ between varieties also differ between individuals' (p. 91), and suggest that more attention should be paid to individuals. Trinidad Guzmán-González remarks: '"*He was a good hammer, was he*": Gender as Marker for South-Western Dialects of English. A Corpus-Based Study from a Diachronic Perspective' (in Alcorn et al., eds., pp. 244–65) and she suggests that the seeds for the south-western gender system 'might already have been present in the ME ancestors of those dialects' (p. 244). Also for the south-west, Fiona de Both explores 'Nonstandard Periphrastic DO and Verbal *-s* in the South West of England' (*JHSL* 5[2019] 1–35) and finds that the two constructions are roughly in complementary regional distribution, but there is 'a tendency [that] periphrastic DO favours the habitual verbal aspect, whereas verbal *-s* favours the punctual verbal aspect' (p. 1). For London, Pia Pichler investigates the role of humour in '"He's Got Jheri Curls and Tims On": Humour and Indexicality as Resources for Authentication in Young Men's Talk about Hair and Fashion Style' (*JPrag* 152[2019] 172–85). A group of south London men use other-directed humour (teasing and joking about others) to index group membership in black hip-hop culture.

Moving us across the ocean and looking at historical CanE through age-graded and historical corpora, Derek Denis and Alexandra D'Arcy are 'Deriving Homogeneity in a Settler Colonial Variety of English' (*AS* 94[2019] 223–58). They find that linguistic reality is a bit more 'nuanced' than previously acknowledged: for deontic obligation and possession, Victoria comes out as more conservative than Ontario, but for general extenders (GEs) there is an overall trend towards fewer constructions and a rise of GEs formed with *stuff* so that some of

the purported homogeneity is of younger age. In '*Shall* vs. *Will* in the 1830s Petworth Emigration to Canada Corpus' (in Hickey, ed., pp. 43–66), Stefan Dollinger takes us a bit further back in time and shows that nineteenth-century Canadian settlers from southern England (Sussex, Surrey, and Cambridgeshire) continued using *shall* rather than *will* in the first person and were thus more conservative than Irish emigrants.

For present-day CanE, Derek Denis, Matt Hunt Gardner, Marisa Brook, and Sali A. Tagliamonte uncover 'Peaks and Arrowheads of Vernacular Reorganization' (*LVC* 31[2019] 43–67) with regard to quotative BE LIKE in Toronto, showing that teenagers around 17 years old are at the forefront of (this) change, leading to arrowhead patterns in the linguistic data in real time. Some lexical variation is also studied this year; thus, Sali A. Tagliamonte and Bridget L. Jankowski look at '*Golly, Gosh*, and *Oh My God*! What North American Dialects Can Tell Us about Swear Words' (*AS* 94[2019] 195–222). They find that the euphemisms are quickly going out of use but are retained more in rural areas. Expressions with *God* are increasing, especially *Oh my God*, and especially in the urban centre of Toronto. Bridget L. Jankowski and Sali A. Tagliamonte also find change relating to '*Supper* or *Dinner*? Sociolinguistic Variation in the Meals of the Day' (*EWW* 40[2019] 169–200), where long-standing regional variation in Canada (the use of *supper* in rural areas dominated by northern Anglo-Irish-Scots settlement) is now giving way to the more prestigious American term *dinner*. A more stereotypical feature of CanE (which turns out not be particularly distinctive) is investigated by Charles Boberg, who takes 'A Closer Look at the Short Front Vowel Shift in Canada [SVFS]' (*JEngL* 47[2019] 91–119)—note the change in terminology because, as Boberg can show, the Shift Formerly Known as the Canadian Shift is actually the same as the Californian Shift (Boberg devises a Short Front Vowel Shift Index to compare vowel distances across localities here), and in addition Back Vowel Fronting (of GOOSE, FOOT and GOAT) is also linked (though not in the shape of a shift). Women lead in this shift so clearly that Boberg speculates that 'one might even say that the SVFS is not a California or western American pattern or a Canadian pattern but a female pattern' (p. 113), and the prestige of these speakers might explain the rapid spread of the SFVS across the whole of America. On a very little-studied ethnic variety, Nicole Rosen, Inge Genee, Jillian Ankutowicz, Taylor Petker, and Jennifer Shapka contribute 'A Comparative Analysis of Rhythmic Patterns in Settler-Heritage and Blackfoot English in Southern Alberta' (*CJL* 64[2019] 538–55) and find that Blackfoot English is actually more stress-timed than settler-heritage English—this is possibly due to language transfer effects, but then very little is known about the prosodic rhythm of the original Blackfoot First Nation language.

Moving to the United States, Frances Blanchette and Cynthia Lukyanenko ask about 'Unacceptable Grammars? An Eye-Tracking Study of English Negative Concord' (*L&Cog* 11[2019] 1–40), and despite their underlying assumption that speakers only have 'one' grammar, they have to admit that 'N[egative] C[oncord] constructions, which are unacceptable and not typically used by SE speakers, are nevertheless processed in consistent, predictable ways by speakers of this variety', which may suggest that that the 'unacceptability' may be an 'artifact of prescriptive pressure' (p. 26)—a conclusion that sociolinguists will

probably not find particularly surprising. That there may be, underlying this pre-scriptive pressure, the much more serious issue of deep-seated not just institutional but also linguistic racism, especially in the US, is a point we will come back to below.

Elizabeth A. McCullough, Cynthia G. Clopper, and Laura Wagner trace 'Regional Dialect Perception across the Lifespan: Identification and Discrimination' (*L&S* 62[2019] 115–36), finding that (if asked the right question) 4- to 5-year-olds are already able to link identity to regional dialect features, but it then takes the best part of adolescence to 'build representations of culturally relevant dialect categories and the linguistic features than index them' (p. 133). Jim Wood is 'Quantifying Geographical Variation in Acceptability Judgments in Regional American English Dialect Syntax' (*Linguistics* 57[2019] 1367–1402), showing different geographical patterns for presentative datives (*here's you some money*, a southern construction), the expression *so don't I* or transitive BE-perfect constructions (both north-eastern constructions), the intensifiers *wicked* and *hella*, and DO-support for sentences containing *have yet* (an upper-Midwest construction).

For New England, Chaeyoon Kim, Sravana Reddy, James N. Stanford, Ezra Wyschogrod, and Jack Grieve cry out: 'Bring on the Crowd! Using Online Audio Crowd-Sourcing for Large-Scale New England Dialectology and Acoustic Sociophonetics' (*AS* 94[2019] 151–94). On the basis of the new technique of sampling audio recordings using Amazon's Mechanical Turk platform, they confirm earlier studies of dialect areas that divide New England into east vs. west. Non-rhoticity has a stronghold in the Boston area and in rural areas, and generally in New England they observe the nasal /æ/-system. For Philadelphia, Betsy Sneller, Josef Fruehwald, and Charles Yang are 'Using the Tolerance Principle to Predict Phonological Change' (*LVC* 31[2019] 1–20) and come to the conclusion that 'the allophonic restructuring of /æ/ in Philadelphia English is most likely the result of children acquiring language from mixed dialect input' (p. 1)—the mixed input containing the nasal /æ/-split as well as the local pattern. Meredith Tamminga finds less than expected 'Interspeaker Covariation in Philadelphia Vowel Changes' (*LVC* 31[2019] 119–33); in fact, in her data only the reversal/withdrawals are significantly correlated, namely the vowel changes in DOWN, GOAT, and THOUGHT.

Daniel Duncan reports on 'The Influence of Suburban Development and Metropolitan Fragmentation on Language Variation and Change: Evidence from Greater St. Louis' (*JLG* 7[2019] 82–97), cautioning against regarding urban areas as homogeneous. His apparent and real-time investigation of three vowels (LOT, THOUGHT, and TRAP) involved in the Northern Cities Shift shows that different patterns of diffusion and the more recent retreat from the NCS seems to be led by the suburbs, perhaps one of the new common patterns helped by rapid suburbanization (and concomitant racialization and de facto segregation) of post-war North America. Kathryn A. Remlinger concentrates on the language ideology related to the Upper Peninsula in Michigan, in *Yooper Talk: Dialect as Identity in Michigan's Upper Peninsula* [2017], also looking at everyday cultural practices, and the links to identity. The book is written for a general readership; Remlinger explains her language-ideological background (in the spirit of recent enregisterment studies) and shows which features of the Finnish American

immigrants to the Upper Peninsula (UP) have come to be enregistered as authentic, local working-class UP speech, not least the typical cultural practice and word *sauna* as /sauna/.

Also for the Midwest, Angela Bagwell, Samantha Litty, and Mike Olson investigate 'Wisconsin Immigrant Letters: German Transfer to Wisconsin English' (in Hickey, ed., pp. 27–41) in over 100 letters and find final devoicing, topicalization strategies (*my buggy I swapped for a mule*), *to*-infinitives, and strategies for expressing German *lassen*, *noch*, and *bei* that have found their way into the emigrants' nineteenth-century English (*we had better leave that be*, *we have been quite busy yet*, *we will have bookkeeping by Mr. Moore*). Samantha Litty, Jennifer Mercer, and Joseph Salmons explore 'Early Immigrant English: Midwestern English before the Dust Settled' (in Jansen and Siebers, eds., pp. 115–37), in particular the German influence, which shows up in final obstruent neutralization (aka *Auslautverhärtung*), lack of <–s> in *pluralia tantum* (e.g. the scissor), or TH-stopping in 'emerging Wisconsin English' (p. 116). Christopher Strelluf confirms that '*Anymore*, It's on Twitter: Positive *Anymore*, American Regional Dialects, and Polarity Licensing in Tweets' (*AS* 94[2019] 313–51), more specifically that positive *anymore* is 'a distinctive feature of the Midland', especially of Pittsburgh.

Moving our attention to the south, Thomas E. Nunnally has edited and co-written the volume *Speaking of Alabama: The History, Diversity, Function, and Change of Language* [2018], which addresses both lay readers and experts. In it, Catherine Evans Davies traces 'Southern American English in Alabama' (in Nunnally, ed., pp. 50–65), noting especially rhoticity, /ai/-monophthongization, the PEN-PIN merger and the Southern Vowel Shift (SVS) as southern features. Grammatical features include the 2pl form *yall*, double modals, multiple negation, negative inversion, and pragmatic patterns (use of *Ma'am*, *Sir*, indirectness, and storytelling). As elsewhere in the South, Alabama speakers move away from traditional southern features. Nunnally and Guy Bailey contribute a monograph-long chapter on 'Extreme North Alabama: Cultural Collisions and Linguistic Fallout' (in Nunnally, ed., pp. 66–139), where the accents distinguish descendants of the old southern aristocracy from poorer white 'yeomen', and black speakers. Crawford Feagin answers the question 'Just What Is the Southern Drawl?' (in Nunnally, ed., pp. 140–58) in what is perhaps the best contribution in this collection for linguists; the answer is that the drawl consists of vowel-lengthening, glides, or diphthongs 'going in every direction' (p. 145) and pitch changes during the pronunciation of a word so that, for example, *boy* can come out as ['bɑo̯wi], or *eye* (with /ai/-monophthongization) is pronounced with two tones as ['a̯a]. Rachael Allbritten claims, in 'The Heart of Dixie Is in Their Vowels: The Relationship between Culture and Language in Huntsville, Alabama' (in Nunnally, ed., pp. 159–71), that participation in the SVS might be linked to a rural vs. urban orientation of speakers rather than their social class, which might be more difficult to determine in these small communities anyway. Jocelyn Doxsey asks, 'To [a:] or Not to [a:] On the Gulf Coast of Alabama' (in Nunnally, ed., pp. 183–91) since the city of Mobile has the lowest rate of monophthongization, indicating a dialect difference between the north of Alabama and coastal regions and also a change in progress away from /ai/-monophthongization. J. Daniel Hasty finds that southerners have internalized the stigmatization of

their dialect, and Alabamians even distinguish in their evaluation mid-South dialects like Tennessee from their home dialect, claiming '"They Sound Better Than We Do": Language Attitudes in Alabama' (in Nunnally, ed., pp. 192–200).

Frances Blachette and Chris Collins propose a new analysis 'On the Subject of Negative Auxiliary Inversion' (*CJL* 64[2019] 32–61), mainly based on Appalachian English data. This article stands out in its methodology since despite its formal framework it includes corpus data and an intuition survey, in addition to individual grammaticality judgements by dialect speakers. The authors propose a novel analysis based on the subject types allowed, the scope features, and the fact that logical double negation readings are not possible in the construction (*ain't nobody done you wrong*).

Natalie Dajko and Shana Walton have edited *Language in Louisiana: Community and Culture*, giving an overview of the (mostly moribund, or extinct) indigenous languages, the use of French, Spanish, and new(-ish) Vietnamese, and, perhaps most relevant for this section, 'English in Louisiana', characterized by the 'gumbo of influences' (p. 159) of AAE, Creole AAE, Southern White English, New Orleans English, and Cajun English. Katie Carmichael looks at the latter in more detail in 'Cajun English' (in Dajko and Walton, eds., pp. 159–72) and notes that, even with the shift to English since the beginning of the twentieth century, Cajun English as the most important marker of Cajun identity is still characterized by the use of French phrases and calques, French-influenced pronunciations, and grammatical constructions. Christina Schoux Casey asks 'Dou You Know What It Means? New Orleans English' (in Dajko and Walton, eds., pp. 172–202), which she characterizes as 'a global icon of Jazz, Mardi Gras, and hedonistic Otherness' (p. 174). After the flooding by Hurricane Katrina she observes a 'revalorization of local language' (p. 180) by returning inhabitants, but also increasing segregation, and she notes in particular that New Orleans AAVE and New Orleans Creole English are very little studied, leaving much to be done in the future. Lisa Abney reports on her own project of 'The Linguistic Survey of North Louisiana: History and Progress' (in Dajko and Walton, eds., pp. 203–25) in the area where 'Cajun culture becomes less prominent and Anglo-Scots-Irish and African American cultural influences increase' (p. 208). Some interesting features she notes are wider southern features (PEN-PIN merger, increasing rhoticity, incoming COT-CAUGHT merger, decrease in glide-retention, /ai/-monophthongization) but she also documents the CURL-COIL reversal known from New Orleans, or /æ/-diphthongization (to /ai/). The most interesting part involves descriptions of individual speakers and some short transcripts of this largely unknown area (in dialectology, that is).

For the west coast, Annette D'Onofrio, Teresa Pratt, and Janneke Van Hofwegen find 'Compression in the California Vowel Shift: Tracking Generational Sound Change in California's Central Valley' (*LVC* 31[2019] 193–217). Although this shift has been characterized as a chain shift, the authors find no clear evidence of an implicational chain in chronological time. Instead, they find 'contemporaneous movements of vowels that work against the phonological tendency of maximal dispersion typically invoked in describing chain shifts' (p. 193). Staying with one of the main authors, Annette D'Onofrio is involved with 'Complicating Categories: Personae Mediate Racialized Expectations of Non-Native Speech' (*JSoc* 23[2019] 346–66), where she shows that different personae

(actually pictures of the same actor styled differently, as a cool Korean pop star/ celebrity vs. a young academic) produce different, and contrary, expectations of non-native speech—to avoid wrongly homogenizing racialized language different personae should therefore be taken into account in research.

For AAE, there is a special issue of *AS* (94:i[2019]) this year on a new open-access corpus of AAE edited by Tyler Kendall, who introduces 'New Perspectives on African American Language through Public Corpora. Introduction to Special Issue' (*AS* 94:i[2019] 13–20). Kendall notes the paradoxical situation that the best-studied dialect of English, AAE, 'remains inaccessible to larger-scale, computational and corpus-based study' (p. 15)—until now, that is. This may change with the Corpus of Regional African American Language CORAAL, which is now accessible to all researchers. Studies in this special issue concentrate on a subcorpus with historical data from Washington DC, combined with new materials recorded especially for CORAAL. One of the pioneers of studies on AAE, Ralph Fasold, 'Look[s] Back at 1968 Fieldwork in Washington, D.C.' (*AS* 94:i[2019] 9–12), noting that in his original sociolinguistic study, the sociolinguistic interview was not always the best method to elicit interesting data, but that nevertheless, there are 'nuggets of fascinating insight' (p. 9). Charlie Farrington and Natalie Schilling give an overview of well-known and not so well-known earlier studies on AAE in Washington DC in 'Contextualizing the Corpus of Regional African American Language, D.C.: AAL in the Nation's Capital' (*AS* 94:i[2019] 21–35). Patricia Cukor-Avila and Ashley Balcazar, in 'Exploring Grammatical Variation in the Corpus of Regional African American Language' (*AS* 94:i[2019] 36–53), find that, for copula absence, 3sg zero, and invariant habitual BE 'there is a substantial amount of variation in the occurrence of these features' (p. 40) studied. Jessica A. Grieser 'Investigat[es] Topic-Based Style Shifting in the Classic Sociolinguistic Interview' (*AS* 94:i[2019] 54–71) and indeed finds a higher density of morphosyntactic dialect features of AAE in talk about topics that focus on spheres about the AAE community, such as talking about childhood games. Jon Forrest and Walt Wolfram discuss 'The Status of (ING) in African American Language: A Quantitative Analysis of Social Factors and Internal Constraints' (*AS* 94:i[2019] 72–90), again comparing old and new corpus materials. Gender and class determine the realization of (ING), such that more middle-class speakers have more velar /iŋ/. Jason McLarty, Taylor Jones, and Christopher Hall conduct 'Corpus-Based Sociophonetic Approaches to Postvocalic R-Lessness in African American Language' (*AS* 94:i[2019] 91–109) by applying machine learning to the Washington DC data. They find that postvocalic /r/ in these Washington DC speakers is gradient and confirm that it correlates with class (the more middle-class, the more postvocalic /r/). In their comparison over time, there is slightly more postvocalic /r/, perhaps indicating some change since the 1960s. Nicole R. Holliday examines 'Variation in Question Intonation in the Corpus of Regional African American Language' (*AS* 94:i[2019] 110–30), noting the lack of research on suprasegmentals. She finds much variation in the earlier materials from the 1960s and more similarities to Mainstream US English (MUSE) in younger speakers, but overall AAE seems to have 'a system with a freer expression of question boundaries than that of MUSE' (p. 110). Moving from the suprasegmental to the discourse level, Minnie Quartey and Natalie Schilling discuss

'Shaping "Connected" versus "Disconnected" Identities in Narrative Discourse in D.C. African American Language' (*AS* 94:i[2019] 131–47) through an analysis of discourse features on the topic of gentrification in Washington DC, where speakers often convey both positive and negative stances simultaneously.

Also outside this special issue, there is much work on AAE this year. Taylor Jones and Christopher Hall explore 'Grammatical Reanalysis and the Multiple N-Words in African American English' (*AS* 94[2019] 478–512), showing that there are now new 1sg. pronouns based on the form *nigga*, a word that they claim is 'unspecified for race, gender, or humanness' (p. 478). Hiram L. Smith asks, 'Has *Nigga* Been Reappropriated as a Term of Endearment? A Qualitative and Quantitative Analysis' (*AS* 94[2019] 420–77), and finds that many meanings of *nigga* today can be traced back to the nineteenth century at least. Today, according to Smith, *nigga* is not used as a genuine term of endearment but 'as a masculinizing marker of social identity' (p. 420).

Taylor Jones, Jessica Rose Kalbfeld, Ryan Hancock, and Robin Clark this year have contributed what is probably the most shocking and horrifying attestation of underlying racist linguistic bias in the American judicial system, in 'Testifying While Black: An Experimental Study of Court Reporter Accuracy in Transcription of African American English' (*Language* 95[2019] e216-e252). Their very careful study investigates stenographers' accuracy in transcribing AAE constructions. Court stenographers are predominantly white women, certified for their accuracy rate in verbatim transcripts, but their accuracy rate for AAE speech drops to under 60 per cent. As the authors point out: 'We think this bears repeating: the very best of these court reporters, all of whom are currently working in the Philadelphia courts, got one in every five sentences wrong on average, the worst got more than four out of every five sentences wrong, under better-than-normal working conditions, with the sentences repeated' (p. e230). This involves misunderstanding the persons involved, the action or subject matter, the time or aspect, the location, the utterance type (question, statement), its negation status, and much more. As just one example, *He don't be in that neighborhood* 'He isn't usually in that neighbourhood' was transcribed repeatedly as *We are going to be in the neighborhood*. In addition, gibberish is introduced into the transcript, parts are left untranscribed or nonsensical (*Mark sister friend been got married* became *Wallets is the friend big*), or filled with invented vocabulary. Clearly, 'the court reporters [. . .] struggled with all aspects of AAE' (e234), and even universal features like multiple negation were not transcribed correctly. We are still reeling from the shock, and clearly there is much left to do for us as linguists, and sociolinguists in particular.

Mary Bucholtz links her fieldwork with mediatized US discourses in 'The Public Life of White Affects' (*JSoc* 23[2019] 485–504), observing that white supremacist ideology, used across a shockingly wide variety of white people, from liberal high school students to militant racist men, employs strikingly similar affective strategies to 'reassert racial dominance by invoking claims of wounded whiteness' (p. 485). Specifically, speakers employ 'colormute racism' (p. 491), where they invoke race to deny its relevance, 'disavow racist intent' (p. 493), based on the fallacy that racism 'resides in individuals with evil intentions, not in systems that benefit white people' (p. 493), discursively appropriate *diversity* (deleting racism and replacing it with the language of culture and—any—

diversity perform 'white fragility', a form of 'racial reversal [...] that frames uncomfortable affects [for whites] as weightier than the structural advantages of whiteness', pp. 497–8), and finally claim to suffer from 'reverse racism', which, as Bucholtz notes, is in fact impossible within the racial system of white supremacy because racialized groups do not wield structural power. Bucholtz's careful discussion lays open shocking depths of structural racism conveyed nonchalantly through language, and—which must be a painful insight—aided and abetted by white researchers: 'far more common [...] than the militant white racist is the mainstream white racist, whose racism is often covert, well-mannered, and sometimes even unintentional; this is the kind of racist that I am and that I am trying to learn not to be' (p. 489)—an endeavour that should affect all of us.

Lucia Siebers looks at historical AAE in '"[T]his Is All Answer Soon": African American Vernacular Letters from the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries' (in Hickey, ed., pp. 213–37) finding that 'vernacular features commonly associated with (Southern) African American English are also attested for the North' (p. 213). The late Alexander Kautzsch finds fewer 'Morphosyntactic Features in Earlier African American English: A Qualitative Assessment of Semi-Literate Letters' (in Hickey, ed., pp. 239–60) than in transcribed speech, and concludes that letter-writers avoided non-standard features in their letters.

Gabriela G. Alfaraz and Alexander Mason link 'Ethnicity and Perceptual Dialectology: Latino Awareness of U.S. Regional Dialects' (*AS* 94[2019] 352–79), where they can show that Latino informants identify regional dialect areas differently than white informants. Especially the south is identified less, since 'Latino dialect awareness is influenced by linguistic socialization, cultural prominence, and social marginalization' (p. 352). One of the most important contributions to Latino English this year comes from Erik R. Thomas, who has edited and co-contributed to *Mexican American English: Substrate Influence and the Birth of an Ethnolect*, the first in-depth study of a wide variety of features in one Mexican American community in Texas, including a complete analysis of the vowel system, a number of consonantal features, and a careful review of earlier work. After a background chapter ('Language Contact, Immigration, and Latino Englishes', pp. 1–39), Thomas sketches 'The Context of North Town' (with Belinda Treviño Schouten, pp. 40–60)—a pseudonymized Mexican-American-dominant town in Texas that has been characterized by decades of segregation and separation. The individual linguistic analyses start with 'Consonantal Variables Correlated with Ethnicity' (chapter 3, by Thomas and Janneke Van Hofwegen, pp. 61–92), where Mexican Americans have lighter /l/, still use some /ʃ/ for /tʃ/ after several generations, and show some TH-stopping. Particularly interesting is Thomas's analysis of the complete vowel system in chapter 4 ('Vowels in North Town', pp. 93–124), which shows Mexican Americans reacting against the marked, local (southern, Texas) system and shifting towards regionally unmarked variants instead, such as the COT-CAUGHT merger, and widespread GOOSE fronting. This links with chapter 5, 'Trends from Outside' (pp. 125–48), where Thomas extends the analysis to the loss of /hw/, the use of /ju/ after coronals, and quotative use. The trend is an incomplete assimilation to wider Anglo norms (but not the local Anglo dialect), allowing 'younger members of the community to express their generational identity' (p. 147). The question of what constitutes the 'Social Evaluation of Variables' is then taken up in chapter

6 by Thomas and Belinda T. Schouten (pp. 149–70), where experimental results suggest that listeners are aware of the monophthongization and the CHIN-SHIN merger as a stereotypical L2-features, but the real surprise is clear /l/, which seems to have 'developed into an identity marker for Mexican Americans, one that has escaped the notice of all but a few variationists' (p. 167)—again allowing younger Mexican Americans to 'craft an identity that sets them apart from both non-native speakers of English and from Anglos' (p. 169). The 'Variable (ING)' (chapter 7, pp. 171–97, by Tyler S. Kendall and Thomas), has an additional variant with tense /-in/, another former interference form that 'has acquired new meaning as an identity marker and has thereby expanded rather suddenly' (p. 183). Robert Bayley and Dan Villareal contribute an in-depth study of 'Coronal Stop Deletion in a Rural South Texas Community' (chapter 8, pp. 198–214), and Thomas and Tyler S. Kendall then move us to 'Prosody' (chapter 9, pp. 215–67), another feature often 'overlooked by researchers' (p. 215)—covering intonation, prosodic rhythm, and rate of speech. They find that, as for other features, 'North Town Mexican Americans [. . .] rejected the extreme stress-timed rhythm of North Town Anglos' (p. 235), and their rate of speech is faster. Erin Callahan looks at 'Morphosyntactic Variation' (chapter 10, pp. 243–67), where unmarked past-tense forms seem to relate to imperfectivity, and the use of multiple negation is rather low. Drawing on different local (namely North Carolina) data, Mary E. Kohn traces 'Latino English in New Destinations: Processes of Regionalization in Emerging Contact Varieties' (chapter 11, pp. 268–93), predicting that with the range of current contact situations 'the range of Latino Englishes will continue to expand' (p. 291). In the summary chapter, Thomas wraps up this magnificent, multifaceted study, 'Mexican American English and Dialect Genesis' (pp. 294–311), showing how the wide range of Spanish-language influences is 'whittled down' (p. 295) by subsequent generations, 'spanning consonantal, vocalic, prosodic, and a few morphosyntactic variables' (p. 295)—features that are now associated with a distinct Latino identity.

Also going into much depth, Jonathan Rosa has observed a majority Latinx high-school in Chicago over several years and the results are presented in *Looking Like a Language, Sounding Like a Race: Raciolinguistic Ideologies and the Learning of Latinidad*. This fascinating study builds on the concept of raciolinguistics (cf. *YWES* 98[2019], 99[2020]) and shows both the outside and inside perspectives of being a Latinx high-school student. Students' different ancestries (Puerto Rican and Mexican) are actively erased by the school's 'Young Latino Professionals' programme, but then (partly) reconstituted by speakers who are invested in their ethnicities, 'twisting and turning these categories through [. . .] "ethnoracial contortions"' (p. 27), and Rosa shows which cultural concepts are used to embody Latinidad besides language: hairstyles, clothing, food, dance, and music. Rosa also looks at the institutional side of this high school, how bilingualism is redefined as disability, how students escape their marginalization and find a Latinx voice, also extending his analysis to students' literary practices. Overall a very thoughtful study, although not as variationist as the studies in Thomas above.

For studies focusing on gender, in 'From Sissy to Sickening: The Indexical Landscape of /s/ in SoMa, San Francisco' (*JLingA* 29[2019] 332–58), Jeremy Calder studies fronted /s/ in a drag-queen community in San Francisco and finds

that this feature, stereotypically linked to women and then to gay speakers, is here linked specifically to certain types of bodies, those of 'fierce queens' (p. 355). This also means that 'not all possible performances are available to all subjects' (p. 332), perhaps a sobering thought. Calder also expands on the concept of the 'fierce queen' in 'The Fierceness of Fronted /s/: Linguistic Rhematization through Visual Transformation' (*LSoc* 48[2019] 31–48), noting that this type of drag personality embodies an 'extreme, larger-than-life, and anti-normative type of femininity' (p. 31). Lal Zimman links 'Trans Self-Identification and the Language of Neoliberal Selfhood: Agency, Power, and the Limits of Monologic Discourse' (*IJSL* 256[2919] 147–75), self-identification extending to several strategies, such as having 'free rein to claim labels like *woman*, *man*, or *genderqueer*' (p. 156), or just asking (and being asked) which pronouns to use. Lexi Webster says '"I am I": Self-Constructed Transgender Identities in Internet-Mediated Forum Communication (*IJSL* 256[2019] 129–46), demonstrating that transgender identities are heterogeneous, comprising 'individualistic practices and cognitive models' (p. 130).

10. New Englishes and Creolistics

In this section, we cover publications from 2019 (and, in some cases, 2018) which deal with one or several New Englishes as well as creolistics. After reviewing books and articles concerned with varieties in general or several varieties from different regions, the following sections present area-, country-, and variety-specific studies. Please note that 2019 saw the publication of a double issue of *World Englishes* celebrating the work of Braj B. Kachru, the founder of the World Englishes (WE) paradigm and linguistic subfield as we know it today. The articles from this double issue range from squibs to full empirical studies, which is why the length of our summaries varies. We decided to place the articles in the relevant regional sections.

First, we cover general overviews and titles that span varieties from more than one region, beginning with an edited collection and a monograph. As promised in last year's issue, we begin with an edited collection from 2018. The volume *Modeling World Englishes: Assessing the Interplay of Emancipation and Globalization of ESL Varieties*, edited by Sandra C. Deshors, evaluates the accuracy of fit of existing models of World Englishes for describing ESL varieties in the twenty-first century. The volume is dedicated to a linguist who contributed greatly to model-building in WE, Alexander Kautzsch. In the introductory chapter, 'Modeling World Englishes in the 21st Century: A Thematic Introduction' (pp. 1–14), the editor takes stock of older and newer models of WE, including the classics of Braj B. Kachru's 'Concentric Circles' and Edgar W. Schneider's 'Dynamic Model' (reviewed in *YWES* 88[2009] 95–6) as well as more recent additions such as Christian Mair's 'World System of Englishes' (reviewed in *YWES* 94[2015] 67), Schneider's concept of 'Transnational Attraction' (reviewed in *YWES* 95[2016] 87), and Sarah Buschfeld and Alexander Kautzsch's 'Extra- and Intraterritorial Forces (EIF) Model' (reviewed in *YWES* 98[2019] 99) that were developed to account for the changed realities of WE in the present century.

Sarah Buschfeld, Alexander Kautzsch, and Edgar W. Schneider's 'From Colonial Dynamism to Current Transnationalism: A Unified View on Postcolonial and Non-Postcolonial Englishes' (pp. 15–44) provides supporting evidence for their EIF Model in several case studies and tests its applicability to non-nation-based cyber-Englishes. In 'Stabilising Domains of English-Language Use in Germany: Global English in a Non-Colonial Languagescape' (pp. 45–75), Christian Mair applies his 'World System of Englishes' and the concept of 'languagescapes' to two 'non-elite' uses of English, namely English in German hip-hop and as part of the multilingual repertoire of African refugees and young African academics in Germany. In both contexts, different varieties of English including non-standard varieties and peripheral varieties of English interweave with German in dynamic processes of mixing, hybridization, and interference. Bertus van Rooy and Haidee Kruger discuss 'Hybridity, Globalisation and Models of Englishes: English in South African Multilingual Digital Repertoires' (pp. 77–108) in their analysis of users' multilingual practices in comments about daily updates of South African soap operas. They find that the baseline variety of the comments is StE, against which non-standard and indigenous forms are set as salient markers of a local identity. Next, Mikko Laitinen brings ELF to the fore of WE theorizing in 'Placing ELF among the Varieties of English: Observations from Typological Profiling' (pp. 109–31). The author shows that ELF has its own dialectometric profile and argues that its speakers may become important agents of linguistic change as they tend to be members of loose social networks. On the ensuing pages, Peter Siemund proposes 'Modeling World Englishes from a Cross-Linguistic Perspective' (pp. 133–62) by integrating insights from typology in the study of World Englishes. He names several grammatical features in varieties of English that conform more closely to patterns in world languages than those of StE. Despite their pervasiveness, Siemund argues that these features will not make it into StE due to the hierarchical organization of the 'World System of Englishes'. Through Alison Edwards's '"I'm an Anglophile, but..." : A Corpus-Assisted Discourse Study of Language Ideologies in the Netherlands' (pp. 163–86), attitudinal models of WE enter the picture. One of the emerging themes Edwards detects is that her informants express a dislike of Dutch people speaking English among themselves to 'appear cool, clever, or cosmopolitan' (p. 181). According to Edwards, this suggests that English has transcended its instrumental function and has assumed a personal and/or interactional function for some Dutch speakers, functions that traditional models did not envisage for EFL varieties. Gaëtanelle Gilquin analyses the impact of the hub variety AmE on ENL, ESL, and EFL varieties on lexis in 'American and/or British Influence on L2 Englishes—Does Context Tip the Scale(s)?' (pp. 187–216). She finds that ENL varieties in her sample are still more strongly influenced by BrE, while ESL varieties and apparently even more so EFL varieties are characterized by a preference for American forms. A close analysis of lexical choices in ESL and EFL varieties shows that American influence is more consistent for ESL than EFL varieties, which show varying tendencies that may be better explained by the adoption of more 'learnable' forms rather than overt orientation towards American norms. Marianne Hundt also touches on the topic of 'Americanization' in 'It Is Time That This (Should) Be Studied across a Broader Range of Englishes: A Global Trip around Mandative Subjunctives' (pp. 217–44). Her analysis discloses

varying profiles of the subjunctive versus modal-verb alternation in different ESL varieties. In Hundt's opinion, these profiles can more adequately be described by the concept of a network of local centres than 'Americanization' (or other established models of WE). Stefan Th. Gries, Tobias Bernaisch, and Benedikt Heller give 'A Corpus-Linguistic Account of the History of the Genitive Alternation in Singaporean English' (pp. 245–79). Their article criticizes the established procedure of interpreting synchronic differences between ESL varieties and their former input varieties as evidence for their diachronic emancipation based on evidence from the Historical Corpus of Singapore English. The concluding chapter, 'Modeling World Englishes in the 21st Century: New Reflections on Model-Making' (pp. 281–94), by Sandra C. Deshors and Gaëtanelle Gilquin, develops a 'communicative event approach' (p. 288) to WE, a usage-based model of WE built on the findings from the previous chapters. The central component of the model is the communicative event in which speakers actively negotiate aspects of their complex identities. The authors thereby propose a social-constructivist model of WE that moves beyond the static nation-based models of earlier days.

A monograph from 2019 that covers several varieties is Axel Bohmann's *Variation in English Worldwide: Registers and Global Varieties*. The introduction (pp. 1–8) sets the scope by introducing the three fields of WE, aggregation-based linguistics, and multidimensional analysis, which are combined in the book. The study sets out to 'describe the fundamental dimensions of linguistic variation in English worldwide and to analyze the respective role of variety and register in structuring such variation' (p. 1). Chapter 2 deals with 'The World of English: Variation in Geography and Register' (pp. 9–40) and introduces WE and register variation, with the former being introduced primarily with a focus on relevant models and the latter with a focus on its development in the last decades and its applications to WE. Chapter 3, in turn, discusses 'Quantifying Linguistic Variation' (pp. 41–58). In particular, quantitative approaches to variation are evaluated and summarized (with a focus on sociolinguistics and text linguistics). In chapter 4, 'The Space of Variation in the Present Study' (pp. 59–100), Bohmann introduces the data and methodology for his study. Chapters 5 ('General Situational Dimensions of Variation', pp. 101–24), 6 ('Register-Specific Dimensions', pp. 125–46), and 7 ('Dimensions with other Patterns of Distribution', pp. 147–72) present the results of the multidimensional analysis according to different dimensions. Arguably the key chapter in the book is chapter 8, which features a 'Discussion: Feature Space and Geographical Space' (pp. 173–90). In this chapter, Bohmann concludes that WE 'research would do well to re-conceptualize register as a vehicle that actively mediates linguistic variation' (p. 190). Finally, the 'Conclusion' (pp. 191–6) sums up the results, discusses implications for WE modelling, and revisits the impact of register and variety. The book has three appendices: 'Appendix A. Descriptive Statistics for the Extracted Variables' (pp. 197–206), 'Appendix B. Structure Coefficients and Communality (h^2) Values for the 236 Features' (pp. 207–16)', and 'Appendix C. Pattern Coefficients for the 236 Features' (pp. 217–26). As the most comprehensive study applying multidimensional analysis to WE so far, this book provides fascinating new insights into the study of varieties of English and complements previous approaches. Register is indeed often sidelined as a variable in variation, which is Bohmann's his plea to the WE community seems important.

Once again, cross-variety studies are well represented this year. In an article that covers many varieties of English, Cristina Suárez-Gómez investigates 'The Coding of Perfect Meaning in African, Asian and Caribbean Englishes' (*ELL* 23[2019] 509–29). Based on ten different varieties from the ICE corpora (e.g., ICE-Great Britain, ICE-India, and ICE-Nigeria), Suárez-Gómez's article notes that the typically noted distinction between perfect and preterite is incomprehensive; variation ranges from preterite over BE periphrasis, the base form, and the past participle, and depends on variables such as register and verb lemma. Next, Julia Davydova analyses 'Quotative *like* in the Englishes of the Outer and Expanding Circles' (*WEn* 38[2019] 578–92). On the basis of data from student communities in India and Germany, she conducts qualitative and quantitative analyses of how quotative *be like* is used in these two Circles. She finds considerable variability in the data but argues that WE research, while considering the emergence of varieties, should also 'carefully examine profiles of individual learners as these hold the key to a better understanding of the sociocognitive mechanisms underpinning the evolution of the modern forms of English' (p. 590). Gabriella Mazzon follows the current trend of investigating pragmatics in WE in her study 'Variation in the Expression of Stance across Varieties of English' (*WEn* 38[2019] 593–605). Her study focuses on the parenthetical construction *I'm afraid* in the GloWbE components for Jamaica, Tanzania, Ghana, Malaysia, Singapore, and Canada. All tokens of *I'm afraid* are analysed with regard to their form (e.g. uncontracted vs. contracted) and their pragmatic function (e.g. apologetic and rejection/refusal). Mazzon finds that the construction is established in all varieties under consideration, but there is a tendency to more face-threatening uses. Next, Zeping Huang and Gavin Bui investigate 'Lexical Bundles in Conversation across Englishes' (*EWW* 40[2019] 299–324). They compare the frequency of bundles such as *going to be* in the ICE corpora for BrE, CanE, SingE, and HKE, and find that some lexical bundles are shared across varieties. In addition to conducting an empirical study, they suggest expanding the core-periphery approach to studying lexical bundles in WE. Maggie Berns contributes to the field by 'Expanding on the Expanding Englishes of the Expanding Circle' (*WEn* 38[2019] 8–17), providing an overview of papers focusing on Expanding Circle countries in the two journals *WEn* and *EnT*, covering the timespan between 1998 and 2018. Despite the enthusiastic realization that the Expanding Circle has gained significantly in popularity, she notes that this meta-study also reveals drawbacks of Kachru's Concentric Circles model. A more general theoretical contribution is 'World Englishes in Professional Communication' (*WEn* 38[2019] 30–40) by Vijay K. Bhatia. Bhatia brings together WE research and genre analysis and argues that discourse- and genre-based data may potentially hold significant insights for English usage by people in the Outer Circle. Another theory-driven paper by Rakesh M. Bhatt discusses 'The Poetics and Politics of Englishes in Late Modernity' (*WEn* 38[2019] 41–52). On the basis of his personal experience of listening to Braj B. Kachru, Bhatt outlines the goals of Kachru's liberation linguistics perspective. He stresses the relevance of Kachru's teachings and highlights the dimensions of bilingual creativity as an essential ingredient even in the highly mobile era of late modernity. Next, David Crystal provides a paper 'Towards a Kachru Institute' (*WEn* 38[2019] 78–83). This short essay revisits Kachru's idea of establishing an

institute devoted to varieties of English. As a cross-cultural project, it would encompass aspects such as sociolinguistic studies of WE, survival registers, and so on. Crystal suggests revitalizing Kachru's idea.

The first individual region we focus on in detail is Oceania/Australia. In 2019, comparative diachronic studies took centre stage in research on AusE, visible in the publication of three articles. In one of these, Haidee Kruger, Bertus van Rooy, and Adam Smith investigate 'Register Change in the British and Australian Hansard (1901–2015)' (*JEngL* 47[2019] 183–220) by means of multi-dimensional analysis. Focusing on the counter-forces of 'colloquialization' and 'densification', they show that sweeping claims about the more colloquial nature of AusE cannot be supported for the register of parliamentary records. Beyond that, the authors detect a trend towards increased 'monologization' in this register, meaning that parliamentarians place 'a greater emphasis on monologic, non-interactive presentation' (p. 205) over time in both varieties even though this trend is more advanced in AusE. Continuing with a general corpus of AusE, Peter Collins and Xinyue Yao introduce 'AusBrown: A New Diachronic Corpus of Australian English' (*ICAME* 43[2019] 5–21), the latest addition to the Brown family of corpora, of which three-quarters have already been completed. The final corpus will comprise 960,000 words, which is roughly a quarter of the words included in the parallel corpora for BrE, equally divided into the three registers: press reportage, learned writing, and fiction for the years 1931, 1961, 1991, and 2006. The first pioneering study on this version of AusBrown is Yao and Collins's 'Developments in Australian, British, and American English Grammar from 1931 to 2006: An Aggregate, Comparative Approach to Dialectal Variation and Change' (*JEngL* 47[2019] 120–49). Their study tracks the frequency of sixty-nine lexico-grammatical features in AusE, BrE, and AmE. They find that the period from 1931 to 1961 was marked by relative stability in AusE, followed by a period of rapid change between 1961 and 1991, and a period of convergence with BrE and AmE in the last period, from 1991 to 2006. According to Yao and Collins, these three periods of AusE reflect a succession of phases of exonormativity, endonormativity, and most recently convergence with a Global English written norm. Next to AusBrown, another parallel but in this case synchronic corpus is introduced by Gabrielle Hodge, Kazuki Sekine, Adam Schembri, and Trevor Johnston in 'Comparing Signers and Speakers: Building a Directly Comparable Corpus of Auslan and Australian English' (*Corpora* 14[2019] 63–76). They detail the make-up of their bilingual, multi-modal corpus, which includes video recordings of ten deaf signers and ten hearing AusE speakers performing different activities. Continuing with ethnic and regional varieties of AusE, Alex Bowen discusses potential misunderstandings of the phrase 'You Don't Have to Say Anything' by Aboriginal people who do not speak Standard AusE as their L1, in 'Modality and Consequences in Conversations about the Right to Silence in the Northern Territory' (*AuJL* 39[2019] 347–74). In an analysis of twenty-one transcripts, he finds that some suspects misinterpret *have to* as *will* or *want to*. To avoid this kind of misunderstanding and its serious consequences, Bowen suggests a paraphrase in plain English without the semi-modal verb. Travelling further south, Elena Sheard presents 'Variation, Language Ideologies and Stereotypes: Orientations Towards *Like* and *Youse* in Western and Northern Sydney' (*AuJL* 39[2019] 485–510). Her

analysis of metapragmatic comments reveals that the reported use of *like* is associated with speakers from Northern Beaches, a high-income area, while that of *youse* is linked to West Sydneysiders, a low-income neighbourhood. However, the reported pattern does not reflect the actual usage profile in the case of discursive *like*. Compared with AusE, NZE has received remarkably little attention in 2019. Andreea Calude provides a corpus-based analysis of 'The Use of *Heaps* as Quantifier and Intensifier in New Zealand English' (*ELL* 23[2019] 531–56). With data from the Wellington Corpora, Calude shows that quantifier *heaps* (e.g. *there was heaps of seats*) can be used with a broad range of noun types in NZE and is more frequent than intensifier *heaps* (*learned heaps*). Her diachronic analysis of the ONZE (Origins of New Zealand English Corpus) data reveals that intensifier *heaps* represents an innovation in NZE.

Next, we focus on monographs and articles that span several Asian varieties. The first monograph is *Null Subjects in Englishes: A Comparison of British English and Asian Englishes* by Verena Schröter. In the introduction (pp. 1–11), Schröter briefly describes what null subjects are, how the study is positioned in the field of WE, the database, and the scope and structure of the study. Chapter 2, 'Null Subjects: Theoretical, Methodological and Descriptive Foundations' (pp. 15–43), represents the theoretical backdrop and notably comments on the lack of quantitative research on null subjects in L2 varieties of English. In chapter 3, Schröter establishes the 'Empirical Baseline: Null Subjects in Spoken British English' (pp. 44–95), with a complex statistical evaluation of null subjects in BrE. Chapter 4 then introduces 'Asian Languages and Varieties of English: Theory, Description and Comparison' (pp. 99–147). The chapter introduces the theoretical modelling of WE but also comments on the status of null subjects in Asian contact languages of English. Next, chapter 5 is the core of the book with the 'Empirical Comparison: Null Subjects in Asian Englishes' (pp. 148–233). On the basis of an in-depth analysis of null subjects in HKE, IndE, and SingE, Schröter identifies similarities and differences in null-subject tokens. Differences can be explained by different degrees of nativization and 'societal functions of the respective varieties' (p. 233). Finally, chapter 6 offers a 'Discussion and Conclusion' (pp. 234–53). The book also offers two appendices: 'Data' and 'Additional Statistics'. Overall, it is an invaluable addition to the growing body of statistically informed work on features of WE. Although the application of sophisticated statistics to low-frequency phenomena is a matter of debate, the book shows that combining insights from language typology, qualitative analysis, and quantitative methods is most fruitful.

Another monograph covering several Asian varieties is Sven Leuckert's *Topicalization in Asian Englishes: Forms, Functions, and Frequencies of a Fronting Construction*. The book analyses constructions of the type *The girl I saw, but not the man* in BrE, HKE, IndE, PhilE, and SingE. In the introduction (pp. 1–6), the rationale for analysing topicalization is introduced and the research questions and structure of the book are presented. The second chapter, 'Approaching Topicalization' (pp. 7–33), introduces the terminological framework with a focus on the terms 'topic' and 'topicalization'. The chapter argues that common definitions are potentially too narrow to account for variation in WE. Chapter 3 discusses 'Topic-Prominence in Asian Contact Languages' (pp. 34–61) by investigating to what extent the contact languages concerned are topic-

or subject-prominent. The next chapter comments on the 'Development and Variety Status of Four Asian Englishes' (pp. 62–80). Chapter 5, 'Corpus Analysis: Data Basis and Methodology' (pp. 81–97), introduces the methodological framework of the study. In particular, the advantages and disadvantages of the ICE corpora used as a database are discussed. The empirical heart of the study is chapter 6, which presents the 'Forms, Functions, and Frequencies of Topicalization' (pp. 98–171) in the four Asian Englishes as well as BrE for comparison. The results are then discussed in chapter 7, 'Explaining Topicalization Frequencies' (pp. 172–93). The chapter argues that a complex interplay of factors needs to be taken into consideration in the explanation of topicalization and variational phenomena in WE more generally. Chapter 8 provides a 'Conclusion and Outlook' (pp. 194–7). Overall, the book contributes to a growing body of research on non-canonical syntax in WE.

Six articles on varieties from several Asian regions were published this year. A study with a focus on methodology is Stephanie Horch's 'Complementing Corpus Analysis with Web-Based Experimentation in Research on World Englishes' (*EWW* 40[2019] 24–52). Horch argues that corpus studies benefit from adding experimental methods, such as acceptability judgements, because corpus data alone can be misleading. She first presents data on verb-to-noun conversion from the BrE, AmE, HKE, IndE, and SingE sections of GloWbE and then an experimental study including an acceptability rating task and a maze task. On the basis of her finding that combining the two methods provides more robust results, she deems it 'advisable that linguists mainly working with corpora broaden their methodological horizon and incorporate other, experimental methodology into their daily work routine' (p. 42). Another article that spans South and Southeast Asia is Lucía Loureiro-Porto's 'Grammaticalization of Semi-Modals of Necessity in Asian Englishes' (*EWW* 40[2019] 115–42). The author combines grammaticalization theory with WE by analysing semi-modals in the ICE corpora covering BrE, HKE, IndE, SingE, and PhilE. She finds that 'the replacement of modal *must* with semi-modals *have to, have got to, need (to)*, and *want to* [...] also appears to be taking place in Asian Englishes' (p. 137). In a shorter article, Kingsley Bolton reflects on the connection between 'Braj B. Kachru and Asian Englishes' (*WEn* 38[2019] 67–77). After an overview of Kachru's work on IndE and Asian Englishes in general, Bolton provides an update on current developments in Asian Englishes. Another essayistic piece is Chin W. Kim's 'On the Globalization of English: Some Internal Factors' (*WEn* 38[2019] 128–33), where Kim points out major reasons that contributed to the success story of English: 'capaciousness', 'simplicity', 'flexibility', 'great literature', and 'a simple script' are listed among these reasons. A short tribute is offered by Cecil L. Nelson in 'Professor Braj B. Kachru and Intelligibility' (*WEn* 38[2019] 170–3). Nelson argues that, crucially, Kachru's work contributed significantly to reducing barriers and the acceptance of norms deviating from the traditional standards. Finally, Tej K. Bhatia and Reza Ghafar Samar consider 'Advertising God in Hinduism and Islam' (*WEn* 38[2019] 535–51). In the study, which compares religious branding practices, the authors find that, while Hinduism does not use a second language in its advertising, Islam does use English due to a felt 'responsibility of addressing their followers in other languages and cultures' (p. 549).

    Research on the region of Southeast Asia has clearly focused on Singapore
this year, with eight articles on SingE and Colloquial Singapore English (CSE).
The other Southeast Asian variety that received some attention was PhilE, cov-
ered in two articles. Rebecca Lurie Starr discusses 'Attitudes and Exposure as
Predictors of -T/D Deletion among Local and Expatriate Children in Singapore'
(*LVC* 31[2019] 251–74). Fitting mixed models to her data, Starr finds that
Singaporean children enrolled in local government schools show the highest rate
of deletion, expatriates attending international schools the lowest rate, while
expatriates going to local schools occupy an intermediate position. In the first
group of children, attitudinal factors play a role because children who show a
greater acceptance of local SingE are more likely to simplify consonant clusters
ending in /t/ and /d/. In another article, Starr deals with 'Cross-Dialectal
Awareness and Use of the BATH-TRAP Distinction in Singapore: Investigating the
Effects of Overseas Travel and Media Consumption' (*JEL* 47[2019] 55–88).
Starr finds that the vast majority of SingE speakers report that they keep BATH
and TRAP distinct. For those who report using /æ/ instead of /ɑː/, exposure to US
media is a strong predictor while travel to the US is not. However, despite fre-
quent exposure to US media, the respondents' reported pronunciations for AmE
speakers suggests an extremely low level of awareness of the BATH-TRAP merger
in this variety of English. Continuing with studies on ethnic varieties of SingE,
we can find three studies dealing with the three largest ethnic groups of
Singapore: the Chinese, the Malays, and the Indians. Starting with the largest
ethnic group in the city state, Amanda Limin Foo and Ying-Ying Tan write about
'Linguistic Insecurity and the Linguistic Ownership of English among
Singaporean Chinese' (*WEn* 38[2019] 606–29). Their questionnaire data from
287 educated Chinese Singaporeans reflect that Singaporeans display linguistic
insecurity but at the same time take ownership of English. The authors see this
disconnect rooted in the government's discourses about Singaporean speakers of
English as incompetent non-native speakers and the simultaneous promotion of
English in various domains of the city-state. Jasper Sim Hong focuses on intra-
ethnic variation in the group of Malay Singaporeans in '"But You Don't Sound
Malay!": Language Dominance and Variation in the Accents of English-Malay
Bilinguals in Singapore' (*EWW* 40[2019] 79–108). His findings of a rating ex-
periment reveal that recordings of Malay-dominant Singaporeans are more likely
to be accurately identified in terms of speaker ethnicity and that they are more
often classified as recordings showing a stronger Malay accent than recordings of
their English-dominant peers. This leads the author to conclude that language
dominance is an important determinant of intra-ethnic variation in SingE. Finally,
Rebecca Lurie Starr and Brinda Balasubramaniam turn the spotlight on the small-
est ethnic group of Singapore in 'Variation and Change in English /r/ among
Tamil Indian Singaporeans' (*WEn* 38[2019] 630–43), revealing that the thirty
speakers in their sample predominantly use approximant [ɹ], the standard SingE
variant. Regarding the non-approximant pronunciations of /r/, viz. tap ([ɾ]) and
trill ([r]), they find a decrease in apparent time and an increased use in partici-
pants with Tamil as their home language. The authors furthermore show that
trill-/r/, a stereotype of Indian Singaporeans' accent, is exceedingly rare, with a
share of only 0.2 per cent in their sample, but appears to be employed for the ex-
pression of Indian identity. Alongside the five studies on the local variety of

SingE, we can find three studies on CSE ('Singlish'). The first, Ming Chew Teo's 'The Role of Parallel Constructions in Imposition: A Synchronic Study of *Already* in Colloquial Singapore English' (*JPCL* 34[2019] 346–76), is also concerned with ethnic variation. The author analyses cross-linguistic influence in the use of *already* by Chinese and Malay Singaporeans. He finds subtle inter-ethnic differences in its use regarding function, position, and the polarity of the sentence it occurs in, which are argued to reflect properties of the respective parallel forms in Mandarin and Malay. Another feature-based study on CSE is Werner Botha's '"Technically Wrong Leh": Leh as a Feature of Singapore Colloquial English' (*EnT* 35[2019] 13–22). His study found *leh* to be the fifth most frequently used particle in an ethnically diverse young sample of roughly sixty speakers. *Leh* is overwhelmingly used by Chinese Singaporeans in this sample and fulfils a range of well-known but also newly discovered functions such as expressing mitigated disagreement as in the title. Finally, Mie Hiramoto reports on the increasing use of 'Colloquial Singapore English in Advertisements' (*WEn* 38[2019] 450–62) in the private as well as the public sector. While it may be unsurprising to see McDonald's selling *shiok shiok* ('super satisfactory') *satay burgers* (p. 455), it is contrary to expectation to read *Here cannot go in!* (p. 457) on a public transportation sign given the government's strong opposition to CSE in the past. Hiramoto describes this new phenomenon and sees the 50th National Day Celebration as a turning point in the government's narrative about CSE when Singlish was first acknowledged as a unique symbol of an all-encompassing Singaporean identity. While there has been a wealth of research on English in Singapore, other Southeast Asian varieties have only received attention in two publications on PhilE. Isabel Pefiano Martin views 'Philippine English in Retrospect and Prospect' (*WEn* 38[2019] 134–43) in the special issue 'Honoring the Life and Work of Braj B. Kachru'. Looking back, she reviews milestones in research on PhilE and Kachru's influential role in acknowledging PhilE as a legitimate variety of English. Looking forward, she criticizes that many researchers on PhilE have walked into the 'essentializing trap' (p. 139), which is why she expresses the need for more studies that detail varieties of PhilE beyond the educated standard variety, and that consider the heterogeneity of PhilE. One of the dimensions of heterogeneity is social class, which is the topic of Ruanni Tupas's 'Entanglements of Colonialism, Social Class and *Unequal Englishes*' (*JSoc* 23[2019] 529–42). Tupas argues that class should be reintroduced in studies on PhilE and that it should not be decoupled from coloniality. She sees US-based outsourced call-centres in the Philippines as one of the places where class and coloniality intersect. Here, middle-class and upper-middle-class Filipinos are given preference because they speak an educated form of PhilE approximating AmE norms.

South Asian Englishes are covered in ten articles. Laura García-Castro investigates 'Synchronic Variability in the Complementation Profile of REMEMBER: Finite vs Non-Finite Clauses in Indian and British English' (*miscelánea* 59[2019] 137–64). Basing her study on tokens found in the GloWbE corpora for these varieties, she conducts a binary logistic regression to identify preferences regarding finite and non-finite complementation. IndE prefers finite clauses, which can be explained with a preference for 'simpler' structures, but some relevant language-internal factors affecting complementation are shared between IndE and

BrE. Two studies deal with Pakistan this year, beginning with Muhammad Shakir and Dagmar Deuber's 'A Multidimensional Analysis of Pakistani and U.S. English Blogs and Columns' (*EWW* 40[2019] 1–23). The authors built a corpus using various sources and then tagged the texts according to the dimensions of informational vs. personal focus, addressee focus, thematic variation, and narrative style. These dimensions are used to calculate dimension scores and compare different registers with each other. They find more variation in columns and technology blogs than in registers such as individual and news blogs. Crucially, they argue that more research into Internet language in general and the links between Internet language and WE is required. Sham Haidar considers 'The Role of English in Developing Countries: English is a Passport to Privilege and Needed for Survival in Pakistan' (*EnT* 35[2019] 42–8), interviewing students, teachers, and administrators from different types of schools in a town located in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan. The author admits that the sample size of the study is small, but the results still indicate that English is valued extremely positively by the participants, up to the point of seeing a necessity in some English proficiency. In a very innovative contribution, Tej K. Bhatia investigates 'Language and Thought Disorder in Multilingual Schizophrenia' (*WEn* 38[2019] 18–29). A case study of a 36-year-old female patient who is bilingual in Hindi and Urdu but is not as proficient in English shows that the patient deviates from expected patterns in semantics but to a much lesser extent in morphosyntax. The paper argues for a 'distinction between 'linguistic schizophrenia' as used in sociolinguistic literature and the 'language of schizophrenia'' (p. 27). Ravinder Gargesh and Anamika Sharma comment on 'Indian English in Political Discussions' (*WEn* 38[2019] 90–104). They analyse political discussions on three television programmes and comment on sociocultural and political context, informational content, argumentation, expressiveness, aggressiveness, and theatricality. In addition, they analyse features on various linguistic levels as well as rhetorical, sociocultural, and non-linguistic features. The study overall 'shows the nativization and acculturation of Indian English to serve different functions' (p. 102). Next, Hans Henrich Hock looks at 'English in South Asia: Lessons and Parallels' (*WEn* 38[2019] 105–13). While the article is designed as a tribute to the work of Braj B. Kachru, it goes beyond Kachru's work by commenting on common assumptions about substrate influence in the Asian context. In particular, Hock points out that, in the study of Asian Englishes or elsewhere, substrate influence cannot be cited as a reason for language change quite as easily as is sometimes done. Another tribute to Kachru is Rajend Mesthrie's comment on 'Indian English in Theory and Action' (*WEn* 38[2019] 155–61). Mesthrie highlights the pocketbook on IndE published by Lonely Planet, the travel guide company. This book, while not designed as an academic treatise, is still a product of Kachru's groundbreaking work in the WE paradigm. Kachru also offers a brief perspective on models that succeeded Kachru's Circle model. Anita Pandey identifies 'A Fourth Circle of English' (*WEn* 38[2019] 185–99). On the basis of various data, such as Bollywood movies and online ads, the author postulates the existence of a fourth circle in addition to Kachru's circles, which encompasses translingual practices and is the product of ongoing globalization: the fourth circle is 'employed by youngistan, and one which epitomizes cultural fusion evident in the spheres of oral, written and nonverbal language' (p. 198). 'Youngistan'

refers to a young Indian middle class that is accustomed to technological developments. Finally, Tamara Valentine reflects on 'The Functional and Pragmatic Contexts of World Englishes' (*WEn* 38[2019] 269–79). This article, which only sporadically references IndE and Asian Englishes, revisits Kachru's work by highlighting his realization that 'the spread and internationalization of English does not involve the language alone, but must draw on social and cultural forces' (p. 275). Next is Sujata S. Kathpalia's 'Redefining Gender Stereotypes in Indian English TV Advertising' (*WEn* 38[2019] 486–99). Looking at different television commercials, Kathpalia finds that the mixed language Hinglish 'indexes harmony and interdependence at home and work' (p. 495), whereas Hindi and English represent the old and new respectively. Hinglish therefore also represents a way to acknowledge the conflict between globalization and localization, or 'glocalization'.

The Middle East is only covered by one article, 'English in the Linguistic Landscape of a Northern Jordanian City' (*EnT* 35[2019] 35–41) by Omar Ibrahim Salameh Alomoush. For the study, 135 signs on various buildings in Jarash were photographed and analysed. The author finds that, perhaps surprisingly, English was featured more prominently on the signs than monolingual Arabic. However, the most frequent combination is English–Arabic mixing, which could be found on fifty-nine of the signs. English is considered important not only in the marketplace but also as a status symbol and for upward mobility.

The section on East Asia opens with two monographs. The first is on *The Politics of English in Hong Kong: Attitudes, Identity, and Use* by Jette G. Hansen Edwards, who presents a detailed investigation of language attitudes towards English in Hong Kong in the politically charged period between 2014 and 2017, when calls for self-determination became louder. The introductory chapter (pp. 1–17) outlines the history of Hong Kong, starting with its time as a British Crown colony via the handover to the PRC in 1997 up to more recent political events such as the Umbrella Movement in 2014 or the Causeway Bay books disappearances in 2015. The second chapter (pp. 18–59) presents the theoretical and methodological framework of the empirical study that is based on roughly 1,600 surveys and forty-two interviews. Chapter 3 (pp. 60–89) pluralizes the notion of 'The Hong Kong Identity' into 'Hong Konger', 'Chinese', and 'Hong Kong Chinese'. Most respondents in Hansen Edwards's sample identify as 'Hong Konger', followed by 'Hong Kong Chinese', and lastly 'Chinese'. In general, an increase in the share of respondents identifying as 'Hong Konger' could be found, while that of 'Hong Kong Chinese' was on the decrease and the identification as 'Chinese' was generally low. The highest rate of identification as 'Hong Konger' was found in the group of 21- to 25-year-old males in 2015 with a share of 89 per cent. Women, on the other hand, were more likely to identify as 'Hong Kong Chinese' in the period under investigation. The fourth chapter, 'The Native Speaker of English in Hong Kong' (pp. 90–114), asks whether English 'has become a language *of* rather than language *in* Hong Kong' (p. 90). The author's findings reveal that English plus Cantonese and/or Putonghua are considered native languages in Hong Kong by an increasing number of respondents based on the criteria of use and age of acquisition. Beyond that, the author observes a gender effect in which women are more likely to declare Putonghua as their native language and project a bicultural multilingual identity than men,

who are more likely to identify as monolingual Cantonese. Chapter 5 (pp. 115–39) analyses attitudes towards different varieties of English. We learn that BrE and HKE are the two varieties that are most strongly associated with a Hong Kong identity distinct from mainland China, while AmE is perceived as an international variety. The short-term diachronic trend reflects a strengthening of the status of HKE. Corroborating the gender patterns found in earlier chapters, Hansen Edwards shows that men are more likely to be monolectal speakers of HKE while women are more likely to be multidialectal and to show a preference for AmE. Chapter 6 (pp. 140–78) zeroes in on attitudes towards HKE. The overall picture points towards the beginnings of endonormativity of HKE amidst the persistence of the standard ideology. While men tend to adopt a local language ideology, women are more prone to continue subscribing to the standard language ideology. Chapter 7 depicts 'Attitudes towards Features of Hong Kong English' (pp. 179–202). It reveals that the use of loanwords and discourse particles is viewed more positively than phonological and grammatical variation. A by now familiar pattern shows that men have more positive evaluations of features associated with HKE. The concluding chapter 8 (pp. 203–19) weaves the different threads together and views the findings in the context of major political events. Hansen Edwards's final remarks are devoted to the question of the developmental stage of HKE, a question that according to her cannot be answered sweepingly as it depends on the profile of different speaker groups who are at different stages in this development.

Complementary to Hansen Edwards's perception study on an ESL variety, Sofia Rüdiger's *Morpho-Syntactic Patterns in Spoken Korean English* provides a structural description of an Expanding Circle variety in East Asia. The introductory chapter (pp. 1–8) sets the scene for the book, describing the aim of the study, which is to provide a structural description of an English variety that has traditionally been considered to fall outside the scope of the WE paradigm because of its status as a learner variety. However, despite its status as a foreign language, English has played a central role in Koreans' lives since the end of the Second World War, as chapter 2 (pp. 9–29) clearly shows. In fact, there has been an unquenchable thirst for English in and outside the school context as a means of socio-economic advancement. This has often been described as 'English Fever', a term that neatly captures the excessiveness of the development and its negative consequences that may go so far as to include dubious surgeries that are believed to improve the pronunciation of certain English sounds. Chapter 3, 'Theorizing English in South Korea' (pp. 31–48), surveys the scarce research that exists on the topic, introduces the Feature Pool Model, and applies the EIF Model to English in Korea, situating Korean English (KorE) in the second phase of Stabilization. Rüdiger closes with remarks on terminology, explaining her choice for the terms 'plus-', 'minus-', or 'swap-feature/variant' over more loaded terms such as 'redundant', 'omitted', or 'substituted'. The fourth chapter (pp. 49–68) describes the author's *cuppa coffee method* and the demographic make-up of her self-compiled Spoken Korean English (SPOKE) corpus, which includes roughly sixty recorded hours of informal conversations between young to middle-aged urban Korean informants and the author over a cup of coffee. Chapter 5 (pp. 69–189) is the core chapter of the monograph, detailing 'Morpho-Syntactic Patterns of Spoken English in Korea' on 120 pages, organized according to the

traditional part-of-speech categories. Typical features of KorE that emerge are minus-plural marking after numerals and quantifiers, a lower frequency of pronouns due to minus-pronouns and regular repetition of NPs, minus-definite and indefinite articles, the swap-preposition *in* for *on* as well as minus-copula *be*. Rüdiger discusses her quantitative and qualitative findings as results of multiple causation, considering substrate influence from Korean, SLA processes, and the ELF setting, and scrutinizing the existence of the respective features in other varieties of English. Chapter 6 (pp. 191–200) establishes the feature pool of KorE morphosyntactic patterns and re-evaluates the status of KorE in the EIF Model, now placing the variety in between stages 2 and 3, between Stabilization and Nativization. After that, the author discusses the limitations of her study, specifically its reliance on one genre, and avenues for further research. The final chapter (pp. 201–4) summarizes the main findings and brings home the point that features of KorE are structurally not different from features found in other varieties of English, including Inner and Outer Circle varieties. She argues that Expanding Circle varieties therefore deserve a place in the WE paradigm as legitimate varieties of English.

In terms of the number of articles published, East Asia represented a prolific area of research in 2019 with eleven articles, the majority of which are on EFL varieties in the region. Only three articles focused on the ESL variety of HKE, two of which were production studies specifying phonological features of HKE and the other a perception study on grammatical variation in HKE. 'TH Variation in Hong Kong English' (*ELL* 23[2019] 439–68), by Jette G. Hansen Edwards, finds that just over half of the forty-four students interviewed do not categorically pronounce /θ/ as [θ] but also as [f] or [s]. She shows that the different variants correlate with speakers' proficiency levels, arguing that 'TH variation appears to be a developmental process in HKE' (p. 464), following the order [f] > [s] > [θ]. Continuing with suprasegmental phonology, Björn Köhnlein, Carly Dickerson, James Leow, and Paloma Pinillos Chávez provide 'A Response to Lian-Hee Wee' (*Lang* 92[2016] e67–e87) in 'Lexical Tone or Foot Structure in Hong Kong English?' (*Lang* 95[2019] e394–e405). Their answer to the preceding question is that foot structure can describe the distributions of tones in HKE more elegantly than lexical tone, as proposed by Wee. Revisiting examples from Wee's publication and systematically taking into consideration their morphological structure, Köhnlein and his colleagues develop an alternative approach to the prosodic structure of HKE in which high tones occur on heads of trochaic feet. Lastly, Shawnea Sum Pok Ting and Janice Wing Sze Wong present a perception study on 'Factors Affecting the Acceptability of Grammatical Features of Hong Kong English: Undergraduate Students' Ambivalence towards the Grammatical Features of Hong Kong English' (*EnT* 35[2019] 29–35). Ting and Wong's findings indicate that the acceptability of grammatical features of HKE is generally low, which shows the strict compliance of HKE with external norms. The acceptance is only somewhat higher when the perceived status of speakers using non-standard grammatical features is low or when the features occur in face-to-face or digital communication.

Continuing with EFL varieties in East Asia, we find five articles on China English/Chinese English. Li Yiyang's article 'China English or Chinese English: Reviewing the China English Movement through the Kachruvian Lens' (*EnT*

35[2019] 3–12) calls for the avoidance of the term 'China English', which was promoted as a more neutral label to replace the negatively connoted terms 'Chinglish' or 'Chinese English'. However, the author argues that the term 'China English' is itself loaded because it implies the prioritization of institutionalized varieties whose names tend to take the form of adjective plus noun. To avoid subscribing to this tacit assumption, the label 'Chinese English' should be reintroduced as a neutral term compatible with Kachruvian labelling and thinking. The next two articles do not respond to Yiyang's call as they both use 'China English' rather than 'Chinese English' in their titles. Jian Li asks '(r) We Americanised?' in 'The Emerging Rhoticity Features in China English' (*EnT* 35[2019] 28–35). Even though Li's reading data from seventy-two Chinese undergraduate students show remarkably high levels of rhoticity, she does not consider it an outcome of Americanization. Instead, she argues that the widespread use of postvocalic /r/ presents evidence for the indigenization of China English under increasing influence from Mandarin, given that Mandarin is characterized by rhotacization in open syllables. In 'Struggling between National Pride and Personal Empowerment', Zimeng Pan investigates 'The Language Ideologies Held by Chinese University Students towards China English' (*Lingua* 227[2019] 1–18). The qualitative analysis of thirty semi-structured interviews with students reveals that the respondents generally accept the use of China English by Chinese people but at the same time wish to acquire AmE or BrE for reasons of their own socio-economic advancement. This suggests that the acceptance of China English does not necessarily translate to an adoption of it in their own speech. Two articles are concerned with English in the linguistic landscape of China. Mingwu Xu and Chuanmao Tian write about 'Language Reality and Normativity with respect to the Use of English in China's Public Service Areas' (*EnT* 35[2019] 42–7) in '"Open Water Room" = "Hot Water Room"?'. The authors describe that more and more English appeared on signs in China's public service domain when the country became the host of major international events. In an analysis of a sample of over 1,200 bilingual Chinese–English signs, Xu and Tian find many word-by-word translations from Chinese to English as in the example from the title, which the government has tried to prevent through setting out guidelines. The second article is Mingming Yuan's 'Submission and Resistance in the English Linguistic Landscape of Chaoshan: Identity Negotiation through English Translation in Two Chinese Cities' (*EnT* 35[2019] 20–8). The author adopts a social constructivist perspective on the linguistic landscape of Chaozhou and Shantou. Her analysis of 308 signs reveals that English is the second most frequently used language after Mandarin. It appears as the language of colonialism in names for public buildings written in big letters above Mandarin. English is also employed as the language of modernity and social prestige on private signs in names of hotels and clothing stores. At the same time, the hegemony of English is also actively challenged for example on public signs that provide Romance transliterations of culture-specific words without an English translation.

Next to the many articles on China English, English in Taiwan and Korea was also the object of investigation in three articles. Jia-Ling Hsu tracks 'The Nativization of English in Taiwanese Magazine Advertisements' (*WEn* 38[2019] 463–85) between 1999 and 2009 based on a quantitative and qualitative analysis

of roughly 2,200 advertisements. The author discovers that Taiwanese copy-writers have doubled the share of localized English features in the period of analysis and that a greater diversity of features can be found in 2009. The majority of examples in both periods are the result of direct translations from Chinese to English. In another article from the special issue on 'World Englishes and Cross-Cultural Advertisement' (*WEn* 38:iii[2019], cf. also Hiramoto above and Kasanga below), Jamie Shinhee Lee takes us on a walk through the streets of Korea's capital in 'Multilingual Advertising in the Linguistic Landscape of Seoul' (*WEn* 38[2019] 500–18). On our walk through the two tourist districts Insadong and Myeongdong, we can spot more monolingual signs featuring Korean in the former district, which celebrates traditional Korean products and artefacts, while English can more often be found on signs in modern Myeongdong and is particularly popular in names for beauty salons or advertisements for cosmetic products. In addition to English and Korean, several signs also use Chinese and Japanese to attract the attention of the many tourists from these countries. Transitioning from physical urban spaces to a virtual laboratory, Annette D'Onofrio's 'Complicating Categories: Personae Mediate Racialized Expectations of Non-Native Speech' (*JSoc* 23[2019] 346–66) reports on findings of an experiment with 153 American participants recruited via Amazon's Mechanical Turk. The participants completed a cloze test and a personality-rating task in response to audio and visual stimuli. The audio stimuli featured either native AmE or non-native KorE, while the visual stimulus was one of three pictures which either showed a white male person or the same Korean person in two different styles, referred to as personae in the study. D'Onofrio ascertains that participants performed differently in the recall task and the rating task depending on the style of the same Korean speaker in the photo, indicating that macro-level social categories such as race are mediated through personae.

Two monographs and one edited volume on English in Africa were published in 2019, covering the three major geographical regions of West Africa, East Africa, and South Africa. Starting with West Africa, we can find David Jowitt's *Nigerian English*. Its first chapter (pp. 1–36) provides important background information about English in Nigeria, including the historically different status of English in the north and south of the country and in the three major ethnic groups. The author stresses that English cannot be considered an 'elitist' language in present-day Nigeria anymore as it has established itself in the wider population and many different domains. Chapter 2, 'Phonetics and Phonology' (pp. 37–73), describes characteristic features of acrolectal and non-acrolectal NigE on the segmental and suprasegmental level, for example the merger of KIT and FLEECE, monophthongization of GOAT as well as a general preference for 'forward stress' (e.g. *modi'fy*), a tendency towards syllable-timing, and the rare use of final fall-rises. Chapter 3 deals with the under-researched area of 'Morphosyntax' (pp. 74–105). The author describes typical features of variation with reference to the major parts of speech, such as the treatment of uncountable nouns as countable nouns, the extended use of the progressive with stative verbs, and the existence of transfer-related adverbial phrases such as *at my back* ('behind me') (p. 92). Jowitt enriches his list of features assembled from prior research with examples from ICE-Nigeria and critically assesses the eWAVE (The electronic World Atlas of Varieties of English) rating against corpus evidence. He

then presents analyses of texts with different dispersions of non-standard grammatical features. The chapter closes with a comparison of grammatical features in NigE with those of AmE and Nigerian Pidgin. The fourth chapter deals with 'Lexis and Discourse' (pp. 106–47). Regarding lexis, Jowitt considers coinage (in its broader sense), semantic extension, and loans, the major process of how words are added to NigE (e.g. *been-to* 'somebody who has travelled overseas', *Belgian car* 'used car', *danfo* 'smaller bus'). Some discourse features are also discussed: discourse particles, kinship terms, address forms, greetings, politeness, and stylistic choices. Chapter 5, 'History and Changes in Progress' (pp. 148–81), is the first comprehensive historical account of English in Nigeria from the precolonial period to the present, which is marked by further consolidation of English accompanied by the continued debate about its falling standards. Chapter 6 (pp. 182–203) features an annotated bibliography of prior research, while chapter 7 (pp. 204–26) is a collection of NigE sample texts from diaries, letters, journalistic, academic, religious, and creative writing, among other text types.

Continuing our journey through Africa eastward, we can find Alfred Buregeya's monograph on *Kenyan English*. The book has nine chapters and opens with a historical sketch of English in Kenya (pp. 1–10). Buregeya explains that English was only spoken by a small minority before independence but became more strongly established in the post-independence period. Chapter 2 (pp. 11–28) gives background information about the country such as its ethnic composition, with forty-two tribes speaking languages of the Bantu, Nilotic, and Cushitic language families. Particular attention is given to the division of labour between English, Swahili, and indigenous languages. Despite the rigid differentiation of roles between English and Swahili, the two languages have also been mixed in urban centres, where Sheng, based on Swahili, and Engsh, based on English, are spoken among the youth. Chapter 3 deals with 'Phonetics and Phonology' (pp. 29–62), focusing on typical national features of KenE that differ from RP such as the replacement of the central vowels of NURSE and schwa with /a/, the shortening of long vowels as well as the monophthongization of FACE and GOAT. Another characteristic described is the abundance of spelling pronunciations. With reference to consonants, KenE is described as a non-rhotic accent but with rare use of linking /r/ and showing only faint aspiration of the voiceless initial plosives /p, t, k/. At the suprasegmental level, stress patterns have been regularized in KenE, and strong rather than weak forms tend to be used, potentially indicating a more syllable-timed rhythm. As regards intonation, the author finds frequent use of level tone and rare use of rising tone as compared with BrE. Chapter 4 is the centrepiece of the monograph devoted to 'Morphology and Syntax' (pp. 63–138). The chapter describes roughly sixty grammatical features based on data from postgraduate academic papers, newspapers, and ICE-Kenya. Typical features include: variable article use, the pluralization of non-count nouns, the progressive with stative verbs (cf. also Jowitt above), the high frequency of modal *shall* in third-person contexts, the lack of inversion, and the use of resumptive pronouns. Chapter 5 (pp. 139–78) discusses lexical and semantic aspects in a fashion similar to Jowitt's chapter 4, with a focus on loan expressions (e.g. *shamba* 'farm'), words coined (e.g. *co-wife*), and words that have undergone semantic broadening (e.g. *double-decker* 'bunk-bed'). Interestingly, the author finds several words that can also be found in IndE such as *go-down*

'warehouse' or *hotel* 'restaurant', pointing to the influence of the diasporic Indian community on KenE. Chapter 6 discusses 'Discourse Features' (pp. 179–208) in the broadest sense of the term, including anaphoric reference, requests, forms of address, code-mixing, and the rare use of contracted forms in spoken KenE. Chapter 7 surveys prior works on KenE (pp. 209–26), followed by a collection of annotated sample texts representing educated KenE in chapter 8 (pp. 227–40). The concluding chapter (pp. 241–4) is a synopsis of the most important aspects of KenE, paving the way for Buregeya's claim that KenE has entered the stage of Endonormative Stabilization.

Going south, we can find the comprehensive volume *English in Multilingual South Africa: The Linguistics of Contact and Change*, edited by Raymond Hickey and dedicated to Rajend Mesthrie in honour of his research on SAE. The 420-page-long volume showcases eighteen articles, subdivided into three parts: (I) 'A Framework for English in South Africa' (chs. 1–6), (II) 'Sociolinguistics, Globalisation and Multilingualism' (chs. 7–11), and (III) 'Language Interfaces' (chs. 12–18). The thematic chapters are followed by a 'Timeline for South African History' (pp. 394–9), a glossary (pp. 401–14), and an index (pp. 415–20). The editor opens the volume with 'English in South Africa: Contact and Change' (pp. 3–15), introducing his readers to the unique linguistic situation in South Africa, a country with eleven official languages. The two European languages Afrikaans and English attest to the colonization of South Africa first by the Dutch and roughly 150 years later by the British. In addition to Afrikaans and English, nine African languages belonging to the Bantu language family are officially recognized. Edgar W. Schneider follows with an account of the challenges involved in situating 'South Africa in the Linguistic Modeling of World Englishes' (pp. 16–29). While earlier studies have either refrained from placing South Africa in their accounts or have only included white SAE in their models, Schneider is the first to provide a more detailed diachronic account of English in South Africa, which was later refined by other scholars. One of these is Ian Bekker, who continues with a critical assessment of Schneider's diachronic account of English in South Africa in 'South African English, the Dynamic Model and the Challenge of Afrikaans Influence' (pp. 30–51). Bekker is sceptical about placing SAE holistically into the stage of Endonormative Stabilization, given that the two postcolonial Englishes associated with the white Afrikaans-speaking population and the black population speaking African languages are at different stages in the development and do not seem to have strictly followed the chronological sequence of the model. Beyond that, Bekker questions Schneider's core assumption that convergent forces prevail over divergent forces in the context of South Africa and calls for the integration of Bakhtinian 'centripetal' and 'centrifugal' forces in the Dynamic Model. Next, Ronel Wasserman presents a diachronic corpus-based study on semantic broadening in white SAE through contact with Afrikaans in 'The Historical Development of South African English: Semantic Features' (pp. 52–73). Wasserman shows that innovation in the use of semantically broadened forms already took place when the first groups of settlers arrived in South Africa at the beginning of the nineteenth century and spread when contact between the British and the Afrikaans-speaking indigenous strand increased on the Witwatersrand due to the discovery of gold. After this, Deon du Plessis, Ian Bekker, and Raymond Hickey direct our attention to 'Regionality in

South African English' (pp. 74–100). They compare acoustic measurements of vowels produced by thirty-four speakers from Cape Town, Durban, and Johannesburg and find 'embryonic regionality' (p. 98), for example in a preference for glide-strengthened diphthongs in Johannesburg as compared to more monophthongal qualities in Durham. Next, Haidee Kotze poses the question 'Does Editing Matter?' in 'Editorial Work, Endonormativity and Convergence in Written Englishes in South Africa' (pp. 101–26). Kotze's findings on the competition between *can* and *may* and the frequency of downtoners in unedited and edited academic writing by black and white South Africans demand a nuanced answer to the question. The author detects that copy-editors 'allow and reinforce local norms for BSAfE [Black South African English], but tend to direct WSAfE [White South African English] [. . .] to external norms' (p. 121). Opening Part II of the edited volume, Tessa Dowling, Kay McCormick, and Charlyn Dyers detail 'Language Contact in Cape Town' (pp. 127–50), finding that StE still carries overt prestige in the public domain but is associated with 'putting on airs' in the private domain, where code-switching and mixed codes have covert prestige as in-group solidarity markers in marginalized groups, especially among youth and in hip-hop (cf. also Mair above). We stay in Cape Town with 'Internal Push, External Pull: The Reverse Front Vowel Shift in South African English' (pp. 151–75), by Alida Chevalier. Her apparent-time study of formant measurements of the short front vowels KIT, DRESS, and TRAP demonstrates that these sounds are involved in a process of lowering and retraction that reverses the South African Chain Shift. Heather Brookes's 'Youth Language in South Africa' describes 'The Role of English in South African *Tsotsitaals*' (pp. 176–95), mixed urban youth codes. She shows that groups who identify with mainstream culture ('softies') creatively manipulate English resources for jocular purposes and insert more English forms in their 'tsotsitaals' than anti-mainstream youth groups ('pantsulas'). However, more recently, even the latter group uses English more often and even for creative purposes, pointing to an attitudinal change towards the use of English. Russell H. Kaschula emphasizes the necessity for integrating African languages in the white-collar economy alongside English to bring prosperity to the wider population of South Africa in 'Econo-Language Planning and Transformation in South Africa: From Localisation to Globalisation' (pp. 196–215). Kathleen Heugh and Christopher Stroud see 'Multilingualism in South African Education' from 'A Southern Perspective' (pp. 216–37), highlighting it 'as essential for undergirding democratic and equitable access to meaningful education for all students' (p. 222). Their perspective integrates bottom-up multilingual practices and top-down multilingualism, in particular the gate-keeping function of written StE, a framework that is described as deeply rooted in decolonial scholarship from the geographical south. Bertus van Rooy's 'Present-Day Afrikaans in Contact with English' (pp. 241–64) initiates Part III. His article approaches language contact between English and Afrikaans from the perspective of English influence on Afrikaans (cf. Wasserman above for the complementary perspective). His diachronic study of Afrikaans–English code-mixing/-switching and grammatical innovation in Afrikaans shows that both processes have been attested since the beginning, with the former process being much more common than the latter. Regarding grammatical features, van Rooy finds some evidence for contact-induced grammaticalization but also Afrikaans-internal developments

that started before contact but spread later, strengthened by similar constructions in English. Next, in 'Shift Varieties as a Typological Class? A Consideration of South African Indian English' (pp. 265–87), Raymond Hickey compares features of South African Indian English with those of IrE and finds similarities in the development of the aspectual categories habitual and perfective of the two language-shift varieties that could justify the classification of these varieties as a separate type. Dorrit Posel and Jochen Zeller investigate 'Language Use and Language Shift in Post-Apartheid South Africa' (pp. 288–309) on a national level with census data from 1996 to 2011. Their findings attest to a growth in bilingualism rather than language-shift to English. While they found a negligible increase in the share of people reporting English as their first home language, they observed a substantial rise in the share of people reporting English as their second home language, especially among Afrikaans-speaking coloureds from the Western Cape. Silvester Ron Simango contributes 'English Prepositions in isiXhosa Spaces: Evidence from Code-Switching' (pp. 310–28) and demonstrates that English has started to affect the grammatical system of isiXhosa. *For* plays a special part in this regard as it is the preposition that is most frequently embedded in isiXhosa matrix clauses and introduces the option of prepositional object constructions. Transitioning to prosodic aspects, Sabine Zerbian describes 'Aspects of Sentence Intonation in Black South African English' (pp. 329–49), showing that 'focus does not seem to be implemented prosodically' (p. 337), either by longer durations or a rise in fundamental frequency. Carien Wilsenach's study is devoted to 'The Development of Cognitive-Linguistic Skills in Multilingual Learners: A Perspective of Northern Sotho-English Children' (pp. 350–70). The author shows that children who are instructed in their home language Sotho can transfer their phonological-awareness skills to English as their additional language and that children who learn through the medium of English show an increased vocabulary in English compared with children who learn through their L1 Sotho, given that children cannot transfer vocabulary skills from Sotho to English as the two languages are typologically unrelated. The final article by Ella Wehrmeyer analyses 'Linguistic Interference in Interpreting from English to South African Sign Language' (pp. 371–93) in news recordings accompanied by signing. The author finds that English influences South African Sign Languages in terms of a higher frequency of SV sentence structures and miming of (mostly English) words while signing (so-called 'mouthing').

The overview of articles on English in Africa starts with a more general piece of work in which Nkonko M. Kamwangamalu describes 'English as a Naturalized African Language' (*WEn* 38[2019] 114–27), a language of Africa rather than a foreign language spoken in Africa. The author claims that English has become 'naturalized' by referring to ongoing language-shift in educated urban families, the range of functions English fulfils, and the way it has been shaped by African languages and cultures on all levels of linguistic analysis (cf. also Jowitt's and Buregeya's monographs above). Proceeding to articles on regional varieties of African English, we find two on NigE. In Aliyu Muhammad Umar's 'The Structure of Idioms in Nigerian English' (*EnT* 35[2019] 29–34), sixty issues of two NigE newspapers provide the main data source. The author identifies three types of idiom: 'General English idioms', 'Modified idioms', and 'Idioms unique to Nigerian English', which make up 12 per cent of all idioms

identified. Some of these come from Nigerian Pidgin such as *bad belle* (< *belly*, 'have a negative feeling about somebody') or religious contexts such as *shout hosanna*, two sources for idioms that had not been previously recognized for NigE. Dmitry Idiatov focuses on a specific variety of NigE, viz. Bena English, in 'Word-Final Consonant Epenthesis in Northeastern Nigerian English' (*ELL* 23[2019] 303–40). He notices the frequent occurrence of [t]- and [s]-epenthesis as in *How is Paris[t]?* or *the husban(d) left[s]* (pp. 303–4) in speakers who have Bena as their L1. Idiatov establishes that both types of epenthesis are predominantly found after alveolar coronals and in pre-pausal contexts. Given this distribution, he sees the origin of this phenomenon in the transfer of phonetic properties of Bena, which exhibits pre-pausal glottalization and lengthening, interacting with word-final coronals and evoking the percept of [t] and [s] in Bena English. Moving to the neighbouring country of Cameroon, Raphael Tegha Ketcha writes about 'Varieties of English in Cameroon: Audio-Visual Materials: Cameroon Audio-Lects' (*EnT* 35[2019] 20–7). On the basis of performance data from a gender-balanced sample of eighty actors, actresses, and singers, the author identifies five 'audio lects': 'Pidgnized', 'Mainstream', 'Near-RP', 'Americanized', and 'Frenchized Cameroonian English'. He describes their characteristic phonological features and contexts of use in the Cameroonian mediascape. Continuing with Central Africa, we find Luanga A. Kasanga's study on 'English in Advertising in Lumbumbashi, Democratic Republic of Congo' (*WEn* 38[2019] 561–75). Even though English is a foreign language in the country and only spoken by an insignificant minority, it can be found in more than 40 per cent of the business advertisements in the city centre of the country's second-largest city. English started to make inroads in the linguistic landscape of Lumbumbashi via multinational mining companies but can now also be found in advertisements of smaller local businesses that use English for symbolic purposes to index internationalism, modernity, and prestige (cf. also Yuan's article above). Moving further south, we find three articles on aspects of NamE. 'Intergroup Dynamics and Variation in Postcolonial ESL Varieties: A Preliminary View of Namibian English Vowel Systems' (*EWW* 40[2019] 143–68) by Gerald Stell and Robert Fuchs presents results of a sociophonetic study of the vowel systems of twelve NamE speakers of six different ethnicities speaking different L1s. Their analysis shows that variation in the formant values for monophthongs and diphthongs is organized along a white–non-white continuum, with speakers who have a Bantu language as their L1 showing the strongest effect of substrate influence in terms of fewer vowel distinctions and more monophthongal qualities of diphthongs. Next, Gerald Stell zooms in on one specific ethnic group in 'Tracing Emergent Multilectal Styles: Forms and Functions of Code-Switching among Ovambos in Urban Namibia' (*Prag* 29[2019] 436–62). He analyses a conversation between four participants with different language biographies and shows that alternational code-switching between Oshiwambo and English is the most common type of code-switching. These switches are sequentially patterned in that they show the consistent use of one language across turns. The various code-switching practices are employed to display urban and ethnic identities simultaneously, which cannot be achieved by monolingual codes (cf. also the phenomenon of Sheng and Engsh referred to in Buregeya's monograph above). The opposition between the linguistic situation in the city and the countryside is the topic of Gerald Stell's

'Dimensions of Sociolinguistic Distinction in Postcolonial Ethnic Diversity: Folk Perceptions of Language across Namibia's Rural/Urban Divide' (*Lingua* 226[2019] 53–68). Applying the method of map-drawing and labelling from Perceptual Dialectology to a multilingual environment, Stell analyses perceived ethno-linguistic boundaries on 225 maps. Rural areas are associated with authentic uses of indigenous languages and varieties of English that display transfer-related features. Urban areas are associated instead with loss of indigenous languages and ethnically neutral uses of English (and Afrikaans). Travelling further south to the country that formerly administered Namibia, we find two articles on English in South Africa. Pedro Alvarez-Mosquera's 'Young Coloureds' Implicit Attitudes Towards Two Historically White English Accents in the South African Context: A Case Study' (*EWW* 40[2019] 325–44) investigates implicit language attitudes of coloureds, descendants of Europeans and Africans or Asians, towards standard SAE and Afrikaans-accented English by means of an implicit association task. He shows that his eighty-four respondents have positive attitudes towards standard SAE, especially when they have intermediate levels of social distance to whites and live in areas in which English dominates or where English and Afrikaans are equally often used. However, positive attitudes towards Afrikaans-accented English were also found in the sample but were more evenly distributed across the different levels of the two factors 'social distance' and 'place of residence'. Ana Deumert's 'Sensational Signs, Authority and the Public Sphere: Settler Colonial Rhetoric in Times of Change' (*JSoc* 23[2019] 467–84) analyses how white nationalists blend emotions with statistics to construct public discourses about whites as a threatened minority in South Africa in current debates surrounding land redistribution and so-called 'farm murders'. Discourses that usually apply to underprivileged black groups are 'hijacked' (p. 479) by whites, thereby shifting the focus to their concerns and marginalizing those of black South Africans to secure land possession and hence to stall decolonization.

For Europe, the edited collection on *English in the German-Speaking World* by Raymond Hickey will be covered next year. In the first of five articles on English in Europe, Zoya G. Proshina is 'Elaborating on the Expanding Circle' (*WEn* 38[2019] 233–44). She laments that, whereas Inner and Outer Circle varieties are generally accepted and acknowledged, Expanding Circle Englishes are 'still a thorny subject of incessant metalinguistic and sociolinguistic discussions' (p. 233). Proshina discusses different key terms in WE, such as 'variety', and outlines different arguments made in the dispute about the status of Expanding Circle Englishes. Eventually, she concludes that Russian English is a 'legitimate variety used by Russian speakers' (p. 242) and a clear member of WE. Another study in the Russian context is Irina Ustinova's 'The Local and Global Imagery of Women in Russian Advertising' (*WEn* 38[2019] 404–16), which shows how women are presented in Russian ads and how the use of English (or, rather, its absence) has contributed to the imagery over the years. In post-perestroika Russia, some English was used to change the public perception of women (with terms such as 'career woman'), but this trend has faded due to official regulations. Next, Elizabeth Martin considers 'Global Marketing Translation and Localization for French-Speaking Countries' (*WEn* 38[2019] 366–86). The article provides an 'in-depth analysis of slogans and advertising appeals targeting French-speaking consumers on both sides of the Atlantic' (p. 382). A

transatlantic comparison reveals that, while there are similarities between the reception of advertising in Quebec, on the one hand, and francophone Europeans on the other, there are also differences. Interestingly, from a WE perspective, French–English code-mixing and -switching are absent from the advertising in Quebec while they are prevalent in Europe. The focus turns to Belgium in Mariet Raedts, Irene Roozen, and Emmy De Weerdt's 'The Effectiveness of Subtitles in Cross-Cultural Television Commercials' (*WEn* 38[2019] 387–403). The authors are interested in 'the communication effectiveness as well as the marketing effectiveness of subtitles in linguistically standardized [...] TV commercials' (p. 390) in English. Five commercials are presented to a Dutch-speaking and a French-speaking group, the latter of which is more used to dubbing. Subtitles had a clear positive effect on the effectiveness of the commercials, and English subtitles were, perhaps surprisingly, perceived positively by the French-speaking sample. Going further south, Paola Vettorel and Valeria Franceschi find out to what extent 'English and Other Languages' are featured 'in Italian Advertising' (*WEn* 38[2019] 417–34), making use of past issues of the two magazines *Venerdì* and *D Donna*. Creativity in English dominates on the morphological level in the ads but is rather rare on the other linguistic levels. Overall, Italian still dominates, although there has been a slight increase in English in the last few years.

The Caribbean received little attention this year with only one article: 'The Interplay of the National, Regional, and Global in Standards of English: A Recognition Survey of Newscaster Accents in the Caribbean' (*EWW* 38[2019] 241–68) by Eva Canan Hänsel and Dagmar Deuber, who investigate 'whether people from the anglophone Caribbean identify the origin of sound samples of newscasters from Jamaica, [St. Kitts and Nevis], Dominica, [St. Vincent and the Grenadines], and [Trinidad and Tobago]' (p. 259). While the newscaster from Trinidad was identified correctly by a majority of respondents, merely 22 per cent from the other countries were placed correctly. Importantly, the study suggests that the Caribbean example is proof that the dominant nation-state approach in WE might be misguided in certain cases.

We will now turn our attention to studies in creolistics. Kofi Yakpo's discusses 'Inheritance, Contact, Convergence: Pronominal Allomorphy in the African English-Lexifier Creoles' (*EWW* 40[2019] 201–25), providing a comparative analysis of the alternation between clitic and independent pronoun forms for the third person singular object in Pichi, Krio, Ghanaian Pidgin, Nigerian Pidgin, and Cameroon Pidgin. His detailed analysis of self-compiled corpus data reveals that Pichi, which is spoken in Equatorial Guinea, shows a typologically rare tone constraint leading to the avoidance of sequences of the same tone. The next article, 'Bilingual Children as "Laboratories" for Studying Contact Outcomes: Development of Perfective Aspect' (*Linguistics* 57[2019] 693–723), by Pui Yiu Szeto, Stephen Matthews, and Virginia Yip, takes us to Asia. It reveals striking parallels between the speech of English-Cantonese bilingual children and speakers of Southeast Asian creoles with a European lexifier. The speech of both groups shows contact-induced grammaticalization of *already* as a perfect marker, which is grounded in the similar language-contact scenario in which an isolating Southeast Asian language is in close contact with a European language (cf. also Teo above for *already* in CSE). Because the children in the study later replace

bare forms plus *already* with the *have*-perfect, the authors liken the process of 'transient grammaticalization' (p. 709) in bilinguals to the process of 'decreolization' in creoles. Finally, Stephanie Hackert provides a comprehensive comparative analysis of 'The Perfect in English-Lexifier Pidgins and Creoles' (*JPCL* 34[2019] 195–242). Basing her study on elicited questionnaire data from twenty-five pidgins and creoles and five 'creoloid' high-contact varieties, Hackert finds that grammaticalized perfects, i.e. forms expressing resultative and experiential meanings but which are not employed in narrative contexts, seem to be less frequent in her sample of pidgins and creoles than in the sample of the world's non-creole languages represented in WALS. Pidgins and creoles using a grammaticalized perfect are predominantly found in West Africa, where the perfect is expressed with *done* and *finish*, following the grammaticalization path of many local substrate languages.

11. Second Language Acquisition

As usual, publications in the discipline of SLA dealt with different components of interlanguage grammar (phonology, morphosyntax, vocabulary, discourse, etc.), L2 processing (sentence, lexical and discourse), the development of four language skills (reading, writing, listening, and speaking), individual learner differences, learning contexts, and other topics. In what follows, I provide an overview of journal papers that have dealt with these issues and that were centred around English.

Starting with interlanguage phonology, two studies deal with the perception of accent. Nikola Anna Eger and Eva Reinisch investigate 'The Role of Acoustic Cues and Listener Proficiency in the Perception of Accent in Nonnative Sounds' (*SSLA* 41[2019] 179–200) in a study with German L2 learners and native speakers of English, while Yi Zheng and Arthur G. Samuel ask 'How Much Do Visual Cues Help Listeners in Perceiving Accented Speech?' in a study with native English speakers and Mandarin Chinese L2 learners of English (*AppPsycholing*) 40[2019] 93–109. Other studies address a variety of issues. Alexander J. Kilpatrick, Rikke L. Bundgaard-Nielsen, and Brett J. Baker argue that 'Japanese Co-occurrence Restrictions Influence Second Language Perception' based on evidence from Japanese L2 learners of English (*AppPsycholing*) 40[2019] 585–611. In a study called 'When *Blue* Is a Disyllabic Word' conducted with Korean L2 learners and native speakers of English, Isabelle Darcy and Trisha Thomas deal with 'Perceptual Epenthesis in the Mental Lexicon of Second Language Learners' (*BLC* 22[2019] 1141–59) (for this see also Section 7 above). Ho-Young Lee and Jieun Song engage in 'Evaluating Korean Learners' English Rhythm Proficiency with Measures of Sentence Stress' (*AppPsycholing* 40[2019] 1363–76) in a corpus-based study with native English speakers. Miquel Llompart and Eva Reinisch argue that 'Robustness of Phonolexical Representations Relates to Phonetic Flexibility for Difficult Second Language Sound Contrasts' (*BLC* 22[2019] 1085–1100) in a study with German L2 learners of English. Jae Yung Song and Fred Eckman deal with 'Covert Contrasts in the Acquisition of English High Front Vowels by

Native Speakers of Korean, Portuguese, and Spanish' (*LangAcq* 26[2019] 436–56) in a study which also included native speakers of English. Leona Polyanskaya and Mikhail Ordin examine 'The Effect of Speech Rhythm and Speaking Rate on Assessment of Pronunciation in a Second Language' in a study with French and German L2 learners and native speakers of English (*AppPsycholing*) 40[2019] 795–819.

In the area of L2 morphosyntax, Bastien De Clercq and Alex Housen investigate 'The Development of Morphological Complexity' in 'A Cross-Linguistic Study of L2 French and English' (*SLR* 35[2019] 71–97) conducted with Dutch native speakers. Keiichi Ishikawa deals with 'Incidental and Explicit Learning of L2 Derivational Morphology and the Nature of Acquired Knowledge' (*AppPsycholing* 40[2019] 1377–1404) in a study with Japanese L2 learners of English. Hyunwoo Kim and Theres Grüter investigate 'Cross-Linguistic Activation of Implicit Causality Biases in Korean Learners of English' (*BLC* 22[2019] 441–55) in a study which also included native English speakers. Alessandro Benati and Maria Batziou examine 'The Relative Effects of Isolated and Combined Structured Input and Structured Output on the Acquisition of the English Causative Forms' (*IRAL* 57[2019] 265–87) in a study with Chinese and Greek L2 learners. Stano Kong deals with 'Accounting for the Asymmetrical Interpretation of Thematic and Non-Thematic Verbs in L2 English' (*IRAL* 57[2019] 327–53) in a study with Chinese L2 learners and native speakers of English. In a bidirectional study of L2 English and L2 French, Sarah Berthaud and Stanislava Antonijević explore 'How Subject Animacy Constrains Motion Event Descriptions' providing 'Evidence from Sequential and Simultaneous Bilinguals in French and English' (*LAB* 9[2019] 163–201). In a study with Saudi Arabic L2 learners and native speakers of English, Kholoud A. Al-Thubaiti examines 'Selective Vulnerability in Very Advanced L2 Grammars' based on 'Evidence from VPE [verb phrase ellipsis] Constraints' (*SLR* 35[2019] 225–52). Xiaopeng Zhang and Xiaoli Dong tackle 'Input Frequency and Construction Interference Interactions in L2 Development' (*SLR* 35[2019] 505–27) in a study examining Chinese L2 learners' knowledge of English subject-extracted and object-extracted relative clauses.

Among numerous studies of L2 vocabulary, Hansol Lee, Mark Warschauer, and Jang Ho Lee explore 'The Effects of Corpus Use on Second Language Vocabulary Learning' using 'A Multilevel Meta-analysis' (*AppLing* 40[2019] 721–53). Evelien Mulder, Marco van de Ven, Eliane Segers, and Ludo Verhoeven investigate 'Context, Word, and Student Predictors in Second Language Vocabulary Learning' (AppPsycholing 40(2019) 137–66) in a study with Dutch L2 learners of English. Yih-Lin Belinda Jiang and Li-Jen Kuo examine 'The Development of Vocabulary and Morphological Awareness' in 'A Longitudinal Study with College EFL Students' (*AppPsycholing* 40[2019] 877–903) whose native language is Chinese. Xiaopeng Zhang and Wen Ju engage in' Exploring Multiple Constraints on Second Language Development of English Polysemous Phrasal Verbs' in a study with Chinese L2 learners (*AppPsycholing* 40[2019] 1073–1101). Chaleece W. Sandberg, Erin Carpenter, Katherine Kerschen, Daniela Paolieri, and Carrie N. Jackson investigate 'The Benefits of Abstract Word Training on Productive Vocabulary Knowledge among Second Language Learners' (*AppPsycholing* 40[2019] 1331–62) in a bidirectional study

of L2 English and L2 Spanish. Shirley Cheung, Pui Fong Kan, Ellie Winicour, and Jerry Yang examine the 'Effects of Home Language Input on the Vocabulary Knowledge of Sequential Bilingual Children' (*BLC* 22[2019] 986–1004), who are Cantonese L2 learners of English. Junmei Lü, Lijuan Liang, and Baoguo Chen explore 'The Effect of Executive Control Ability on the Comprehension of Second Language Metaphor' (*IJB* 23[2019] 87–101) in a study with Chinese L2 learners of English. David Allen addresses the relationship between 'Cognate Frequency and Assessment of Second Language Lexical Knowledge' in a study with Japanese L2 learners of English (*IJB*) 23[2019] 1121–36. Marco van de Ven, Eliane Segers, and Ludo Verhoeven deal with 'Enhanced Second Language Vocabulary Learning through Phonological Specificity Training in Adolescents' (*LangLearn* 69[2019] 222–50) in a study with Dutch L2 learners of English. Mark Toomer and Irina Elgort address 'The Development of Implicit and Explicit Knowledge of Collocations' and conduct 'A Conceptual Replication and Extension of Sonbul and Schmitt (2013)' with English L2 learners from different L1 backgrounds (*LangLearn*) 69[2019] 405–39. In a corpus-based study, Alvin Cheng-Hsien Chen deals with 'Assessing Phraseological Development in Word Sequences of Variable Lengths in Second Language Texts Using Directional Association Measures' (*LangLearn* 69[2019] 440–77). Elke Peters, Ann-Sophie Noreillie, Kris Heylen, Bram Bulté, and Piet Desmet investigate 'The Impact of Instruction and Out-of-School Exposure to Foreign Language Input on Learners' Vocabulary Knowledge in Two Languages' (*LangLearn* 69[2019] 747–82) in a study with Flemish L2 learners of English and French. Brett J. Hashimoto and Jesse Egbert ask 'More Than Frequency?' while 'Exploring Predictors of Word Difficulty for Second Language Learners' in a study with English L2 learners from a variety of L1 backgrounds (*LangLearn*) 69[2019] 839–72. Stefanie Wulff and Stefan Th. Gries look at 'Particle Placement in Learner Language' in a corpus-based study with English L2 learners from seventeen language backgrounds (*LangLearn*) 69[2019] 873–910. Eva Puimège and Elke Peters investigate 'Learners' English Vocabulary Knowledge Prior to Formal Instruction' focusing on 'The Role of Learner-Related and Word-Related Variables' in a study with Flemish L2 learners (*LangLearn*) 69[2019] 943–77. In a study with Japanese L2 learners of English, Tatsuya Nakata and Yuichi Suzuki explore the 'Effects of Massing and Spacing on the Learning of Semantically Related and Unrelated Words' (*SSLA* 41[2019] 287–311).

In the area of L2 discourse, Wei Cheng and Amit Almor adopt 'A Bayesian Approach to Establishing Coreference in Second Language Discourse' and obtain 'Evidence from Implicit Causality and Consequentiality Verbs' (*BLC* 22[2019] 456–75) from Chinese L2 learners and native speakers of English. Xiaodong Xu, Meizhu Pan, Haoyun Dai, Hui Zhang, and Yiyi Lu explore 'How Referential Uncertainty Is Modulated by Conjunctions' based on 'ERP Evidence from Advanced Chinese–English L2 Learners and English L1 Speakers' (*SLR* 35[2019] 195–224).

Turning now to sentence processing, Holger Hopp, Anja Steinlen, Christina Schelletter, and Thorsten Piske tackle 'Syntactic Development in Early Foreign Language Learning' and examine the 'Effects of L1 Transfer, Input, and Individual Factors' in a study with German L2 learners and native speakers of English (*AppPsycholing*) 40[2019] 1241–67. Lydia Gabriela Speyer and Erik

Schleef deal with 'Processing 'Gender-Neutral' Pronouns' in 'A Self-Paced Reading Study of Learners of English' whose native language is German (*AppLing*) 40[2019] 793–815. In another self-paced reading study, conducted with Spanish L2 learners and native speakers of English, Edith Kaan, Corinne Futch, Raquel Fernández Fuertes, Sonja Mujcinovic, and Esther Álvarez de la Fuente investigate 'Adaptation to Syntactic Structures in Native and Nonnative Sentence Comprehension' (*AppPsycholing* 40[2019] 3–27). Using the same methodology, Yu Tamura, Junya Fukuta, Yoshito Nishimura, Yui Harada, Kazuhisa Hara, and Daiki Kato explore 'Japanese EFL Learners' Sentence Processing of Conceptual Plurality' and conduct 'An Analysis Focusing on Reciprocal Verbs' (*AppPsycholing* 40[2019] 59–91). Sarut Supasiraprapa examines 'Frequency Effects on First and Second Language Compositional Phrase Comprehension and Production' in a study with Chinese L2 learners and native speakers of English (*AppPsycholing*) 40[2019] 987–1017. Zhiying Qian, Eun-Kyung Lee, Dora Hsin-Yi Lu, and Susan M. Garnsey argue that 'Native and Non-Native (L1-Mandarin) Speakers of English Differ in Online Use of Verb-Based Cues about Sentence Structure' in a self-paced reading study (*BLC*) 22[2019] 897–911. Bojana Ćoso and Irena Bogunović explore 'The Role of Linguistic Cues in Bilingual Negation Processing' in a study with Croatian learners of English (*IJB*) 23[2019] 21–36. In a self-paced reading study with Korean L2 learners of English, Hyunwoo Kim and Yangon Rah investigate 'Constructional Processing in a Second Language' focusing on 'The Role of Constructional Knowledge in Verb-Construction Integration' (*LangLearn* 69[2019] 1022–56). In a study with German L2 learners and native speakers of English, Anna Jessen and Claudia Felser engage in 'Reanalysing Object Gaps during Non-Native Sentence Processing' using 'Evidence from ERPs' (*SLR* 35[2019] 285–300). Sarah Grey, Laura C. Schubel, James M. McQueen and Janet G. Van Hell tackle 'Processing Foreign-Accented Speech in a Second Language' based on 'Evidence from ERPs during Sentence Comprehension in Bilinguals' (*BLC* 22[2019] 912–29), who are Dutch L2 learners of English.

In the area of lexical processing, Cynthia M. Berger, Scott A. Crossley, and Kristopher Kyle deal with 'Using Native-Speaker Psycholinguistic Norms to Predict Lexical Proficiency and Development in Second-Language Production' (*AppLing* 40[2019] 22–42). In an eye-tracking study with English L2 learners from a variety of L1 backgrounds, Laura Vilkaitė and Norbert Schmitt tackle 'Reading Collocations in an L2' trying to answer: 'Do Collocation Processing Benefits Extend to Non-Adjacent Collocations?' (*AppLing* 40[2019] 329–54). Julian Northbrook and Kathy Conklin ask 'Is What You Put in What You Get Out?' in a study of 'Textbook-Derived Lexical Bundle Processing in Beginner English Learners' whose native language is Japanese (*AppLing* 40[2019] 816–33). Nikolay Novitskiy, Andriy Myachykov, and Yury Shtyrov explore 'Crosslinguistic Interplay between Semantics and Phonology in Late Bilinguals' based on 'Neurophysiological Evidence' from Russian L2 learners of English (*BLC*) 22[2019] 209–27. In a priming study with English L2 learners of different L1 backgrounds, Scott A. Crossley and Stephen Skalicky deal with 'Making Sense of Polysemy Relations in First and Second Language Speakers of English' (*IJB* 23[2019] 400–16).

When it comes to discourse processing, Eun-Kyung Lee and Scott Fraundorf study 'Native-Like Processing of Prominence Cues in L2 Written Discourse Comprehension' providing 'Evidence from Font Emphasis' obtained from Korean L2 learners of English (*AppPsycholing*) 40[2019] 373–98.

In work on language skills, Judit Kormos, Milena Košak Babuder, and Karmen Pižorn explore 'The Role of Low-Level First Language Skills in Second Language Reading, Reading-While-Listening and Listening Performance' in 'A Study of Young Dyslexic and Non-Dyslexic Language Learners' of English whose native language is Slovenian (*AppLing*) 40[2019] 834–58. Basing their study on a distinction between opaque and regular orthographies (e.g. English vs. Italian), Caterina Artuso and Paola Palladino investigate 'The Role of Memory Updating in Shallow Native and Opaque Second Language Learning' in a reading study with Italian L2 learners of English (*SLR*) 35[2019] 377–96.

L2 writing has been intensively studied. Gary G. Fogal engages in 'Tracking Microgenetic Changes in Authorial Voice Development from a Complexity Theory Perspective' (*AppLing* 40[2019] 432–55) in a study with Japanese L2 learners of English. Using a corpus of written L2 English containing samples from learners from different L1 backgrounds, Katharina Ehret and Benedikt Szmrecsanyi propose 'An Information-Theoretic Measure of Complexity in SLA Production Data' in a paper called 'Compressing Learner Language' (*SLR* 35[2019] 23–45). In corpus-based study analysing, among else, texts of Italian L2 learners of English, Vaclav Brezina and Gabriele Pallotti investigate 'Morphological Complexity in Written L2 Texts' (*SLR* 35[2019] 99–119). In another corpus-based study relying on written texts of English L2 learners, Magali Paquot develops 'The Phraseological Dimension in Interlanguage Complexity Research' (*SLR* 35[2019] 121–45). In a study with Spanish L2 learners of English, Sonia López-Serrano, Julio Roca de Larios, and Rosa M. Manchón explore the idea of 'Language Reflection Fostered by Individual L2 Writing Tasks' and make a contribution towards 'Developing a Theoretically Motivated and Empirically Based Coding System' (*SSLA* 41[2019] 503–27). In a study with Dutch L2 learners of English, Mariëlle Leijten, Luuk Van Waes, Iris Schrijver, Sarah Bernolet, and Lieve Vangehuchten deal with 'Mapping Master's Students' Use of External Sources in Source-Based Writing in L1 and L2' (*SSLA* 41[2019] 555–82). Evgeny Chukharev-Hudilainen, Aysel Saricaoglu, Mark Torrance, and Hui-Hsien Feng use 'Combined Deployable Keystroke Logging and Eyetracking for Investigating L2 Writing Fluency' (*SSLA* 41[2019] 583–604) in a study with Turkish L2 learners of English. Finally, Andrea Révész, Marije Michel, and Minjin Lee deal with 'Exploring Second Language Writers' Pausing and Revision Behaviors' in 'A Mixed-Methods Study' with Chinese L2 learners of English (*SSLA* 41[2019] 605–31).

When it comes to L2 speaking, Takanori Sato and Tim McNamara explore 'What Counts in Second Language Oral Communication Ability?' from the 'The Perspective of Linguistic Laypersons' (*AppLing* 40[2019] 894–916). Emily R. Felker, Heidi E. Klockmann, and Nivja H. De Jong investigate 'How Conceptualizing Influences Fluency in First and Second Language Speech Production' in a study with Dutch L2 learners of English (*AppPsycholing*) 40[2019] 111–36. In a study with Spanish L2 learners of English, Nivja H. De Jong and Joan C. Mora try to answer the question: 'Does Having Good

Articulatory Skills Lead to More Fluent Speech in First and Second Languages?' (*SSLA* 41[2019] 227–39). Zeynep Duran-Karaoz and Parvaneh Tavakoli deal with 'Predicting L2 Fluency from L1 Fluency Behavior' based on 'The Case of L1 Turkish and L2 English Speakers' (*SSLA* 41[2019] 671–95). Simon A. Williams and Malgorzata Korko look at 'Pause Behavior within Reformulations and the Proficiency Level of Second Language Learners of English' from a variety of L1 backgrounds (*AppPsycholing*) 40[2019] 723–42. Adriana Soto-Corominas, Johanne Paradis, Brian V. Rusk, Stefka Marinova-Todd, and Xuan Zhang examine 'Oral Language Profiles of English Second Language Learners in Adolescence' and conclude that 'Cognitive and Input Factors Influence How They Compare to Their Monolingual Peers' (*SSLA* 41[2019] 697–720). Tackling both listening and speaking, Kym Taylor Reid, Pavel Trofimovich, and Mary Grantham O'Brien explore the relationship between 'Social Attitudes and Speech Ratings' focusing on the 'Effects of Positive and Negative Bias on Multiage Listeners' Judgments of Second Language Speech' (*SSLA* 41[2019] 419–42) in a study with French Canadian L2 learners and native speakers of English.

In work on individual learner differences, several studies deal with language aptitude. Kazuya Saito explores 'The Role of Aptitude in Second Language Segmental Learning', focusing on 'The Case of Japanese Learners' English /ɹ/ Pronunciation Attainment in Classroom Settings' (*AppPsycholing* 40[2019] 183–204) in a study in which native English speakers also participated. The same author, in collaboration with Yui Suzukida and Hui Sun, looks at 'Aptitude, Experience, and Second Language Pronunciation Proficiency Development in Classroom Settings' in 'A Longitudinal Study' (*SSLA* 41(2019) 201–25) with Japanese L2 learners of English. Kazuya Saito, Hui Sun, and Adam Tierney also examine 'Explicit and Implicit Aptitude Effects on Second Language Speech Learning' while 'Scrutinizing Segmental and Suprasegmental Sensitivity and Performance via Behavioural and Neurophysiological Measures' (*BLC* 22[2019] 1123–40) in a study with Mandarin Chinese L2 learners of English. Shaofeng Li, Rod Ellis, and Yan Zhu look at 'The Associations between Cognitive Ability and L2 Development under Five Different Instructional Conditions' based on evidence from Chinese L2 learners of English (*AppPsycholing*) 40[2019] 693–722. Ewa Dąbrowska deals with 'Experience, Aptitude, and Individual Differences in Linguistic Attainment' in her study with L2 learners of English from a variety of L1 backgrounds and native English speakers, in which she makes 'A Comparison of Native and Nonnative Speakers' (*LangLearn* 69[2019] 72–100).

Beyond language aptitude, Kazuya Saito studies 'Individual Differences in Second Language Speech Learning in Classroom Settings' focusing on the 'Roles of Awareness in the Longitudinal Development of Japanese Learners' English /ɹ/ Pronunciation' (*SLR* 35[2019] 149–72) in a study which also included native English speakers. Wander M. Lowie and Marjolijn H. Verspoor address 'Individual Differences and the Ergodicity Problem' in a study with Dutch L2 learners of English (*LangLearn*) 69[2019] 184–206. In a longitudinal study with German-speaking L2 learners of English living in Switzerland, Simone E. Pfenninger and David Singleton conclude that 'Starting Age [is] Overshadowed' due to 'The Primacy of Differential Environmental and Family Support Effects on Second Language Attainment in an Instructional Context' (*LangLearn*

69[2019] 207–34). Olga Kozar and Lynda Yates investigate 'Factors in Language Learning after 40' based on the 'Insights from a Longitudinal Study' (*IRAL* 57[2019] 181–204) with English L2 learners from different L1 backgrounds. In a study with Spanish L2 learners of English, Jean-Marc Dewaele, Andrea Franco Magdalena, and Kazuya Saito examine 'The Effect of Perception of Teacher Characteristics on Spanish EFL Learners' Anxiety and Enjoyment' (*MLJ* 103[2019] 412–27). Mostafa Papi, Anna Vitalyevna Bondarenko, Soheil Mansouri, Liying Feng, and Chen Jiang engage in 'Rethinking L2 Motivation Research' and propose 'The 2 × 2 Model of L2 Self-Guides' (*SSLA* 41[2019] 337–61) in a study with L2 English learners from a variety of L1 backgrounds.

Work on learning contexts includes a longitudinal case study conducted by Luzia Sauer and Rod Ellis into 'The Social Lives of Adolescent Study Abroad Learners and Their L2 Development' (*MLJ* 103[2019] 739–62), dealing with German L2 learners of English whose study abroad took place in Auckland, New Zealand.

12. English as a Lingua Franca

In the past year of ELF research, the use of ELF in the academic setting continues to attract the most attention with many contributions coming from the Asian context. A large number of works are produced on the use of ELF in higher education, especially with EMI, on the influence of ELF research in ELT, and on the development of ELF-aware language assessments, ELF-aware teaching materials, and ELF-aware teacher education. This section will first review the studies conducted on these topics. Next, it will discuss ELF research in other contexts and with different foci, namely, works on BELF, on spoken ELF communication in general, in the medical and healthcare setting, and in the legal context. Finally, the section will review studies that point towards future research for the field.

To start with the use of ELF in education, Yuan-shan Chen, Wei Ren, and Chih-Ying Lin have drawn a timeline detailing twenty years of thriving research in 'English as a Lingua Franca: From Theory to Practice' (*LTeach* [2019]). This detailed and rigorous account of the most representative studies and developments in the field both informs the reader and inspires further achievement. Regarding 'English Medium Instruction in Higher Education', Jennifer Jenkins, a leading author in the field, explores 'The Role of English as Lingua Franca' in university settings (in Xuesong Gao, ed., *Second Handbook of English Language Teaching*, pp. 91–108). She explores difficulties arising from current orientations to English, such as students' and lecturers' proficiency conceptualizations, reported communication problems, and issues of fairness and justice. Overall, Jenkins maintains that the adoption of a multilingual approach to linguistic diversity remains vital if higher education wishes to organize effective and popular international programmes.

English-Medium Instruction from an English as a Lingua Franca Perspective: Exploring the Higher Education Context, edited by Kumiko Murata, further tackles the use of ELF in the context of higher education with EMI in terms of government and institutional policies, practices, and attitudes. Attending first to

institutional policies, Jennifer Jenkins, in 'The Internationalisation of Higher Education: But What about Its Lingua Franca?' (in Murata, ed., pp. 15–31), uses website analysis, questionnaires, and interviews to evaluate the degree of internationalization in the language policies of universities around the world. The widespread belief that ELF is the same as ENL is confirmed in most of the sixty websites, which are also found to undervalue the diversity of non-native English-speaking staff and students on campus. The author concludes by pointing to the powerful publishing houses and the examination boards as the two main forces that underpin the prevalent native ideology. In 'Intelligibility, Mimicry and Internationalization: Localized Practices in Higher Education, or Can the Global South Speak?' (in Murata, ed., pp. 32–45) Clarissa Menezes Jordão continues to explore internationalization from a decolonization perspective, considering the voices of Brazilian academics who joined the 'English for Internationalization' course at the author's university. She proposes to look at competence in terms of intelligibility and detaches it from native-speaker ideology in order to destigmatize non-native English-speaking academics and students. Maria Kuteeva provides an overview of 'English-Medium Instruction at Swedish Universities' looking at 'Developments over the Past Decade' (in Murata, ed., pp. 46–63), including educational practices and students' learning. She also focuses on academic writing in English, which is seen as one of the most challenging skills, and explores the policy of parallel language use with Swedish and English. In 'English-Medium Instruction in the Korean Higher Education Context: From an English as a Lingua Franca Perspective' (in Murata, ed., pp. 64–77) Joo-Kyung Park discusses Korean government-led policy in EMI and the challenges that staff and students have to face to implement the rapid move to EMI, also given the generally insufficient English competence and preparation. Park points to the necessity of recognizing ELF, multilingualism, and diverse teaching methods to improve the situation. In 'English-Medium Instruction in Contemporary Japanese Higher Education: From an English as a Lingua Franca Perspective' (in Murata, ed., pp. 78–95) Masakazu Iino addresses governmental policies in Japan and emphasizes their aims to promote staff's and students' mobility, but at the same time their neoliberal economic motivations. He criticizes specific changes in policy which have direct impact on English education at secondary level. Ying Wang examines 'The Role of English in the Internationalisation of Higher Education' with 'A Case Study of a Chinese University's Education Policy and Practice' (in Murata, ed., pp. 201–18). Through document analysis of official policies, lecturers' interviews, and classroom observations, she finds that there is a mismatch between policy and practice, with EMI at the core of the university strategy competing with the promotion of Chinese language and culture. This creates a number of challenges, including EMI teachers' competence in English, international students' competence in Chinese, and the balance between English development and disciplinary knowledge. In 'Beyond Global English(es): University English Program in Transition' (in Murata, ed., pp. 259–70) Masaki Oda explores the process and agenda which underpinned the establishment of the Centre for English as a Lingua Franca at Tamagawa University in Tokyo, and details the ELF-oriented staff recruitment policy and the additional requirements for hiring teachers. Ute Smit investigates 'Classroom Discourse in EMI: On the Dynamics of Multilingual Practices' (in Murata, ed., pp. 99–122), concentrating

on EMI multilingual practices in classrooms in a tourism college in Austria, through classroom fieldnotes, interviews, and questionnaires. Her findings show that translanguaging and code-switching practices are used in students' group and pair work and by teachers and students in various functions, such as developing understanding, covering lexical gaps, and signalling cultural elements. In 'Enacting an ELF-Informed English-Medium Instruction Curriculum: An Autoethnography' (in Murata, ed., pp. 123–36) Patrick Ng presents his own journey as a teacher involved in EMI in Japan. By adopting an auto-ethnographic approach, he explores the transformation and development as an ELF practitioner in a Japanese university. In 'Designing CELFIL (Content and ELF Integrated Learning) for EMI Classes in Higher Education' (in Murata, ed., pp. 219–38), Nobuyuki Hino illustrates his own graduate EMI teaching experience as an amalgamation of ELF and 'Content and Language Integrated Learning', which he coins 'CELFIL'. He lists a number of suggestions for the adoption of CELFIL, such as an intercultural pedagogy, a range of scaffolding techniques, and methods appropriate to the content area taught. Enquiring into the attitudes and perceptions of stakeholders, including those of students and teachers, Jaroslaw Kriukow and Nicola Galloway investigate (in 'Internationalisation and the Growing Demand for English in Japanese Higher Education Undertaking Doctoral Study in English', in Murata, ed., pp. 137–56) Japanese Ph.D. students' attitudes towards EMI through narrative interviews with the students and their supervisors. The study explores the benefits and challenges experienced in postgraduate studies in EMI, and critically examines the ideologies and institutional policies permeating the participants' narratives. In '"English"-Medium Instruction in a Japanese University: Exploring Students and Lecturers' Voices from an ELF Perspective' (in Murata, ed., pp. 157–75) Mayu Konakahara, Kumiko Murata, and Masakazu Iino delve into students' and lecturers' attitudes towards EMI and ELF at a university in Tokyo, through questionnaires, student interviews, classroom observations, and lecturers' reflections on these observations. The study divided participants into two groups, students on an EMI programme and students on an EMI course, showing that the course students were more oriented to NS norms, while the EMI programme group was more appreciative of the diversity of ELF use and valued intelligibility and communicative effectiveness over 'native-like correctness'. The authors justified this main finding as resulting from more exposure to diversity in full programmes, rather than singular courses. Yoko Nogami explores the 'Identity and Sociopragmatic Language Use among East Asian ELF Speakers' and 'Its Implication for English-Medium Education' (in Murata, ed., pp. 175–97) by investigating Japanese ELF users' attitudes and identity formation in communicating in ELF through EMI courses and experiences in ELF business interaction, for which she utilized a discourse-completion test followed by semi-structured interviews to explore the motivations behind certain pragmatic choices. 'Expanding ELF-Informed EMI in Expanding Circle Higher Education' with 'A Case Study of Actual Graduates' Needs' (in Murata, ed., pp. 239–58), James E. D'Angelo offers an account of the attitudes and practices of EMI courses at Chukyo University in Japan from a WE and ELF perspective. Through qualitative surveys, the author explores graduates' attitudes to EMI and their generally positive orientation towards the programme.

In addition, there are a number of journal articles on the use of ELF in higher education. In 'One International University, Two Perspectives', David Gardner and Ken Lau address 'The Role of English as a Lingua Franca as Perceived by Mainland and Hong Kong Chinese Students' (*Compare* 49[2019] 192–210). They find that while students embrace the use of ELF for academic purposes, such affiliation for ELF is not extended to social purposes, indicating that university policies of internationalization at the social level fail. This failure echoes previous ELF research (such as Jenifer Jenkins, *English as a Lingua Franca in the International University* [2014]) that local students lack intercultural awareness together with awareness of inclusivity through the use of ELF, indicating that there is still a long way to go to achieve holistic internationalization in the university. In the same context but with different groups of students, Chit Cheung Matthew Sung examines 'English as a Lingua Franca in the International University: Language Experiences and Perceptions among International Students in Multilingual Hong Kong' (*LC&C* [2019]) and finds contradicting attitudes towards ELF for social and academic purposes. On the one hand, international students have a pluralistic conceptualization of ELF: rather than conforming to native-speaker norms, they expect linguistic variation, the adoption of pragmatic strategies, and translingual practices. On the other hand, they support a monolingual English-only approach for the university's EMI policy for they think it is fairer for both local and non-local students in terms of learning. Sung contends that instead of viewing students' monolingual ideologies as a rejection to ELF's multilingual realities, such ideologies should be regarded as the students' response to protect their own interests. 'Revisiting the "E" in EMI', Maria Kuteeva examines 'Students' Perceptions of Standard English, Lingua Franca and Translingual Practices' (*IJBEB* [2019]) at a Swedish university. Students in general see BrE as StE; they also recognize the importance of applying different communication strategies to ensure mutual understanding in ELF scenarios. Perceptions of translingual practices are, however, mixed. Translingual practices between English and the local language are perceived to be unintentional and natural; they nevertheless put students who are not proficient in the local language in a disadvantageous position. Students' conceptualization of English hence relates not just to language but also to learning, group dynamics, power relations, and social integration. Kuteeva concludes that the language regime created in each EMI context is different; whether non-standard language features and translingual practices are acceptable is not static but moves along a continuum of standard to non-standard depending on the context.

Specifically highlighting *Linguistic Diversity on the EMI Campus*, chapters in Jennifer Jenkins and Anna Mauranen's edited volume observe and analyse *Insider Accounts of the Use of English and Other Languages in Universities within Asia, Australasia and Europe* investigating the implications of EMI programmes in these anglophone and non-anglophone settings. The book is organized into three sections. The first four chapters, in Part I, are dedicated to European institutions. In 'ELF Among Multilingual Practices in a Trilingual University' (in Jenkins and Mauranen, eds., pp. 23–49), Anna Mauranen and Ida Mauko assess a successful internationalization policy in a trilingual university. Despite being well-intentioned, the official policy generally overlooks the rest of multilingualism in grassroots practice. Laurie Anderson researches

'Internationalisation and Linguistic Diversity in a Mid-Sized Italian University' (in Jenkins and Mauranen, eds., pp. 50–73) by assessing policy documents, university webpages, and selected linguistic landscapes on the university campus. The investigation in the Italian university context shows that the use of English has been largely naturalized as the means to achieve internationalization. Ignacio Vázquez, María J. Luzón, and Carmen Pérez-Llantada study 'Linguistic Diversity in a Traditionally Monolingual University' in Spain with 'A Multi-Analytical Approach' (in Jenkins and Mauranen, eds., pp. 74–95). The authors focus on the recurrent practice of idiosyncratic ELF features, especially code-switching and translanguaging episodes between two main spoken languages, English and Spanish, – to achieve functional understanding at different institutional levels. Policymakers are encouraged to consider disciplinary linguistic diversity on campus to set up the internationalization agenda and provide adequate pedagogical intervention. The final account in this part, 'The Scope of Linguistic Diversity in the Language Policies, Practices, and Linguistic Landscape of a Turkish EMI University' (in Jenkins and Mauranen, eds., pp. 96–122) by Ali Karakaş and Yasemin Bayyurt denounces an anachronistic monolingual StE policy carried out by the Turkish university which is contrary to the actual bi/multilingual interactional practices led by the linguistically diverse student and staff population. The authors advocate for a reconceptualization of the language policy principles to match the current academic sociolinguistic reality.

The next three chapters, in Part II, examine the East Asian and Southeast Asian context, namely China, Japan, and Malaysia. Fan (Gabriel) Fang and Xiaowen (Serina) Xie report, in 'Linguistic Diversity on a Chinese University Campus: Myths of Language Policy and Means of Practice' (in Jenkins and Mauranen, eds., pp. 125–22), language choices and practices at a university in Southeast China. The study has got a double-edged purpose: on the one hand, it aims at evaluating the EMI scheme and its impact on university standards; on the other, it suggests an ELF-aware pedagogy and assessment policy. Masakazu Iino and Mayu Konakahar investigate the 'Realities of EMI Practices among Multilingual Students in a Japanese University' (in Jenkins and Mauranen, eds., pp. 149–71), which is one of the most selective private universities in Japan with an international population made up mainly of students from Korean and Chinese backgrounds. Findings disclose a need for further deployment of multilingual resources to enhance effective use of students' multilingual repertoire against an overwhelming native-speaker model. In the last chapter in this section, 'Going Global: EMI Policies and Practices at a Malaysian Public University' (in Jenkins and Mauranen, eds., pp. 172–93), Jagdish Kaur and Siti Zaidah Zainuddin highlight the main characteristics of the education system in Malaysia. As a result of its colonial past, EMI policy is generally welcomed by both staff and students, who can generally meet their institution's expectations. There exists a tolerant stance towards non-StE idiosyncrasies, which, on the one hand, facilitates programme fulfilment, but on the other hinders international students' inclusion.

Part III is dedicated to the anglophone world. In 'Linguistic Diversity on an Australian University Campus: An Ethnographic Case Study' (in Jenkins and Mauranen, eds., pp. 197–225) Zhichang Xu, Jennifer Leung, Mahnaz Hall, Janin Jafari, and Marzieh Sadegh Pour analyse different data sources, including

linguistic-landscape and mindscape documents, semi-structured interviews, and official policy regulations. Although the findings display a linguistically diverse and culturally inclusive reality, a strong monolingual mindset persists. Language policies hence require more coherence and transparency to align with national standards and fulfil multilingual students' and staff's communicative needs. Through investigating 'How Much Linguistic Diversity on a UK University Campus?' (in Jenkins and Mauranen, eds., pp. 226–60), Jennifer Jenkins, Will Baker, Jill Doubleday, and Ying Wang criticize the hypocrisy shown by the international programmes carried out by the University of Southampton. Similar to the majority of UK and US academic institutions, it carries out a strictly BrE standard language policy towards the multilingual international students enrolled in its undergraduate and postgraduate programmes. Despite this imperialistic attitude, a bottom-up linguistic diversity movement is growing, thanks to intercultural academic projects and the Centre for Global Englishes. Finally, Jenkins and Mauranen triangulate the findings of the 'Linguistic Diversity on the International Campus' project in the last chapter, which includes implications and further research scenarios for international universities. They provide a detailed account of language policy and praxis in academic settings revolving around international university expectations, requirements, and tolerance towards linguistic standards. For example, they explore the extent to which multilingual practices could facilitate integration and progress of students and staff in this type of intercultural environment. They conclude that this is but an initial step towards the evolution and success of international linguistic mindscapes in academia, beyond any monolingual ideologies.

On the relevance of studying abroad to ELF-awareness, in '"Seriously, I Came Here to Study English"', Daisuke Kimura uses 'A Narrative Case Study of a Japanese Exchange Student in Thailand' (*SARSLAIE* 4[2019] 70–95) to investigate the experience of studying abroad in a non-anglophone country for learning English. Kimura applies 'Individual Network of Practice' (cf. Sandra Zappa-Hollman and Patricia A. Duff, 'Academic English Socialization through Individual Networks of Practice', *TesolQ* 49[2015] 333–68) as a theoretical framework to focus on analysing one student's interactions with the social groups that are prominent to his sojourn. Kimura finds that although communication is largely ELF, native-speakerism prevails, creating dissonance in the student's sojourn. He resists interacting with the locals and other non-native English speakers as he views them as deficient English speakers; yet he feels deficient when interacting with native speakers –and thus defeats the goal of the sojourn. Surveying 425 students in a foreign-language context (Turkey) and students in a target-language context (New Zealand), Carol Griffiths and Adem Soruç engage with 'Contextual Differences Regarding Students' Perceptions of English as a Lingua Franca According to Subject Major and Nationality' (*JLTL* 1[2019] 53–69). They find that notwithstanding the general appreciation of ELF for communicative convenience, achieving native-speaker competence was ranked highly among non-English majors. Besides, students from the target-language context are much more accepting of the concept of ELF and show less desire to achieve native-like competence. The authors speculate that is because, unlike students from the target-language context, students from a foreign-language context do not use English on a real-life basis, and thus have a more 'idealistic' perception about

the language (p. 62). Griffiths and Soruç suggest that study-abroad experience could be an effective way to promote ELF awareness in students. The study also encourages researchers to further explore how teachers can strategically manage actual students' pedagogical needs to provide an ELF-aware informed guidance in class practice. This change would, however, require the compliance of different stakeholders in the education system (e.g. publishers, testing and competence certificate providers, institutional representatives) and parental expectations with an ELF-aware educational philosophy.

Centring around ELT, in 'What Is ELF? Introductory Questions and Answers for ELT Professionals' (*CELFJ* 5[2019] 1–10) Tomokazu Ishikawa and Jennifer Jenkins informatively discuss the main research development and achievement in ELF/EMF and their implications for ELT. Fourteen key conceptual questions are answered, specifically highlighting the intrinsic multilingual and multicultural nature of ELF in international communication. According to this emergent multilingual approach, meaning is made situationally, transporting and transforming interactants through and across semiotic and cultural borders. Succinctly written, the article is a good starting point for those who want to acquire a higher ELF/EML awareness, which can contribute, according to the authors, to classroom pedagogy and develop interactional ability.

The volume *English as a Lingua Franca for EFL Contexts* edited by Nicos C. Sifakis and Natasha Tsantila further discusses the applicability of ELF in ELT from five different aspects. In the first part, Barbara Seidlhofer and Henry Widdowson lay down the foundations of the book in 'ELF for EFL: A Change of Subject?' (in Sifakis and Tsantila, eds., pp. 17–31) and encourage teachers to reflect critically on the subject 'English' and its usual association with the native language. They argue that EFL teachers need to shift away from the dominance of native-speaker norms, and adopt an ELF-informed approach, which is realistic and attainable for the students. In 'Towards the Reconciliation of ELF and EFL: Theoretical Issues and Pedagogical Challenges' (in Sifakis and Tsantila, eds., pp. 32–49), Kurt Kohn explores the social-constructivist perspective inherent in ELF and calls for teachers to focus on three aspects: (i) success in ELF communication, which is supported by pragmatic strategies for the construction of meaning, accommodation to interlocutors, and awareness of speakers' mutual satisfaction; (ii) language learning as creative construction, which is guided by the learners' background, their aims, motivation, and identity: (iii) the pedagogical status of StE, whereby teachers can rely on it as a pedagogical model but not a strict, prescriptive norm. The book next turns to classroom practices (Part II), materials (Part III), ELF-awareness in teacher training (Part IV), and testing/assessment (Part V).

Part II explores how to encourage teachers to incorporate ELF into EFL in various contexts. Stefania Kordia's 'ELF-aware Teaching in Practice: A Teacher's Perspective' (in Sifakis and Tsantila, eds., pp. 53–71) draws upon the challenges of ELF-aware teaching in the Greek context, seen through her own experience as documented in her reflective journal. She suggests three ELF-based listening activities aimed at raising learners' awareness of ELF. Sutraphorn Tantiniranat and Richard Fay, in 'Developing an ELF-Aware Intercultural Purpose in the Thai University Context' (in Sifakis and Tsantila, eds., pp. 72–94), examine the inclusion of intercultural aspects in English learning in Thailand. They encourage

teachers to identify their methodological assumptions, linking them with ELF-aware teaching and recognizing what aspects of their teaching already orient towards ELF and what is missing in order to design new materials and methodologies. Part III concentrates on materials that can be used in ELF classrooms. In 'Perspectives in WE- and ELF-Informed ELT Materials in Teacher Education' (in Sifakis and Tsantila, eds., pp. 97–116), Lucilla Lopriore and Paola Vettorel, using Italian coursebooks, illustrate how to evaluate and adapt materials for ELF-aware ELT. They outline some guidelines for teachers to develop classroom activities and offer four examples of materials adaptation. Luís Guerra and Lili Cavalheiro's 'When the Textbook Is Not Enough: How to Shape an ELF Classroom?' (in Sifakis and Tsantila, eds., pp. 117–31) analyses Portuguese textbooks in terms of the diversity of English varieties portrayed and the intercultural activities offered. They suggest incorporating resources to make the materials more ELF-oriented and also show how to adapt audio-visual resources available online. Sávio Siqueira and Julia Vasconcelos Gonçalves Matos in 'ELT Materials for Basic Education in Brazil: Has the Time for an ELF-Aware Practice Arrived?' (in Sifakis and Tsantila, eds., pp. 132–56) evaluate three Brazilian textbooks for mainstream schools from an ELF perspective and put forward proposals for expanding activities to include ELF-oriented practices departing from the pre-existing Brazilian materials. These activities privilege the inclusion of both local culture, knowledge, and identity, for students' empowerment, and global issues, for their awareness and development of English diversity. Parts IV and V will be reviewed in later sub-sections along with other relevant research. The 'Concluding Chapter' of the whole volume, by Andy Kirkpatrick (in Sifakis and Tsantila, eds., pp. 247–60), draws together the various lines developed in the volume and outlines five principles for a lingua franca approach to ELT: mutual intelligibility, intercultural competence, valuing ELF teachers, use of ELF environments as learning opportunities, and adoption of ELF-aware assessment.

'ELF Awareness in English Language Teaching: Principles and Processes' (*AppLing* 40[2019] 288–306) by Nicos C. Sifakis argues for integrating English language, teaching material, texting practice, and curriculum design with an ELF-aware pedagogy. The author, in a series of subtle arguments, first indicates that a learner- and learning-centred ESP approach can support the introduction of an ELF-awareness framework in ELT praxis. Sifakis also makes clear that a postmodern pedagogy cannot merely allow an ELF-informed approach but requires an ELF-aware one. This perspective implies an 'open' view on the entire teaching and learning ecosystem and its main features (i.e. class size, institutional policy, context analysis, students' attitudes, etc.). The required critical view of teachers was theorized by Michael Halliday's ecological perspective in his 1984 article: 'Research into Classroom Culture as Necessary Input into Syllabus Design' and can be represented on an ELF-awareness continuum metric measuring ELF knowledge and class practice. Overall, this article offers an analytical look at innovating ELT pedagogy and curriculum design suggesting that teacher-education programmes should refer to an ELF pragmatic approach for language use to face postmodern global communication challenges.

Attending particularly to pedagogical implications for English learners who speak Mandarin as L1, Melissa H. Yu examines 'Literacy Skills Education from the Perspective of English as a Lingua Franca' with 'A Case Study on

Taiwanese Students' Secondary English Language Education Experience' (in Barry Reynolds and Mark Feng Teng, eds., *English Literacy Instruction for Chinese Speakers*, pp. 175–94). Graduates of secondary education perceive that their learning is very much exam-oriented, stressing grammar and vocabulary needed for standardized assessments, but that it inadequately cultivates students' overall literacy skills, especially speaking and listening skills for international communication. The findings lead Yu to suggest that courses that train literacy skills should acknowledge students' language needs in their contexts and that reading and writing education should be readjusted from preparing for exams to equipping students for real-life communication. Jinghui Si investigates 'Acceptance, Perceptions and Attitudes of Chinese English Learners' towards 'English as a Native Language, World Englishes and English as a Lingua Franca-Informed Materials' (*AEnglishes* 21[2019] 190–206) in China's Business English Programme. She finds that students largely consider ENL-informed materials essential because achieving native-like language use is perceived to enhance intelligibility and their identity as better than other non-English majors. Students acknowledge that authentic use of ELF is rarely included in their materials. However, when such inclusion does occur, such as in a listening practice where different English accents are played, it is perceived as fun rather than as a learning opportunity. Finally, all students agree that Chinese culture should be incorporated into their materials; China English, however, should be referenced (in the future) only when it is as strong as ENL. These findings imply that there is still much to do to design materials that will adequately prepare students for both intra- and international English communication.

With regard to classroom interaction, 'Communication Strategies Employed by Low-Proficiency Users: Possibilities for ELF-Informed Pedagogy' (*JELF* 8[2019] 9–35) by Takanori Sato, Yuri Jody Yujobo, Tricia Okada, and Ethel Ogane investigates data from a conversational analytical perspective. The article focuses on users' application of psycholinguistic, interactional, and collaborative strategies through the analysis of one classroom, with twenty Japanese low-proficiency English students and their interlocutors (three native English instructors). Despite the small scale of this study, the article manages to emphasize the importance of teaching communicative strategies, such as asking for repetition and circumlocution.

Engaging with attitudes, '"It's More Fashionable to Speak It Badly": Indexicality and Metasemiotic Awareness among Users of English from the Spanish-Speaking World' (*JELF* 8[2019] 297–332) by Sonia Morán Panero reports on students' sociolinguistic associations of ELF use and its classroom implications. Forty-eight students across central and peripheral universities in Chile, Mexico, and Spain participated in the study through semi-structured interviews. Data was organized into categories according to qualitative content analysis and participants' interpretative repertoires to account for metalinguistic practices. The findings challenge the notion that ambivalent attitudes, taken by speakers in using English, refer to mental conflicts, which are indeed results of competing exonormative and endonormative behaviour.

Turning to the relevance of ELF-awareness and language assessment and testing, Part V of the edited volume by Sifakis and Tsantila begins with 'ELF in Language Tests' (pp. 211–26), where David Newbold voices his views on ELF-

aware language testing. It shows how ELF impinges on testing, and issues of validity and fairness. The chapter includes suggestions for preparing ELF-aware tests (considering receptive, productive, and interactive skills as well as errors) and a grid for assessing ELF production. Next, in 'Towards an ELF-Aware Alternative Assessment Paradigm in EFL Contexts' (in Sifakis and Tsantila, eds., pp. 227–45), Androniki Kouvdou and Dina Tsagari call for holistic alternative assessments that are more appropriate for ELF, which would be based on communicative success rather than native English norms of reference, and recognize the significance of accommodation strategies for successful intercultural communication. The authors discuss a project including two state school classes in Greece, where they implement an observation-based framework of oral assessment.

Concerning assessment of speaking, Takanori Sato and Tim McNamara attend to 'What Counts in Second Language Oral Communication Ability?' from 'The Perspective of Linguistic Laypersons' (*AppLing* 40[2019] 894–916) since existing oral proficiency tests mainly show linguists' perspectives. Linguistic laypersons (native and non-native English) are asked to judge L2 speakers' communication ability based on video recordings of their performance in oral proficiency tests. The authors find that task completion and speech content impact evaluation on communication ability much more significantly than phonological and lexico-grammatical accuracy. Non-verbal behaviour, like gestures and eye contact, composure, and other interactive behaviour are highly relevant too, showing that linguistic laypersons value features to which linguists pay little attention. The authors hope that their findings will contribute to reconstructing L2 oral proficiency tests.

In 'Translanguaging Pedagogies and English as a Lingua Franca' (*LTeach* 52[2019] 71–85), Jasone Cenoz tries to find a middle ground between the relationship between recent trends in multilingualism and ELF. In particular, the focus of this comparative investigation examines the similarities and dissimilarities between the two areas of language research in relation to translanguaging pedagogies and effectiveness of assessment methodologies that account for the learner's multilingual repertoire. To assess speakers' whole linguistic repertoire without linguistic discrimination, Cenoz proposes the model 'Focus on Multilingualism', which considers the multilingual speaker, the whole linguistic repertoire, and the social context as central criteria. The article offers relevant theoretical insights contributing to a replacement of the reference to the native speaker as a model with that of the multilingual speaker in language pedagogy. Also attending to the multilingual aspect of ELF-users is Elana Shohamy's 'Critical Language Testing and English Lingua Franca: How Can One Help the Other?' (in Murata, ed., pp. 271–85), which critically reviews language policy from an ELF-assessment perspective. The author emphasizes how the current assessment, and the definition of proficiency and the measuring methods associated with it, are not aligned with the multilingual practices found to be so important in EMI contexts and in students' realities around the world. The author's suggestion is to include language diversity and variation in testing, and she criticizes the still widely monolingual, native-speaker approach in most international large-scale testing.

Building on their previous publications, Jennifer Jenkins and Constant Leung's 'From Mythical "Standard" to Standard Reality: The Need for Alternatives to Standardized English Language Tests' (*LTeach* 52[2019] 86–110) criticizes international English-language proficiency tests and argues that 'standardized/generic testing of English for lingua franca communication needs to be replaced with contextualized, socially realistic, and socially fair means of assessing candidates' English language abilities' (p. 88). This position paper highlights the limitations of the most common English tests for university entry such as IELTS ad TOFEL, and, more specifically, how these tests have not updated their standards in relation to the ELF interactional effectiveness in real-life academic contexts. They note that the international English-language assessment industry is still obsessed by an idealized and abstracted use of English in academic settings within English-medium institutions. In their view, assessment should rely on some discipline-related samples that can give students the opportunity to overcome a target-language model and achieve their academic/professional objectives.

Evolving from the copious ELF literature concerning various pedagogical implications, increasing attention has been paid of late to developing practical ELF-aware teaching materials to be used in the classroom in order to bridge the gap between research and practice. Sima Marek Kiczkowiak proposes 'Seven Principles [informed by empirical evidence] for Writing Materials for ELF' (*ELangT* [2019]) to combat native-speakerism. First, syllabi for pronunciation should stress intelligibility over proximity to native norms. Second, coursebooks should showcase successful non-native English-speaking ELF users, in addition to native speakers, as valid learning models. Third, coursebooks should incorporate both native English and ELF corpora to, for example, compare and contrast language use found between them. Fourth, materials should highlight intercultural communicative skills instead of presenting cultures (particularly those from non-native English speakers) as fixed. Fifth, communicative strategies rather than conformity to StE should be emphasized. Sixth, materials should encourage learners to reflect upon using English multilingually rather than monolingually. Finally, it is vital to cultivate an ELF mindset in students. The same author has also developed a handbook together with Robert J. Lowe to guide those who are interested in *Teaching English as a Lingua Franca* through *The Journey from EFL to ELF*. In the book, Kiczkowiak and Lowe first clarify some key concepts and common misconceptions of ELF. They then provide a range of practical activities that teachers can undertake with students to implement an ELF mindset and develop a varied ELF skillset, covering listening and pronunciation, grammar and lexis, intercultural competence, and communicative strategies. Finally, the authors offer activities to help readers reflect upon their teaching on English for academic purposes and business English, and upon their development of teacher materials and teacher-training programmes. All the activities in the handbook offer concrete help for frontline instructors, making teaching ELF and raising ELF-awareness much more feasible.

In 'BELF, Communication Strategies and ELT Business Materials' (*Iperstoria* 13[2019] 72–84), Paola Vettorel investigates if and how communicative strategies are incorporated in recently published business ELT materials, with a particular focus on the three layers of the "Global Communicative Competence" model (cf., namely business-specific knowledge, multicultural competence, and BELF

competence) (Leena Louhiala-Salminen and Anne Kankaanranta's article discussed in *YWES* [2013]). Vettorel observes that only some strategies can be found in the business ELT materials, such as those asking for repetition, clarification, paraphrasing, and comprehension checks. Yet no overt reflection concerning their significance in business communication or plurilingual resources, nor reference to BELF, is present. One may conclude that the global dimension of the use of ELF in the business context is not reflected in the ELT materials.

ELF-aware teaching materials have been developed not just for ELT, but for the medical context as well. In 'Teaching and Learning Guide for: Research Directions in Medical English as a Lingua Franca (MELF)' (*LLC* 13[2019]), Erica Amery, M. Gregory Tweedie, and Robert C. Johnson present how ELF research on pragmatic strategies and linguistic features can contribute to the teaching and learning of medical communication in the context of patient safety. The authors illustrate a set of recommended readings (including books and journal articles), online materials (such as *JELF* and other websites), and a sample syllabus with suggested readings, learning exercises, and focus questions, to demonstrate how to practically conduct medical communication education with an emphasis on MELF. Like the handbook by Kiczkowiak and Lowe mentioned above, this article provides practical help for teaching professionals to implement the teaching of (M)ELF in the curriculum.

Just as significant as the development of ELF-aware teaching materials is that of ELF-aware teacher education. Subhan Zein dedicates an edited volume to *Teacher Education for English as a Lingua Franca* with specific *Perspectives from Indonesia*, but its implications are also applicable to other regions. The volume is divided into three parts; the first part discusses theory and practice in pedagogy for ELF teacher education. In 'From EFL to ELF: Implications for Teacher Education' (in Zein, ed., pp. 21–40), the editor overviews the development of English-language education in Indonesia, where a clear shift from an EFL to an ELF approach has been taking place. To develop ELF-aware teaching that accommodates sociolinguistic realities, especially communication in the ASEAN community, embracing Indonesian's multifarious social, cultural, and religious values, three suggestions are made: teacher education should cultivate open-mindedness and critical thinking in teachers to challenge the deep-rooted native-speakerism; should enable teachers to develop teaching materials that cater for regional communication needs adopting local values; and should prepare and support teachers for a translanguaging pedagogy which treasures and utilizes the L1s of both teachers and students. In 'Critical Pedagogy in the ELF Era: An Indonesian-Based English Language Teacher Educator's Reflection' (in Zein, ed., pp. 41–57) Joseph Ernest Mambu employs auto-ethnography to explore how he can raise his student-teachers' awareness towards the ASEAN Economic Community and discuss social justice therein. Mambu finds it essential to provide scaffolding to ease students' comprehension of unfamiliar concepts for more vibrant discussions. The scaffolded discussions on ELF, on the one hand, raise ASEAN-awareness and social justice and on the other function as an implementation of critical pedagogy. 'Professional Teacher in the Making: A Case Study of Indonesian Pre-Service Teachers' Identity-Agency in the Context of English as a Lingua Franca' (in Zein, ed., pp. 58–76) by Siti Nur'Aini, Laily Nur Affini, and Ajeng Setyorini demonstrates through narratives that pre-service teachers

consciously take decisions and perform actions to achieve what they perceive as necessary in a capable teacher of ELF, which in turn shapes their professional identity. These actions and decisions are, however, unstructured and incidental. The authors therefore suggest that Indonesian universities should collaborate with other ASEAN institutions in exchange programmes for pre-service teachers to prepare them as ELF teachers for real-life ELF communication experience in a more consistent manner. Utami Widiati and Nur Hayati question 'How Well Prepared Are Indonesian Pre-Service Teachers to Develop Their Future Students' Intercultural Communicative Competence [ICC]?'in 'A Study of English as a Lingua Franca' (in Zein, ed., pp. 77–93) analysing curricular documents from ten institutions. Notwithstanding the unanimous agreement that culture and language form indispensable parts of language education, these institutions stress only the cultures of native varieties of English in their curriculums, neglecting regional and local cultures. To reduce the dominance of ENL ideology, the authors, like other contributors in the volume, propose the incorporation of ELF-perspective and ASEAN and local values in the curriculum, to cultivate pre-service teachers as multilingual ELF-user teachers who not only possess ICC but can also facilitate students' learning of ELF with ICC. Pande Made Sumartini presents 'A Cyclical Model of Peer Coaching for Teacher Professional Development in the Indonesian ELF Context' (in Zein, ed., pp. 94–112), which builds teachers' engagement with other colleagues. Peer coaching would enhance ELF-awareness among teachers and help teachers reflect on how ENL ideology affects their teaching. Sumartini suggests that universities provide continuing professional development training for teachers and, as proposed by other researchers in the volume, calls for more exchanges with other ASEAN countries to give teachers more real-life experiences as ELF-users.

Part II of the volume illustrates classroom pedagogy and its implications for ELF teacher education. Nugrahenny T. Zacharias assesses 'EIL Pedagogy in an Initial [Pre-service] Teacher Education Program in Indonesia' with 'The Case of an Academic Writing Class' (in Zein, ed., pp. 115–30). Zacharias finds that scaffolded writing materials raised awareness for ELF and nativeness among student teachers, and advocates for teacher education to incorporate a critical approach to academic writing classes in which ELF-related issues and ENL ideology are discussed to help teachers understand that their non-nativeness can be a strength rather than a burden. In 'Multimodal Communicative Competence of Indonesian Secondary School Teachers and Pre-Service Teachers: Implications for Teacher Education in ELF' (in Zein, ed., pp. 131–55), Didi Sukyadi and Budi Hermawan foreground that, although classroom interactions are often multimodal, semiotic resources currently available for teachers, such as those in textbooks and on the Internet, are often under-utilized. The authors thus propose ELF-based multimodal communicative competence to be included in teacher training, so that teachers will not just focus on the verbal and linguistic dimensions of communication, but also understand and actively prepare their students to apply different visual, gestural, spatial, and non-verbal modes for ELF communication. In 'Learning from a Teacher's Classroom Discourses to Re-modify the ELF Framework in the ASEAN Context: A Possible Way Forward?' (in Zein, ed., pp. 156–72), Ribut Wahyudi and Sumti Chusna deal with power relations between students and teachers in primary-school English classrooms, particularly student

resistance. They advocate for the integration of power relations in teacher-education curricula to raise teachers' awareness of any ENL ideology, the complex dynamics in an ELF classroom, and their position in relation to the different stakeholders in the education system.

The final part of the volume tackles policies and the conceptualization of ELF teacher education. With a view to 'Enhancing the Quality of Indonesian Teachers in the ELF Era', Bachrudin Musthafa, Fuad Abdul Hamied, and Subhan Zein propose a range of 'Policy Recommendations' (in Zein, ed., pp. 175–90). First, the teacher-education curriculum should be revamped to focus on the interests of the ASEAN community and features of ELF-use in this context and develop students' intercultural competence. Second, ideas of empowering teachers and students as ELF users should be included. Third, teachers' ELF proficiency should be enhanced to act as a role model for students. Fourth, governmental policy needs to support ELF teacher education to help teachers fulfil changing demands. In the concluding chapter, 'From EFL to ELF: The Time is Right' (in Zein, ed., pp. 191–203), Andy Kirkpatrick reiterates the need to reorient ELT and teacher education for ELF in Indonesia, and adds that the policy change advocated by Musthafa, Hamied, and Zein (in the same volume) should be adopted across ASEAN to enable learners be ELF-using multilinguals, well able to express themselves and their values in regional and international communication.

In other Asian contexts, ELF-aware teacher education is still lacking. Attending to 'The Practicality of ELF-Informed Teaching: Attitudes and Perceptions of Chinese Business English Teachers' (*JELF* 8[2019] 269–96). Jinghui Si finds that ENL ideologies prevail for three reasons: teachers know little about ELF-informed teaching from their ENL-based pre-service education, teaching needs to be ENL-based because nationwide tests for students are ENL-based, and centralized administration restricts teachers' practice. In the face of these challenges, Si suggests four actions that institutions can take to reduce the dominance of ENL: to collaborate with multinational companies, which provides authentic BELF materials and experiences for teaching purposes; to hire graduates with international business communication qualifications and experience as teachers; to offer ELF-aware teacher education; and to introduce ELF-informed assessments. Asking 'What Does "Teaching English as a Lingua Franca" Mean?' Ayako Suzuki explores 'Insights from University ELF Instructors' in Japan who teach ELF without previous training (in Hayo Reinders, Stephen Ryan, and Sachiko Nakamura, eds., *Innovation in Learning Teaching and Learning: The Case of Japan*, pp. 141–60). Instructors all express in interviews that teaching ELF encourages them to reflect upon their own teaching regarding students' need in the future. They vary, however, in their teaching practice. How much instructors focus on language form or pragmatic skills depends on their own understanding of ELF literature. Instructors also demonstrate varying degrees of scepticism towards teaching ELF, with a lack of ELF coursebooks as a factor reducing confidence in teaching ELF. These findings indicate that systematic ELF teacher training is needed to enhance instructors' understanding, confidence, and ability to deliver quality ELF teaching.

Turning to Europe, 'English Language Teachers' Awareness of English as a Lingua Franca in Multilingual and Multicultural Contexts' (*EurasianJAL* 5[2019] 185–202) by Yasemin Bayyurt, Yavuz Kurt, Elifcan Öztekin, Luis Guerra, Lili

Cavalheiro, and Ricardo Pereira aims at highlighting in-service teachers' perception of ELF in ELT contexts in Poland, Portugal, and Turkey. The authors adopt an exploratory design administering a trifactor model questionnaire-survey to 159 teachers. Its findings show, in spite of definite advances in teacher education concerning ELF, how highly they still value native-speaker norms and appraise them as a reference point. The authors therefore suggest the use of a theoretical model implying pre-service teaching-training programmes to increase English-language teachers' awareness of an ELF-aware informed pedagogical praxis in ELT multilingual/multicultural contexts.

In Part IV of the aforementioned volume edited by Sifakis and Tsantila, Elif Kemaloglu-Er and Yasemin Bayyurt's 'ELF-Awareness in Teaching and Teacher Education: Explicit and Implicit Ways of Integrating ELF into the English Language Classroom' (pp. 159–74) depicts a project run with Turkish trainee teachers to explicitly and implicitly integrate ELF-awareness in materials. They provide two sample lessons before showing the commonalities and differences between these approaches. In 'Changing Teachers' Attitudes Towards English as a Lingua Franca' (in Sifakis and Tsantila, eds., pp. 175–91), Enric Llurda and Vasi Mocanu describe a five-stage model for changing the attitudes of teachers towards ELF: (i) exposure to diversity; (ii) analysis of NNS professional performance; (iii) analysis of academic uses of ELF; (iv) discussion of different scenarios for ELF; and (v) reflection on the teacher's own identity, context, and ideal self. The model would allow NNS teachers to increase their self-esteem, develop an understanding and awareness of ELF and multilingual aspects, and engage in critical discussion. In 'Exploring Teachers' Sense of Efficacy in Teaching English as a Lingua Franca' (in Sifakis and Tsantila, eds., pp. 192–208) Areti-Maria Sougari illustrates her process of raising ELF-awareness of teachers in Greece through interviews, focusing on the concept of self-efficacy as the teacher's belief in her/his abilities to bring about students' engagement and learning. Analysis of interviews with four teachers shows how their proficiency in English influences their sense of efficacy but also emphasizes the need for overriding traditional ideas about English and ELT.

Finally, 'Promoting Transformative Learning through English as a Lingua Franca: An Empirical Study' (in Ted Fleming, Alexis Kokkos and Fergal Finnegan, eds., *European Perspectives on Transformation Theory*, pp. 177–92) by Nicos C. Sifakis and Stefania Kordia outlines the implementation of an ELF-aware teacher-training model within a transformative learning theoretical framework. This model involves three main phases: 'exposure', i.e. the exploration of real-life use of ELF discourse; 'critical awareness' through reflecting on one's professional role in relation to ELF; and 'action plan' involving ELT class-praxis design, implementation, and evaluation in line with one's context and a newly informed ELF perspective. As an exemplification, Stefania Kordia, one of the authors, illustrates her own experience as a trainee in a self-reflective journey, which lasted nine months.

Moving from education to the business domain, Marie-Luise Pitzl discusses the conceptual and methodological frameworks of 'Investigating Communities of Practice (CoPs) and Transient International Groups (TIGs) in BELF Contexts' (*Iperstoria* 5[2019] 5–14). She first illustrates how the study of CoPs is limiting in examining the multifarious interactions in the business domain, then puts

forward how the study of TIGs can complement, not replace, that of CoPs by covering interactions that do not fit the criteria of CoPs. Pitzl explains the framework of TIGs with regard to metadata and data analysis. Metadata includes ethnographic information about a speech event and its participants, and how participants (inter)act as a group. Data analysis foregrounds the chronological sequence of any linguistic phenomenon of interest through micro-analysing an interaction.

Engaging with spoken communication, Valeria Franceschi's 'Enhancing Explicitness in BELF Interactions: Self-Initiated Communication Strategies in the Workplace' (*Iperstoria* 5[2019] 59–71) starts with a short overview of previous research investigating strategies used in BELF. The author concentrates on self-rephrase strategies considered to be proactive moves to reach clarity, enhance explicitness, and avoid communication breakdowns or repair sequences. Franceschi analyses two small VOICE corpus subsections to highlight the effectiveness of self-initiated strategies in achieving different communicative purposes, such as simplification and clarification of key information and proposing alternative forms which support meaning-making. Marie-Louise Brunner and Stefan Diemer analyse the use of communication strategies for 'Meaning Negotiation and Customer Engagement in a Digital BELF Setting' in 'A Study of Instagram Company Interactions' (*Iperstoria* 13[2019] 15–33). Through highly pertinent best-practice examples, the authors convincingly demonstrate that Instagram users implement plurilingual resources, emotional framing, and meaning negotiation to communicate successfully in an international social-media context.

Tone Holt Nielsen attends to 'Norwegian Business Professionals' Need for and Use of English as a Business Lingua Franca (BELF) in Multinational Corporations' (MNCs) (*Hermes* 59[2019] 109–22). Interview data indicate that whereas clarity and job accomplishment are still much emphasized, native-speaker ideology still prevails, particularly in interactions with native speakers, with a concern that non-standard use of English will lead to a bad impression. This idea is especially dominant in meetings, hindering the Norwegian participants from fully participating. In addition, BELF use in the participating MNCs is characterized by 'company speak', by translingual practices, and accommodation strategies for both language and culture with both native and non-native speakers. George O'Neal addresses 'Systematicity in Linguistic Feature Selection' through 'Repair Sequences and Subsequent Accommodation' (*JELF* 8[2019] 211–33). Repair sequences of comparative constructions observed in a longitudinal corpus of computer-mediated non-university-educated Japanese-Filipino BELF interactions are analysed with CA and statistical methods. O'Neal shows that 'linguistic features that are repaired are more likely to be selected again the next time the same linguistic feature is relevant to the progression of an interaction' (p. 228). ELF speakers systemically make linguistic choices to accommodate their interlocutor; repair does not only restore communication breakdown, but significantly affects subsequent linguistic feature selection.

Addressing the attitudes of BELF-using professionals, Akiko Otsu illustrates 'The Shifting Perception of Japanese BELF Users towards English' through 'A Case Study' (*JELF* 8[2019] 67–95) of Japanese engineers. Otsu interviews these engineers multiple times throughout their participation in an English course in Japan and afterwards when they were working across countries in Asia. Power

relationships among interactants are shown to play a role, whether these engineers prioritize a content-focused or a form-focused approach for their use of ELF. Although the engineers agree that linguistic accuracy could be unnecessary for clear expression of meaning, when interacting with parties with more power, they prefer complying to StE to maintain a better image for their company and themselves. In 'Becoming BELF Users', Miyuki Takino investigates from the Japanese participants' emic perspective 'The Learning Process of Business Users of English and Its Conceptualization' (*JELF* 8[2019] 235–67). Takino finds that BELF users' experiences of using English, especially for those early in their career, significantly influence their learning of and attitude towards English. Takino proposes a working model for BELF user's learning process that includes not just learning from experiences but also learning from others and from studying. With the model, Takino calls for a shift in teaching curricula of English education from language-centred to learner-centred, from focusing on form and meaning to focusing on learners' accumulation of experience in utilizing English.

Concerning spoken ELF communication more generally, there are a few studies that investigate linguistic features, notably phonetic/phonological and syntactic ones. In 'Pronunciation in English as Lingua Franca' (in Gao, ed., pp. 1–15), David Deterding and Christine Lewis provide some recommendations for teaching pronunciation in international contexts, based on forty naturally occurring conversations in Southeast Asia. Although no single pronunciation model has been envisaged for ELF teaching, the authors suggest an increase in teacher training and support to develop effective class-practice material. This article, with its valuable examples and theoretical insights, is a good starting point for teachers and researchers with an interest in ELF pronunciation pedagogy. Also focusing on pronunciation, but going 'Beyond Intelligibility', George O'Neal and Yumi Matsumoto attend to '"Transintelligibility" Phenomena in English as a Lingua Franca Interactions' (*IJAL* 29[2019] 44–60) by analysing ELF pronunciation negotiations in an academic context. The authors challenge previous research which identifies intelligibility, comprehensibility, and interpretability as the three main aspects of understanding. Illustrating how ELF speakers may persist in phonetic negotiations even upon achieving mutual intelligibility, the authors propose transintelligibility as a fourth aspect where ELF users prioritize some pronunciation features to display their cultural identity and express solidarity and humour in interactional practices.

Shifting to syntax, Sandra C. Deshors examines the alternations of VOP (verb-object-particle) vs. VPO (verb-particle-object) structure in 'English as a Lingua Franca: A Random Forests Approach to Particle Placement in Multi-Speaker Interactions' (*IJAL* 30 [2019/2020] 214–231). Deshors carries out an integrated analysis classifying VOICE data through random forests based on multiple linguistic and sociodemographic factors. Evidence suggests that ELF users are impacted by the same features as native and EFL speakers in the VOP vs. VPO alternation. Despite its small scale, the study adds to the existing literature that examines ELF through a cognitivist approach and through complexity theory.

Regarding 'Communication Strategies in English as a Lingua Franca Interaction' (*Encyclopedia of Educational Innovation* [2019]), Jagdish Kaur concisely affirms the unequivocal difference between SLA and ELF research traditions and highlights how communication strategies from an ELF perspective

enable interactants to achieve communicative goals. Kaur competently concludes that examples of negotiation and co-creation of meaning in naturally occurring ELF conversations can support learning by providing students with useful examples of communication strategies for effective communication. Adding to Kaur's article, Paola Vettorel explores the relevance of 'Communication Strategies and Co-Construction of Meaning in ELF' interactions, particularly as to how interactants '[Draw] on "Multilingual Resource Pools"' (*JELF* 8[2019] 179–210) in informal contexts. Engaging with the leisure subsection of the VOICE corpus, Vettorel finds that when interactants express culturally specific concepts with their multilingual repertoires, together with communicative strategies for clarification, repetition, reformulation, and confirmation, these strategies are not deployed as a means to tackle communication problems, but as strategic resources to expand on these cultural concepts and turn them into shared resources. Staying with multilingual resources, 'Receptive Multilingualism (ReMu) versus ELF: How Well Do Slovenes Understand Croatian Compared to Croatian Speakers' English?' by Stephan Bulatović, Anja Schüppert, and Charlotte Gooskens (*JELF* 8[2019] 37–65) aims at establishing whether effective communication occurs when ELF or ReMu is used among speakers of two closely related languages. Drawing on the conclusion of a European Commission report on *Multilingualism* [2007], the study examines a sample of thirty Croatian females under 30 years of age with no (Serbo-)Croatian formal school instruction. This study on intelligibility shows that ELF is more effective in reaching mutual understanding, at a lower cognitive cost for speakers, than ReMu.

With respect to 'Transcultural Communication: Language, Communication and Culture through English as a Lingua Franca in a Social Network Community' (*LAIC* 19[2019] 471–87), Will Baker and Chittima Sangiamchit intend to encourage researchers to investigate important implications of applying a transcultural perspective on communication. Adopting a digital ethnographic approach, the authors analyse examples of transcultural communication among five Thai international students of ELF on a popular social networking site. Although the study was conducted in a single setting with a small community of participants and with technological impediments, it offers a holistic translingual and transmodal framework to interpret interaction. Meaning is constructed integrating multiples scales: (1) English language as a multilingua franca, (2) transmodality on virtual spaces, and (3) culture/identity in communication.

Different aspects of pragmatics emerging from ELF conversations have received increasing attention in the field. Analysing data from the ACE corpus, Ian Walkinshaw, Nathaniel Mitchell, and Sophiaan Subhan delve into 'Self-Denigration as a Relational Strategy in Lingua Franca Talk' among 'Asian English Speakers' (*JPrag* 139[2019] 40–51), observing that this may occur as a stand-alone utterance, before self-praise, or in response to praise, criticism, or a neutral statement without an identifiable trigger. Additionally, they note that all instances of self-denigration enhanced rapport among the ELF interactants observed.

Istvan Kecskes and Monika Kirner-Ludwig enquire into '"Odd Structures" in English as a Lingua Franca Discourse' (*JPrag* 151[2019] 76–90) by focusing on utterer-implicatures in VOICE and the Albany Corpus of Intercultural Communication (ACIC). The authors establish their criteria for odd structures,

and examine the strategies speakers use to overcome them if they cause confusion. Self-repair through repetition/paraphrasing is found to be the strategy employed most frequently, but it is typical for speakers to apply more than one strategy for repair.

In *Interaction in Mandarin Chinese and English as a Multilingua Franca* (EMF), Weihua Zhu proposes a model that highlights the interplay of 'Context, Practice, and Perception' regarding (im)politeness, and uses strong disagreement produced by Chinese speakers who use both Mandarin Chinese and English as multilingual francas as the subject of study and exemplification. Naturally occurring casual conversations spoken in Mandarin and in EMF in China are triangulated with retrospective interviews from these participants, and other local L1 Chinese speakers. Zhu finds that what is regarded as inappropriate in English-speaking intercultural communication indeed occurs frequently in both the Mandarin Chinese and EMF conversations collected without any negative signs or threatening any face. Whereas there can be possible pragmatic transfer to EMF and the participants are unaware of the negative connotations of the disagreement to L1 English speakers, the findings show that weak disagreement and orderly turn-taking, which are conventionally preferred in pragmatics, may not be universally preferred, and that successful EMF communication may not necessarily depend on mitigation.

English as a Lingua Franca: The Pragmatic Perspective by Istvan Kecskes is a publication which confirms the relevance ELF studies have acquired to trigger a modern and contemporary approach to pragmatics. Taking the sociocognitive approach, Kecskes discusses in nine chapters how an ELF perspective can shed light on central issues in pragmatics'. (Chapter 1—'The Nature of English as a Lingua Franca'; chapter 2—'Linguistic Creativity in ELF'; chapter 3—'Interactional Competence'; chapter 4—'Sociocultural Background Knowledge'; chapter 5—'Speaker's Intention'; chapter 6—'The Semantics–Pragmatics Interface'; chapter 7—'Implicature'; chapter 8—'Modality'; chapter 9—'Dialogic Sequences and Odd Structures'.) The sociocognitive approach highlights the highly interwoven nature of actual communication, where each speaker's repertoire adjusts to the needs of the situated interactional experience. According to Kecskes, the individual egocentrism (an individual's prior experience) and the co-operative attitude, in co-construction of meaning, represent the inseparable forces to attain successful understanding, sharing and shaping sociolinguistic constrains. This monograph firmly contributes to ELF research because it reaffirms and complements the intersubjective nature of ELF interaction from the point of view of a distinguished pragmatist.

Moving on to public discourse, Weihong Wang and Fan (Gabriel) Fang discuss the ideologies of English in popular discourse in China by analysing 'Chinese Netizens' Reactions to the Use of English as a Lingua Franca' (*EnT* 35[2019] 3–12) by a Chinese reporter interviewing a Zambian official. StE ideology prevails. Most netizens display a negative attitude towards non-standard use of English not because it impedes communicative effectiveness but because it is perceived to be jeopardizing the social and professional image of the speaker and the institution and even the country he represents. These bottom-up realities must be taken into consideration if language-planning policies that attempt to reduce StE ideology are to be carried out.

An area where ELF research is slowly growing is medicine and healthcare. M. Gregory Tweedie and Robert C. Johnson, in 'Research Directions in Medical English as a Lingua Franca' (MELF) (*LLC* 13[2019]), argue that healthcare communication in contexts where ELF is the dominant medium of choice has been overlooked by both ELF and healthcare research even though it is the precise high-stake communicative situation that is worth researching. The authors discuss how past research on linguistic features and pragmatic strategies in ELF interactions can shed light on future research foci for MELF, especially on incorporating MELF in nursing education. In relation also to the migrant context, Päivi Iikkanen assesses 'ELF and Migrant Categorization at Family Clinics in Finland' (*JELF* 8[2019] 97–123). She finds that native-speaker ideology is strongly held by the participating Finnish nurses. Whether a client was classified as 'immigrant' or as (a newly formed category) 'university people' depends on how the nurses perceive the client's StE proficiency, which is also typically linked to assumptions about the clients' socio-economic status and ethnicity. This indicates that the nurses fail to recognize ELF speakers' 'adaptive appropriation' (refer to Maria Grazia Guido in *YWES* [2014]) and that an ELF variant can be as communicatively effective as a native-speaker variant.

This year also sees ELF research expanding into a new domain—law. Patrizia Anesa offers a problematization 'Towards a Conceptualization of Legal English as a Lingua Franca?' (LELF) (*IJEL* 9[2019] 14–21). Although (legal) English has *de facto* been the lingua franca in legal communication – in different settings, between professionals, and between lawyers and clients, there has yet to be a formal conceptualization of LELF, which, like ELF, is multilingual and multicultural. Anesa juxtaposes LELF with BELF and shows the commonalities between the two, especially with regard to community of practice. She also notes three sets of pressing problems concerning the diffusion of LELF in the discourse of law, which are concerned with concepts specific to a particular legal system that might be untranslatable without having their original meaning altered, traditions specific to a legal culture might be impoverished, identity traits specific to a particular language might be annihilated. Biyu (Jade) Du delves into 'Multilingualism in Legal Space: The Issue of Mutual Understanding in ELF Communication between Defendants and Interpreters' (*IJM* 16[2019] 317–55) with naturally occurring trial interactions. Du focuses on African migrants in China, who constitute a form of low-end globalization and whose linguistic resources are functionally reduced in ELF interactions, particularly in the courtroom. Issues relating to intelligibility, comprehensibility, and interpretability occur because of a lack of familiarity, between the Chinese interpreters and the African defendants, with each other's accent, word choice, and practice in the legal context, and the Chinese legal professionals' unawareness of this unfamiliarity.

This year's review ends with two studies that shed light on future research directions for ELF scholarship. In 'Exploring Epistemological Expansions of English as a Lingua Franca' (*TesolQ* 50[2019] 566–78), Yumi Matsumoto incisively probes the conceptual boundaries of ELF research providing insight on three dimensions that have hitherto been overlooked: nonverbal elements, uncooperativeness, and academic discourse without the binary categorization of language *learners* and language *users*. Finally, Robert J. Lowe and Richard Smith

offer 'A Historical Counterpoint to ELF' through discussing 'L.A. Hill's "Neutral English"' [1967] (*ELangT* [2019] 20–8). They show three similarities between 'Neutral English' and ELF: they (1) move away from the anglophone varieties of English, (2) emphasize *description* rather than *prescription*, and (3) focus specifically on phonological features that aid or hinder intelligibility. They differ, however, on one major point: 'Neutral' English implies a preservation of British dominance in ELT, especially when analysed in its historical context. Lowe and Smith call for more historical research on models for ELT and theorization of ELF, to let the present be informed by the past, and caution proponents of ELF to beware of any commercial and/or political interests behind the surface merits of different proposals.

13. Pragmatics and Discourse Analysis

This section begins with the special issue 'Quo Vadis, Pragmatics?' (*JPragm* 145[2019]), which seeks to explore the state of the art and further directions for research in pragmatics in general and the scope of *JPragm* in particular. Although not all contributions include English examples, all thematic papers will be summarized because of their general relevance to the field. On the basis of a literature review of all articles published in *JPragm* between 1999 and 2018, Jonathan Culpeper and Mathew Gillings outline the major trends with regard to the data used in these pragmatic studies and propose future developments in 'Pragmatics: Data Trends' (*JPragm* 145[2019] 4–14). In 'Rethinking Being Gricean: New Challenges for Metapragmatics', Kasia M. Jaszczolt examines the question what it means to work within the Gricean paradigm in 2019 (*JPragm* 145[2019] 15–24). The contribution 'Whither Historical Pragmatics? A Cognitively-Oriented Perspective' by Elizabeth Closs Traugott discusses future research topics at the interface of cognition (historical) pragmatics and change (*JPragm* 145[2019] 25–30). Deirdre Wilson and Robyn Carston argue that future work in pragmatics should focus on non-propositional dimensions of meaning-making in discourse and the development of methodological approaches to analyse such dimensions, in 'Pragmatics and the Challenge of 'Non-Propositional' Effects' (*JPragm* 145[2019] 31–8). In 'Quo Vadis Pragmatics? From Adaptation to Participatory Sense-Making' (*JPragm* 145[2019] 39–46), Ad Foolen notes an inner 'fragmentation' (p. 39) of the field, which co-occurs with a 'convergence' (p. 46) of pragmatics and cognitive linguistics. It is concluded 'that the interactional-dynamic perspective on human communication should play a guiding role in this process' (p. 46). Discussing the state of the art of current research informed by ethno-methodology and conversation analysis, Lorenza Mondada demonstrates the strength of a multimodal, multisensorial approach for understanding the organization of social action, in 'Contemporary Issues in Conversation Analysis: Embodiment and Materiality, Multimodality and Multisensoriality in Social Interaction' (*JPragm* 145[2019] 47–62). William F. Hanks, Sachiko Ide, Yasuhiro Katagiri, Scott Saft, Yoko Fujii, and Kishiko Ueno call for a complementation of Western linguistic and pragmatic theories with non-Western philosophical concepts, specifically the Japanese *ba* and *baos*, in

'Communicative Interaction in Terms of *Ba* Theory: Towards an Innovative Approach to Language Practice' (*JPragm* 145[2019] 63–71). Felix K. Ameka and Marina Terkourafi review what it takes to make pragmatic research more 'inclusive' (p. 74) and illustrate how such research will benefit from approaches which challenge the view that Western language use is universal, use more inclusive analytic concepts and descriptive tools, and take into account more diverse contexts and modalities, in 'What If...? Imagining Non-Western Perspectives on Pragmatic Theory and Practice' (*JPragm*145[2019] 72–82). In the article 'Ethics in Pragmatics', Miriam A. Locher and Brook Bolander propose that researchers should lay open and reflect on the ethical considerations that contribute to their work in pragmatics in order to make such processes transparent, and they should learn from other researchers in the community (*JPragm* 145[2019] 83–90). Arguing for a more comprehensive discursive approach to im/politeness, Pilar Garcés-Conejos Blitvich and Maria Sifianou call for studies which include the micro- and macro- as well as the meso-levels of interaction in their analysis, in 'Im/Politeness and Discursive Pragmatics' (*JPragm* 145[2019] 91–101). Christian Burgers, Britta C. Brugman, and Amber Boeynaems on 'Systematic Literature Reviews: Four Applications for Interdisciplinary Research' (*JPragm* 145[2019] 102–9) argue that future pragmatic study will increasingly be done in larger, interdisciplinary research groups and discuss systematic literature reviews as a methodological tool to start such interdisciplinary research projects.

Some of the prospects for future research raised in the special issue are reflected in the research published in 2019 summarized below. The focus is on monographs and edited volumes.

Presenting findings from across discourse contexts, the volume *The Construction of 'Ordinariness' across Media Genres*, edited by Anita Fetzer and Elda Weizman, consists of an introduction and ten chapters organized in three thematic parts which showcase studies on Austrian German, Chinese, Finnish, Hebrew, and BrE and AmE. The review will focus on the chapters on the two latter varieties of English. Anita Fetzer and Peter Bull's contribution analyses the function of quotations by ordinary citizens in Prime Minister's Questions (PMQs), a parliamentary question time in the British House of Commons. The authors report that the data show a great increase in quotations attributed to ordinary people in the questions by the, then new, leader of the Opposition Jeremy Corbyn. Such quotations serve to bring in the voters' 'ordinary-life experience' (p. 98) to hold the political elite (i.e. the PM and government) accountable to the House and a mediated (ordinary) audience ('Quoting Ordinary People in Prime Minister's Questions', pp. 73–101). Drawing on fifteen host-caller interactions taken from the *Dave Ramsey Show*, an American radio call-in show, Gonen Dori-Hacohen's contribution ('Ordinariness as a Discursive Resource in United States Radiophonic Financial Call-In Interactions', pp. 133–55) examines how 'an elite talk show host' (p. 136) uses practices of ordinariness in his talk. Based on the findings that Ramsey deploys vernacular language, refers to common sense, and constructs closeness to his callers in his show, the author argues that, in light of the host's personal background, such practices should be interpreted as ways of supporting Ramsey's neoconservative ideology ('I can do math, but I'm not that smart. I'm not brilliant'). Yoshiko Matsumoto, in 'When Being Quotidian Meets Being Ordinary' (pp. 269–93), is concerned with the quotidian

reframing of narratives across US and Japanese media contexts. It is concluded that quotidian reframing can be consequential in the construction of ordinariness in various ways.

In the field of humour studies, Valeria Sinkeviiute's book on *Conversational Humour and (Im)Politeness: A Pragmatic Analysis of Social Interaction* (nine chapters) presents a cross-cultural and intercultural analysis of practices of humour and its relation to (im)politeness in AusE and BrE, drawing on data from various contexts, i.e. corpora, reality television, and interviews. Sabina Tabacaru provides *A Multimodal Study of Sarcasm in Interactional Humor* (six chapters) based on selected episodes from two television series (*The Big Bang Theory*, *House M.D.*).

Continuing with studies based on spoken interaction, Nigel Ward's monograph *Prosodic Patterns in English Conversation* falls into fifteen chapters, providing a general introduction to the main features of the prosody of AmE dialogue, proposing a methodology to study prosodic constructions in talk (Principal Component Analysis; PCA), and seeking to represent a resource for non-native speakers wishing to acquire AmE prosody. The book links specific prosodic (and phonetic) features to conversational meaning-making and interactional and social functions, including action-formation, turn-taking, topic management, and stance-taking, and offers interesting perspectives on prosody during the history of English. Andrew Radford's book on *Relative Clauses: Structure and Variation in Everyday English* is organized in four main chapters which provide the background to the topic and in-depth analyses of resumptive relatives, propositional relatives, and gapless relatives, based on data taken from radio and TV broadcasts as well as the Internet.

Informed by Conversation Analysis and Interactional Linguistics, the studies assembled in the volume *Social Encounters in Time and Space: Embodied Activities in Face-to-Face and Mediated Settings*, edited by Elisabeth Reber and Cornelia Gerhardt, take a bottom-up approach towards embodied activities, analysing the participants' patterned use of phonetic-prosodic, lexico-syntactic, and visuo-material resources when engaging in recurrent courses of action in face-to-face and mediated interaction. Data are taken from Dutch, BrE, French, German, and Mandarin Chinese, but this discussion will be limited to the chapters on English. In the chapter 'Inspecting Objects: Visibility Manoeuvres in Laparoscopic Surgery' (pp. 107–35), Jeff Bezemer, Ged Murtagh, and Alexandra Cope discuss how surgeons at a teaching hospital in the UK identify and negotiate the physical structure of the patient's body to turn it into meaningful entities for the activity under way. They also show how the patient's unclear anatomy forces a negotiation of the participants' roles, in that the consultant surgeon (the 'teacher') signals uncertainty and the surgical trainee makes unsolicited proposals. Elisabeth Reber's chapter '"Punch and Judy" Politics? Embodying Challenging Courses of Action in Parliament' (pp. 255–97) describes a recurrent course of action, i.e. the enticing sequence, in British Prime Minister's Questions. The analysis shows how participants use vocal, verbal, and visual resources to display (epistemic) authority, dominance, and power relations in time and space. Darren Reed focuses on a point of transition between two participation frameworks in musical master classes: 'Assessments in Transition: Coordinating Participation Framework Transitions in Institutional Settings'

(pp. 299–326) traces the moment when the performance of the musicians is closed by applause from the audience and the master starts teaching the student.

Next follow four monographs. In his ten-chapter monograph, Tim McNamara offers a multi-dimensional, social constructionist study on *Language and Subjectivity*, providing numerous examples from naturally occurring conversation and written discourse. Moving on to cognitive approaches to discourse, Sandine Zufferey, Jaques Moeschler, and Anne Reboul's monograph on *Implicatures* provides an introduction to Grice's theory. It consists of a preface, three parts, each containing three chapters, and a conclusion. The three parts outline the theoretical foundations and types of implicature, and provide empirical evidence. The book provides references for further reading and a glossary, which will prove useful resources to students and researchers new to the field. In his monograph *English as a Lingua Franca: The Pragmatic Perspective*, Istvan Kecskes takes a Gricean perspective on ELF. The book consists of nine thematic chapters, ranging from a more general introduction to EFL to case studies based on authentic conversational data. *Referring Expressions, Pragmatics and Style: Reference and Beyond* by Kate Scott is concerned with referencing from the perspective of relevance theory. It is composed of eight chapters which deal with more general topics, such as reference and meaning, and specific ones, for example null referring expressions (more on this volume can be found in Section 14 below).

To sum up, this year's literature review shows trends towards comparative studies across contexts, a multimodal approach to social interaction, and the relation between cognition and language use in situated environments.

14. Stylistics

It has been a year where stylistics has continued to push the boundaries to demonstrate the flexible yet rigorous nature of the discipline in tested waters as well as open up new horizons. One such new field is applying stylistic methodological approaches to analyse music, or specifically song lyrics, with a special issue of *L&L* concerning the recognition of lyrics as a category of their own under the umbrella of literature. David West's 'Introduction: The Challenges of the Song Lyric' evidences the winner of the Nobel Prize in Literature in 2016, Bob Dylan, as spearheading this reflection on the redefinition of literature (*L&L* 28[2019] 3–6). In his comprehensive overview of the field of stylistic analysis of song lyrics, West details the value of exploring multimodal aspects of lyrics that have been largely ignored, including the melody, harmony, rhythm, and sung words; each of which is acknowledged in the issue's articles that follow. Arguing for the contextualization of analysis between the visual and sonic, Matthew Voice and Sara Whiteley depict the harmony between these two elements from a cognitive approach in '"Y'all Don't Wanna Hear Me, You Just Wanna Dance": A Cognitive Approach to Listener Attention in OutKast's "Hey Ya!"' (*L&L* 28[2019] 7–22). Voice and Whiteley use Outkast's song 'Hey Ya!' to explore the listener's role in marrying these elements together. The authors' analysis applies David Herman's double deixis to explore the blurring of boundaries between the public and private spheres, in the forms of *you* or *y'all*, which simultaneously refer to the

listeners and to entities in the lyrics. This idea of disrupting the conceptual boundaries of song and lyric is also examined by Lisa Nahajec in 'Song Lyrics and the Disruption of Pragmatic Processing: An Analysis of Linguistic Negation in 10CC's "I'm Not in Love"' (*L&L* 28[2019] 23–40). Nahajec explores how mixed messages emerge in understanding the multimodality of text and video, namely between the musical persona in the video and the song. Negation is argued to create a sense of ambiguity which requires a reconstruction of the music world in understanding whether the musical persona is still in love with his partner, even though he suggests otherwise. Clare Neary's article '"Please Could You Stop the Noise": The Grammar of Multimodal Meaning-Making in Radiohead's "Paranoid Android"' (*L&L* 28[2019] 41–60) explores the relationship between language and music. Neary uses cognitive linguistics to 'translate' music by constructing 'sonic analogues', where listeners create an 'image schema' based on their knowledge and 'incoming perceptual information' (p. 41). For instance, Neary exemplifies multimodal 'interaction' by how the lyrics 'rain down' (p. 59), are sung simultaneously as listeners hear a descending pitch. Hazel Price and Jack Wilson dedicate their article 'Relevance Theory and Metaphor: An Analysis of Tom Waits' "Emotional Weather Report"' (*L&L* 28[2019] 61–81) to providing a Relevant Theoretical approach with Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), in understanding how listeners draw upon background knowledge to conceptualize the metaphors depicted. Robyn Carston's [2010] model of Relevance Theory is argued to provide a step-by-step guide on how metaphors are processed, and is used to demonstrate that song lyrics are intentionally constructed and framed around the featured metaphors, such as depicting New York's subculture through weather imagery. The final article of this special issue features Paul J. Flanagan's '"A Certain Romance": Style Shifting in the Language of Alex Turner in Arctic Monkeys' songs 2006–2018' (*L&L* 28[2019] 82–98). Flanagan's diachronic study uses Paul Simpson's USA-5 model to identify the transition over time of the lead singer Alex Turner's linguistic identity from northern English to a US-stylized, non-vernacular form, illustrating the influence of institutional expectations upon this linguistic shift at the same time the band began recording music in New York (pp. 95–6). Julia Ehmann also traces the notion of style in her *Radiohead and the Journey Beyond: Analysing Stylistic Debates and Transgressions*. She explores how online and offline media, consisting of fan-based online platforms, critics, and academics, perceive the shifting of style depicted in the form of lyrics, as the author applies music and discourse-analytical approaches to examine how these media share the manner in which Radiohead's music is interpreted.

In a multimodal approach, Kieran O'Halloran uses stylistic analysis to generate screenplay for Michael Donaghy's poem 'Machine' in 'Filming a Poem with a Mobile Phone and an Intensive Multiplicity: A Creative Pedagogy Using Stylistic Analysis' (*L&L* 28[2019] 133–58). The text is reproduced by 'attaching meaning' (p. 134) to text through a visual interpretation of the poem. For instance, a half-rhyme was creatively depicted in film production as depicting the hazy quality of telecommunication between a father virtually teaching and his daughter.

Monika Fludernik and Marie-Laurie Ryan tackle the notion of factualness in *Narrative Factuality: A Handbook*. The chapters outlined below discuss the

relationship between stylistics and literature. Matìas Martìnez's chapter 'Authenticity in Narratology and in Literary Studies' (pp. 521–31) raises the vagueness of the definition of 'authenticity', stating it is used by authors without explicitly referring to the word itself. Martìnez argues that a text is a 'product' of the author; therefore a reader's role is to navigate through the constructed textual world. Stylistics plays an integral part since language holds the key to enable readers to immerse themselves in an authentic text world. Martìnez shows, for instance, that the crafting of the language used in characterization, such as sociolect and dialect, enables authors to maintain a sense of authenticity. Anders Pettersson, in 'Factuality and Literariness' (pp. 601–12), interweaves the concept of style, which he describes as affecting the discourse of literature such as the use of figures and tropes, of 'well-planned discourse "wholes" and well-built sentences' (p. 603). He discusses these features by exploring the relationship between factuality and literariness, and how style has come to influence the shift in the meaning of literature as well as what it may consist of. This description is further examined by Michael Sinding in 'Metaphor, Allegory, Irony, Satire and Supposition in Narrative' (pp. 165–83) by foregrounding the use of these literary tropes. Sinding draws on cognitive linguistics to understand the role of metaphor in how readers actively construct narratives, using their own beliefs and what they foreground in texts. He explores the effect of using these tropes together, such as satire in Rolling Stones' front cover 'Trump the Destroyer' by the tropes 'pull[ing]' a narrative 'away from the orbit of fact and into the orbit of fiction' (p. 179). Literary tropes are a prominent feature too in Marcella Melly Kosaisih's article on 'A Stylistic Analysis of Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart*' (*IJELS* 4[2019] 1348–56), in understanding the role these literary devices play in depicting the text as a 'postcolonial discourse' (p. 1349). The integral role of political discourse is critically examined by L. David Ritchie in 'Reclaiming a Unified American Narrative: Lexical, Grammatical, and Story Metaphors' (*MSW* 9[2019] 242–62). Ritchie frames his discussion around the texts of the conservative columnist Ross Douthat, critically analysing the American identity narrative between conquest and the conquered, as well as the liberal counter-narrative, using a blend of CMT and PST (Perceptual Simulation Theory) to illustrate how stories and myths regarding this narrative are reframed. Ritchie's article follows on from Ksenija Bogetic's 'Discursive Metaphorical Frames in Newspaper Texts on Language Change: Analysing Social Meanings of Metaphor of Public Discourse' (*MSW* 9[2019] 1–31), which draws parallels between the metaphorical framing of language issues in Serbian and British newspapers. The multi-textual and multi-voiced examples draw upon the dominant source domain of the 'violence-war' metaphor used in print media (p. 13), in depicting the moral standards required in retaining national identity. American political discourse was the key theme in Isobelle Clarke and Jack Grieve's 'Stylistic Variation on the Donald Trump Twitter Account: A Linguistic Analysis of Tweets Posted between 2009 and 2018' (*PLoS ONE* 14[2019] 1–27). The authors address in detail how the style of language used in Trump's account has evolved overtime. They identify the co-occurrence of four patterns of stylistic variation: campaigning, conversation style, engagement, and advisory style, with each showing Trump adopting a gradual interactive and informal style, and showing affiliation with other

accounts by acknowledging statements and ideas shared on the digital platform (pp. 10–19).

Olivier Couder's 'Problem Solved? Absurdist Humour and Incongruity-Resolution' (*JLS* 48[2019] 1–21) explores the influence of absurdist humour upon literary interpretations. The apparent link between absurdity and humour lies in how a text world is depicted as familiar as well as unfamiliar due to events or entities not conforming to expectations, a condition of humorous texts. Couder uses schema theory to trace the reading process in understanding 'conceptual incongruity' (p. 18) between fictional and experiential worlds. Anne Holm resonates with this experience of displacement in 'On the "Body Absence": The Embodied Experience of Exile in Joseph Brodsky's "To Urania"' (*JLS* 48[2019] 23–9), which she explores using an element of CMT as she provides a detailed analysis of how the removal of agency and the inclusion of indefinite determiners portray Brodsky's exile as a lived experience of sadness, displacement, and 'felt' absence. Maria-Angeles Martinez and Esther Sanchez-Pardo explore the formation of the fictional world in 'Past Storyworld Possible Selves and the Autobiographical Reformulation of Dante's Myth in Lorine Niedecker's "Switchboard Girl"' (*JLS* 48[2019] 41–58). The authors define 'storyworlds' possible selves' as a form of narrative immersion, where readers gain insight into the protagonist's projected self of the past as someone with a visual disability applying for the role of switchboard operator. This immersion is triggered by, for instance, the doubly deictic 'you' and ambiguous indefinite references, depicting the hybrid reference in the fictional and real worlds. Considering the notion of ambiguity in the reading process and ethical positions, Alice Bell, Astrid Ensslin, Isabelle van der Bom, and Jen Smith also present an empirical mixed-method study of reader response as a reply to Herman's 'double deixis' in 'A Reader Response Method Not Just for "You"' (*L&L* 28[2019] 241–62). Once again, the hybrid reference to entities 'external' and 'internal' to storyworlds is foregrounded in the study, using a lickert scale to measure the extent to which the reader feels addressed by the text as a culprit in the text world, causing a sense of discomfort for the reader in being perceived in this particular manner.

In *Narrative Enquiry*, two issues explore a range of notions from truthfulness in narratives to the impact of time upon accounts shared, such as Urszula Tokarska, Elzbieta Dryll, and Anna Cierpka's 'Letter to a Grandchild as a Narrative Tool of Older Adults' Autobiographical Experience Exploration' (*NI* 29[2019] 29–49). The authors discuss how this experience is expressed as a life review, where the participants' letters consist of adopting two positions. In the first, the writers share wisdom with their young readers, such as appreciating life, while the second concerns the writers perceiving readers as coming of age, resonating with the authors' reference to the metaphor of life as a book. Vasiliki Saloustrou explores the construction of identities in 'Greek Women's Stories about Intimate Relationships: Conceptualizing Politeness through "Small Stories" and Identity Analysis' (*NI* 29[2019] 185–212). Saloustrou uses data including self-recordings and reflexive tellings in playback interviews between a group of undergraduate female students. Using an analysis framework combining sociolinguistics and 'small stories', a student's sharing of her meeting with an anonymous man with her friends is examined to understand how politeness norms are

outlined at a micro-level, such as forming a correlation between the notion of politeness and being 'sweet'. Audrey Lucero and Yuuko Uchikoshi discuss 'Narrative Assessments with First Grade Spanish–English Emergent Bilinguals' (*NI* 29[2019] 137–56). They investigate similarities and differences in narrative productions across two tasks, where four first-grade students used a picture book to create spontaneous stories as well as retelling the same story in English and Spanish. The results showed that when the students spoke in English, their spontaneous stories contained more words and focused upon the central event, including a well-developed beginning and description of characters' mental states. However, when speaking in Spanish, the students' retold stories were better in structure, demonstrating how students developed skills in literacy in both tasks. Annette Gerstenberg's article 'Generational Styles in Oral Storytelling: What Can be Learned from Narrative Priming?' examines narrative priming, the repetition of effects, in French undergraduate students' construction of autobiographical narratives (*NI* 29[2019] 1–28). The pilot study compared the similarities and differences between the students' narratives, with the authors discussing how age was a factor in how the students would become self-reflective over time, by being more explicit in their evaluation of actions in the event being described. Darius Kuncewicz, Dorota Kuncewicz, and Wojciech Kruszewski's article 'Stability of Hidden Stories' explores how stories about one's own life are delivered as monologues to depict internal thoughts (*NI* 29[2019] 82–98), using two monologues of a 21-year-old female student who was asked to share what her upbringing was like. By means of a sociocognitive approach, the authors demonstrate how the participant constructed a self-narration in two monologues recorded two years apart, revealing emerging motifs of feeling close to her parents and marital love in the second monologue.

Sam Browse, Alison Gibbons, and Mari Hatavara's introduction 'Real Fictions: Fictionality, Factuality and Narrative Strategies in Contemporary Storytelling' outlines the purpose of the special *NI* issue in exploring the theoretical and methodological impacts of the notion of post-truth in different ways of storytelling (*NI* 29[2019] 245–67). The authors provide a contextual overview on narratological research, detailing the focus upon the relationship between character and enactor as experiencer 'I' and experiencing 'I', as well as discussing the emerging influence of the field of cognition in understanding fiction and reality as 'binary opposites', perceiving the different worlds as real, fictive, and imaginary. Kim Schoff and Dorien Van De Mieroop's 'Adjusting to New "Truths": The Relation between the Spatio-Temporal Context and Identity Work in Repeated WWII Testimonies' (*NI* 29[2019] 268–92) explores the diachronic construction of autobiographical narratives using data collected from two Belgian concentration camp survivors, who wrote their narratives in 1946 and 1985. They use an interactional-sociolinguistic approach to examine the impact of social context on storytelling and truthfulness in depicting the experiences of a particular time. For instance, there were differences in the individuals' descriptions of their own contribution, with one protagonist being patriotic in his 1946 written version but being less positive in the 1985 version. This description differed with the second protagonist who, to an extent, kept a consistent perception of his role depicted in a patriotic manner in both his 1946 and 1985 written versions. Jessica Mason looks at 'Making Fiction Out of Fact: Attention and Belief in the Discourse of

Conspiracy' (*NI* 29[2019] 293–312), i.e. the construction of 'false flag' narra-
tives, where alternative versions of events are created by individuals. Mason uses
figure-ground analysis to examine how attention is shifted within certain narra-
tives. The author refers to two videos by an individual who created incredible
conspiracy narratives relating to the Sandy Hook shootings in 2012 and the death
of Heather Heyer in Charlottesville in 2017. Two elements in the author's 'false
flag' narratives were foregrounded, such as the physical resemblance and dis-
tance resemblance between the women. Mason discusses how authorial intentions
can be problematic since authors may not know the facts or share the same
beliefs as the ones depicted. Sam Browse and Mari Hatavara discuss politics
punditry in '"I Can Tell the Difference between Fiction and Reality": Cross-
Fictionality and Mind-Style in Political Rhetoric' (*NI* 29[2019] 333–51) centraliz-
ing their analysis on mind style and exploring how Theresa May's internal mono-
logue is represented in a satirical op-ed article of her speech to the Conservative
Party conference by John Rentoul. The authors use narratological and stylistic
approaches to explore how mind is depicted in a non-fictional narrative, focusing
on Rentoul's use of cross-fictionality strategies, such as person deixis and modal-
ity to depict a particular ideological stance. Alison Gibbons's article 'The
"Dissolving Margins" of Elena Ferrante and the Neapolitan Novels: A Cognitive
Approach to Fictionality, Authorial Intentionality, and Autofictional Reading
Strategies' (*NI* 29[2019] 391–417) uses TWT and mind-modelling to explore
ontological distortion in the form of readers' challenge in identifying the novel's
genre as either autofiction and autobiography, as well as the author's pseudo-
nymic identity. Elena Ferrante's novels are used as a case study to understand
how readers build the authorial mind-model of the author, as well as centralize
the authorial production and reader response in understanding the complex nature
of the literary experience.

Returning again to *JLS*, Josè Àlvarez-Amorós problematizes the relationship
between narratives and readers in 'Reading Against the Text? Metarepresentation
and Patterns of Subjectivity in the Summarization of Henry James's Tales' (*JLS*
48[2019] 59–83), providing a fascinating account of how Jamesian texts can
cause conscious 'underreading' to depict a particular perspective on events,
objects, or entities. For instance, Àlvarez-Amorós highlights the use of ambigu-
ous language to represent possible worlds as 'real' fictional worlds. Marcello
Giovanelli introduces a cognitive grammar analysis to explore authorial creativity
in 'Construing and Reconstruing the Horrors of the Trench: Siegfried Sassoon,
Creativity and Context' (*JLS* 48[2019] 85–104). He discusses the influence of
context with a text-driven analysis, exploring three versions of Sassoon's diary
entries, which depict the impact of trauma witnessed in the landscape of the
trenches upon the human body. Each version consists of (re)contextualization
and retelling of the text through foregrounding, shifting the focus in each version
to different entities and actions. Daniela Virdis applies CMT with an innovative
concept of ecostylistics, concerned with the stylistic analysis of landscape and
environment, to examine one of six novels called *Sub-Umbra* in 'Sexualized
Landscapes and Gentry Masculinity in Victorian Scenery: An Ecostylistic
Examination of a Pornographic Novel from the Magazine *The Pearl*' (*JLS*
48[2019] 109–28). Virdis states that the stylistic choices made depict a gendered
interaction between landscape, depicted as feminized, and the protagonist Walter,

who is depicted as a domineering male since he uses the landscape as part of his efforts to seduce his love interests. The relationship between humans and nature is also investigated, similarly using CMT, by Marceo Caracciolo, Andrei Ionescu, and Ruben Fransoo, in 'Metaphorical Patterns in Anthropocene Fiction' (*L&L* 28[2019] 221–40). Using texts by Jeanette Winterson, Margaret Atwood, and Ian McEwan, they illustrate how humans are represented as either being the drivers of climate change, as is the case in Winterson's *The Stone Gods*, or as victims of the eco-crisis due to being unable to manage the man-made disaster to the natural world. CMT increasingly emerges as the chosen analytical framework as it is also applied by Pavlo Shopin in examining 'Multisensory Perception and Tactile Metaphors for Voice in the Work of Herta Müller' (*JLS* 48[2019] 129–43), where he reveals that the conceptualization of voice consisted in Müller using metaphors of touch to describe voice as a sensory phenomenon. Theodore Tsz Hang Tam critically analyses 'Wolfgang Iser's Conceptual of Indeterminacy: An Integrational Critique' and its impact upon 'Reception Theory' (*JLS* 48[2019] 145–59). Using an integrational linguistic lens, Hang Tam explores the concept of text as an unstable entity with readers creating 'signs' to contextualize the text world in their own manner. Hang Tam discusses this power struggle between text and reader, stating that whereas readers' creation of signs will change as they continue reading a text, a narrative still holds control over the meaning retrieved.

Metaphor is a prominent theme in an essay focusing on how this literary trope is understood by Georgia Foskolou in her published master's thesis *Interpreting Metaphor through Theories of Meaning: Conventional and Literal Meaning*. Foskolou provides a guide to metaphor, discussing newly coined concepts and dead metaphors as well as the use of asymmetrical concepts to understand the shared or contrasting features between the source and target domains. Metaphors depict an ideological stance, as she further emphasizes the necessity to understand the contextual influence in which metaphors are created and used by comparing their semantic and pragmatic effects. In particular, pragmatics is critically discussed as providing a convenient model to better understand the relationship between domains, particularly those which turn out to be absurd. Elisabeth El Refaie extends the exploration of written narratives by focusing upon *Visual Metaphor and Embodiment in Graphic Illness Narratives*. Introducing the innovative concept of 'dynamic embodiment', El Refaie defines the notion of individuals perceiving their relationship with their bodies as consistently shifting and unstable, using a graphic novel which foregrounds the experience of dealing with Parkinson's disease. Chapters 3 and 4 provide an extensive explanation of the importance of centralizing metaphor, as it 'synesthetic[ally] transfer[s]' (p. 92) the reader through the protagonist's perceptions such as smell, taste, pain, and temperature. For instance, the interrelation between 'spatial' and 'stylistic' metaphor in representing the protagonist's suffering to reveal her bodily experience in dealing with the disease is depicted in the form of words being written in bold and in a larger font to show loudness, or a character's vulnerability is indicated by an illustration showing her at a distance. The text focuses on the tripartite system El Refaie uses to conjoin the pictorial, spatial, and stylistic constructions to understand the evolved understanding of embodiment in CMT and to illustrate the evolving changes in how individuals experience illness through these

mediums used simultaneously. El Refaie further distinguishes between two meta-phors used to depict the complex and layered nature of embodiment, i.e. 'iso-morphic metaphor', which is the use of the literary device to depict embodied experience through sense perceptions, abstract concepts, and social relations, and 'indexical metaphor', which emphasizes the process of creating the experience in digital, pained, or photographic form. The text makes an original contribution in highlighting the presence of metaphors in graphic narratives, with El Refaie rationalizing the significance of this stylistic focus in revealing 'underlying thought patterns [...] verbalized', for instance, in an image of a protagonist imprisoned within a clock as 'DEPRESSION IS ENTRAPMENT IN SPACETIME' (p. 183). Chapter 5 specifically discusses the notion of depression and how it is articulated through metaphor. Here, the influence of CMT is evi-dent in the source and target domains, using the relationship between the notion of depression and the entity depicting this suffering, the clock, to reveal the pro-tagonist's sense of entrapment and isolation in dealing with the illness. The appli-cation of metaphor to understand spoken discourse is explored by Alice Deignan, Elena Semino, and Shirley-Anne Paul in 'Metaphors of Climate Science in Three Genres: Research Articles, Educational Texts, and Secondary School Student Talk' (*AL* 40[2019] 379–403). Using the three corpora mentioned in the title, the authors discuss how metaphors are used to communicate climate change to stu-dents. Students used metaphors such as 'bounce' and 'greenhouse' to illustrate their understanding, even if in some cases their metaphors are not always accur-ate in explaining the process. Amanda Potts and Elena Semino turn to a corpus to explore the ethical issue in the use of 'Cancer as a Metaphor' (*MS* 34[2019] 81–95) in response to Susan Sontag's *Illness as a Metaphor* [1978]. Adopting a cognition and discourse-analytical framework, they show that 'cancer' is used as a metaphor to negatively evaluate people's actions, demonstrating how percep-tions create 'damaging [...] worldviews' about particular communities. Rose K. Hendricks, Zsofia Demjen, Elena Semino, and Lera Boroditsky deal with a simi-lar issue in 'Emotional Implications of Metaphor: Consequences of Metaphor Framing of Mindset about Cancer' (*JAL* 33[2019] 267–79). Here, participants were asked to read vignettes by cancer patients, who described their experience of having the disease as either a 'journey' or a 'battle'. Patients describing cancer as a 'journey' were perceived as positive, as personas accepting the situation, whereas those describing the disease as a 'battle' were perceived negatively by participants.

The first issue of *MS* was dedicated to an exploration of the cognitive study of ecological metaphors. Thomas Wiben Jensen and Linda Greve's 'Ecological Cognition and Metaphor' provides an introduction to the notion of 'ecological metaphor' as representing the relation of humans with their environment (*MS* 34 [2019] 1–16). The relationship between CMT and ecological cognition is exam-ined in two empirical examples, including a social interaction revealing the role of gestural movements illustrating the status of relationship through the use of the metaphor 'bridge'. Agnes Szokolszky's article, 'Perceiving Metaphors: An Approach from Development Ecological Psychology' (*MS* 34[2019] 17–32), pro-vides an ecological approach continuing J.J. Gibson's work on the 'developmen-tal perceptual process' (p. 22) by extending the latter's term 'affordance' (p. 20). Szokolszky examines the inclusion of an ecological focus alongside the '4 Es',

i.e. embodied, embedded, enacted, and extended (p. 17), to understand the relationship between children's creation of metaphor and pretend play, where children can decontextualize and recontextualize discussions they have had about the physical environment. Raymond W. Gibbs Jr. also turns to the '4 Es' in 'Metaphor as Dynamical-Ecological Performance' (*MS* 34[2019] 33–44), exploring how cognition evolves as individuals experience the world. Human thought evolves through individuals' use of metaphorical depictions and expressions, which foreground 'bodily articulation' as changing in different environments (p. 34). 'Metaphoricity in the Real Estate Showroom: Affordance Spaces for Sensorimotor Shopping' by Simon Harrison and David H. Fleming examines the role of environment in 'scaffolding metaphorical experience' by focusing on advertisement discourse (*MS* 34[2019] 45–60). They discuss the 'situated embodied experience' (p. 46) as individuals evolve their understanding of multimodality metaphors, such as multisensory mediums, in creating a personal interaction between individuals and space. Finally, Cornelia Müller discusses the notion of 'Metaphorizing as Embodied Interactivity: What Gesturing and Film Viewing Can Tell Us about an Ecological View on Metaphor' (*MS* 34[2019] 61–79). She uses four case studies, including a speech by the German Chancellor Angela Merkel, to illustrate how bodies and gestural movements are presented in television coverage. She shows how gestures and the positioning of Merkel in the televised coverage are foregrounded, with these prosodic features providing insight into the political context in which the speech was delivered. Adriana Gordejuela also focuses on the television/film mode in her 'Understanding Retrospection: Blended Joint Attention and the Multimodal Construction of Film Flashbacks' (*L&L* 28[2019] 115–32). Gordejuela provides the fascinating argument that the camera is a 'product' (p. 124) of a conceptual blend of what is viewed and how it steers the viewer's attention to a particular character's thoughts. Viewers are offered insight into character flashbacks that are visually prompted by eyeline matches, where what is seen relates to characters' thoughts about the past. Similarly, the 'camera-eye view' is a metaphor used by Reiko Ikeo in '"Colloquialization" in Fiction: A Corpus-Driven Analysis of Present-Tense Fiction' to compare present- with past-tense fiction (*L&L* 28[2019] 280–304). Ikeo identifies key features distinguishing the two, noting that the former includes fewer adjectives since the focus is upon a protagonist's speech which provides an outlook on events from a protagonist's perspectives as a narrative unfolds.

Ning Yu and Jie Huang's article 'Primary Metaphors across Languages: Difficulty as Weight and Solidity' (*MS* 34[2019] 111–26) analyses the similarities and differences between two languages, English and Chinese, from which the metaphorical phrases 'Difficulty is Weight' and 'Difficulty is Solidity' originate respectively. Their corpus-based study develops from Yu et al.'s earlier exploration of the metaphors 'Importance is Size' and 'Importance is Weight', by similarly using CMT to show how multimodality is depicted through metaphor. Heng Li and Yu Cao, in 'Moving at the Speed of Life: How Life Pace Influences Temporal Reasoning' (*MS* 34[2019] 158–66), discuss the use of two metaphors, 'moving time' and 'moving ego', and reveal how participants who had more 'personal agency' (p. 163) by experiencing a slow pace of life away from the city relate to the metaphor of 'moving ego', since they control how they use their

time, in comparison to those who reside in the city and relate to the notion of
'moving time' (p. 159), since they have less control over time. Representation of
time is the focal point of Anna Piata's 'When Time Passes Quickly: A Cognitive
Linguistic Study on Compressed Time' (*MS* 34[2019] 167–84), which examines
how temporal compression and lack of agency are conceptualized in Constantine
P. Cavafy's poetry. Piata unveils the metaphorical representation of time as a
moving entity in Cavafy's texts, including his famous poem 'Candles', where the
notion of light or flame is construed as being unaffected by human agency.
Francisco Jose Ruiz de Mendoza Ibanez and Ines Lozano-Palacio shift the focus
to irony and its contextualization in 'A Cognitive-Linguistic Approach to
Complexity in Irony: Dissecting the Ironic Echo' (*MS* 34[2019] 127–38). The
authors identify different ways in which echoes of irony are featured in texts
such as 'echoic compounding', where two ironic phrases occur in one utterance,
'cumulative' echoes, which features extending irony using similar semantic fields
to convey particular meaning, and 'echoic chains', where one irony creates an-
other, demonstrating how these markers can provide insight into how points of
view are conveyed. Roi Tartakovsky, David Fishelov, and Yeshayahu Shen's
'Not as Clear as Day: On Irony, Humor, and Poeticity in the Closed Simile' (*MS*
34[2019] 185–96), defines a 'closed simile' as a ground which is 'explicitly
stated'. The authors note, however, that the straightforwardness of the interpreta-
tions can be problematized by the use of low- or non-salient features in drawing
the comparisons. They identify and examine three of these features: 'ironic sim-
iles', where the ground acts in opposition to the source; 'humor' similes, where
the ground is the 'punchline'; and 'poetic simile', where the ground prompts the
reader to reconstrue the source—each feature triggers readers to create distinct
interpretations which may not correlate with others. Chani Strock, Ravit
Nussinson, Sari Mentser, and Yoav Bar-Anan's '"Heavy of Mouth" and "Heavy
of Tongue": Weight as a Conceptual Metaphor of Disability' (*MS* 34[2019] 197–
208) explores the way individuals conceptualize their disability. The authors use
three studies, where they examine the metaphorical correlation between partici-
pants holding a physical object and perceiving a sense of heaviness. Anaïs
Augè's article 'How Metaphor Scenarios Can Reveal Socio-cultural and
Linguistic Variations of Meaning: A Cross-Linguistic Perspective on the
"NURTURING PARENT" and the "STRICT FATHER" Frames' (*MS* 34[2019]
209–28) uses a corpus consisting of data on the topic of climate change to dis-
cuss the two frames mentioned above as well as 'Strict Mother'. The article
refers to mythological narratives surrounding Mother Nature and how these have
been revived in climate change discourse, showing the conflicting representation
of Mother Nature as strict parent and Mother Nature as victim. Tracey Bowen
and M. Max Evans's 'Shedding Light on "Knowledge": Identifying and
Analyzing Visual Metaphors in Drawings' (*MS* 34[2019] 243–57) explores how
communication between text and image is given a creative, individual stamp.
The authors used CMT to analyse and extend the application of MML (Master
Metaphor List—established metaphorical examples) to understand drawings
depicting the notion of 'knowledge' in five cases, such as knowledge shown as
an electric brain, brain as a container of information, food, and light. Mike
Kersten, Cathy R. Cox, Erin A. Van Enkevort, and Robert B. Arrowood, in 'The
Influence of Money-Related Metaphors on Financial Anxiety and Spending' (*MS*

34[2019] 229–42), use three experiments where American undergraduate partici-
pants were asked to complete a word-search puzzle to find the keywords 'for-
tune' and 'wealth'. Whereas the participants were able to 'find fortune', the word
'wealth' was deliberately absent from the puzzle resulting in participants reveal-
ing a sense of anxiety as they continued 'searching for wealth'. Here, the meta-
phors unveiled the emotional affiliations participants shared by getting involved
in the activity.

Roi Tartakovsky and Shen Yeshayahu's article discusses standard and non-
standard forms of closed similes such as 'Meek as Milk and Large as Logic: A
Corpus Study' (*L&L* 28[2019] 203–20). The data from the *Norton English
Language Poetry Anthology*, show that non-standard or non-salient features are
more present in poetic texts than in non-poetic texts, as readers are compelled to
creatively draw comparisons between the source and ground which are not im-
mediately apparent. In 'What, If Anything, is a Caesura? The Ontology of the
"Pause" in English Heroic Verse' (*L&L* 28[2019] 263–79), Peter Groves dis-
cusses how caesura can be understood in stylistic terms. Richard D. Cureton
explores the structure of rhythm in William Carlos Williams's poem 'Queen-
Anne's-Lace' in 'Rhythm and Poetic Form: Poetry as Rhythmic "Telling"' (*Style*
53[2019] 236–56). Cureton focuses upon four components of the rhythm struc-
ture—relative, cyclical, centroidal, linear—and how meaning emerges from form.

Continuing to shift attention to current, innovative research taking place,
Intertextuality in Practice by Jessica Mason is of interest. Mason's text is struc-
tured on a data-driven exploration of literary and non-literary texts. The book is
structured as follows: chapters 3–5 demonstrate how connections brought to the
fore during the reading experience by readers can be understood through an inter-
relation framework. Chapters 6 and 7 examine the relationship between social
identity and intertextuality, whereas chapter 8 pushes the boundaries by introduc-
ing an intra-textual framework which identifies connections between fiction and
the real world in the reading process. Mason's text provides a practical guide to
using metalanguage to centralize and explain the phenomena that constitute the
reading experience. Here, the reading process is explored through a stylistic poet-
ic lens, enabling linguistic analysis to be contextually embedded and to fore-
ground the relationship between reading and the mind. Intertextuality is argued
by Mason to be a flexible stylistic framework because of its ability to adapt to
new knowledge. For instance, Mason explains how intertextuality utilizes con-
cepts from schema, a cognitive linguistic framework, such as readers referring to
extension, accretion, and tuning, in order to trace how they are influenced by au-
thorial decisions and how they are perceived as readers. Mason explores key ele-
ments such as introducing the notion of 'markedness' and 'unmarkedness'
references, which prompt readers to form connections with texts. A 'marked' ref-
erence is defined as an explicit reference being made to a part of a whole text,
whereas an 'unmarked' one is an indirect reference which readers may or may
not notice. Mason also identifies a key distinction between the two intertextual
references as 'hypertext', such as *Animal Farm*, and 'hypotext', which refers to
potential inferences, such as Nazi Germany, the North Korean regime, and the
Russian Revolution. However, when discussing the reading experience in a class-
room context, Mason states that 'hypotexts' were favoured over others by teach-
ers. Throughout the text, Mason persistently returns to a significant and integral

theme which links the chapters together, that is, the active and reflective engagement of readers. She also introduces the innovative concept of 'intratextual narratives', in which readers form 'connections between multiple narratives within a single text', resulting in a sense of 'textual cohesion' rather than potential tensions as discussed above (p. 167). The author provides examples from literary and non-literary texts to illustrate how readers' intertextual references move beyond the text world to explore the relationship with the knowledge, experiences and memories readers utilize to construct a narrative of a key event, such as 9/11, or a recurring character or moment shared in the text, such as Stephen King's *It*, which features two characters from a previous novel, *11.22.68*.

Paul Simpson's edited volume *Style, Rhetoric and Creativity in Language* acts as a celebratory obituary for Walter 'Bill' Nash, scholar, poet, and linguist. Simpson's text comprises essays exploring the multidimensionality of Nash's persona and his influence within stylistics. Opening the volume is Susan Cockcroft and Robert Cockcroft's chapter '"Warmth of Thought" in Walter Nash's Prose and Verse' (pp. 11–37), which focuses on Nash's immense creativity in the form of deconstructing the rhetorical effects identified in his prose and poetry. Using examples from parodies, poetry, and prose, the Cockcrofts explore how rhetoric is expressed in the form of 'warmth of thought' to provide insight into a humanistic side to literary texts and encourage reader engagement. Peter Stockwell's chapter 'Chrysanthemums for Bill: On Lawrentian Style and Stylistics' (pp. 37–57) critically examines critical theorist Peter Barry's response and provides a strong argument for the advantages of centralizing stylistics in the analysis of texts. Stockwell discusses Barry's criticism, such as the argument that selective and micro-analytic analysis in stylistics results in interpretations being narrowed. He also provides an updated cognitive linguistic response, which refines Nash's focus on a subjective, reader-centred perspective. David E. Stacey's chapter offers reflections on 'The Doubling of Design in Walter Nash's '*Rhetoric: The Wit of Persuasion*' (pp. 57–77). He echoes the significance of rhetorical devices to specifically discuss the notion of manipulation and how viewers and readers can empower themselves by critically analysing, for instance, political discourse. Peter Verdonk's 'Riddling: The Dominant Rhetorical Device in W.H. Auden's "The Wanderer"' (pp. 77–85) is the first of three chapters, exploring rhetoric and stylistic analysis. Verdonk looks at the playfulness of language, and how Auden reflects his interest in rhetoric and metric in the form of a 'Kenning' poem, making the familiar strange. His stylistic analysis is on literary tropes such as alliteration, syntax, and sound patterns. The author stresses the importance of contextualization of the text: for instance, Auden's fascination with Middle English influenced the inclusion of rhetoric through the literary tropes mentioned above. Clara Calvo's '"My Shakespeare, Rise": Ben Jonson's Pronominal Choices in "To the Memory of My Beloved, the Author (1623)"' (pp. 85–101) is the second chapter dedicated to rhetorical practice, unveiling Johnson's diverse intentions in his commemorative poem to Shakespeare, where in addition to praising his muse's position in the canon, he also calls, according to Calvo, for the promotion of Shakespeare's work to encourage a sense of nationhood. The third 'rhetorical' chapter presents Mick Short's analysis of 'Discourse Presentation and Point of View' in William Trevor's '*Cheating in Canasta*' (pp. 101–13), where the integral aim is to encourage linguists and readers alike to not

only understand but also to appreciate the construction of writing. Short extends the discussion by examining cognitive shifts occurring in texts illustrating how the shifts in narrative viewpoint occur in a short excerpt from Trevor. Michael Toolan's chapter 'Doing and Teaching: From *Kettle of Roses* to *Language and Creative Illusion* and Back Again' (pp. 113–27) uses the analytical model High Emotional Involvement (HEI) to identify eleven central linguistic markers which create a heightened sense of empathy, engagement, and understanding for the reader to make a sense of an unfamiliar text world. From identifying the use of mental-processing verbs to the degree of lexis reflecting the elements of heat and light, the chapter explores how HEI offers some insight into the ethical and emotional connections formed during the reading experience. Michael Stubbs's 'Fact, Fiction and French Flights of Fancy' (pp. 127–49) provides a critical analysis of Laurent Binet's novel *La Septième Fonction du langage*, which centres on the power of rhetoric. Stubbs explains how the playfulness of the narrative is due to how Binet illustrates the power of language in blurring the lines of fiction and reality. Here, the author refers to John Searle's pragmatic approach to understand the role of rhetoric in fiction in defining fiction as either a 'pretence', which the reader participates in, or a lie created by the author. The penultimate two chapters focus on the application of quantitative methods to inform an understanding of the position of everyday language. The late Ronald Carter's 'Common Language: Corpus, Creativity and Cognition' (pp. 149–71) explores the distinction between 'literary' and 'everyday' language, by challenging the focus upon written language and the apparent 'representation' of spoken discourse in literary and dramatic texts. Using CANCODE (Cambridge and Nottingham Corpus of Discourse in English), Carter argues for spoken discourse to have a significant status in the innovativeness identified in everyday talk, such as creative metaphors and wordplay, which demonstrate linguistic patterns found to either shape, reinforce, or deviate from mundane language use. The ultimate chapter, by Paul Simpson, offers another innovative quantitative analysis in '"Americans Don't Do Irony": Cross-Cultural Perspectives on the Pragmatics of Irony' (pp. 171–93). Conducting a linguistic-pragmatic analysis and inspired by Nash's discussion about 'counter-coding' in *Language of Humour* [1985], Simpson's longitudinal study illustrates that everyone uses irony in different social, cultural, and ethnic contexts as identified in correlations between participants' responses to six real-world ironic scenarios. The concept of rhetorical instruction is also advocated by Nancy Lee Christiansen in her article 'Revisioning Stylistic Analysis and Renaissance *Elocutio*' (*Style* 53[2019] 157–84), focusing on the reading of people and texts.

Stylistics' relationship with corpus linguistics has been an emerging field in its own right. Dan McIntyre and Brian Walker's textbook *Corpus Stylistics: Theory and Practice* addresses issues surrounding corpus stylistics' development as an analytical method, as well as settling on its definition independent of the notion of corpus linguistics. The authors provide evidence that corpus stylistics is understood as being concerned with recurring linguistic patterns in large databases, which inform linguistic behaviour in general. The first two chapters clarify corpus stylistics' purpose as an analytical method, and how it does not simply label linguistic features but foregrounds the effect of these using the stylistic tools available. Chapter 3 provides insight into how a corpus is constructed,

particularly concerning the process of selecting a sample and interrogating the texts through the patterns highlighted. Chapter 4 explores the relationship between 'corpus-based' and 'corpus-driven' analysis: 'corpus-based' is to focus on the text itself to lead the investigation, while 'corpus-driven' explores the developing research questions from what is discovered in texts. Chapter 5 provides instances of how to utilize quantitative methods, such as statistics, in order to justify the selection of texts and how to manage the size of the data to be analysed. The second half of the book consists of a selection of chapters which shift from the focus on the methodological aspect of corpus stylistics to applying the method to particular areas of stylistics. In chapter 6, McIntyre and Walker discuss corpus stylistics and characterization, particularly how readers understand characters, and how these perceptions are linguistically constructed. The authors discuss the necessity to be cautious in placing importance on high-frequency linguistic items since those that occur at a low frequency still require further examination in how readers build a schema of reading experiences. Chapter 7 explores the position of corpus stylistics as a pedagogical tool, mainly in L2 English teaching. The focus is on how stylistics enables a data-driven analysis, by helping students derive meaning and explore the literary devices as well as deviation of linguistic choices highlighted. Chapter 8 looks at stylistics and historical corpora, mainly how linguistic items and their effects have evolved diachronically, providing an opportunity to extend the analysis to texts from different periods and sociohistorical contexts. Chapter 9 provides a practical option of using corpus stylistics to real world scenarios. The case study provided involves an analysis of the Green Party's policy materials, identifying patterns such as the use of modality, with this communication between authors and participant group encouraging participants to reflect on their language use to ensure future reading material is accessible to the target audience. Chapter 10 argues for an integration of corpus stylistics in mainstream linguistics because of the practicality of using the method to analyse a range of texts and mediums.

Corpus stylistics has been an emerging and popular methodology applied to explore literary and non-literary texts; this is further developed by Michaela Mahlberg, Viola Wiegand, Peter Stockwell, and Anthony Hennessey in 'Speech-Bundles in the 19th-Century English Novel', also called fictional speech (*L&L* 28[2019] 326–53). The methodology shifts the focus to characters' 'habitual behaviour' (p. 330), which is understood through patterns of fictional speech. These patterns are compared to real speech, illustrating how speech bundles create authenticity in literature. The centralization of language in unveiling a writer's style is also explored by Imikan Nkopuruk in his converted master's thesis *The Device of Graphology in Joe Ushies Poetry: Stylistic and Pedagogical Implications*. Chapter 1 contextualizes the hybridity of stylistics within literature, psychology, and history, and its extension to analysing non-literary texts in addition to fictional texts. Nkopuruk states how the use of deviation occurs when rules are consciously flouted for a literary effect, and these can happen at different levels of syntax, grammar lexis, semantics, and graphology. Chapter 2 moves on to provide a historical overview of stylistics and a comprehensive outline of its sub-categories. In addition, Nkopuruk provides a rationale for the relationship between stylistics and graphology by stating how the latter represents language in the form of punctuation, typography, and layout. The research methodology is

explained in chapter 3, including the selection of poems from six poetry collections which will be the centre of analysis. Chapter 4 provides a detailed analysis of the poems, showing how graphology is used to depict the author's perspective on the sociocultural context, i.e. Nigeria's political situation. Nkopuruk discusses the use of pictography for instance, in Ushie's poem 'Volcano' to highlight how the stanzas are structured in the form of a hill to illustrate the oppression and growing indifference resulting from the divisions between the country's elite and masses. In the final chapter 5, Nkopuruk provides further recommendations concerning the issues discussed in the thesis.

Communication between author and readers has become an integral focus for current research within the field of stylistics, particularly in examining how the reading process plays out. In her book *Referring Expressions, Pragmatics, and Style: Reference and Beyond*, Kate Scott discusses the integral role pragmatics plays in helping readers and hearers understand references in a range of literary and non-literary texts. The first three chapters explain the centralization of language use in everyday interactions in order to understand how speakers use references to communicate perspectives 'beyond reference' (p. 3), and explore the reasoning behind speakers choosing one expression over another in particular contexts. In chapter 4, the use of determiners is further explored in relation to stylistic effects, particularly how definite and indefinite articles are interpreted by hearers and speakers to make a proposition relevant to them. However, to an extent determiners control the manner in which they are understood, for instance in prompting readers to view scenarios from the narrator's perspective. As a result, there is less opportunity for readers to form hypotheses and they have to rely on the discourse; therefore references become 'discourse dependent' (p. 139). This power tussle between references and readers/hearers continues to be examined in chapter 5, which focuses on the use of pronouns. Scott compares the use of standard and non-standard pronouns and how they depict different attitudes and emotions towards referents. Chapter 6 questions how insights into perspectives are influenced by the discourse itself, particularly highlighting the use of null subjects or unarticulated determiners. Chapter 7 is the final section which provides insight into the different ways in which proximal and distal demonstratives can be used.

Reader response is explored in relation to the notion of ethics by Louise Nuttall in '"Real" Mind Style and Authenticity Effects in Fiction: Represented Experiences of War in *Atonement*' (*Style* 53[2019] 215–35), where she looks at the level of accuracy in narratives detailing traumatic experiences in the Second World War. Nuttall uses a cognitive stylistic approach to reveal how readers construe the text world through a soldier's 'experiential construal' (p. 221). She extends the examination of construal in order to understand the role of transitivity in presenting world-views in 'Transitivity, Agency, Mind Style: What's the Lowest Common Denominator?' (*L&L* 28[2019] 159–79). Presenting a critical cognitive stylistic analysis of Joseph Conrad's *The Secret Agent* in combination with online reader responses to Conrad's text, as well as Ernest Hemingway's *Big Two-Hearted River Part 1*, Nuttall discusses low-level interpretative effects in terms of how, for instance, agency is construed. Lorenzo Mastropieroo and Kathy Conklin also present 'A Reader Response Analysis' in 'Racism and Dehumanization in *Heart of Darkness* and its Italian Translations' (*L&L*

28[2019] 309–25). The novella is presented in two Italian translations, one removing racial slurs towards Africans and the other retaining them. The online questionnaire revealed that readers saw the first translation with the removed slurs as less dehumanizing and racist than the second version which included the derogatory remarks, revealing how the translated versions manipulated readers' perceptions of racism. Charles Denoche's article 'Employing Cognitive Metonymy Theory in the Analysis of Semantic Relations between Source and Target Text in Translation' (*MSW* 9[2019] 177–98) presents an alternative way to think and frame relations between source and target domains by using metonymic studies. Denoche uses two case studies featuring students' translations between Italian and English to argue that with better conceptual links between a term and its synonym, there will be better cohesiveness in the meaning conveyed during the translation process.

The notion of how readers experience the text world is aptly explored by Benedict Neurohr and Lizzie Stewart-Shaw in *Experiencing Fictional Worlds*. The edited volume comprises linguists and stylisticians exploring the theme of reader response, impressions, and experience, as Neurohr and Shaw outline in their introductory chapter (pp. 1–12). Chapter 2 opens Part I, which comprises sections exploring TWT and the cognitive tracing of readers' perceptions of literature. Here, Peter Stockwell's chapter 'Immersion and Emergence in Children's Literature' (pp. 15–32) explores the notion of immersion in Edith Nesbit's *The Railway Children*, particularly the concept of 'mind-casting' in TWT, where young readers toggle between text-worlds and different viewpoints due to shifts in deictic expressions. Benedict Neurohr provides a 'reader-drivenness' approach in 'A Predictive Coding Approach to Text World Theory' (pp. 33–52) to analyse Brandon Sanderson's *Words of Radiance*. Neurohr traces tensions between the application of the two models, arguing text-worlds cannot be set out before a reader has reached the 'entry point' (p. 49) to understand who is speaking. Predictive coding, as a result, provides a different order of reading, by analysing reading in real time. In chapter 4, 'World-Building as Cognitive Feedback Loop' (pp. 53–72), Ernestine Lahey follows Troscianko's [2017] notion of the reciprocity between the mind and body to exemplify the feedback loop between discourse-world and text-world in her analysis of Sheldon Currie's *The Glace Bay Miner's Museum*. The chapter focuses upon the deixis reorientation that occurs when readers become participant-enactors by being immersed in the text-world during the reading experience. Part II consists of three chapters centralizing the formation of worlds, starting with Lizzie Stewart-Shaw's chapter 5, 'Experiencing Horrible Worlds' (pp. 75–95), which provides a TWT account of how conceptual movement occurs in Stephen King's novel *It*, and how the uncomfortable reading experience in turn influences the reader's emotional experience of the text. Natalia Igl's chapter 6, 'Framing the Narrative: The "Fictive Publisher"' (pp. 97–117), explores the role in creating proximity between reader and text. Igl completes a cognitive linguistic and narratological analysis, investigating the construction of frames in Adelbert von Chamisso's novella *Peter Schlemihls wundersame Geschichte* [1814]. Agnes Marszalek, using a cognitive stylistics and psychological approach, discusses reader response in Nick Hornby's *High Fidelity* and Helen Fielding's *Bridget Jones's Diary* ('Constructing Inferiority through Comic Characterization: Self-Deprecating

Humour and Cringe Comedy', pp. 119–34). She explores how readers draw on 'social schemata', knowledge about people, to conceptualize the stylistic techniques applied in the novels, such as self-deprecating humour foregrounding the characters' physical appearance, resulting in empathy developing between reader and protagonists. In the first chapter of Part III, which provides studies exploring the fictional world within various reading contexts, Jessica Norledge provides a TWT analysis in 'Immersive Reading and the Unnatural Text-Worlds of "*Dead Fish*"' (pp. 157–75). Norledge traces how participants discuss their conceptualization of the five distinct text-worlds in the novel to understand the defamiliarized fictional world. In the second chapter, 'Experiencing Literature in the Poetry Classroom' (pp. 177–97), Marcello Giovanelli explores how students develop individual responses when studying Gillian Clarke's poem 'Cold Knap Lake'. Using TWT as an analytical framework to understand 'interthinking' (Karen Littleton and Neil Mercer [2013]) within the classroom space, Giovanelli argues that students use 'divergent resourcing' to share subjective, critical readings and form connections with other first-time readers, shifting away from teacher-led interpretations. Sarah Jackson, finally, sheds light on an underrepresented reading group, pre-adult readers, in 'Sharing Fiction: A Text-World Approach to Storytime' (pp. 199–217). This ethnographic study includes extracts from storytime interactions between children and parents during the home-based reading activity of picture-books. Jackson discusses how children construct text-worlds within their own minds, leading to discussions with parents in relation to what has been narrated aloud with reference to images foregrounded, which represent the narrated text for them. The 'Afterword' (pp. 219–23) by Joanna Gavins provides an insight into the ground-breaking and innovative work covered in this edited volume, by extending the 'text-as-world' metaphor further into fields of, for instance, neuroscience fiction and classroom context.

Reader response is recontextualized by Ian Cushing and Marcello Giovanelli in 'Integrating Language and Literature: A Text World Theory Approach' (*JLE* 2[2019] 199–222). The authors use TWT as a pedagogical tool to study language and literature together in the secondary English classroom. They use two case studies to illustrate how student engagement is centralized to track how they construct the text worlds triggered by the linguistic content. Marcello Giovanelli's article 'The Language of Siegfried Sassoon's 1916 Poems: Some Emerging Stylistic Traits' (*SJ* 36[2019] 22–8) discusses the role of reader response in understanding the evolving style of Siegfried Sassoon and his depiction of his experience of the First World War. Giovanelli's analysis of Sassoon's texts from pre- and post-1916 provides insight into how the poet's style alters from 'sentiment to experience', and identifies emerging linguistic features such as the use of language of proximity, which positions readers in the midst of the unfolding events in real time. Ian Cushing also discusses the usage of metaphors to gain insight into teachers' conceptualizations of grammar, grammar teaching, and the English subject, the first study of its kind, in 'Resources Not Rulebooks: Metaphors for Grammar in Teachers' Metalinguistic Discourse' (*MSW* 9[2019] 155–76). Using CMT within an educational context, Cushing illustrates how teachers used metaphors mapping grammar and grammar teaching negatively in dominant source domains such as rulebook, construction, and compartmentalizing the subject. Ian Cushing also provides a cognitive stylistic pedagogical approach

to the 'classical' reader response in 'A Textured and Sensory Grammar for the Experience of Reading' (*EiE* 54[2019] 131–45), an innovative study which draws on the stylistic notion of 'texture' (Stockwell [2009], pp. 20–30), to facilitate classroom discourse and practice in order to explore how thoughts, feelings, and the experience of building a text-world are conveyed through textual attractors. Siegfried Sassoon's 'The Rear-Guard' is used in the study to exemplify how linguistic features draw readers' attention to support them in navigating through the fictional world.

Joachim Peters, Natalie Dykes, Mechthild Habermann, Christoph Ostaghe, and Maria Heckel discuss 'Metaphors in German Newspaper Articles on Multidrug-Resistant Bacteria in Clinical Contexts, 1995–2015' (*MSW* 9[2019] 221–41) in connection with the influence of news media in communicating to the public their role in controlling pathogens. The authors explore the newspaper corpus for metaphors categorized in the source domains of war, machine, sports, and crime. The use of these metaphors is examined to encourage knowledge transfer about concerns regarding infectious diseases, an awareness of societal power, and active agency in individuals,

Jennifer Harding's *Similes, Puns, and Counterfactuals in Literary Narratives* foregrounds the status of each device in figurative language use. Harding outlines in her introduction how similes contribute to literary narratives, the impact of puns on our mental processing of texts, and the consideration of counterfactuals as figures of speech. Chapter 2 is dedicated to similes, particularly looking at three categories: 'scalar', where target and source domain are at the same level; 'approximating', where there is explicit signposting of the source domain, in the form of 'as if' or 'as though'; and 'conjured', where the target is 'like' but not equivalent to the source domain. In each case, Harding discusses the role of similes as focalizers and illustrates this in an analysis of John Updike's *Transaction* in chapter 3. Chapter 4 shifts the exploration to puns, where the relationship between this figurative device and prosodic features in making readers or hearers aware of puns used is discussed, as well as the influence upon literary narratives in providing further insight into characterization. Chapter 5 examines the use of puns in Bret Harte's *The Luck of Roaring Camp*, which depicts the protagonist's relationship with the land. Chapter 6 moves on to counterfactuals and frames this discussion through a cognitive lens by explaining how hypothetical scenarios are conceptualized, with chapter 7 looking at how counterfactuals are represented in dialogue in Ernest Hemingway's *The Snows of Kilimanjaro*. The conclusion, chapter 8, recaps on the achievement of the book, providing a cognitive account to discuss literature, language, and narrative together.

Andrea Macrae's *Discourse Deixis in Metafiction: The Language of Metanarration, Metalepsis, and Disnarration* begins with chapter 1 providing a definition of 'Metafiction' and its role in breaking the fourth wall. Macrae explains metafiction as illustrated in the form of metaphor, and introduces 'meta-narration', which provides insight into the role of the narrative construction of the storyworld and characters' rebellion against the narrative structure. Chapter 2 discusses discourse deixis in literature where language points to aspects of discourse context. Macrae explains the type of deixis and explains the notion of speakers' displacement from the actual deictic centre, due to continual movement within the storyworld, and the creation of sub-worlds in the text which in turn

manipulate readers' literary experience. Chapter 3 explores how communication is conveyed in meta-narration, such as the development of plot observed during the reading experience. Here, Macrae acknowledges the composition of narratives in the form of an imaginative construction of the text world by readers and the 'creative writing process'. Yet these narrative roles overlap when Macrae discusses the role of the narrator as the 'pseudo-author', who interacts in the construction of texts in the fictional world. This is further explored in chapter 4, where Macrae explains the structure of fiction through, for example, the 'metaleptic awareness' of characters being conscious that they are characters in texts. Chapter 5 examines the notion of metaleptic collapse in the form of disnarration, where literary negation is foregrounded to indicate when a storyworld is disnarrated and an 'alternarration' is offered, a different version of events. Chapter 6, the conclusion, provides a summary of the value Macrae's text offers in understanding unnatural storyworlds through a cognitive stylistic lens.

In the introduction to her edited text *Translation and Style: Translation Theories Explained*, Jean Boase-Beier defines the integral role style plays in understanding how we construct and interpret texts. Chapter 1 outlines the book's aims in focusing upon the style of the source text and the target text during the translation process, to gain insight into the way authorial choices affect reading experiences. Chapter 2 explains the different positions held in reading translated texts, for instance in 'reading for translation'. Boase-Beier explains how using a reader-response approach helps to understand the translator-as-reader role, which is both constrained by the text but is also active in constructing meaning from texts. Chapter 3 examines translation choices in terms of what knowledge is required about the text to obtain the intended meaning, perceiving the translation process as a creative documentary, which gives a glimpse of the world-view influenced by the original text. Chapter 4 moves on to discuss the link between translation and cognitive stylistics, based on the focus of the mind and how the translation process is understood. In particular, Boase-Beier explains how the reading experience involves comprehending how mental states, emotions, and thoughts are recreated in translation. Chapter 5 combines the theory and practice of translation, such as how readers reconstruct what a translator has done, for example reflecting on protagonists' cognitive states.

Christiana Gregoriou's *Crime, Fiction, and Migration: Crossing Languages, Cultures, and Media* provides a cognitive stylistic account to explore crime fiction. The author also defines migration in fiction as consisting of an interaction between the language, media, and cultural crossings which take place in the production of texts, through the processes of translation, adaptation, and the remaking of texts. Chapter 2 explores such migration between media, such as the novel and television. Gregoriou illustrates this interaction in her analysis of *Forbrydelsen* and *The Killing*, where she critically compares the way the novel and television drama depict the narrative, for instance how the novel foregrounds the characters' voices to gain insight into their thoughts, emotions, and experiences, thus filling the narrative gaps identified in the television series. Chapter 3 explores 'cultural migration', where Gregoriou examines the English translation of Greek crime fiction, in other words, the 'Britishizing' of a Greek novel. In the course of the chapter, the author explains the film adaptation where the fourth wall boundary is broken between fictional world and real life, for instance when

the protagonist turns to the camera to acknowledge the viewing audience, a meta-filmic element. Gregoriou also discusses how such direct participation by the audience can challenge their ethical position by being made to be part of the scene of witnessing a killing taking place on screen. In the final chapter, Gregoriou explains how the manipulation of readers takes place through the adaptations extensively discussed in her text, which change the way ideological and cultural transitions are conveyed.

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