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## **Globe: A Journal of Language, Culture and Communication**

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## **Web-based political interaction: analysis of Ghana's political party websites in general elections**

*Derick Romeo Adogla, University of Ghana, Legon*

**Abstract:** The purpose of this research was to discover the importance of websites as a tool used by political parties in Ghana to engage the public. The study was conducted ahead of two general elections in Ghana – 2012 and 2016. The theoretical framework hinged on Kent and Taylor's (1998) dialogic theory of public relations as well as the two-way symmetrical communication model based on modifications by Grunig (1992). Kent and Taylor (1998) identified four elements based on which the interactivity of websites can be analysed: 'dialogic loop', 'the usefulness of information', 'maintaining visitors', and 'ease of interface'. In addition, the two-way symmetrical communication model, which offers essential elements for effective interactions, is also used. The qualitative study applied content analysis and in-depth interviews for data collection. Six websites were content-analysed in both 2012 and 2016, while six officials of the political parties, who had responsibility over the websites or contributed to their operations, were interviewed only in 2012. The study found that political parties used the websites, first, to disseminate information about their activities and, second, to interact with their supporters and voters. Nonetheless, the majority of the websites had very little or no interactive features. The study concluded that the majority of political parties in Ghana used their website as platforms to merely disseminate information and not to interact with their supporters. Recommendations were made for further studies to be carried out to find out the impact of websites on the campaign activities of political parties as well as the views of users of political party websites and other Internet resources.

**Keywords:** Websites, online campaigns, digital media, interactivity, Internet-based politics.

### **1. Introduction**

Internet-based communication is a vital tool for all forms of campaigns, be they political or otherwise, and political party campaigns are very much a part of all multi-party democracies such as Ghana. It is for this reason that political candidates and voters are increasingly turning to the Internet to transmit and receive information (Williams 2006). Studies that have focused on the developments in Internet resources for the last two decades point to the fact that political discourse on virtual platforms is a convenient means of reaching out to the public sphere. The implications of using such platforms for deliberations have not been fully unravelled in young democracies with limited access to Internet resources; hence the need to study the phenomenon, especially, in 'democratising' nations, where digital media are providing many with the first real opportunities citizens have had for political deliberation in many cases (Mutz 2008).

The Federal Networking Council (cited in Wood and Smith 2001: 32) states that the Internet can be defined by how it "...allows for public and private communication." The United States' Defense Department created an experimental network called the Advanced Research Projects Agency network (ARPAnet) in the 1960s to advance a new generation of computer interconnections and data sharing. The ARPAnet subsequently became very popular among research and educational institutions and was used for sending and receiving data from various points.

As organisations position themselves to take advantage of the opportunities that the Internet brings, political parties are seemingly taking advantage of it to outwit each other. Gibson and Ward (2000) contend that political parties are keen to leverage the Internet to build and enhance their network of grassroots activists. In the US, studies show that there is a growing preference for performing political activities online and that news, in particular, is well received through email (Bennett 2008).

According to Hendricks and Denton (2010), former US President, Bill Clinton's campaign in 1992 was the first to extensively use the Internet, although it was limited to email and LISTSERV

distribution of information. Later in 1994, political parties started using websites during the US congressional elections. Some of the candidates in that election, according to Gibson and Ward (2000), created websites (a phenomenon which was popular among businesses at the time) to project their campaigns. Norris (2001) asserts that, as of the middle of 2000, there were about 1,250 parties from 179 countries on the Internet. This meant that many more political parties had taken advantage of the website for communication purposes as opposed to what had applied at its inception. In North America and Europe, there were over eighty parties which had created websites within the same period. Thus, by the end of 2000, it was becoming quite unusual for a party not to have a web presence (Davis 1999).

For instance, according to Bimber and Copeland (2013) in the 2008 and 2012 elections in the US, digital media created hitherto unknown avenues for engaging audiences using the tenets of interactivity to exchange virtual messages with them. Globally, the adoption of Internet-based digital platforms for achieving communication goals is still changing rapidly due to the advancement in technology and approaches to political campaigns. In the United Kingdom, researchers opine that websites can improve poor communication between political parties and users but this can only be effective if the websites are given the necessary attention by the political parties (Webcredible 2010).

### *1.1 Ghana's political parties and the Internet*

Prior to the promulgation of Ghana's 1992 Republican Constitution, the military junta under the leadership of Flt. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings had placed a permanent ban on political party activities across the country, while also clamping down on private media (Ninsin 1993). But after several agitations by citizens, the government returned the country to a multi-party democratic system with the 1992 Republican Constitution. The constitution ushered Ghana into an era of constitutional multi-party democracy, coupled with the liberalisation of the airwaves. From 1992, about thirty political parties have been formed to contest in both parliamentary and presidential elections ([www.ec.gov.gh](http://www.ec.gov.gh)).

Africans generally make use of mobile phones for a range of activities including social networking as well as interacting with their governments (Murray 2012). This function of mobile technology enables the literate to access Internet resources such as websites, online portals and social networking sites. Also, users on the African continent are more likely to be presented with various forms of political information through adverts, releases and posts due to the peculiarities of Internet infrastructure and accessibility constraints (Osiakwan and Zuckerman 2007).

Despite the advent of internet-enabled mobile telephony, electronic and print media continue to be major communication outlets used by the political parties in Ghana to disseminate messages but, more and more, candidates and political groups are realising the importance of the Internet in their quest to win political power by bridging the communication gap between the public and the party's ideals (Ward & Gibson 2008).

Three decades ago, Coxall (1980: 37) argued that: "parties aggregate a vast range of disparate ideas and interests into a cohesive set of political demands; they provide direction and order to government..." The cohesive set of political demands are put together into cogent messages to attract supporters. Norris (2001) supported this view by positing that new media platforms such as websites and social media have further given political parties an additional avenue for sharing information with their support base, interacting with the public. While the majority of Ghana's political groupings remain conservative in their interactions with the public, due to fear that they may lose control of messages to the wider public, there is growing demand among young adults for a progressive change that incorporates more participatory communication tenets in political organisations (Stromer-Galley 2000). This type of demand from young voters was a prevalent feature in the 2004 and 2008 Ghanaian elections.

Rommele (2003) explains that the political party's role in the political process hinges on

communication, which he divides into three key activities: opinion formation, interest mediation, and organisation. A critical aspect of a political party's operation is its communication functions. In order to adequately organise its followers and sympathisers, a political party must allow members or followers to make input into their activities. These opinions may be varied and must therefore be managed in order not to create discord. In other words, parties are a vital medium of communication between the electorate and political leaders (Taylor and Kent 2004).

Gibson and Ward (2000: 5) stated that: "Arrival of the Internet and other new ICT's in the mid-1990s appeared to offer parties a range of new communication possibilities at just the right time". In addition, the manner in which political parties interact with voters has changed, with diminishing focus on traditional mass media. Rommele (2003), in a study on party communication with new ICT resources in the US, identified a phenomenon known as 'vote maximization' as a primary goal of any political party. Rommele averred that the process of maximising votes is characterised by a horizontal approach to communication, which includes the use of the Internet. Advocates of Internet-based communication hold the view that the Internet could provide new forms of horizontal communication with the capacity, among others, to:

- broaden the range of pluralistic voices heard in the public sphere.
- facilitate new forms of interactivity and deliberation.
- widen the pool of political participants.

Over the past decade and a half, web communication in Ghana has transformed into a platform for citizen journalism and advocacy campaigns, on the one hand, as well as becoming a negative tool for manipulating political elections and fake news, on the other hand, as is the case in the United States and other developed democracies. It remains to be seen whether the negative impact of Internet-enabled communication is symptomatic only of developed democratic society or all open societies. Schneider & Foot (2006) contend that political parties that use the Internet for electioneering are more likely to inform than embrace interaction. Lilleker & Jackson (2011) disagree and argue that political groups are more inclined to share information about their activities with the public, and show little interest in an interactive process.

Chadwick (2012) noted that websites will boost aspects of political interactivity if utilised with a defined strategy. The Internet is expected to be the platform that bridges the gap between individuals who require information for decision-making and the sources of such information. Lilleker and Jackson (2011) had previously made this point by stating that the Internet will regenerate conversations and interpersonal networking, which are essential in political communication.

### *1.2 Problem statement*

There is ample mass media research showing how the Internet has helped political groups around the world to organise their members around activities in a bid to win elections. These studies have, however, concentrated mainly on developed countries and the use of Internet resources. Even though there is research on how Ghanaians use the Internet and the related characteristics, there is very little, or no, research on how political parties use websites and their rationale for using it. In today's fast-paced digital environment, a political party is bound to reach a wide audience online with messages that support their campaigns. Even though traditional media outlets remain useful in the electioneering process, studies have shown that they have lost some ground to the digital media space. A thorough study of the use of websites by political parties in Ghana will be useful to unravel the rationale behind their use and the peculiar challenges encountered. This can provide greater insight into the nuances of political communication on the continent and the role of new media in bridging the information gap between politicians and citizens in Africa.

### *1.3 Research objective*

The study sought to establish the role played by political party websites in presidential elections in Ghana.

#### 1.3.1 Sub-objectives

1. Examine the core functions of political party websites in Ghana.
2. Establish whether the concept of interactivity is a key reason for a website's establishment.
3. In what respect do audiences participate in political discourse via websites?

### *1.4 Research questions*

1. To what extent do political parties' websites in Ghana have dialogic features?
2. To what extent do political parties utilise interactive features to communicate with their members, sympathisers and voters?
3. What ways do political parties incorporate the views and contributions of their website visitors into their campaigns?
4. How do political parties in Ghana differ in their use of websites for political campaigns?

## **2. Literature review**

Several research works have been undertaken to explore organisations' uses of websites for the purpose of public relations. For the purposes of this study, related research materials reviewed have focused primarily on the use of websites by political parties. The literature reviewed for the study focused on how websites reflected the dialogic features propounded by Kent and Taylor (1998), and served the anticipated needs of users. Other studies explored the user-friendly capabilities of political parties' or candidates' websites. It is critical to note, due to the scanty research on this area in Ghana, that most of the literature is based on studies from Europe and the United States of America.

Bimber et al. (2015: 22) studied political interest as an important moderator of the relationship between the use of Internet resources and traditional forms of political participation. The study examined British election studies data from 2001, 2005, and 2010 and found that "digital media use is positively and consistently associated with political talk for those lower in political interest".

In a study, Marcinowski et al. (2014: 152) found that individual attitudes and subjective assessments of the value of the Internet in a state-level German election was an important aspect of the public elections' process. Applying the Theory of Planned Behaviour, the study examined patterns of web campaign activity among candidates in the election. The findings revealed that there is a "...large discrepancy between the intention to use web campaigning and actual adoption" by users.

Bakker and Vreese (2011: 1) tested the relationships between use of newspaper, television, and Internet as well as offline and online forms of political participation. A national survey conducted with a sample size of 2,409, among participants aged 16 to 21, revealed that a variety of Internet uses have a positive correlation with different forms of political participation. Even though the relationship between most uses of traditional media and participation was weak, there was nonetheless a positive relationship. The study further affirmed how a wider and "...more contemporary conception of political participation, together with more detailed measures of media use" can provide greater insight into roles that the media can play in affecting participatory behaviour among the Internet generation.

Meanwhile, Mudhai et al. (2009) argued that while the use of Internet resources by key political parties and presidential candidates has intensified in recent Kenyan presidential elections, the controversial December 2007 poll laid bare the limits of technology's role in democracy. While the web may have some potential to help monitor and mobilise political activity and possibly encourage political engagement, it may also reinforce the positions of those in power due not only to their

limitations but also to the ability of human agents to manipulate online content to suit their interests.

Hooghe and Teepe (2007) analysed the log files of 2003 and 2004 Belgian non-partisan party profile websites (PPWs). The analysis revealed that PPW users were usually highly educated young males. It was however inconclusive on the party and policy preferences of users who visit the websites on the day before the elections, or those who use the websites up to forty days before the elections. It found that users respond to policy questions on interactive websites and their answers are used to calculate the distance between their own preferences and party agendas.

Pirannejad (2011) conducted a study on the impact of ICT on political development in Iran. The study investigated how political communication has changed to meet the specific needs of modern society. According to the researcher, improving political information and people's awareness, as well as conscientising people for effective political engagement and participation are all made easier with Internet resources in advanced societies within developing states.

Employing grounded theory and narrative inquiry, the study used a qualitative approach to collect and analyse the data. The study concluded that the Internet and political party websites have played a significant role in empowering citizens and those politically active in society. The majority of respondents were of the view that Internet resources such as websites were very useful in the political space. Conversely, the political discourse takes a nosedive on such platforms once the elections are over.

A study by Gibson et al. (2003) tested assorted variables pertaining to political party websites in the developed world. The study was conducted in the United States of America (a presidential democracy) and the United Kingdom (a parliamentary democracy). The study investigated two central questions: (1) Do ideologically divergent parties differ in terms of how they use the web as a campaign tool? and (2) Does the web promote a more balanced or equalised exposure for party messages than other media? The researchers used interactivity as the conceptual framework for the study. A combination of data collected from administered questionnaires, content analysis of sites and other online media coverage of the election were used to investigate the research questions. The study found that high volumes, and speed of transmission of the information, could provide a more substantive basis for campaigning than other forms of media.

Additionally, the interactive components of technology in the form of chat-rooms and emails enabled voter participation. The parties could utilise the two-way communication possibilities to gather immediate feedback on their policies. There was also a difference in the use of websites between the two countries. For example, while online fundraising has become prominent in the USA, it was less developed in the UK. The functions on the websites were grouped thematically into:

- Information Provision (how much information is on the site and how useful the information is).
- Resource Generation (whether the site is used to generate funds and to mobilise resources for the party).
- Participation (sending and receiving emails together with other feedback and interaction).

Norris (2003) suggested that party websites play a distinctive role in two respects:

- Party websites function as a pluralistic civic forum by facilitating the voice of oppositional challengers and increasing the visibility of minor and fringe parties, so that attentive citizens can learn more about the variety of electoral choices; and
- Party websites function as a channel for political participation by facilitating interactive links between citizens and parties.



The study, described as a “supply (the websites)” and “demand (uses by the party)”, focused on the relationship between website information providers and the preferences of users. Norris (2003) stated that, compared to traditional mediated channels, substantial evidence is presented that party websites play a distinctive role in the process of political communications.

## 2.1 Theoretical framework

### 2.1.1 Two-way symmetrical model

Scholars such as Guth and Marsh (2000) and Cutlip et al. (2006) have stated that quite a number of organisations practise the two-way symmetrical models in public relations practice, as proposed by Grunig and Hunt (1984) and modified by Grunig (1992). In this study, the two-way symmetrical model formed the theoretical framework on which the study was designed. The two-way communication process was an adaptation of Lee Thayer’s concept of ‘diachronic communication’, propounded in 1968. Lee Thayer explained diachronic communication as the process of discussing “...a state of affairs that benefits both the organisation and the public” (Grunig 1992: 287). Two-way symmetrical communication provides organisations and public relations practitioners with a way of describing and explaining how and why contemporary public relations are practised as they are.

According to Grunig (1992), the two-way symmetrical communication model relies heavily on some core factors:

- Reliance on honest and open two-way communication and mutual give-and-take rather than one-way persuasion.
- Focus on mutual respect and efforts to achieve mutual understanding.
- Negotiation and a willingness to adapt and make compromises.
- The need for organisations engaging in public relations to be willing to make significant adjustments in how they operate to accommodate their public.

Websites provide new opportunities for two-way symmetrical communication in public relations. Lee and Park (2010) assert that websites allow organisations to communicate directly with the public, customers and prospects, as well as sharing mutually beneficial information without the constraints of relying solely on traditional media.

While dialogue is encouraged online, the feedback element might be lost if conscious efforts are not made to elicit reactions from the target audience. McQuail and Windahl (1993) state that the two-way symmetrical model depicts a communication relationship where the sender/source and the receiver/public share initiative and power equally. In support of this position, Guth and Marsh (2000: 251) posited that this model “focuses on two-way communications as a means of conflict resolution and the promotion of mutual understanding between an organisation and its important publics”.

### 2.1.2 Dialogic theory of public relations

The theologian, Martin Buber (1958: 93), who defines dialogue as “a relationship between persons that is characterised by the element of inclusion”, is credited with giving life to the dialogic theory. A decade after, Buber (1967:7) explained that there are two types of relationships: “an ‘I-it’ relationship, which is one-way oriented as the name suggests, and an ‘I-thou’ relationship which deals with a two-way process of interaction”.

Buber (1996) later added that the dialogic theory acknowledges the presence of the “other individual” or an event experienced between two persons who have mutual respect for the views of the other. He explained that the basic element underlining the ‘I-thou’ concept of dialogue can be described as a relationship where both parties treat each other with mutual respect and courtesy. The dialogic theory also takes its roots from James Grunig’s two-way symmetrical model which has come

to be accepted as the most ethical way to conduct public relations (Cutlip, Centre & Broom 2006).

Kent and Taylor (2002) also suggest that the concept of dialogue as a public relations theory must be credited to Scott R. Pearson. The concept was further expanded by researchers such as Kent and Taylor (1998, 2002), McAllister-Spooner and Taylor (2008) and others. Park and Reber (2008: 409) indicate that “using technology itself does not contribute to building and maintaining good relationships between organisations and their publics.” Rather, how the technology is used with an understanding of how the dialogic process works will make it more useful to the audience.

Prior to this, Kent and Taylor (1998) had provided four frameworks which can be used to assess the effectiveness of a website. They are the ‘dialogic loop’, ‘the usefulness of information’, ‘maintaining visitors’, and ‘ease of interface’.

1. **The dialogic loop:** An important benefit of websites is that they allow feedback. Kent and Taylor (1998) expound that the use of emails and comment boxes are essential for dialogic communication to be effective.
2. **The usefulness of information:** Kent and Taylor (1998) explain that the ‘usefulness of information’ examines how information is used on websites.
3. **Maintaining your visitors/generation of return visits:** This refers to features that encourage repeated visits to create a captive audience. Kent and Taylor (1998: 326) posit that organisations that often updated their websites appear “credible and suggest that the organisation is responsible”.
4. **Ease of interface:** Ease of interface refers to how easily accessible information contained on the website is. Websites need to offer easily accessible information that contains information that would be valued by site visitors.

## 2.2 Research design

The study was based principally on a qualitative content analysis of political party websites and in-depth interviews with officials of six political parties who have direct responsibility over the websites. The study was conducted during two general elections in Ghana – 2012 and 2016. There was an initial major data collection from 1 August to 5 December 2012 that sought to answer all the research questions presented in the study. This was followed by a limited scope of data collection from 1 to 30 November 2016. Information on the websites was content-analysed and measured using Kent and Taylor’s (1998) indicators to measure the dialogic capabilities of a website, which have been detailed in the theoretical framework:

1. Ease of Interface
2. Usefulness of Information
3. Maintaining Visitors
4. Dialogic Loop.

A qualitative study of this kind requires that codes are defined adequately to reduce the risk of deviation and incongruent data collection (Babbie 2009; Hsieh and Shannon 2005). To ensure the same measuring tool to analyse the time it takes for each website to load, the researcher selected the Vodafone Internet Café located in Osu, Ghana, which has a bandwidth of at least 1 megabyte per second (1mb/s). A user can download a 700-megabyte file in twenty-five minutes. This, therefore, makes the Internet speed faster than the average broadband Internet service in the capital of Ghana, which has an average download speed of 389 kb/s (Testmy.net, n.d.).

This study also used a semi-structured interview guide to conduct an in-depth interview in the English language. Even though the population of thirteen active political parties registered by Ghana’s Electoral Commission, as of June 2012, had some form of Internet presence (websites,

Facebook and Twitter pages), only six (6) had websites. For the purposes of this study, the unit of analysis is the website; hence the selection of the six political party websites as the sample.

### 2.2.1 Sample

Since the research was focused on the websites of political parties in Ghana, all the political parties with websites formed the sample for the study. The sample size was therefore six. In selecting the sample, the purposive sampling technique was used to select the political parties and their websites because they formed the basis for the research. There was a need to interview individuals who had ample knowledge on the set up and use of the website for their respective parties. Six websites belonging to political parties that were analysed in both 2012 and 2016 were:

1. National Democratic Congress (NDC) – <http://www.ndc.org.gh>
2. New Patriotic Party (NPP) – <http://www.thenewpatrioticparty.org/>
3. Progressive People’s Party (PPP) – <http://www.pppghana.org>
4. Convention People’s Party (CPP) – <http://www.conventionpeoplesparty.org>
5. Great Consolidated Popular Party (GCPP) – <http://greatconsolidatedpopularparty.org>
6. People’s National Convention (PNC) – <http://www.hassanayariga.com>

In addition, officials responsible for communications and public affairs were interviewed in 2012. They were selected based on their roles as spokespersons of the parties and managers of their communication platforms. The following officials were therefore interviewed in 2012:

1. Deputy Communications Director of the NPP
2. Propaganda Secretary of the NDC
3. National Secretary of the PPP
4. Deputy Communications Director of the CPP
5. National Executive Member of the PNC
6. Flagbearer of the GCPP.

### 3. Findings and discussion

The study set out to establish the role of websites – critical or negligible – in Ghana’s presidential elections in 2012 and 2016. Aside the main objective of the research, the study also sought to:

- Examine the core functions of political party websites in Ghana.
- Establish whether the concept of interactivity is a key reason for its establishment.
- In what respect do audiences participate in political discourse via the websites?

The findings from the data collected have been analysed and grouped under the four principles from Kent and Taylor’s (1998) dialogic principle for relationship-building.

1. Ease of interface
2. Usefulness of information
3. Maintaining visitors
4. Dialogic loop.

The afore-stated principles were used as the codes, based on which the contents of the websites were examined. The responses from the in-depth interview were also analysed based on the codes.

### 3.1 Ease of interface

This refers to the ease with which a visitor peruses a site and how easy it is for the user to access information. The principle of Ease of Interface was assessed with the following indicators:

- Availability of site maps on homepages.
- Easy identification of site maps on homepages.
- The incorporation of search engines on homepages to help site visitors search for information on the website.
- Easy identification of major links to the rest of the sites on the homepages.

The findings from 2012 revealed that none of the six websites had site maps on their homepages. The websites however had clearly marked sections that made it possible for a new user to locate specific information. In November 2016, the situation had changed markedly. Five out of the six websites had sitemaps and very visible menus to guide users. According to Thelwall (2009), a site map is essential because it provides people with the exact location where they can find specific information they need. Thelwall (2009: 23) defines a site map as a “visually or textually organized template of a website’s content that allows the users to surf through the site to find the information they are looking for”.

In 2012, the websites of the NPP and PPP had more advanced menus on the homepage that facilitated the search of information. The NPP official interviewed played a role in the design of the website. He stated:

We already have specific links to the rest of the site, which make it easy to identify what our supporters want. We have not had any complaints about the ease or otherwise of the websites but as a human institution, if we realise that it is a necessity, we will have [to improve the site] for our visitors.

For both periods during which data was collected for the study, all websites contained detailed information on the history of the political parties. These included party profiles, mission and goals as well as information on key figures in the parties, especially the flagbearers of each party. The NPP and the NDC were miles ahead of the others with updated information activities of their parties. Apart from targeting their supporters or potential supporters, these two parties also reached out to the media with kits such as press releases, statements, videos and well-edited pictures. Margolis and Resnick (2000) insisted that political parties using Internet resources must ensure that users have all basic information about the activities of the party in order to establish trust.

In 2012, three of the websites – NDC, NPP and the CPP – had search engines that allowed visitors to search for specific information on the site but, in 2016, only the NDC maintained this capability on the website. The others had no tool that allowed visitors to search for specific information on the page. A search engine is a box on the website’s homepage that allows visitors to search for information on the website by typing a request in the box. The GCPP official interviewed argued that:

The website does not need any other search box. It has been designed in such a way that it can allow users to find whatever they need. Even though it may be essential, it does not affect the effectiveness of the site. What is important is the kind of information I put on the site for Ghanaians who care to visit it.

### 3.2 Usefulness of information

Kent and Taylor (1998) defined this principle as the importance or usefulness of the information provided by the websites. Web users are more inclined to visit sources that can guarantee the quality of the information and to gratify their interests (Bennett, 2008). The indicators for analysing the findings were:

- Presence of updated information
- Availability of downloadable information
- Availability of statements on their philosophy
- News stories posted on the websites within the last 30 days.

In 2012, two of the websites belonging to the NPP and NDC had regular updates on party news or campaign promises. The situation was no different in 2016 even though the PPP had increased the amount of information posted on the site within the period the data was collected. Some of the other political parties, in both periods of data collection, had information about activities that were more than a year old. Explaining how often their website is updated with information, the PPP's official averred that the party puts a higher premium on updating its social media platforms than its website:

Dr. Nduom [the flagbearer of the PPP in both 2012 and 2016] is constantly having a conversation with his supporters on Facebook and twitter. There is something to discuss on Facebook every time so we try to update it... We are constantly engaging Ghanaians. I can say that Dr. Nduom has become the most popular face today because he is everywhere on the Internet every day.

All the political parties had their mission statements and philosophy on the site. Out of six websites, two – NPP and NDC – had posted news stories within seven days of the content analysis. The official of the PNC concurred with the PPP official and explained that one of the reasons why the party does not frequently update its website is because of the advent of social media:

These days, it has become pertinent to rely on Facebook and other forms of social media... We constantly change our information on our Facebook wall.

The NPP, NDC and CPP update their websites at least once a week. Taylor and Kent (2004) attributed the regular use of websites to the updates that engage users on these platforms.

Three websites – NPP, NDC and CPP – allowed visitors to download information from the site. The documents that could be downloaded were in 'pdf' formats and pictures. The video and audio materials could not be downloaded directly because the files were hosted on video streaming sites – YouTube and Vimeo. The video streaming sites, however, allow visitors to download the files using third party software. It was evident from the interviews that the political parties that had download capabilities on the websites wanted visitors to own copies of the documents, which can be used even when Internet access is a challenge. The NPP's official explained:

We encourage our supporters to preach the 'good news' of the party so what happens if your supporter needs certain information on the website and cannot access it because the Internet is down? Internet is critical but it is not always reliable in our part of the world so there is a need to provide information that can be used everywhere.

### 3.3 Maintaining visitors

According to Kent and Taylor (1998), the principle of ‘Maintaining Visitors’ refers to the way organisations incorporate features on their websites to encourage web users to stay put without straying off to other platforms. The indicators used in analysing the above principle were:

- A clear posting of the date and time the site was last updated.
- Appeals to visitors with explicit statements inviting them to return to their sites.
- Inclusion of calendars of events on websites.

The study found that apart from the websites of the NPP and the NDC, the others had neither date nor time-display telling visitors when the site was updated. However, specific news stories and documents on the NDC website had the date they were posted but not the specific time of day when posted. The NPP website, on the other hand, had both the time and date it was posted for every item. Data from 2016 affirmed the evidence from 2012; that the NDC and NPP used this indicator effectively. The study also found that the GCPP, PNC and CPP websites did not put up calendars of upcoming events and activities, while those of the NPP, NDC and the PPP had outdated calendars that only indicated past events.

A prominent feature on the PNC, NDC and NPP websites was the explicit appeals to engage with the party via the website. They had phrases such as “Connect with Hassan” on the PNC site, or the “Stay Connected” button on the NPP website. In 2016, the PPP introduced the button ‘subscribe to our newsletter’. This was an indication of the parties’ need to maintain contact with visitors to the site. The official of the NDC explained that the website uses the button “Contact Us” and its social media integration to maintain contact with visitors:

Social media is now a big thing and so because people hardly visit the websites directly but visit the social media platforms, we have integrated some of our social media platforms – Facebook, Twitter and YouTube – to our website so that when our visitors go there, we can still interact and can also receive updates on these pages without necessarily coming to the websites.

On the assessment of the response time for emails sent to the political parties, the measurement showed that all the websites loaded fully within seven seconds. The PPP website opened faster than any other within two seconds. The process was undertaken five times to get consistent results. With each section, all the websites opened within the time frame. The NDC, NPP, PPP and CPP websites loaded fully within four seconds whereas the GCPP and the PNC websites opened in between five and seven seconds each time. According to Taylor and Kent (2004), one out of two visitors to a website that takes too long to load will move to another within ten seconds after a few tries. The appropriate loading time should therefore be within four seconds. This aspect of the study was not repeated in 2016. Table 1.1 shows the loading time of the websites:

Table 1.1 Time the site takes to load

| <b>PARTY</b> | <b>LOADING TIME</b> |
|--------------|---------------------|
| PPP          | 2 seconds           |
| NPP          | 3 seconds           |
| NDC          | 4 seconds           |
| PNC          | 5 seconds           |
| CPP          | 4 seconds           |
| GCPP         | 7 seconds           |

### 3.4 Dialogic loop

The dialogic loop, according to Kent and Taylor (1998) refers to the extent to which the organisations incorporate interactivity on their websites. Interactivity is one that encourages two-way communication between individuals through an interface. The indicators used in explaining the dialogic loop principle are:

- Opportunity for visitors to send and receive messages from the organisation.
- Option for visitors to fill out surveys identifying priorities and expressing opinions on issues.

All the websites enabled visitors to send enquiries to the website. These enquiries were sent in the form of emails or as comments on news items or posts on documents. While the NPP, NDC, PPP and the CPP allowed visitors both to send emails and comment on their posts, the GCPP and the PNC only allowed comments to be posted directly under each item.

In 2012, an email was sent to each of the parties to assess their response time. The message in the email was as follows:

Hello, what is the party's masterplan on healthcare delivery for the next two years if you win the election?

There was an email option on the GCPP website but when the researcher sent emails to the website, it rebounded with a mail error message. This could mean that the party paid little attention to the emails or, within the period that the study was conducted, the email developed issues. Three of the parties responded to the email in different timeframes.

The same message was resent in 2016 and aside from the NPP and PPP, no party responded to the emails sent. The GCPP official, when interviewed, believed the party had not seen any challenges with their email account and that questions and comments received from visitors to the website via email were responded to, albeit irregularly. Again, the party receives the bulk of its emails from people outside Ghana.

For us, because we are a grassroots party, we are more concerned about the views of the people on the ground who do not have access to the Internet much less the email. But we cannot take the views of our supporters for granted. Every comment matters so apart from the email, if they send comments, we treat them with respect even if it comes from people who have already made up their minds [about the election]. It is also true that we have not streamlined our response rates but we hope to employ some volunteers to monitor such emails and comments.

The study also found that each website that allowed visitors to send emails also demanded personal data from visitors before the email could be sent. This enabled the party to contact the visitors at a later ‘convenient’ date. The NPP had two sections: “Ask a question” and “Get Involved”. In these sections, visitors were required to input their details before sending questions. All the websites also provided their telephone numbers which could be used to contact them for further clarification.

Apart from the NPP and the NDC, which had integrated Facebook, Twitter, Flickr and YouTube into their websites, all the others only had Facebook. According to the official of the NPP, this makes the party one of the most “attractive” and active political parties on social media. The official was of the view that social media, rather than the websites, allow many more people to participate in the activities of the party:

New Media is so powerful in our time, and for the NPP, we are interested in reaching everybody – young or old, employed or unemployed, rich or poor, business people or traders and all manner of persons. There is no other way to be effective today if you do not target your audiences with your ideas.

One essential indicator measured by the researcher is the time frame within which political parties responded to the visitors’ (publics’) enquiries. As discussed earlier, the study showed that all six websites had created an avenue for visitors to send in messages and request responses from the organisation.

Out of the six websites, only five responded to an email sent by the researcher; and out of those that replied, three (NDC, NPP and PPP) responded directly to the enquiry posed by the researcher. The other two (PNC and CPP) were automated reply messages. One of the automated emails read:

Thank you for your message. Our officials will contact you later for more information.

After ten days, no contact was received from the party. For the parties whose officials responded to the enquiry, the PPP sent a reply after five hours, while the NPP’s reply was received after nineteen hours and forty-six minutes. The NDC’s response came after five hours. Meanwhile, the automatic replies from the PNC and the CPP hit the researcher’s email within two minutes of sending the enquiry. Table 1.2 gives further details on feedback from the emails.

Table 1.2 Email response time between 2012 and 2016

| <b>2012</b>  |                      |                         | <b>2016</b>          |                         |
|--|----------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|
| <b>Political Party Website</b>   | <b>Response Time</b> | <b>Type of Response</b> | <b>Response Time</b> | <b>Type of Response</b> |
| PPP<br><a href="http://www.pppghana.org">http://www.pppghana.org</a>                           | 5 hours              | Favourable              | No Response          | Not Favourable          |
| NPP<br><a href="http://www.thenewpatrioticparty.org/">http://www.thenewpatrioticparty.org/</a> | 19 hours             | Favourable              | 6 hours              | Favourable              |
| NDC<br><a href="http://www.ndc.org.gh">http://www.ndc.org.gh</a>                               | After five days      | Favourable              | 14 hours             | Favourable              |
| PNC<br><a href="http://www.hassanayari.ga.com">http://www.hassanayari.ga.com</a>               | 2 minutes            | Not Favourable          | No response          | Not Favourable          |
| CPP  | 2 minutes            | Not                     | No response          | Not                     |



|   |          |                |             |                |
|---|----------|----------------|-------------|----------------|
| <a href="http://www.conventionpeoplesparty.org">http://www.conventionpeoplesparty.org</a>               |          | Favourable     |             | Favourable     |
| GCPP<br><a href="http://greatconsolidatedpopularparty.org">http://greatconsolidatedpopularparty.org</a> | No Reply | Not Favourable | No response | Not Favourable |

**4. Research questions discussed**

To put discussions into the right perspective, it is important to examine the research questions raised at the beginning of the study. The four research questions for this study are answered in the discussions below.

*4.1. To what extent do the websites of political parties in Ghana have dialogic features?*

The four parameters of the dialogic theory expounded by Kent and Taylor (1998) form the basis for answering this question. The parameters are: ‘ease of interface’, ‘maintaining visitors’, ‘the usefulness of information’, and ‘dialogic loop’. All the websites had elements of the dialogic features that made it possible for visitors to navigate the sites. What was ineffective on the majority of websites was the essential feedback mechanism. For instance, as discussed earlier, the website of GCPP allowed comments on posts, but enquiries via the official email address yielded no results. According to Bimber et al. (2015), for every web-related communication, the feedback loop had to be complete to ensure sustenance of the relations. Without the assurance of feedback, users feel aggrieved by the seeming rejection.

In fact, fifty percent of the websites analysed had poor feedback mechanisms which generally takes a toll on users who need assistance or clarification on a subject. Moreover, when the researcher sent an email to the GCPP account, it bounced back indicating that the email address was non-functional even though the official from GCPP confirmed the address. The data from 2012 and 2016 showed that even though officials of the parties professed to the importance of feedback in their engagement with the public, the websites examined did not reflect this reality. There was therefore no improvement in the email response time between 2012 and 2016. It is safe to indicate that, generally, the websites that were analysed had elements of the dialogic features but with little or no utilisation.

*4.2. To what extent do political parties utilise the interactive features to communicate with their members, sympathisers and voters?*

To answer this question, the two-way symmetrical communication model by Grunig (1992) will provide the framework. Two-way symmetrical communication thrives on mutual respect. The content analyses in both 2012 and 2016 offered evidence that all the websites allowed users to comment on posts. As has been argued by Taylor and Kent (2004), comments on websites’ posts represent feedback on the information being conveyed and are a useful aspect of determining the interactivity or otherwise of the websites. There were email addresses on all the websites, which invited users to send their enquiries to the political party. The study tested the efficiency of the interactive aspect of emails by sending an email to the political parties, as has already been explained. Two of the parties replied within twenty-four hours and another in five days. The remainder had non-functional email addresses or automated emails that only assured customers of a reply to their enquiry; replies that never came within the period during which the study was conducted. Comment boxes and survey boxes could be found on some of the websites, which encouraged visitors or voters to comment on issues and to share their opinions. To a large extent, political parties in Ghana are lax in their use of the interactive features on websites to communicate with users.

#### *4.3 In what ways do political parties incorporate views and contributions of their website visitors in their campaigns?*

Kent and Taylor's (1998) dialogic loop provided a basis for analysing this question in the context of the responses from the interviews. The dialogic loop allows an organisation's publics to communicate with the organisation, and enables organisations to respond to concerns that have been raised by their visitors (publics). The dialogic theory acknowledges the presence of the "other individual", or an event experienced between two persons who have mutual respect for the views of the other, hence elevating the value of both views in a discourse. In the interview with officials of the parties, they revealed that comments posted on party websites are not disregarded but, rather, they are incorporated into broader themes and addressed in party manifestoes. Some of the parties responded that such comments have helped shaping the policies of the party in government. Marcinowski et al. (2014) noted that the gap between accessing Internet resources and a decision to adopt any of such platforms is driven by a fair amount of belief that one's opinions are considered useful by the other owners of the platform.

Similarly, Johannesen (1971) posits that every meaningful relationship should acknowledge the uniqueness of everyone's views so that each participant's views are respected during the exchange. Olinski and Szamrowski (2017) further add that websites that proactively apply the dialogic principles can better engage users and utilise their views for the achievement of the organisation's goals.

#### *4.4 Do political parties in Ghana differ in their use of the websites for political campaigns?*

The content analyses of the websites in both periods when data was collected showed that the websites contained information that was not dissimilar and was all tailored to attract potential voters. While the majority of the websites allowed visitors to browse through the page with ease, others lacked a clear site map making it a relatively arduous task to locate specific information. While all sites made use of audiovisual elements, such as video, audio and photo galleries, the two leading political parties – NPP and NDC – had many more such files with dedicated webpages. Hence the websites were designed to perform similar functions – electioneering campaigning and promotion of presidential candidates.

On the other hand, data from the interviews also provided proof that the leading political parties in terms of past results at the polls – NDC and NPP – used the website as a platform to seek donations and spur membership growth. Additionally, all the sites had integrated social media networking sites on the websites to support the parties' engagement with younger supporters. Another observation was that while some of the political parties updated the websites regularly, others could not be bothered, focusing rather on social networking sites.

### **5. Conclusions**

There is no gainsaying the fact that new resources, be they technological or otherwise, can change the way we contemplate both the consequences and the mechanisms of all forms of communication. The data collected and analysed led to one primary conclusion: that leading political parties in Ghana agree that websites represent an avenue for reaching out to an underserved and undecided community of voters who actively seek information on political campaigns. There is, however, evidence to show that most of the parties do not have the resources or skills to employ dedicated officials to work full-time on the websites. This negatively affects the use of website functions to attract and engage both active and passive Internet users. Moreover, the lackadaisical way of responding to queries and requests may dampen Internet users' reliance on the websites for information.

It is important to note that the study also found that some political parties were more inclined to use social networking sites regularly to engage supporters, voters and undecided voters alike. Less than fifty percent of the thirteen active political parties in Ghana had websites, even though all the

parties had some form of Internet presence such as blogs, Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and Google+. This may be due to the relatively laborious ways of updating information on websites via content management systems as compared to social media platforms.

In terms of recommendations, this study was limited to the use of websites by political parties. It will be interesting to conduct further studies into the use of social media platforms, both by political parties and voters, in engaging the political space during elections and their potential impact on the electoral fortunes of political parties.

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**Appendix I: In-depth interview guide**

|                     |   |
|---------------------|---|
| <b>Introduction</b> | I want to thank you for taking the time to meet with me today. My name is Derick Romeo Adogla, a communications researcher. I would like to talk to you about your party's website. Specifically in this interview, I am assessing how your official website is used and whether, as a political party, you use the websites to interact with your supporters. This is part of a study that seeks to examine how political parties use the websites. Even though I will be taking notes during the session, I will be taping the session because I do not want to miss any of your comments.  |
| <b>Questions</b>    | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. What is the rationale behind the creation of your party's website?</li> <li>2. To what extent has the website made a difference in the communication activities of the party, if any?</li> <li>3. Are you able to interact with your supporters on the website and what are the tools you use for this activity?</li> <li>4. Are your visitors allowed to post comments or send emails on the website and how does this tool work?</li> <li>5. How promptly do you provide feedback to queries or comments?</li> <li>6. What kinds of information do you host on the website?</li> <li>7. How often do you update the website?</li> <li>8. What specific elements, for instance, fundraising and membership, can a supporter who visits your website have access to? How effective are these elements?</li> <li>9. Are you able to measure the impact of the website on your activities? How do you do this and how effective do you think it is?</li> <li>10. What are the strengths and weaknesses of your website that you have identified?</li> <li>11. Is there anything you would like to add that I have not asked?</li> </ol> |
| <b>Conclusion</b>   | I am truly grateful for your time and I hope to call on you for any further clarifications if you do not mind.<br><br>Thank you.  |

**Appendix II: Coding scale**

|            |           |                      |
|------------|-----------|----------------------|
| <b>Yes</b> | <b>No</b> | <b>Not Available</b> |
|------------|-----------|----------------------|

**KEY:****Ease of interface**

| <b>INDICATORS</b>   | <b>YES</b> | <b>NO</b> |
|---|------------|-----------|
| The availability of site maps on homepages  |            |           |
| Easy identification of site maps on homepages   |            |           |
| The incorporation of a search engine on homepages to help site visitors in searching for information on the website |            |           |
| Easy identification of major links to the rest of the sites on the homepages.                                       |            |           |

**Usefulness of information**

| <b>INDICATORS</b>  | <b>YES</b> | <b>NO</b> |
|--|------------|-----------|
| Updated information  |            |           |
| News stories posted on the site in the last 30 days                            |            |           |
| Availability of downloadable information and graphics on the websites          |            |           |
| Availability of statements on their philosophy and mission of the organisation |            |           |

**Maintaining visitors**

| <b>INDICATORS</b>  | <b>YES</b> | <b>NO</b> |
|--|------------|-----------|
| A clear visual on the date and time the site was updated                               |            |           |
| Appealing to visitors with explicit statements inviting them to return to their sites. |            |           |
| Inclusion of calendars of events   |            |           |

**The amount of time that the websites take to load**

| <b>POLITICAL PARTIES</b> | <b>DURATION (s)</b> |
|--------------------------|---------------------|
| NDC                      |                     |
| NPP                      |                     |
| PPP                      |                     |
| CPP                      |                     |
| PNC                      |                     |
| GCPP                     |                     |

**Dialogic loop**

| <b>INDICATORS</b>  | <b>YES</b> | <b>NO</b> |
|--|------------|-----------|
| Opportunities for visitors to send messages and request information to and from the organisation |            |           |
| Avenues for visitors to answer questions on their priorities and expressing opinions on issues.  |            |           |
| The speed with which an organisation responds to messages sent.                                  |            |           |



## Kristendommen og Pave Frans: det religiøse sprog og naturen

*Pablo R. Cristoffanini, Aalborg University*

A religious revolution opened the door for us to pursue our recent lethal course. Does not this historical fact indicate that a religious counter-revolution will be needed for inspiring us and nerving us to retrace our steps before we reach the precipice that yawns close ahead of us  
Arnold Toynbee (Toynbee 1972: 144).

**Abstract:** The present article explores ways of speaking and writing about nature in the Judeo-Christian tradition which many researchers consider important causes for the current environmental and ecological crisis. Moreover, the article analyses another perspective, namely how the present Pope Francis formulates an alternative understanding of the relationship between God, human beings and nature in his encyclical *Laudato Si*. In this encyclical, he advocates an attitude of respect, protection and safeguarding of nature that requires a different way of life. In order to understand the meanings and consequences of these different understandings and ways of describing nature, the article uses the philosophy of language and, especially, the religious language of Wittgenstein; particularly his claim regarding the importance of religion as language game, which is different from the language of science. According to Wittgenstein, religion enables us to value everything that exists, and together with ethics and art, religion provides us with guidelines of how to live and relate to the world. Other important concepts used in the analysis of the different religious perspectives are metaphors and models.

**Keywords:** Christianity, nature, language games, Pope Francis.

### 1. Indledning

Denne artikel fokuserer først og fremmest på kristendommen og den nuværende paves måde at forstå og italesætte forholdet mellem naturen og mennesket på. Kristendommen og pavens italesættelse af naturen er vigtig, fordi en række forskere har påpeget, at den måde, vi i dag forholder os til naturen og til andre levende væsner på, bærer præg af den jødisk-kristne religiøse tradition og dens forestillinger og tanker om Gud, menneske og naturen (White 1967; Toynbee 1972; Jensen 1978; Herbener 2015). Der eksisterer således en traditionel måde at opfatte og ytre sig om naturen på i den vestlige verden, der har legitimeret den bortødslen af naturressurser og den forurening, der har kendetegnet verden siden den industrielle revolution. Pave Frans står for en anden og alternativ måde at forstå og tale om naturen på og er frontfigur i verdensbevægelsen *The Global Catholic Climate Movement*. Gennem sit hyrdebrev *Lovet være du* forsøger han at gøre respekt og omsorg for naturen til en central del af de troendes liv (Frans I 2015). Paven er leder af verdens største religiøse organisation, og tidsskriftet *Forbes* erklærede ham som den mest indflydelsesrige (ikke politiske) leder i verden i 2013. Ydermere ”har han banet vej for en uortodoks alliance mellem religiøse institutioner, radikale miljøaktivister og faglige eksperter om at søge himmelsk retfærdighed med bl.a. domstolens hjælp” (Nielsen 2015).

Både den traditionelle, legitimerende, religiøse italesættelse af naturen og pavens nye måde at tænke og tale om denne på benytter sig af religiøse ytringer, begreber og metaforer. Men vi lever i et sekulært og postkristent samfund, hvor den rationelle, videnskabelige diskurs er dominerende, og hvor mange mennesker (især i Vesteuropa) ikke har kendskab til og forståelse for det religiøse sprog. Det er også velkendt, at der eksisterer ateistiske bevægelser både i Europa og Danmark, der har en

meget kritisk indstilling til religion. Derfor forekommer det hensigtsmæssigt at præsentere og diskutere nogle af de tanker og ideer, der er blevet udviklet med hensyn til at præcisere, hvad det er, der giver det religiøse sprog mening, og hvorfor religion har været og forsat er en symbolsk verden med mindst lige så stor erkendelsesværdi som videnskab, kunst og ideologi.<sup>1</sup> Ludwig Wittgensteins (1889-1951) ideer om sprogets natur og funktion kan bidrage til en forståelse af, hvordan sproget og herunder det religiøse sprog skaber mening, og hvad det er, der gør, at religionen udgør et sprogspil vævet sammen med aktiviteter i en livsform, som på ingen måde kan eller bør underordnes andre, som f.eks. det naturvidenskabelige. Wittgenstein bruger begrebet *sprogspil* til at referere til et sprog, der er vævet sammen med aktiviteter. Sprogspil udgør livsformer, hvor ordene får forskellige betydninger. Spillets regler er vilkårlige, men ligesom i ethvert spil binder de deltagerne. Der findes ikke et hierarki mellem de forskellige sprogspil, hvor et sæt af regler er alle andre overlegne. Hvert spil har sin egen standard og sit eget formål. Det vigtigste i forhold til artiklens emne er at påpege, at religion ikke kun handler om at italesætte og fortolke, men udgør en helhed, hvor sproget er vævet sammen med de hertil knyttede aktiviteter og udmønter sig i en livsform.

Først præsenteres Wittgensteins opfattelse af sprogets natur og funktion i forskellige perioder og den betydning, den har fået for forståelsen af religion og det religiøse sprog. Derefter gennemgås begreber som modeller og metaforer og deres betydning for forståelsen af religion. Efterfølgende redegøres for nøgleideer og begreber i den jødisk-kristne tradition, som de forskere, der blev nævnt i introduktionen, mener har legitimeret det umådeholdne forbrug af resurser og ført til en økologisk krise. Til sidst analyseres Pave Frans' nye måde at italesætte og fortolke skabelsesberetninger i *Skabelsens evangelium*.<sup>2</sup> I denne tekst udarbejder han en ny forståelse af metaforer og begreber om Gud, menneske og natur og et nyt forhold mellem disse for at fremme aktiviteter og livsformer, der vogter over og drager omsorg for naturen.

## **2. Wittgensteins opfattelse af sproget og dets betydning for forståelse af religionen og det religiøse sprog i *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* (TLP)**

Det er velkendt, at man hos Wittgenstein kan finde to forskellige syn på sprogets natur og funktion, hvilket kommer til udtryk i to af hans berømte værker, *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* (TLP) og *Filosofiske Undersøgelser* (FU). TLP, der blev udgivet på tysk i 1921 og på engelsk i 1922, omhandler vigtige logiske og filosofiske spørgsmål, der har med sprogets natur og funktion at gøre. Det problem, der optager Wittgenstein, er hvad det er, der gør, at de ord, vi ytrer, får en betydning og bliver meningsfulde og ikke meningsløse for os (Clack 1999: 5). Hans løsning i denne første fase i udviklingen af hans sprogfilosofi kendes som afbildningsteori om sproget. Dvs. at sproget afbilder nuværende eller mulige faktuelle situationer i verden. Det er kun, når sproget fuldfører denne funktion, at det giver mening. Sproget fungerer dermed som et billede, idet substantiver og andre ordklasser står for noget andet, som findes uden for sproget. Derfor giver kun kendsgerninger og sætninger, der referer til kendsgerninger, mening. Dette fordi vi alle kan have erfaringer med de ting og tilstande, som sproget refererer til. Det er nødvendigt at præcisere, at en kendsgerning ikke er det samme som en ting (Wittgenstein 1993: 37-38). Et bord er en ting, "der er et brunt bord i stuen", en kendsgerning. Sproget er således en slags model af verden. Hvert ord står for noget, et navn for et objekt. At ting har mening betyder ikke nødvendigvis, at de er sande. Vi kan sige, at den Lille Havfrue står i Aarhus. Sætningen giver mening, men den er ikke sand. At forstå sproget indebærer, at vi kan forestille os den situation, som den sproglige ytring afbilder, f.eks.: det regner udenfor. Wittgensteins tese om sproget er også en tese om verden. Verden er opbygget på en sådan måde, at det er muligt at afbilde den ved hjælp af sproget. Sprogets funktion er at gengive kendsgerninger, og

<sup>1</sup> Geertz (1976 og 1993) forklarer, hvordan kultur, religion, ideologi fungerer som symbolske systemer. En vigtig inspirationskilde for hans opfattelser er Wittgensteins filosofi.

<sup>2</sup> "Skabelsens Evangelium" udgør kapitel 2 af hyrdebrevet *Laudato Si*.

at forstå et udsagn er at forstå de kendsgerninger, der bliver gengivet. Sproget giver mening, så vidt som det er i stand til at afbilde aktuelle og mulige kendsgerninger. Derfor er meningsfulde udsagn kun mulige i en empirisk eller videnskabelig diskurs. Filosofiens, æstetikens og religionens sprog tilfredsstiller ikke de præcise krav mht. til meningsfuldhed. Følgende sætning belyser yderligere hans standpunkt: ”Verdens mening må ligge uden for den. I verden er alt, som det er, og alt sker, som det sker. Der findes ikke nogen værdi *i* den” (Wittgenstein 1993: 126 [kursiv i originalen]). Derfor mener Wittgenstein i denne fase, at religion ikke er noget, vi kan tale om på en meningsfuld måde. Han udtrykker denne konklusion i en berømt sætning, ”Det, hvorom man ikke kan tale, om det må man tie” (Wittgenstein 1993: 130). Sproget slår fejl, når det ikke kan forbindes med virkeligheden. Dette er noget, der sker, når tegn og sætninger breder sig ud over den verden vi kan erfare. Kritikken rammer religionen. F.eks. kan vi i en teologisk sætning, der beskriver treenigheden, ikke forbinde de enkelte bestanddele (ord) med virkeligheden. Wittgensteins teori om sprog og mening i TLP er blevet brugt som et våben i den lange tradition for religionskritik, der går fra Humes til de logiske positivister. Men forskere som Clack (1999: 30-31) og andre<sup>3</sup> hævder, at TLP ikke hører til de filosofiske forsøg, der går ud på at bevise, at religionen er falsk. For det første fordi fokus i værket ikke er, hvorvidt religiøse sætninger og religion i al almindelighed er sande eller falske, men om religiøse ord og sætninger giver mening i forhold til de krav, han har stillet. Det handler hermed om det religiøse sprogs manglende afbildning af verden, som f.eks. når man diskuterer begrebet Gud. Gud står ikke for et objekt i verden, og derfor kan det ikke være meningsbærende. (Clack 1999: 28). For det andet fordi Wittgenstein i TLP udtrykker ideer, som han senere udvikler i *Filosofiske Undersøgelser* (FU), og som har at gøre med livsområder uden for logikken og den videnskabelige diskurs: etik, æstetik og religion. For ham er de ting, som ikke kan artikuleres meningsfuldt i det videnskabelige sprog, uendeligt meget vigtigere. Således skriver Wittgenstein efter at have afsluttet TLP: ”Vi føler, at selv om alle mulige videnskabelige spørgsmål er besvarede, er vores livsproblemer slet ikke berørt” (Wittgenstein 1993: 129). Religion er et livsområde, som man ikke kan verbalisere på en meningsfuld måde, men som fortjener dyb respekt i Wittgensteins optik. Det hører med til det mystiske: ”Der gives sandt nok noget uudsigeligt. Det *viser* sig, det er det mystiske” (Wittgenstein 1993: 129 [kursiv i originalen]). At det mystiske kun kan udtrykkes gennem et billede eller tvetydigt sprog er noget velkendt. Således har mystikere indenfor for forskellige religioner fremhævet vanskeligheden ved at tale på en meningsfuld måde om Gud og den ultimative virkelighed. Dette udtrykkes i mange religiøse tekster. F.eks. i *Daode Jing*, ”Den dao, man kan tale om, er ikke den evige dao”. ”Det navn, man kan nævne, er ikke det evige navn.” (Laozi 2016: 7). Den store kristne middelaldersteolog Thomas Aquinas mente, at vi ikke kender og ikke kan kende Guds væsen, fordi Gud er fundamentalt forskellig fra os mennesker, og fordi vi ikke kan få kendskab til hende/ham/det/den gennem vores forestillinger eller erfaringer. Desuden mente han, at alle ord om Gud ikke skal forstås bogstaveligt, men analogisk (Stigen 2002: 305; Cole 2008: 146).

### 3. Sprog og religion i Wittgensteins *Filosofiske Undersøgelser* og andre skrifter

I FU analyserer Wittgenstein Augustins opfattelse af, hvordan sproget fungerer, og samtidig distancerer han sig fra sine tidligere opfattelser i TLP. Kirkefaderen Aurelius Augustinus (354-430) tegner i sin selvbiografi *Confessions* (Agustine 1955: 18-19) et billede af sproget, hvor ethvert ord har en mening, og denne mening udspringer af, at et ord står for det objekt, ordet referer til. Denne opfattelse af sproget, indvender Wittgenstein, ser bort fra, at sproget fungerer på mange andre måder. Hvis man f.eks. har en indkøbsseddel, hvor der står ”fem røde æbler”, er det klart, at æbler står for den konkrete frugt, vi kender, men *fem* henviser ikke til noget konkret i den objektive verden. Således spiller ordene *fem* og *rød* forskellige roller i sproget (Wittgenstein 1995:34-35). Ord som *nej* og *væk* står heller ikke for objekter. I stedet for at tænke sproget, som Augustin gør det, og Wittgenstein

<sup>3</sup> F.eks. Wittgensteins følgere som f.eks. Peter Winch (1973: 78ff, 89ff og 1977: 193-221).

gjorde i TLP, er det mere hensigtsmæssigt at tænke på ord som værktøj. Sproget og dets begreber er værktøj. Augustins fremstilling af hvordan sproget fungerer, kan bruges inden for stærkt begrænsede områder. Men i tilfælde af et ord som ”spil” er det ikke nok at forklare, ”at spillet består i at skubbe ting på en flade efter visse regler”. Ordet giver også mening i mange andre sammenhænge (Wittgenstein 1995: 35).

Denne betragtning fører nu Wittgenstein frem til, at hans påstand i TLP om, at meningsfuldt sprog kun er en helhed af naturvidenskabens sætninger, er en slags epistemisk fagocytose, der svarer til at hævde, at tennis ikke er et spil, fordi det ikke spilles på et bord. Opgaven er således ikke så meget at udvikle en generel teori om sproget, men snarere at registrere hvordan vi bruger sproget i forskellige kontekster og situationer. Vi deltager i forskellige sprogspil, såsom at give ordre, forme og afprøve hypoteser, bygge en fortælling op, læse den, gætte gåder, fortælle vittigheder osv. (Wittgenstein 1995: 44). Værktøjsanalogien gør det også muligt at fjerne os fra tågede diskussioner om et bestemt ords mening, idet, ligesom et værktøjs mening er dets anvendelse, et ords mening er dets specifikke og specielle anvendelse (Wittgenstein 1995:170). Ordene refererer ikke altid til objekter og fakta, sproget er mere dynamisk og komplekst. For at forstå et ords mening skal vi forsøge at begribe, hvad den person, der ytrer det, prøver at opnå med ordet, hvordan han/hun anvender det. Ordene i sproget kan ændre betydning alt efter i hvilken sammenhæng de optræder. Man kan ikke give generelle og entydige definitioner af ordene. Man skal observere deres anvendelse. I sidste ende er et ords mening dets anvendelse i sproget. Filosofiens opgave bliver således at klarlægge ordenes betydning og frigøre os fra sprogets forhekselse af forstanden. Som f.eks. når vi betragter et almenbegreb som *ånd*, som en ting, eller når vi forsøger at reducere alle typer af heste (træhest, skakhest og hesten der græsser på marken) til en platonisk essens, som alle heste skulle være en del af.

Opfattelsen af sproget i den sene Wittgenstein er indkapslet i analogien mellem sprog og et spil. Sprogspil udgør livsformer, hvor ordene får forskellige betydninger. Spillet regler er vilkårlige (kunne være andre), men ligesom i ethvert spil binder de, som tidligere nævnt, deltagerne. Der findes ikke et hierarki, hvor et sæt af regler er andre overlegne. Hvert spil har sin egen standard og sit eget formål. Brikkernes (ordenes) mening findes ikke ved at analysere deres materielle egenskaber (løber lavet af træ eller hård plastik i skakspil) eller deres forbindelse med et objekt udenfor: skakdronningen repræsenterer ikke en konkret dronning. Det vigtigste er at fremhæve, at sprogspil er en aktivitet og livsform (Wittgenstein 1995: 44). Man kan sidestille et sprogspil med en kultur, hvis man tænker på, at sproget får sin betydning på grund af dets kollektive og offentlige karakter. Man kan således konstatere, at vi i FU og andre af Wittgensteins skrifter efter TLP finder en ny strategi til at nærme os det religiøse fænomen. Vi skal være opmærksomme på detaljer og bevare et overblik over helheden, dvs. beskrive de forskellige sprogspil, deres ligheder og forskelle. F. eks ville en tilgang, der bygger på Wittgensteins sene ideer om sprog og religion, ikke starte med en definition af religion, der opsummerer vigtige træk ved kristendommen, men beskrive hvad buddhisme, taoisme, kristendommen og andre af de symbolske systemer, som vi betegner som religion, har til fælles som *spil*<sup>4</sup>.

Når vi anvender ordet *spil* i forbindelse med religionens sprog og aktiviteter, betyder det ikke, at det handler om noget overfladisk og verdsligt, men at sproget hos Wittgenstein i den sene fase bærer ligheder med et spil og er knyttet til en livsform. I det religiøse spil har ordene en anden betydning end inden for den videnskabelige eller logiske diskurs. F.eks. får ordet ’Gud’ ikke betydning gennem reference, men i en livsvigtig praksis: ”Practice gives the words their senses” (Wittgenstein 1984: 85) og ”The way you use the word ‘God’ does not show *whom* you mean – but, rather, what you mean” (Wittgenstein 1984:50 [kursiv i originalen]). Forskellen mellem hverdags sproget og de troendes sprog findes ikke i den betydning, man kan forklare, men i noget

<sup>4</sup> Det er det som Clifford Geertz gør i ”Religion as a cultural system” (1993: 90).

mere komplekst. Når man beskæftiger sig med de troendes sprog, handler det i væsentlig grad om de teoretiske og praktiske konsekvenser man drager ud af ord og sætninger, det man gør med dem, og at man giver sig hen til livet og ideerne (Cuartango 2013: 1051). Et religiøst udsagn er et udtryk for, hvordan man forholder sig til livet og virkeligheden: underen over eksistensen, sikkerhedsfølelse, taknemmelighed, dybde, skyld, transcendens, etc. under evighedens synsvinkel.

#### 4. Metaforer og modeller

Andre begreber, som er vigtige for at forstå det religiøse sprog, er modeller og metaforer. Den engelsk biskop, filosof og teolog Ian Ramsey (1915-1972) hævdede, at *disclosure* modeller er særdeles vigtige for at forstå det religiøse sprog (Cole 2004: 156). Mellem en analog model og et fænomen kan vi finde strukturelle ligheder og forskelle. Modeller gør beskrivelse af fænomener nemmere. Det religiøse sprog kendetegnes af fortællinger eller modeller, og sidstnævnte følges af *qualifiers*, som udvikler modellen ved at afsløre eller bringe noget for dagen. De fungerer som pegefingre, der styrer vores opmærksomhed i en bestemt retning. Som f.eks. når man i religiøst sprog skriver om *Gud som første årsag*. *Årsag* er det udtryk, som betegner modellen og *første* den *qualifier*, der er retningsgivende og tvinger os til at gå tilbage, indtil vi når hinsides det, vi kan observere, og mysteriet afslører sig for os (Lee 2010: 24-39).

For Sallie McFague er en model en metafor, som har vist sig at være vedvarende og stabil. Den tilbyder folk inden for det pågældende felt (i dette tilfælde religionen) en gyldig fortolkningsramme. F.eks. metaforen for Gud som far. Når metaforen bliver til en model, bliver det muligt for de troende at forstå en række ting: hvis man opfatter Gud som *far*, så bliver menneskene *børn*, og *synd* kan opfattes som ulydighed mod faren. Og så er forsoning genoprettelsen af menneskenes privilegerede status som Guds børn. I lighed med andre forskere før hende gør McFague (1994: 65-66) det klart, at metaforen ikke kun er et sprogligt ornament, men at den er uerstattelig, idet der er nogle ting, som vi ikke kan udtrykke direkte. Metaforen er et forsøg på at sige noget om det ukendte ved hjælp af noget kendt eller om noget, som vi ikke har viden om, ved at tage udgangspunkt i noget, vi kender. Det er nødvendigt at pointere, at den viden, man får ved hjælp af metaforen, er partiel og relativ. Metaforen fremhæver nogle aspekter, Gud som et beskyttende, belønnende og straffende væsen i eksemplet med *fader*, og forviser andre aspekter til mørket, Gud som ånd, ikke menneskelig, universets krop osv. For at den kristne tro kan leve videre, er det nødvendigt med myter, fantasifulde og troværdige billeder og repræsentationer af forholdet mellem Gud og verden, som mennesket kender den i dag (Hick 1997: 201-202). Metaforer og modeller er et centralt aspekt af et projekt, der handler om at tilbyde billeder, der giver mening og virker troværdige for folk i dag. Det handler om at genfortolke de gamle modeller og udarbejde nogle nye

I det følgende vil jeg:

- a) præsentere de traditionelle og dominerende meninger, metaforer og modeller af Gud, naturen og mennesket indenfor for kristendommen og de livsformer de har affødt
- b) Pave Frans' meninger, modeller og metaforer om Gud og deres indbyrdes forhold præsenteres og analyseres.

#### 5. Skabelsesberetninger og vestlige holdninger til naturen

Teologen Ole Jensen hævder i sin bog *I vækstens vold* (1978), at for at undgå økologiske kriser er det ikke nok at gøre teknikken mere effektiv, fordi krisen stammer fra holdningen til naturen: en erobringsholdning. Denne holdning er tæt knyttet til den jødiske og kristne italesættelse af naturen, som blandt andet udtrykkes i disse religioners skabelsesberetninger. Jensen slår fast, at det til enhver tid er relevant at undersøge, hvordan bestemte ideer og holdninger opstår, forholde sig kritisk til dem

og evt. formulere nye ideer om tilværelsens mening. Humanistiske videnskaber som historie, filosofi, kunst og religion kan bidrage hertil, fordi deres felt er meninger og holdninger. Der findes en rød tråd, der forbinder skabelsesberetninger, naturvidenskab og det sekulære menneskesyn på naturen. Den amerikanske teolog Harvey Cox hævder, at skabelsesberetninger stadigvæk er vigtige, fordi de indeholder en opfattelse af naturen og menneskeheden stilling og rolle, der har haft stor betydning, da denne opfattelse ligger bag de vestlige menneskers måde at tænke på, også hos de sekulariserede borgere i de vestlige samfund. Der er tre vigtige aktører i disse beretninger: Gud, menneskeheden og verden. Gennem kristendommen har vi arvet et syn på forholdet mellem disse aktører, der adskiller sig fra tidligere og nuværende kulturer, hvor alt, hvad der er til, er levende og besjælet. Ifølge Cox betragter naturfolk naturen som guddommelig og føler sig beslægtet med alle levende væsner, hvorfor den tekniske udnyttelse af naturen, der karakteriserer den vestlige verden, ikke ville have været mulig hos dem (Cox 1968: 43-52). Lynn White (1967:1205) skriver, at i antikken havde hvert træ, hvert vandløb, hver bakke sin egen *genius loci*, deres skytsånd. I modsætning hertil opfatter det sekulariserede menneske naturen som ikke-hellig, som en maskine eller dødt materiale (Jensen 1978: 50-57). Kristendommen er en forudsætning både for, at der kan opstå en udplyndrende holdning til naturen og en forbedring af menneskeheden fysiske og materielle forhold, fordi der ikke findes noget guddommeligt eller helligt i naturen. Ej heller findes der væsner, som i animismen, der kan såres, trædes på eller som man kan føle respekt og empati for.

Den jødisk-kristne skabelseshistorie er ejendommelig: en almægtig, kærlig skaber som gradvis skaber lyset og mørket, planter, dyr og træer og til sidst Adam og Eva. Kristendommen i sin vestlige form udgør den mest antropocentriske religion, som menneskeheden har set. Ingenting i skabelsen har andet formål end at tjene menneskeheden, der er skabt i Guds billede. I filmen *Tierra de Maria* (Cotelo 2013) ser vi en moderne fortolkning af skabelsesberetningen, som klart og tydeligt afbilder kernen i dette antropocentriske syn. Gud forklarer sine menneskebørn: ”Jeg elsker jer mere end skyerne i himlen, himlen og englene. Jeg elsker jer mere end bjergene og jorden. Jeg elsker jer mere end planterne og dyrene. Jeg elsker jer mere end alt det, der findes og kommer til at findes.” På denne måde sonderer skabelsesberetningen skarpt mellem mennesker og den øvrige natur. Kun mennesker er skabt i Guds billede med ret til at benævne og herske over dyr og planter. Gud er ikke i naturen, og der er kun én Gud. Der findes ikke guder, der personificerer naturens kræfter som i de græske religioner før kristendommen (Toynbee 1972: 141). Alt guddommeligt er samlet hos en skaber, som er uden for verden, hinsides den eller transcendent. Når naturen tømmes for magter, tømmes den også for mening i sig selv. Planter, dyr og jorden har ikke mening og værdi i sig selv. Menneskene har i skabelsesberetningen en nøglerolle som Guds hjælper, idet de giver det meningsløse stof mening. Her kan man hævde, at skabelse bliver til synonym for den menneskelige kultur. Den nuværende tidsopfattelse er også knyttet til den jødisk-kristne skabelsesberetning. For grækerne havde verden altid eksisteret og ville blive ved med det. Det guddommelige var i verden i form af verdens fornuft. De havde ikke tanker om en Gud, der skabte alt af intet. De kunne ikke forestille sig *intet*. Derfor kunne mennesker ikke skabe noget nyt, de havde en cirkulær opfattelse af tiden, der nemt kunne observeres i årstiderne. I modsætning hertil er den kristne opfattelse lineær med en begyndelse og en ende, begge med Gud som hovedaktør. Herfra kommer opfattelsen af, at vi hele tiden bevæger os frem, vi venter på nye begivenheder og har tiltro til, at vi selv kan skabe noget nyt. Endelig indeholder den kristne tradition også, ifølge Ole Jensen, en verdensforagt som er kommet ind via mødet med den græske tænkning og gnosticisme og deres adskillelse af krop og sjæl, hvor kroppen og materien har en lavere rang end ånden. Her er der en forbindelse til den kyniske måde, hvorpå vi behandler den materielle verden og dens resurser i dag.

De religiøse opfattelser skitseret i dette afsnit ligger ifølge de omtalte forskere til grund for den måde naturvidenskaben og sekulariserede mennesker taler om naturen og forholder sig til den. I Vesten er der en udbredt tro på, at vi kan finde svar på alt ved hjælp af naturvidenskab og gennem samfundsvidenskab og psykologi drevet efter naturvidenskabelige principper. Men

naturvidenskabens måde at betragte verden på er i sig selv en holdning, der er en del af erobringsideologien. Naturvidenskaben er kun én måde at se virkeligheden på, og dens erkendelses interesse er at få herredømme over naturen ved at kende dens love. Den bygger på den antagelse, at sandhed er sikker viden, som kan anvendes teknisk. Det handler om at få magt over naturen, beherske og kontrollere den for at opnå, hvad menneskene finder værdifuldt, vigtigt og rigtigt. Det, som bliver objekter for naturvidenskabens målinger, bliver til dødt stof eller materie. Dette kan ikke lade sig gøre i andre kulturer, hvor den religiøse baggrund er en anden end den jødisk-kristne. Det moderne og sekulære menneskes opfattelse af naturen har to hovedtræk: i) verden er ikke guddommelig eller hellig, ii) mennesker er helt forskellige fra andre dyr og levende væsner. De kan tænke, planlægge og opnå sikkerhed gennem teknisk beherskelse.

## 6. Pave Frans og Skabelsens Evangelium

I det følgende analyseres *Skabelsens Evangelium*<sup>5</sup> (SE) ud fra Wittgensteins filosofi om religionen og det religiøse sprog og begreberne om metaforer og modeller.

I SE kommer Pave Frans selv ind på forskellen mellem på den ene side det politiske, filosofiske og videnskabelige sprogspil og på den anden side det religiøse. I sidstnævnte skriver han, er skaberen et centralt begreb, som afvises eller ikke anerkendes af mange af dem, der tænker og lever inden for rammerne af andre sprogspil end det religiøse. Men faktisk viden, mener han, er ikke nok til at løse den økologiske krise og miljøproblemer; videnskab og religion som forskellige symbolske systemer kan, med deres forskellige tilgange til virkeligheden, indgå i en dialog og bidrage på forskellige måder. Denne betragtning stemmer overens med de tanker hos teologer og idehistorikere, der er blevet præsenteret ovenfor: den økologiske krise og miljøproblemer har som en vigtig årsag holdninger til naturen, der har rødder i religionen. Paven konstaterer, at krisen har mange årsager, og for at løse den og udarbejde en integreret økologi er ikke kun viden, men også visdom, nødvendig.<sup>6</sup> Følgen er, at man skal respektere religionen og de bidrag, man kan finde hos de folkelige kulturer, kunst og poesi, der hver taler deres egne sprog. Skabelsesberetningerne indeholder en visdom om skaberen, naturen og mennesker: ”Skabelsesberetningerne i første Mosebog rummer i deres symbolladede, fortællende sprog en dybsindig lære om den menneskelige eksistens og dens historiske virkelighed” (Frans I 2015: 49).

I pavens anvendelse af begrebet *skaberen* er menneskene og naturen en følge af Guds plan. Dvs. at Gud har skabt de to andre centrale aktører i et bestemt forhold til hinanden. Den model af Gud, som anvendes i pavens fremstilling, er først og fremmest *Gud som far*, selv om han henviser til at der i Biblen står, at hver mand og kvinde er skabt i Guds billede, så de ligner ham (Frans I 2015: 48-49) Hvis det forholder sig sådan, må metaforen være *Gud som far og mor*. Paven ser bort fra denne mulighed. I hans øjne er Gud en far, i hvis tanker og hjerte menneskeheden blev undfanget. Følgen af denne forståelse er, at vi har en grundlæggende værdighed, fordi vores skaber har ønsket og villet os. Dette bevirker, at i modsætning til en videnskabelig forståelse er menneskeheden ikke et produkt af tilfældigheder. Ej heller er vi dømt til evige gentagelser som i de religioner/anskuelser, der ser livet og verden som en cyklus: antikken, hinduismen og buddhismen. Det, der kastes lys over i pavens repræsentation, er, at fader-modellen giver menneskeheden værdighed, fordi vi er villet og elsket af vores skaber, og vi er udstyret med muligheder for at være herre over os selv og kende os selv. Det, der ikke bliver belyst, er andre konsekvenser af skabelsesberetningerne: den jødisk-kristne forståelse af tiden som lineær, der skaber tanken om progression. Vi er blevet skabt med evner til at skabe noget nyt, vi forventer noget nyt i fremtiden, vi fortsætter Guds skabelse som Guds udvalgte og partnere.

<sup>5</sup> ”Skabelsens Evangelium” udgør kapitel 2 af Pave Frans’ hyrdebrev *Lovet være du*.

<sup>6</sup> Dorthe Jørgensen (2002: 34-40) skriver, at ”visdom er den indsigt i mere omfattende sammenhænge, som præster, poeter og filosoffer har repræsenteret op igennem historien.” Desuden at ”visdomstraditionen ikke har sit udspring i filosofien, men derimod i religionen og poesien”.

Disse forestillinger er også centrale ideer, der er knyttet til anvendelsen af begrebet menneske i den vestlige civilisation, som udmøntede sig i en livsform, der er blevet hegemonisk verden over.

Ifølge paven eksisterede der en harmoni mellem de tre fundament for menneskenes eksistens: Gud, vores næste og jorden. Denne harmoni er brudt, fordi menneskene ikke længere betragter sig selv som skabt, men kun som skabere: ”Harmonien mellem Skaberen, menneskeheden og Guds skaberværk som helhed er blevet brudt, fordi vi har formastet os til at tage Guds plads og nægter at erkende vore begrænsninger som skabninger” (Frans I 2015: 49). Menneskene glemmer, at jorden var her før menneskeheden og er skabt af Gud. Gud ses som giveren, og menneskene er kun modtagere, der skal overholde nogle formaninger. Skabelsesberetningen er, ifølge paven, blevet fortolket ensidigt, når der kun fokuseres på menneskehedens ret til at underlægge sig jorden. Resultatet af den ensidige forståelse har været en livsform, som er associeret med en uhæmmet og destruktiv udnyttelse af naturen. Paven henviser til de betydninger i skabelsesberetningen, der er blevet formørket, som dem, hvor der står at vi menneskene skal ”dyrke og vogte” Edens have, en metafor for jorden (Frans I 2015: 50). At menneskeheden skal dyrke jorden betyder, at den skal bearbejde, forædle og forbedre jorden. Billedet af menneskeheden som vogter af jorden medfører, at vi skal holde øje med og passe på jorden. Vi skal beskytte, bevare og nære omsorg for den. Denne nye måde at forstå og omtale skabelsesberetningen på opfordrer til en anden livsform. Menneskeheden er kun en del af skaberværket og har ikke selv skabt naturen, men fordi den er udstyret med intelligens, kan den lære at forstå den fine balance, der eksisterer mellem natur og alle levende væsner, og respektere den. I Biblen finder man regler, der fastsætter evige grænser for menneskehedens virke over for skaberværket, som skal overholdes. F.eks. steder der påbyder menneskeheden selv at overholde hviledage, hvilket også gælder dyrene, og formaninger om at være omsorgsfulde over for disse.

Paven fastslår, at kirken ikke længere hævder, at andre levende væsner er underordnet menneskehedens behov, og at de ikke kan behandles efter vores eget forogdtbefindende: ”At vi fastholder, at alle mennesker er skabt i Guds billede, må ikke få os til at overse den kendsgerning, at hver enkelt skabning har sit eget formål. Ingen er overflødig” og han tilføjer, ”Denne opfattelse af skaberværket gør det muligt for os i hver enkelt skabning at opdage en lære, som Gud ønsker at give videre til os” (Frans I 2015: 59-60).

Alle skabninger har en værdi i Guds øjne, de er også villet af Gud og afspejler Guds visdom og godhed. Dermed har de en bestemmelse og værdi i sig selv, som menneskeheden skal respektere. De skal ikke betragtes fra et perspektiv, som kun fokuserer på deres nytte for menneskeheden, men ud fra deres egen bestemmelse, deres egen værdi. I SE møder vi en model af forholdet mellem Gud, menneske og verden, der svarer til den viden, vi har om sidstnævnte i dag: alt er indbyrdes forbundet, og respekt for naturen knyttes til de forpligtelser, vi har over for andre mennesker mht. til at behandle dem på en solidarisk og retfærdig måde:

En følelse af et nært fællesskab med resten af naturen kan ikke være ægte, hvis der i vore hjerter ikke er ømhed, medfølelse og interesse for vore medmennesker. Det er indlysende inkonsekvent at bekæmpe handel med udryddelsestruede dyrearter og samtidig være fuldstændig ligeglad med menneskehandel og uden tanke for de fattige eller at påtænke at tage et andet menneskes liv, fordi det anses for uønsket (Frans I 2015: 63).

Man kan tilføje, at de negative effekter af klimaændringerne rammer de fattigste hårdest. Paven tolker fortællingen om syndfloden som en allegori for, hvad menneskenes uretfærdighed og fordærvelse kan føre til. Krisetilstande som dem verden oplever i dag, f.eks. når det gælder miljø, kan tvinge os til at revidere vores livsformer og udarbejde alternativer, der respekterer naturens rytme og anerkender, at jorden og dens frugter er blevet skabt for alle.

I SE findes der også modellen af *Gud som patriark og konge*: med stor styrke, med løftet arm,



som aldrig bliver træt og udmattet etc. Gud har i denne forståelse og talemåde forstørrede menneskelige egenskaber, almægtighed, stor styrke. Ifølge paven er det kun billedet og accepten af Gud som skaber, almægtig og eneste retmæssige ejer af verden, som kan forhindre, at menneskene betragter jorden kun ud fra deres interesser og påtvinger den deres love. Det nye ved Pave Frans' måde at italesætte og forstå forholdet mellem Gud, naturen og mennesket er, at *modellen af Gud som konge og patriark* er nuanceret med *fader-modellen*, hvor Gud også står for almindelige menneskelige idealer: retfærdighed, sandfærdighed og kærlighed. Guds styrke er forenet med kærlighed og faderlig ømhed. Ydermere kan vi få øje på en ny metafor for *Gud som den kærlige skaber*. Således tager paven udgangspunkt i de forskellige betydninger af begrebet natur i sammenligning med skaberværket. Hvor naturen er blevet til et system, som kan studeres og kontrolleres, refererer begrebet skaberværket til en kærlig plan, hvor alle skabninger har en betydning og værdi. Skaberværket er en gave fra vores fælles og kærlige ophav, der forener alle skabninger i et universelt fællesskab. Ligesom menneskene ikke er et produkt af kaos og tilfældigheder, er verden det heller ikke. Gud har ikke skabt verden som en magtdemonstration eller for at hævde sig selv. Guds kærlighed er den skabende kraft bag alt det, der eksisterer, og Guds ømhed og hengivenhed indhyller selv de mest ubetydelige skabninger i de få sekunder, de er i live. En kærlig, øm og hengivende Gud er unægteligt et andet billede end den traditionelle monoteistiske Gud.

Pave Frans vedkender sig, at den jødisk-kristne tænkning afmytologiserede naturen og vurderer det som positivt, idet dette fremhæver menneskets ansvar over for naturen. I hans italesættelse og forståelse er menneskene hævet over naturen. Gud har skænket os evner, således at vi kan beskytte og udvikle naturen og dens potentialer. I kraft af disse evner, som Gud har givet menneskene, kan de også gennemskue og afvise nutidens myte om ubegrænset materiel fremgang (Frans I 2015: 56). Det ser ud som om Paven opfatter myten som påhit. Alle de kristne myter, som Det Gamle Testamente indeholder (skabelsesmyten, syndefaldsmyten, syndfloden), omtaler paven som "beretninger" og "gamle historier fyldt med symbolik og dybsindig lære" (Frans I 2015: 49, 52). Myten i pavens anvendelse af begrebet er synonymt med fabel, fiktion og usandhed. Konsekvensen af denne opfattelse kan være, at alle andre religiøse ideer om naturen end de jødisk-kristne kan placeres under denne kategori. I denne henseende viderefører han en lang tradition, hvor alt det der ikke var indeholdt og legitimeret i de to testamenter, blev opfattet sådan (Eliade 1994: 7-8).

Paven afbilder naturen som vidne, som åbenbaring, kærtegn og manifestation af Gud. Disse associationer leder stadigvæk tanken hen imod Gud og naturen som adskilte størrelser og dermed også menneske og natur, idet menneskene i pavens italesættelse er både Guds billede og repræsentanter, dvs. Gud kun som transcendent. Men paven citerer biskopperne i Brasilien, som præciserer, at naturen ikke kun er en manifestation af Gud, men: "et sted hvor han findes" (Frans I 2015: 61). Dvs. at for paven er Gud både transcendent, hinsides verden og immanent, til stede i verden. Andre betydningskæder knyttet til forholdet Gud-natur kommer frem gennem referencer til Thomas Aquinas, hvor den katolske teolog bruger metaforen "den første bevæger" for at henvise til Gud, som i pavens italesættelse har villet den mangfoldighed og gensidige afhængighed af skabninger, der eksisterer i verden. De enkelte skabninger har ikke nok i sig selv. De supplerer og kan tjene hinanden. Guds mening udtrykker et ønske hos menneskene om at lovprise skabelsen, som Frans af Assisi gjorde det, da han benævnte solen og ilden som brødre og månen og vandet som søstre. Hvis alle skabninger og jorden har den samme fader, så udgør vi en familie. Derfor kan ørkendannelse føles som en fysisk lidelse og udryddelsen af dyrearter som vansiring (Frans I 2015: 62). Dog opponerer Paven mod en ekstrem økocentrisme, der er opsat på at benægte menneskehedens forrang, og som med store iver og interesse beskytter andre arter, men som tolererer, at andre mennesker lever i fattigdom og nedværdigelse. Ægte ømhed, medfølelse og interesse gælder alle skabninger, og interesse for andre skabninger end mennesker kan ikke forliges med ligegyldighed over for menneskehandel eller drab. Omvendt kommer grusomhed over for andre skabninger til at påvirke vores behandling af andre mennesker.

Forholdet mellem privat ejendomsret og naturen er et vigtigt spørgsmål, som også bliver taget op af Paven, der fastslår, at for den katolske kirke har den private ejendomsret aldrig været absolut og ukrænkelig, forstået sådan at alle former for privat ejendom har sociale formål. Når Gud har skabt jorden og naturen, er deres resurser kollektive goder. Derfor kan man ikke legitimere, at udnyttelse af dem kun gavner nogle få lande og mennesker på nationalt eller globalt niveau.

Pave Frans henviser også til Jesus, der som kristendommens grundlægger lærte menneskene at opfatte Gud som far og erkende det faderlige forhold, der eksisterer mellem skaberen og alle dens skabninger. Desuden fremhæver han det dybe kendskab og den harmoni med naturen, som kom til udtryk i Jesu liv og taler. For det første delte han ikke anskuelsen fra græsk filosofi om dualismen mellem sjæl og materie, der senere blev inkorporeret i kristendommen. For det andet var han i kraft af sit håndværk i daglig kontakt med naturen, som han omformede, og endelig beundrede han som velkendt blomsterne og fuglene på marken og gjorde dem til forbilleder for, hvordan mennesket skal leve.

## 7. Konklusion

Denne artikel startede ud fra et ønske om at forstå, hvordan den jødisk-kristne tradition har påvirket den måde, hvorpå menneskene har forstået naturen og forholder sig til den: en særdeles antropomorfisk måde, hvor Gud befinder sig hinsides verden og derfor er den ikke hellig. Desuden er jorden og universet i denne italesættelse skabt kun for mennesket skyld og til fri afbenyttelse. På den anden side har den nuværende Pave Frans i SE kritiseret disse traditionelle forståelser, udarbejdet ny modeller og metaforer for forholdet mellem Gud, naturen og menneskene, samt bidraget til at gøre jorden og verden hellig igen.

For fuldt ud at forstå betydningen af denne religiøse debat er det hensigtsmæssigt at opfatte religion som et symbolsk system, der kan orientere og vejlede os. Wittgensteins ideer og tanker hjælper os med at opfatte betydningen af det religiøse sprog og af religionen som en livsverden, der stadigvæk er vigtig, også for menneskene i de sekulariserede lande.

Fra TLP f. eks, anvendes Wittgensteins indsigt: at sproget slår fejl, når det ikke kan forbindes med virkeligheden. Dette er noget, der sker, når tegn og sætninger breder sig ud over den verden vi kan erfare. Ord som *Gud er kærlig* afbilder ikke objekter eller kendsgerninger i den verden vi kan erfare, derfor vil enhver opfattelse af Gud kun være tilnærmelser gennem metaforer, analogier og andet billedsprog. Derfor kan det konkluderes, at ingen kan definere Gud på en endegyldig måde. Ved at følge de meget forskellige former for italesættelse af Gud, mennesket og naturen og deres indbyrdes forhold gennem tiden, er sandheden af Wittgensteins indsigter bekræftet. Desuden udtrykker Wittgenstein i TLP sin vurdering af religionens værdi ved at konkludere, at selv om alle mulige videnskabelige spørgsmål er besvarede, er vores livsproblemer slet ikke berørt, fordi de handler om værdier og stillingtagen.

Opfattelsen af sproget i den sene Wittgenstein er indkapslet i analogien mellem sprog og et spil. Sprogspil udgør livsformer, hvor ordene får forskellige betydninger. Vi kan betragte religionen som et sprogspil, hvis regler på ingen måde befinder sig på et lavere niveau end videnskabens regler, men inden for det religiøse spil har ordene en anden betydning end inden for det videnskabelige eller logiske sprogspil. Et religiøst udsagn er et udtryk for, hvordan man forholder sig til livet og virkeligheden. I de tekster, der er blevet analyseret, handler det om værdier og stillingtagen i forhold til jorden, mennesket og andre levende væsner.

I artiklen er der også blevet argumenteret for vigtigheden af modeller og metaforer som nyttige begreber til at forstå det religiøse sprog. De afslører eller bringer noget skjult for dagen. Det er blevet forklaret, hvordan denne dominerende måde at italesætte forholdet mellem Gud, menneske og naturen i kristendommen bygger på en bestemt fortolkning af skabelsesberetningerne. I disse fortællinger møder vi en model af Gud som almægtig og skaber. Der er kun én Gud, og han findes ikke i naturen. Kristendommen i denne version har været en forudsætning både for at der kunne opstå

en udplyndrende holdning til naturen og en forbedring af menneskehedens fysiske og materielle forhold. De sekulariserede menneskers opfattelse af naturen som ikke hellig, som en maskine eller dødt materiale har således sit udspring i en bestemt læsning af den jødisk-kristne skabelsesmytologi.

SE er en nyfortolkning af skabelsesberetningerne, hvor nye og gamle modeller og metaforer for Gud og forholdet til naturen bliver omfortolket. I sin nyfortolkning fastslår paven, at når der i biblen står, at menneskene skal dyrke jorden, betyder det, at de skal bearbejde, forædle og forbedre den. Vi mennesker er jordens vogtere, og derfor har vi pligt til at holde øje med og passe på den. Vi skal beskytte, bevare og nære omsorg for jorden. Dette i modsætning til den traditionelle fortolkning af skabelsesberetningerne, hvor jorden og de andre skabningers eneste mening er at stå til rådighed for menneskene. Således finder vi i SE en model af forholdet mellem Gud, menneske og verden, der passer bedre med den viden vi har i dag: alt er indbyrdes forbundet. Desuden forbindes respekt for naturen sammen med de forpligtelser, vi har over for andre mennesker mht. til at behandle dem på en solidarisk og retfærdig måde. Det nye ved Pave Frans' måde at italesætte og forstå forholdet mellem Gud, naturen og mennesket er, at *modellen af Gud som konge og patriark* er nuanceret med *fadermodellen*, hvor Gud også står for almindelige menneskelige idealer: retfærdighed, sandfærdighed og kærlighed. Guds styrke er forenet med kærlighed og faderlig ømhed. Ydermere kan vi få øje på en ny metafor for *Gud som den kærlige skaber*. En kærlig, øm og hengivende Gud er unægtelig et andet billede end den traditionelle monoteistiske Gud. Menneskene er dog hævet over naturen. Gud har skænket os evner således, at vi kan beskytte og udvikle naturen og dens potentialer. I kraft af de evner, som Gud har givet menneskene, kan de også gennemskue og afvise nutidens myte om ubegrænset materiel fremgang.

I SE er Gud iboende i alt det skabte, noget som fordrer andre livsformer end de, der har legitimeret udnyttelsen af jorden og ført til miljøkatastrofer og udryddelse af arter. En følge af pavens engagement i naturen har været hans opfordringer til katolikker verden over til at være aktive i forhold til løsning af klimaproblemerne og den økologiske krise. Dette har blandt andet udmøntet sig i dannelsen af en verdensomspændende bevægelse: The Catholic Climate Movement.

Som det er vist i artiklen, opponerer paven imod en ekstrem økocentrisme, der benægter menneskehedens forrang, og som med store iver og interesse beskytter andre arter, men som samtidig tolererer, at andre mennesker lever i fattigdom og nedværdigelse. Forholdet mellem privat ejendomsret og naturen er et vigtigt spørgsmål, som også bliver taget op. Når Gud har skabt jorden, og naturen er et kollektivt gode, kan man ikke legitimere at udnyttelse af dens resurser kun gavner nogle få på nationalt og globalt niveau.

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## Floral foregrounding: corpus-assisted, cognitive stylistic study of the foregrounding of flowers in *Mrs Dalloway*<sup>1</sup>

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**Abstract:** The study reported here combines quantitative and qualitative methods from both cognitive stylistics and corpus stylistics to analyse the flower-motif in Virginia Woolf's novel *Mrs Dalloway*. The quantitative analysis compares the frequency of flower lemmas in the novel to both a reference corpus consisting of Woolf's other works as well as a general corpus (the *British National Corpus*). The analysis found significant differences between the frequencies in the novel and both corpora. The qualitative analysis is based on the statistically significant results and considers cognitive entrenchment and salience in relation to these. Furthermore, the analysis also links these two notions to different types of foregrounding as conceptualised in stylistics proper. Finally, aspects of repetition, parallelism and symbolism in relation to the flower-motif are considered. In conclusion, it is found that the flower-motif consists of more variables than sheer frequency and that it is the combination of these varied stylistic tools which result in the foregrounding of the flower-motif. Combining both quantitative and qualitative approaches in stylistic analyses proved beneficial in demonstrating the functions of foregrounding and the presence of the flower-motif in *Mrs Dalloway*, but also highlighted the potential of combining insights from cognitive linguistics with more traditional stylistic features.

**Keywords:** Foregrounding, salience, entrenchment, stylistics, cognitive stylistics, corpus stylistics.

### 1. Introduction

For a long time, the analysis of great works in literature was a task primarily assigned to the literary critic. Their method is close-reading and their instincts are uncanny. However, progress within the fields of linguistics, stylistics, and cognitive science is now being used to fortify the arguments of the literary critic and the qualitative analysis. Furthermore, quantitative methods are being introduced to complement the qualitative arguments and add a counterbalance to the subjectivity of the field of criticism. Within stylistics (and the broader field of linguistics), the introduction of corpus theory using software programs constitutes a paradigm shift. Corpora of several million words can now be dissected and scrutinised in the search for linguistic patterns, and the collected works of an author may be investigated for quantitatively measurable stylistic traits. For example, Michael Stubbs has used quantitative methods in his work and has managed to provide new insights in Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* and, in his own words, "identify significant linguistic features which literary critics seem not to have noticed" (Stubbs 2005: 1). Likewise, Michaela Mahlberg and Catherine Smith used corpus stylistic methods to investigate the workings of the literary device called the suspended quotation (Mahlberg & Smith 2012). Furthermore, the work of literary critics is increasingly assisted by the field of cognitive science, making for the hybrid field of cognitive stylistics. As a natural extension of cognitive stylistics, foregrounding theory offers a valuable approach, as it can be used to answer questions such as how a literary motif comes to be a motif and how perceptual prominence is created in texts. New perspectives are provided by the merger of investigations into text cognition and the studies of the processes of reading. Cognitive linguistics and cognitive stylistics are fields that, among others, explore these processes and a balanced combination of these methods from vastly different fields may assist in the ongoing investigation of literary works.

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In this article, *Mrs Dalloway* by Virginia Woolf is used to demonstrate the potential and the applicability of combining such methods. The novel is a compressed, complex account of human identity, subjectivity, interwoven destinies, and the modern self (Woolf 1925/2007). The underplayed plot unfolds in London in the 1920s and yet nature imagery, nature-assisted characterisation, and flower symbolism are abundant. The narrative spans over a single day and evening, where the main protagonist, Clarissa Dalloway, an upper-class lady in her fifties, plans and hosts a party. This main plot is mirrored by another plot of the secondary protagonist, the shell-shocked and unstable World War I veteran, Septimus Warren Smith. Clarissa and Septimus inhabit different social spheres and Clarissa only learns of Septimus' existence after his suicide, which is discussed at her party. However, they never meet or know each other.

The novel has been the subject of close-readings by countless critics. One of the findings that many critics agree on is that nature is central to the novel. Several books, dissertations, and research articles concern the role of nature, and the *Virginia Woolf Miscellany* (Czarnecki 2010) has dedicated an entire edition to this motif. It consists, among others, of the articles ““No Sense of Proportion”: Urban Green Space and Mental Health in Mrs Dalloway” by Nora Wiechert and “Nature as Symbol and Influence: The Role of Plants in Mrs. Dalloway” by Jeanne Shearer, to name a few. Moreover, Czarnecki & Rohman (2011) have edited a book consisting of 31 contributions consecrated to the motif. A recurring trend is the focus on the flower-motif, which seems to be of special interest to many of the critics and which is also the key interest of this article. For example, Sparks contributes with the chapter ““Everything tended to set itself in a garden”: Virginia Woolf’s literary and Quotidian Flowers: A Bar-Graphical Approach” (Sparks 2017), and Mattison contributes with her chapter “The Metaphysics of Flowers in The Waves: Virginia Woolf’s “Seven-Sided Flower” and Henri Bergson’s Intuition” (Mattison 2017). Moreover, *Mrs Dalloway* and the flowers that occur in this novel have been given special attention in Zlatkin’s contribution *The Flesh of Citizenship: Red Flowers Grew* (Zlatkin 2017) and Lillenfield’s *The Besieged Garden: Nature in Virginia Woolf’s Mrs. Dalloway and Willa Cather’s One of Ours* (Lillenfield 2017). We stipulate that the flower-motif is a recurring focal point because flowers are foregrounded throughout the novel, which explains the great interest given to it by literary critics.

Thus far, critics have had to rely on close-readings and their intuitions in order to examine the workings of literature but new combinations of theories and methods, both qualitative and quantitative, may reveal new facets in the study of the flower-motif. However, we believe that seeing as the field of cognitive stylistics belongs to a theory-based tradition of approaches to literary (and other) discourse, and corpus stylistics belongs to a rather methodologically based approach to literary (and other) discourse, the combination of these particular approaches forms a strong baseline for a rigorous analysis. Cognitive stylistics (primarily qualitative) and corpus stylistics (primarily quantitative) can be combined in an effort to clarify and perhaps fortify the claim that the flower-motif is essential in this 64,750-word long text, while retaining a readerly point of view. Two hypotheses will be tested in the study at hand: the first hypothesis states that there is a difference in the number of flower words between *Mrs Dalloway* and a corpus of Virginia Woolf’s works (this will be referred to as  $H_1$ ), and the second hypothesis states that there is a difference between *Mrs Dalloway* and a reference corpus (here the *British National Corpus*) in the frequency of flower words ( $H_2$ ). Consequently, the null-hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) states that there is no difference between *Mrs Dalloway* and the two corpora.

First, we introduce the field of cognitive stylistics and the theory of foregrounding as well as the terms *salience* and *entrenchment*. The next section presents the methodology employed in the study including how the data was collected and treated and how we can interpret the results of the analysis. The analysis itself is divided into a quantitative section and a qualitative section. In the quantitative section, the results from the corpus stylistic analysis are assessed. These results are then considered in the qualitative analysis which investigates processes of foregrounding and considers

them in the light of the notions salience and entrenchment.

## 2. A cognitive approach to stylistics

Cognitive stylistics is stylistics merged with disciplines within cognitive science such as cognitive psychology and cognitive linguistics, and concerns the “mental understanding of the world” (Emmott et al. 2014: 268). Traditionally, stylistics focused on the text dimension and was deprived of a theoretical approach to the reading and interpretation of language and literature. Indeed, cognitive stylistics has been defined as “the interface between linguistics, literary studies and cognitive science” by Culpeper & Semino (2002: ix). As a result, “stylisticians began to redress the ‘writerly bias’ in stylistics by exploring more systematically the cognitive structures that readers employ when reading texts” (Simpson 2014: 40). According to Stockwell, cognitive stylistics “is all about reading literature” (2002:1) and Burke (2006) points out that cognitive stylistics concerns the active reading, reception, and interpretation processes that are activated during the reading process. According to Simpson (2014: 40), there had been an assumption in stylistics that there was “[...] no such thing as ‘literary language’”. This ground rule has been important polemically because it positions stylistics in direct counterpoint to the sort of literary criticism that places ‘the language of literature’ beyond the reach of ordinary users of ordinary language”. This entails that a more pragmatic and universal, linguistic approach to literary texts can be adopted. Simpson also argues that “literature is perhaps better conceptualised as a way of reading than as a way of writing” (2014: 40).

Cognitive linguistics concerns the storing of mental representations, which are learnt through personal experiences and result in direct or indirect accumulations of knowledge (see for instance Croft & Cruse 2004 for a general introduction). This assumption pervades cognitive stylistics as well (Stockwell 2002: 1-2, Simpson 2014:40-41). This knowledge is categorised into the cognitive schemata and elicits the ability to connect a subject to a context (Stockwell 2002: 78-80 but see also Geeraerts 2006 and Langacker 2008). The schema containing the mental representation of any given concept is a product of a lifetime of experiences that form an “idealised prototypical image”, which Lakoff coined as the “idealised cognitive model” (Lakoff 1987: 68-76). Henceforth abbreviated to ICM, the idealised cognitive model

contains information about what is typical ... and it is a domain of knowledge that is brought into play for the processing and understanding of textual representations. These domains of knowledge are also accompanied by conceptual slots for the things that routinely accompany the mental representations (Simpson 2014: 41).

Needless to say, the ICMs are subjected to constant alteration and expansion in keeping with the development and experience of the individual but also the evolution of society. For instance, Lakoff gives the example of the concept of mother, where the conditions for motherhood are shared “[...] by normal biological mothers, donor mothers (who donate an egg), surrogate mothers (who bear the child, but may not have donated the egg), adoptive mothers” etc. (Lakoff 1987:76). In cognitive stylistic analysis, these ICMs are used for “attempting to account for and describe the cognitive and mental processes that underpin and channel aspects of meaningmaking” (Burke 2006: 218). ICM theory offers a valuable insight because it assists in identifying the norm against which textual deviations work. Norms are as such presupposed by deviation (Wales 1989: 116-117) and, apart from conceptualisation as structural norms (as expressed through grammar), can be hard to define. Hence the arrival of the ICMs which help us account for deviation from an established pattern. It should be noted that these patterns, or models, of course are subjective as not all individuals share the same experiences which inform and constitute particular ICMs, as this idea of a norm is otherwise too intangible and subjective (the subjectivity now being contained within the term ‘ICM’). Cognitive stylistics, inspired by cognitive linguistics, is both a writer- and text-, but also reader-oriented field

and Freeman (2002: 43) argues that cognitive stylistics has the potential to explain several aspects of literary texts,

by revealing the cognitive processes by which a literary work is created and understood, cognitive poetics has explanatory power. It illuminates the conceptual structures of a literary work. It explains how both writer and reader make conceptual projections and mappings that create new meanings.

Freeman concludes that cognitive poetics, another name for cognitive stylistics, has the power to “illuminate those imaginative capabilities that enable poetry to happen” (2002: 43) and that conclusion is transferred onto literary text in the present study. Focusing on the mental processes of the readership is appropriate because this article concerns the perceptual prominence of textual elements and features. As the goal is to understand how a reader comes to perceive some elements as foregrounded, it is fruitful to observe that a special mode of reading is accessed by the reader once they identify the type of discourse that is used (Shen 2002: 213). This entails that, when reading poetic discourse or literary texts, the reader anticipates the use of defamiliarising language<sup>3</sup> and knows that the writer of the text strives to create “poetic effects” as Shen characterises it (2002: 212, and Shklovsky 2015: 159). Shen distinguishes between three theoretic approaches within cognitive stylistics. The first, and most important to this study, is foregrounding theory. The second is the “poetic effect approach” which maintains that poetic discourse or literary text “exploits, for aesthetic purposes, cognitive processes that were initially evolved for non-aesthetic purposes” (Shen 2002: 212, and Mukarovsky 2015: 285-303). These two approaches need not be kept apart as they complement each other. The third theoretic approach is “the conventionalist approach” which proposes that the reader has at their disposal different reading strategies depending on the type of discourse that is read, and that the reader can make use of a “switch” in reading (Shen 2002: 212). Whereas this tripartite approach is not set in stone, what still holds true in cognitive stylistics today is that the focus is on the reader experience. The consequence of incorporating the ‘conventionalist approach’ is that, even though the existence of a ‘literary language’ has been rejected, as it rightfully should be in rigorous stylistics, we remain capable of addressing the phenomenon, only from a readerly perspective. Literary language is thus to be understood rather as a literary reading strategy.

### 2.1 *Foregrounding*

Foregrounding is a psychological effect (Gregoriou 2014: 87) which can be exploited in writing. One of the reasons a motif can be said to be present in a text could be that psychological effects are systematically exploited around one semantic category or type of ICMs, in this case flowers. When exploring foregrounding in images, the task is relatively simple. Objective features such as lighting and scaling are often manipulated in order to generate foregrounding, to steer the eye towards some particular elements in the image (Gregoriou 2014). The art historian would talk of the golden section, optical effects, and perspective as techniques to obtain an effect of foregrounding.

Foregrounding has been briefly mentioned above but it is an important notion within modern stylistics that demands further explication. Foregrounding theory was introduced by the Russian formalist, Victor Shklovsky, who considered art, and therefore also poetic discourse, to be a way of re-inventing the world through defamiliarisation and a “making strange” of reality as it is perceived (Burke & Evers 2014: 14). Foregrounding is thus the distortion of cognitive processes and some suggest that it works in literary texts in this manner: “stylistic properties of poetic structures (which include stylistic properties of figurative structures) violate and deform cognitive principles in order to achieve effects unique to poetic discourse” (Shen 2002: 212, and Shklovsky 2015: 159). These

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<sup>3</sup> See section 2.1 for a definition of familiarisation.



cognitive principles stem from the ICMs that have been developed in the individual memory of all readers, and foregrounding theory and cognitive stylistics share common ground because of their focus on the reader experience. Foregrounding may be understood more broadly as the bringing to the foreground of any textual pattern and Simpson distinguishes between foregrounding as *deviation from the norm* and foregrounding as *more of the same* (Simpson 2014: 52).

'More of the same' foregrounding concerns any notable repetition or parallelism (Simpson 2014: 52). The idea of foregrounding through repetition is not without pitfalls, Simpson explains, mainly because it is difficult to decide whether a foregrounded stylistic element, for example, the eye-catching use of semicolons in Virginia Woolf's novel, remains foregrounded throughout the novel or not. One way of addressing this issue is by distinguishing between external and internal foregrounding (Simpson 2014: 52-53, Levin 1965: 226). External foregrounding is established on a macro-level; this text versus other texts. Levin explains external foregrounding as "deviation with respect to norms that are [...] external to the poem" (226). This would entail that the frequent use of semicolons is a case of external foregrounding as *Mrs Dalloway* comparatively contains more semicolons than other texts. However, this stylistic feature is normalised as the reading process progresses and will thus not remain foregrounded. When the reader encounters a passage that, noticeably, does not contain the same number of semicolons, that passage becomes an example of internal foregrounding, as it comparatively differs from the norm established *within* the text (Simpson 2014: 52-53, Levin 1965: 226). For instance, Simpson (2014) draws on an example from Ernest Hemmingway's *The Old Man and the Sea* (1952/2012), where the well-known writing style of Hemmingway permeates the novel. The scarcity of adjectives present in relation to the nouns results in a certain writing style (e.g. *the fish, the stern* etc.), which the reader accepts as the norm. As a style distinguishable from other works it is an example of external foregrounding. Simpson goes on to highlight a sentence from one of the novel's nodes, where a large, poisonous jellyfish approaches the old fisherman's boat and the narrator describes it as "the purple, formalised, iridescent, gelatinous bladder of a Portuguese man-of-war" (Hemmingway 1952/2012: n.p.). This noun phrase, with four adjectival modifications, becomes a salient stylistic feature as it deviates from the predominant article plus noun structure (Simpson 2014: 52-53). This deviation within a deviation is then internal foregrounding (Simpson 2014). The terminology of internal foregrounding is used to describe the readerly experience and the reader's cognitive processes in relation to each other. The cognitive processes or reading strategy are always at the centre of foregrounding theory in the sense that both are readerly approaches rather than writerly, focussing on the experience and mechanisms of reading.

## 2.2. Entrenchment and salience

Entrenchment and salience provide highly relevant terminology for assessing and addressing the cognitive aspect of interpreting literature, more specifically when talking about the cognitive 'distance' of a concept or word. According to Schmid (2007), the term entrenchment is a means of addressing the "level of conscious awareness" and "cognitive effort" with which an ICM is activated (2007: 118). In other words, entrenchment is "the degree to which the formation and activation of a cognitive unit is routinized and automated" (Schmid 2007:119). This notion captures the fact that language processing is so quick that it must be the case that certain every-day, frequent words and constructions are stored in a way which lets us access them without much effort. Non-entrenched forms are thus forms which are used less frequently and thus require more effort for speakers and listeners to access. Frequent use of a non-entrenched linguistic unit or cognitive concept may alter the degree of entrenchment as the cognitive effort subsides after a while (Schmid 2007: 118-119). However, there is no definitive answer as to how fast or for how long a non-entrenched concept or linguistic unit becomes entrenched. Croft and Cruse (2004) suggest that there is indeed a correlation between frequent use and degrees of entrenchment: "entrenchment (productivity) of a construction is proportional to the number of instances of the construction at any level of schematicity, and to the

degree of formal and semantic coherence of the instances of the construction” (2004: 309). Yet, they do not offer an answer as to how fast this process works. Determining which forms become entrenched is a complex issue. It is clear, that frequency has a role to play, but studies suggest that factors such as frequency in individual’s speech as well as that of the speech community need to be considered as do the frequency of synonymous expressions which refer to the same concept (Schmid 2007: 119).

Salience can be understood as either that which rapidly comes into focus in a given speech (or reading) situation because it is activated, or that which is in focus because of the way the world is ordinarily perceived (Schmid 2007: 119-120). The notion of salience is useful in relation to the theory of foregrounding, as it proposes an explanation as to why some concepts are part of the foreground whereas others remain in the background. Cognitive salience occurs when a concept becomes activated into the reader’s centre of focus, the current working memory, and thus becomes salient, whereas other concepts remain inactivated and thus non-salient. Ontological salience occurs when an entity or concept is more prominently present than other concepts in the way the reader experiences the world on a daily basis (2007: 119-120). There are thus two ways in which a concept may be salient, but in either case it is a part of the foregrounding process that a reader experiences. The foregrounded concept or linguistic unit would thus be that which is more salient than other concepts. However, it is important to observe the potential alternation between a concept being salient or entrenched. According to Schmid, entrenchment is linked to salience in that concepts or forms which are deeply entrenched (and thus require little processing cost) are more likely to become salient. Whilst this argument sounds clear cut, it seems to suggest that there is a positive correlation between levels of entrenchment and salience and this might not be the case. Hypothetically speaking, it is possible to present a counter-argument which states that the automated processing of entrenched forms means that the forms *cannot* become salient (and that salient forms cannot become entrenched) seeing as salient forms are forms which attract attention and which thus require higher processing costs (the processing of these forms is not automatic seeing as salient forms are forms which are being attended to). Indeed, we might be able to argue that non-entrenched words are more ‘unusual’ and thus more salient when you encounter them. At the same time, we can also argue that entrenched words are used more frequently because they refer to concepts that are salient to the speakers and thus more likely to be talked about often<sup>4</sup>. This juxtaposition of attention and salience is natural and according to Croft and Cruse (2004: 46-54) attention is related to the human cognitive abilities, however, natural properties of a subject may draw the attention of the spectator or reader resulting in the enhancement of the subject’s salience.

From a cognitive stylistics point of view, the ‘deviation from the norm’ type of foregrounding could be connected to the notion of salience, whereas entrenchment is more closely related with ‘more of the same’ foregrounding. This is a rough pairing up of the theories as they are not developed to complement each other. Comparing entrenchment to ‘more of the same’ foregrounding seems to suggest that entrenched forms may be foregrounded, but that is not the goal of the comparison. ‘More of the same’ foregrounding draws on parallelism and the bringing to the fore of entrenched forms in such a manner that the entrenched forms display a distortion from the norm. Parallelism thus allows entrenched forms to become salient. For instance, in a paragraph with a high occurrence of a word or phrase, be that colloquial or complex, the repetition of said word constitutes the ‘more of the same’ type foregrounding as seen in F. Scott Fitzgerald’s *The Great Gatsby* (1925: n.p.): “The apartment was on the top floor—*a small living-room, a small dining-room, a small bedroom, and a bath*” [italics added]. The fact that *a small* is repeated several times makes this entrenched, quantifying phrase foregrounded and thereby also salient.

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<sup>4</sup> We thank the anonymous reviewer for this observation.

### 2.3. Levels of categorisation

From the point of view of cognitive linguistics, the levels of categorisation of the multiple flower words are important. In the tables, we include words such as *flower*<sup>5</sup>, *rose* and *delphinium*; words that are neither equally entrenched, salient nor existing on the same cognitive levels. In order to fully address the questions of salience and entrenchment, the fact that these words can be said to exist on different cognitive levels of categorisation needs to be addressed. A categorisation of words pertaining to the realm of flowers may digress into minute classification and we would approach the work of botanists and taxonomists which is not the goal here. Rather, a brief explanation will follow. Ungerer and Schmid (1996: 66-67) state that words may be categorised into levels that are either superordinate, basic or subordinate. They explain the theory of levels of categorisation using the example of dogs: the word *animal* thus refers to the superordinate level captured by the semantic category ANIMAL; *dog* refers to the basic level DOG and ALSATIAN, COLLIE or POODLE, which all denote breeds of dogs, thus describe concepts on the subordinate level. The same may be done using flowers as the example. The superordinate level would be PLANT (or on an even higher level, LIVING ORGANISM), the basic level would be FLOWER, and subordinate levels would be ORCHID, DAHLIA, CARNATION, etc., all denoted by corresponding lexical entries, of course. However, such a categorisation is not set in stone and it can be argued that ROSE for example is a basic level category word as well. Ungerer and Schmid argue that “we approach hierarchies from the centre, that we concentrate on basic level categories such as dog and car and that our hierarchies are anchored in these basic level categories” (1996: 64). As such, the cognitive levels of categorisation is not only related to the degree of specificity of attributes. Stockwell argues that the basic level is “the level at which we most commonly interact on a human scale with the category” (2002: 31). Since roses are so frequently encountered in Western culture, they arguably belong to the basic level category now, but the question remains whether that ‘pushes’ FLOWER to a superordinate level category. The categorisation is in no way objective and widely depends on context. In *Mrs Dalloway*, it is noticeable that the most frequently used flower-lemmas are FLOWER (occurs 53 times) and ROSE (occurs 52 times). This even distribution of the words seems to suggest that both words belong to the basic level. This count also confirms that basic level category words are used frequently compared with superordinate or subordinate ones.

### 3. Method

In corpus linguistics, there is a distinction between corpus-driven and corpus-based approaches (McEnery et al. 2006: 8, Tognini-Bonelli 2001: 65). McEnery et al. claim the four main differences between the approaches are the “types of corpora used, attitudes towards existing theories and intuitions, focuses of research and paradigmatic claims” (McEnery et al. 2006: 8). This study adopts a top-down approach, making it corpus-based. That means that a hypothesis based on prior knowledge has been developed for testing (de Haan 2010). The concordance software *AntConc* is used to find pre-determined lemmas in a theory-driven analysis. By developing hypotheses for testing, this article observes the definition of McEnery et al. that “[t]he corpus-based approach typically has existing theory as a starting point and corrects and revises such theory in the light of corpus evidence” (McEnery et al. 2006: 10). This is an overall definition of the difference between corpus-based and corpus-assisted approaches: “[t]he corpus-based approach is not as radical as the corpus-driven approach. The corpus-driven approach claims to be a new paradigm within which a whole language can be described. No such claim is entailed in the corpus-based approach” (McEnery et al. 2006: 11)<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Following the tradition in cognitive linguistics, semantic and conceptual information is presented in small caps, linguistic forms are given in italics and lemmas are represented by upper case.

<sup>6</sup> See also Gries (2012) for more on the differences between corpus-based vs. corpus-driven approaches in corpus linguistics.

As the approach is used in combination with other theories it becomes evident that it is not a radical approach but rather the much more flexible corpus-based approach that is used throughout.

### 3.1. Corpus design

This investigation makes use of both specialised and general corpora, the Virginia Woolf Corpus and the British National Corpus. In corpus stylistics, representativeness of language types is imperative (McEnery et al. 2010). The two selected corpora live up to those demands for representativeness. The following accounts for the manner in which this is ensured.

The Virginia Woolf corpus is highly specialised because specialised corpora normally include texts within a specific domain or genre (McEnery et al. 2010). In this case, the corpus is both author- and genre-specific. When working with reference corpora, it is necessary to consider characteristics such as corpus length (size) and corpus content (representativeness) in relation to the purpose of use. The corpus of Virginia Woolf's works is somewhat short compared to standard reference corpora (although the ICE-GB<sup>7</sup> is only 1 million words in comparison). However, since the goal of including this corpus is to be able to compare *Mrs Dalloway* to the rest of Woolf's authorship and highlight the foregrounding at play in this particular work, this limitation is of minor importance. When considering the representativeness of the corpus, it is important to ensure "that the corpus is maximally representative of the language or language variety it is supposed to represent" (McEnery et al. 2010: 15). The Woolf corpus is a compilation of Virginia Woolf's most popular works: *Night and Day* (1919), *Kew Gardens* (1919), *Jacob's Room* (1922), *To the Lighthouse* (1927), *Orlando* (1928), *A Room of One's Own* (1929), *The Waves* (1931), *The Years* (1937) and *Between the Acts* (1941). The corpus also includes her lesser known collection of *London Essays* (1931). Below is a table illustrating the different word counts of each text and the total word count of the corpus.

Table 1: Woolf corpus word count

| Title               | Year of publication | Word count     |
|---------------------|---------------------|----------------|
| A Room of One's Own | 1929                | 38,516         |
| Between the Acts    | 1941                | 46,572         |
| Jacob's Room        | 1922                | 56,197         |
| Kew Gardens         | 1919                | 2,844          |
| London Essays       | 1931                | 72,572         |
| Night and Day       | 1919                | 170,610        |
| Orlando             | 1928                | 80,432         |
| The Waves           | 1931                | 78,349         |
| The Years           | 1937                | 131,168        |
| To the Lighthouse   | 1927                | 71,481         |
| <b>Total</b>        |                     | <b>748,741</b> |

The study at hand focuses on Virginia Woolf's style of writing fiction and therefore her articles, reviews, critical essays and personal letters have been excluded. Corpus representativeness is thus ensured by including her nine most famous novels and her collection of six essays, which all make use of the same type of discourse, meaning that no 'shift' in reading style occurs when transitioning between texts (Shen 2002). According to Leech, a focus on corpus size is "not-all important" (Leech 1991: 10), particularly since we use normalised frequencies in the analysis, and for the purposes of this investigation, size is not an important parameter in the corpus design as it includes a

<sup>7</sup> The ICE-GB consists of one million words of spoken and written British English from the 1990s and is tagged, parsed and checked, see <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/english-usage/projects/ice-gb/index.htm>.

representative part of Woolf's authorship within the discourse type of literary discourse. There is, however, the issue of full-text corpora to consider. According to Sinclair (2005), "[s]amples of language for a corpus should wherever possible consist of entire documents or transcriptions of complete speech events" (quoted in Reppen 2010:40). By including full texts in the corpus, the probability of Woolf's style to show through is greater, albeit it means that the different topics may also show through. However, this is difficult to avoid and is accounted for in the interpretation of the data from the quantitative analysis. Furthermore, all the included texts are in public domain collected from the Project Gutenberg website (<https://www.gutenberg.org/>). The Woolf corpus consists of 748,741 words or word tokens.

The second corpus, The British National Corpus (henceforth the BNC), is designed to "represent contemporary British English as a whole" (McEnery et al. 2010: 17). The language variety is thus much broader and it is therefore called a general corpus. With general corpora, the most important aspect is balance, which is a measure for "the range of text categories included in a corpus" (McEnery et al. 2010: 16). The BNC is widely accepted as being balanced (McEnery et al. 2010: 17). The purpose of this project warrants a method within corpus stylistics of "comparing particular uses in textual examples with more general patterns in reference corpora" (Mahlberg 2014: 383). Therefore, the BNC is included in order to be able to say something about the language use in *Mrs Dalloway* in relation to language use in general. The BNC is thus the reference corpus. The BNC is retrieved from the University of Oxford Text Archive (<http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/>), and consists of different language varieties, for instance, newspaper extracts, online sources, recorded conversations, TV broadcasts, etc. It consists of 979,453,675 words. For a detailed list, see the *List of Sources* (Burnard 2017). There is however one issue with this planned comparison, namely the temporal differences between the corpora. *Mrs Dalloway* and the Woolf corpus are written in the period 1919 to 1941, whereas the BNC consists of texts primarily from 1989-1992 (Burnard 2017). Thus, the comparison does not take into account the evolution in language that has taken place in this time span. However, we argue that since this article focuses on nouns that are not period-specific and not e.g. grammatical or syntactical structures, this issue is of minor concern. Moreover, as McEnery et al. explain, diachronic corpora (historical corpora) are specifically used for the purpose of tracking changes in language evolution (2006: 65). The base assumption of this article continues to be that there is no such thing as literary language (see section 2) which also explains why this temporal difference is disregarded.

The texts by Virginia Woolf are not tagged but the BNC is. Tagging means that the words in the texts are coded for word classes or other categorisations. In order to streamline the extraction of tokens from the data, the PoS (part-of-speech) BNC tags were disregarded and all texts were loaded into a concordancing tool (introduced below). An advantage to using tagged data is that it is easy to differentiate between words which belong to more than one word class (such as *violet* which can both function as a noun designating a specific flower or as an adjective designating a specific colour), although that was not an important consideration in the present study. Another advantage is that compound words (such as compound nouns spelled in two words, e.g. *sweet pea*) are classified as a single lemma. This makes automatic extraction using software easier, however, it is not impossible to extract compound nouns from non-tagged data as we will see below.

### 3.2 Extraction of tokens and statistical tests

The software programme *AntConc* is a concordancing tool which is commonly used within corpus stylistics as it can locate specific lemmas, words or phrases within a corpus of any length. The corpora used in the present study vary in size, but the tool is indispensable for locating the flower words in each corpus. The flower words which this investigation is interested in are lexical words, and in particular nouns. Content words in general are words which express lexical meaning as opposed to function words which express grammatical meaning. This study focuses only on nouns, as it is hard

to imagine a verb which expresses an ontological and nature-bound action without being used in conjunction with a noun (often in the function of subject or object). For example, the lexical verb *to grow* may occur, and while it is true that it stems from an action typically performed by some form of vegetation, it is often used metaphorically and is thus not the type of flower-related word that this study seeks to investigate. If the verb were to describe a nature-bound action rather than a metaphorical action, a flower or plant lemma (noun) would likely occur near the verb and fulfil one or more of the thematic roles required by the verb. Therefore, a focus on nouns will single out the flower lemmas and the instances of flower representations can be counted.

In order to extract the flower words from our corpora, the *AntConc* function ‘Word List’ was primarily used as this shows the number of occurrences (raw frequencies) of each lemma within a corpus. Thus, *AntConc* was here used as a simple counting tool which allowed us to extract frequencies and other descriptive statistics. Based on the extracted word counts, we then investigated any statistically significant differences in the distribution and occurrence of flower words across the three corpora by use of the log-likelihood statistic, a type of keyness analysis. The log-likelihood statistic is a measure for likelihood ratio based on maximum-likelihood theory (Field 2009: 690):

The general idea behind this theory is that you collect some data and create a model for which the probability of obtaining the observed set of data is maximized, then you compare this model to the probability of obtaining those data under the null hypothesis.

We used the log-likelihood calculator developed by Paul Rayson to carry out the tests (<http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/llwizard.html>). The LL values are calculated based on a contingency table of observed and expected values in the two corpora which are compared. The calculation of expected values is based on the size of the two corpora, which is why the calculator operates on raw numbers. According to Rayson, the higher the LL value, the more significant the difference between the two frequency scores. In this study, we adopt a significance level of 0.05 which means that the critical value falls at 3.84. In short, if the LL value exceeds 3.84 then there is a significant difference between the frequencies of the specific words under study in the two compared corpora. The calculator helpfully indicates the overuse (+) or underuse (-) of words in corpus 1 relative to corpus 2. The plus or minus sign designates the relative overuse as described above although the reader should note that it does not denote significance (or non-significance). The plus-sign in the column ‘relative overuse’ designates that the lemma is relatively overused in *Mrs Dalloway*, whereas a minus sign in this column designates a relative overuse in either the Woolf corpus or the BNC (and thus an underuse in *Mrs Dalloway*).

We adopt this notation below in table 3 as well. The calculations are based on two formulas that relate to a contingency table as described by Rayson and Garside (2000: 3).

Figure 1: Contingency table

|                          | Corpus 1 | Corpus 2 | Total   |
|--------------------------|----------|----------|---------|
| Frequency of word        | a        | b        | a+b     |
| Frequency of other words | c-a      | d-b      | c+d-a-b |
| Total                    | c        | d        | c+d     |

The log-likelihood is then calculated on the basis of two formulas.

Calculation of expected values:

$$E_i = \frac{N_i \sum_i O_i}{\sum_i N_i}$$

Calculation of log-likelihood value:

$$-2 \ln \lambda = 2 \sum_i O_i \ln \left( \frac{O_i}{E_i} \right)$$

### 3.3 Extracted flower lemmas from Mrs Dalloway

The words that figure in table 1 have been located in the text and extracted, using the tool ‘Word List’ in *AntConc*. The number of occurrences, or raw frequencies, in the text figures next to the flower word. Indeed, as we are interested in lemmas, the numbers in the table can also be conceptualised as each type’s token frequency.

Table 2: Flower wordlist

|             |    |                  |    |               |            |
|-------------|----|------------------|----|---------------|------------|
| ARUM LILY   | 1  | EVENING PRIMROSE | 1  | LILY          | 7          |
| BUD         | 2  | FLOWER           | 52 | ORCHID        | 7          |
| CAMELLIA    | 1  | GERANIUM         | 5  | PETAL         | 4          |
| CARNATION   | 13 | HIBISCUS         | 1  | ROSE          | 53         |
| CLOVER      | 1  | HOLLYHOCK        | 2  | RHODODENDRON  | 1          |
| COW PARSLEY | 1  | HYACINTH         | 5  | SWEET PEA     | 5          |
| CROCUS      | 1  | HYDRANGEA        | 4  | SYRINGA       | 1          |
| DAHLIA      | 2  | IRIS             | 3  | TULIP         | 1          |
| DELPHINIUM  | 2  | LILAC            | 3  | <b>Total:</b> | <b>179</b> |

Flower names that are spelled as compound nouns posed an issue, as they were not easily recognised when the ‘Word List’ tool was employed. For example, it would have been easy to overlook a word such as *sweet pea*, since neither of the words designates a flower on their own. In order to obtain a complete list, we initially employed the *AntConc* ‘Word List’ tool, which lists the words of a text according to frequency and through that we gathered all the flower words. Since the flower words often (though not exclusively) figured in bundles, the words were checked using the ‘Concordance’ tool, which enables a reading of the context of each word’s occurrence. In order to ensure that they were semantically relevant, we removed occurrences such as the adjective *violet* since it became clear from the context that it was used to denote colour and not a flower. Eventually, the list of flower words reached 179 occurrences as the table shows. The plural and singular forms were collapsed in table 2, since this distinction was not necessary for the present study (i.e. table 2 shows lemmas). Because the aim of this study is to investigate *Mrs Dalloway* through means of comparison, words that only occur once were omitted from table 3, which is the list of lemmas that was used to compare flower words in *Mrs Dalloway* to the Woolf corpus and the BNC. This was done for two reasons: firstly, the low frequency renders these specific lemmas insignificant, and, secondly, there may well be flower words in the corpora that only occur here and not in *Mrs Dalloway*, and some degree of balance is thus achieved by leaving out the words that only occur sporadically.

#### 4. Quantitative analysis

Based on the flower wordlist, 16 lemmas were chosen to conduct the tests for log-likelihood and relative overuse. This section of the analysis considers the result for each flower lemma in relation to the two corpora and, on the basis of the log-likelihood scores for the 16 lemmas, evaluates the two hypotheses. The first hypothesis ( $H_1$ ) states that there is an overuse of flower words in *Mrs Dalloway* compared to the Woolf corpus. The second hypothesis ( $H_2$ ) holds that there is an overuse of flower words in *Mrs Dalloway* compared to the BNC. Consequently, the null-hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) states that there is no significant difference in the use of flower words between *Mrs Dalloway* and the corpora. The following evaluates the significance of occurrences of flower words in *Mrs Dalloway*, the Woolf Corpus, and the BNC. First, the individual lemma will be analysed with a focus on the log-likelihood that they display along with the relative overuse of the lemma.

Table 3: Log-likelihood and relative overuse of flower words

| Flower lemmas: | Mrs Dalloway | Woolf Corpus | LL    | Relative overuse | BNC           | LL     | Relative overuse |
|----------------|--------------|--------------|-------|------------------|---------------|--------|------------------|
| BUD            | 2            | 14           | 0.39  | +                | 1,771         | 7.58   | +                |
| CARNATION      | 13           | 26           | 20.47 | +                | 346           | 138.48 | +                |
| DAHLIA         | 2            | 9            | 1.19  | +                | 124           | 17.97  | +                |
| DELPHINIUM     | 2            | 0            | 10.12 | +                | 78            | 19.80  | +                |
| FLOWER         | 52           | 406          | 6.43  | +                | 15,937        | 303.45 | +                |
| GERANIUM       | 5            | 15           | 5.3   | +                | 458           | 1.06   | +                |
| HOLLYHOCK      | 2            | 6            | 2.12  | +                | 52            | 21.40  | +                |
| HYACINTH       | 5            | 9            | 8.55  | +                | 438           | 41.52  | +                |
| HYDRANGEA      | 4            | 1            | 16.41 | +                | 96            | 43.42  | +                |
| IRIS           | 3            | 7            | 4.13  | +                | 1,927         | 13.21  | +                |
| LILAC          | 3            | 13           | 1.9   | +                | 422           | 22.1   | +                |
| LILY           | 7            | 187          | 6.2   | -                | 2,239         | 40.26  | +                |
| ORCHID         | 7            | 11           | 13.2  | +                | 808           | 54.31  | +                |
| PETAL          | 4            | 55           | 0.12  | -                | 1,001         | 24.93  | +                |
| ROSE           | 53           | 610          | 0     | +                | 19,609        | 289.79 | +                |
| SWEET PEA      | 5            | 0            | 25.31 | +                | 101           | 55.96  | +                |
| <b>Total:</b>  | <b>169</b>   | <b>1,369</b> |       |                  | <b>25,619</b> |        |                  |

We can see from the table that the following ten lemmas display significant overuse (i.e. the LL value is above 3.84) in *Mrs Dalloway*: SWEET PEA (LL = 25.31), CARNATION (LL= 20.47), HYDRANGEA (LL = 16.41), ORCHID (LL= 13.2), DELPHINIUM (LL = 10.12), HYACINTH (LL= 8.55), FLOWER (LL = 6.43), GERANIUM (LL=5.3) and IRIS (LL = 4.13). With regard to overuse in *Mrs Dalloway*, we see that all lemmas on the list display a relative overuse in the novel, compared to the Woolf corpus, except for two, LILY and PETAL, which is visible from the minus signs in the column 'relative overuse'. It should be noted that even though the LL of ROSE is 0, the relative overuse in *Mrs Dalloway* is still possible (if there were one more occurrence of ROSE in *Mrs Dalloway*, the LL would be 0.03). The initial intuition that the flower-motif is abundantly present in *Mrs Dalloway*, even when compared to the rest of Virginia Woolf's authorship, thus seems to hold true when observing the results from the point of view of an alpha level at 0.05. Therefore,  $H_1$  should not be rejected. When comparing the occurrences of the flower lemmas to the BNC, we see that all lemmas are more used in *Mrs Dalloway* compared to the general corpus (they all feature a plus sign



in the ‘relative overuse’ column) and that all lemmas but GERANIUM display statistically significant results (with a value above 3.84). This indicates that Virginia Woolf uses flower lemmas in her texts much more often than the average speaker in an average speech-situation would, once again taking into account the issues of comparing corpora that are from different periods as discussed in section 3.1. Consequently,  $H_2$  should not be rejected. The subject-matter of the text, as well as the locations described in the novel, could explain this difference in part, but the results do indicate interesting and significant differences. When comparing the findings in the corpora to *Mrs Dalloway*, using normalised frequencies is also an option that can support the findings in the LL comparison. The table below displays the normalised frequencies of the flower lemmas.

Table 4: Normalised frequency of flower lemmas per million words

| Flower lemmas: | Mrs Dalloway | Normalised frequency | Woolf Corpus | Normalised frequency | The BNC       | Normalised frequency |
|----------------|--------------|----------------------|--------------|----------------------|---------------|----------------------|
| BUD            | 2            | 30.89                | 14           | 18.70                | 1,771         | 1.81                 |
| CARNATION      | 13           | 200.77               | 26           | 34.72                | 346           | 0.35                 |
| DAHLIA         | 2            | 30.89                | 9            | 12.02                | 124           | 0.13                 |
| DELPHINIUM     | 2            | 30.89                | 0            | 0                    | 78            | 0.08                 |
| FLOWER         | 52           | 803.09               | 406          | 542.24               | 15,937        | 16.27                |
| GERANIUM       | 5            | 77.22                | 15           | 20.03                | 458           | 0.47                 |
| HOLLYHOCK      | 2            | 30.89                | 6            | 8.01                 | 52            | 0.05                 |
| HYACINTH       | 5            | 77.22                | 9            | 12.02                | 438           | 0.45                 |
| HYDRANGEA      | 4            | 61.78                | 1            | 1.34                 | 96            | 0.10                 |
| IRIS           | 3            | 46.33                | 7            | 9.35                 | 1,927         | 1.97                 |
| LILAC          | 3            | 46.33                | 13           | 17.36                | 422           | 0.43                 |
| LILY           | 7            | 108.11               | 187          | 249.75               | 2,239         | 2.29                 |
| ORCHID         | 7            | 108.11               | 11           | 14.69                | 808           | 0.82                 |
| PETAL          | 4            | 61.78                | 55           | 73.46                | 1,001         | 1.02                 |
| ROSE           | 53           | 818.53               | 610          | 814.70               | 19,609        | 20.02                |
| SWEET PEA      | 5            | 77.22                | 0            | 0                    | 101           | 0.10                 |
| <b>Total:</b>  | <b>169</b>   |                      | <b>1,369</b> |                      | <b>25,619</b> |                      |

What these figures show is that the frequency of the flower lemmas, once normalised, is generally higher in *Mrs Dalloway* compared to the two corpora, with the exception of LILY and PETAL. This result matches and supports the result found above, strengthening the argument that  $H_1$  and  $H_2$  should not be rejected.

## 5. Qualitative interpretation

The findings in the quantitative analysis form the basis for the qualitative analysis reported below. The first section focuses on entrenchment and salience and the second looks at the use of foregrounding of flower words in particular.

### 5.1 The entrenchment and salience of flowers

In this section, selected lemmas will be examined in order to determine how the flower words are perceived in *Mrs Dalloway* and how the different degrees of entrenchment and salience attest to the

cognitive complexity of the novel. Words such as *rose*, *flower* or *orchid* are quite familiar to the reader and are thus highly entrenched. Indeed, *flower* denotes a basic level category (which we can perhaps expect to be the most frequent compared to more specific categories) and the word *rose* refers to a prototypical member of the FLOWER category (the same can perhaps be said for *orchid*). This prototypicality may be a likely factor in both the entrenchment of the words but also in the high level of familiarity in readers. This means that the level of conscious awareness of these words is near non-existent because the cognitive effort with which the reader of these words recollects the ICM of e.g. ROSE is very little (Schmid 2007: 118-119). There is an abundance of flower-related lemmas in *Mrs Dalloway*. For instance, the first time a rose is mentioned is on page 13 (see excerpt 3 below), where Clarissa enters the florist's shop. The paragraph consists of 25 lines devoted to Clarissa's impression of the flowers in the shop. The lemma ROSE appears 6 times alongside other flower lemmas such as CARNATION, LILY, DELPHINIUM, LILAC and SWEET PEA. Indeed, flower-related lemmas occur 27 times (Woolf, 1925/2007: 13-14). The sheer number of flower-related lemmas in this paragraph and the intensity with which it is written (lists, repetition, parallelism), indicates, quite early on, that there is a flower-motif in *Mrs Dalloway*. The flower-related words (table 2) are mostly entrenched, with the exception of CARNATION or DELPHINIUM, which are arguably subordinate level category words as they describe more unfamiliar flowers.

If we look at the use of flower words overall in *Mrs Dalloway*, we can argue that the high frequency of use and the repetitions of flower words throughout the novel makes the flower-motif salient. However, when we look at the types of flower words used, we see that the majority are common and familiar flower words (*roses* and *lilies*, for instance), i.e. ones that are likely to be entrenched. For these words, it is the high frequency of the semantic category of FLOWER which makes them salient as the extensive use deviates from what we would expect, i.e. from an external norm. We do find some uses of more unfamiliar (and thus likely to be less on non-entrenched) flower words (such as *delphinium*) and we argue that these are also salient despite their low numbers; firstly, due to their exoticness and, secondly, due to their membership in the semantic FLOWER category. In the following sections, we look in more detail at the foregrounding of flowers in *Mrs Dalloway* through linguistic strategies such as repetition, parallelism and symbolism.

## 5.2 Foregrounding in *Mrs Dalloway*

In section 2.1 we established what textual foregrounding is, and that it can be obtained by deviating from the norm or through repetition. What is made probable in section 4 is that the flower lemmas are foregrounded in terms of repetition. However, what the quantitative method cannot determine is the manner and the precise procedure of the author. Instead, a systematic analysis of the flower lemmas in their context may clarify these complex questions.

### 5.2.1 Foregrounding of flowers

As established, the flower words are uniquely foregrounded in *Mrs Dalloway*, when compared to the BNC. Flower lemmas figure abundantly and with an even frequency throughout the text. In their research, Peplow & Carter (2014) use *Mrs Dalloway* as an example of a text that contains much foregrounding in order to investigate the reader experience of complex texts. That is in line with the observations made, so far. However, to analyse the complex workings of the process of foregrounding, this section will, firstly, present a dispersion analysis of the flower words in *Mrs Dalloway* and, secondly, go into more detail with examples from the text.

In order to be able to examine how the flower words perform within the text, it is beneficial to conduct a dispersion analysis, which provides a useful overview of the dispersion or concentration of the occurrences of flower words in the text. When conducting the dispersion analysis, we employed *AntConc*'s 'Concordance plot' tool, which offers identical results to the 'Concordance' tool, however, the results are presented more visually. This tool shows how different words are distributed through

corpora, in this case a single corpus (*Mrs Dalloway*), and presents an understanding of the representation of a motif. The ‘Concordance plot’ search was conducted via a search file consisting of the flower lemmas from table 3.

Figure 2: Dispersion of flower words in *Mrs Dalloway*.

HIT FILE: 1 FILE: Mrs Dalloway.txt



As indicated above, the flower words are very present throughout the entire text and are, in several instances, concentrated, bundled up, and packed into small passages, creating the effect of foregrounding through repetition. The following are examples of excerpts in which the flower words are given a perceptual prominence through frequent repetition. Moreover, it appears that Woolf exploits the various cognitive levels of categorisation that the flower words belong to using hyponymy, thus facilitating the cognitive process of accessing the subordinate categories.

#### Excerpt 1.

And Rezia came in, with her *flowers*, and walked across the room, and put the *roses* in a vase, upon which the sun struck directly, and it went laughing, leaping round the room. She had had to buy the *roses*, Rezia said, from a poor man in the street. But *they* were almost dead already, she said, arranging the *roses*. So there was a man outside; Evans presumably; and the *roses*, which Rezia said were half dead, had been picked by him in the fields of Greece (Woolf 1925/2007: 102 [italics added]).

In this small excerpt, the foregrounding of the lemma ROSE is palpable to say the least, with four occurrences of the noun phrase *the roses* and further two diegetic references to them (*flowers* and *they*). This repetition of both the noun phrase and the diegetic references in this paragraph often function as epiphora, which adds a rhythm to the passage and which also ensures that the words *the roses* (and the underlying concept of ROSE) are salient. This salience of the repeated noun phrase also endows the roses, as artefacts, with meaning, which in turn invites the reading of their symbolism (see section 3.2.5 on the symbolism of flowers).

The narrative voice of the excerpt partially belongs to the shell-shocked veteran Septimus Warren Smith and gives insight into a disturbed mind. The excerpt is an example of Woolf exploiting the cognitive processes in relation to the levels of categorisation. Though FLOWER and ROSE are arguably basic-level categories, the word *roses* is a hyponym of the word *flowers* and, in this context, it certainly is a precision of the category level. In the first sentence of the excerpt, the basic-level category FLOWER is introduced (by the use of the word *flowers*) and the (again, in this context) subordinate level category ROSE is invoked by use of the word *roses* which is used with anaphoric reference to *flowers*. Interestingly, the excerpt has the repetitiveness in common with an excerpt in which Clarissa has just received flowers from her husband:

#### Excerpt 2.

In came Richard, holding out *flowers*. She had failed him, once at Constantinople; and Lady Bruton, whose lunch parties were said to be extraordinarily amusing, had not asked her. He was holding out *flowers--roses*, red and white *roses*. (But he could not bring

himself to say he loved her; not in so many words.) But how lovely, she said, taking his *flowers*. She understood; she understood without his speaking; his Clarissa. She put *them* in vases on the mantelpiece. How lovely *they* looked! she said (Woolf 1925/2007: 129 [italics added]).

According to Leech (1969), parallelism concerns “the introduction of extra regularities, not irregularities, into the language” (1969: 62, cited in Gregoriou 2014: 94). Both excerpts contain parallelisms. The first has assonance and alliteration (“sun struck”, “laughing, leaping”, “round the room”), and the repetition of the words *roses*, *half-dead*, *said*, and *Rezia*. The second has repetitions of the words *flowers*, *she*, *how lovely*, and *understood* (among others) and the repetition of an entire sentence occurring twice earlier in the text, “Millicent [/Lady] Bruton, whose lunch parties were said to be extraordinarily amusing, had not asked her” (Woolf 1925/2007: 32 and 33). These elements constitute a type of internal parallelism in these single excerpts, whereas their interrelation on a level of grammatical parallelism creates a stratified foregrounding pattern. The grammatical parallelism is the identical lines of action that occur in both passages. The flowers are brought in by a caring partner, they are put in vases for display and they are commented on (“they are half dead” versus “they look lovely”). Moreover, this excerpt is a good example of Woolf creating an effect of foregrounding through a gradual precision of the cognitive categories. She begins with *flower*, and moves on to the hyponym *roses* immediately afterwards, after which the roses are further specified as being *red and white roses*, thus accessing a subordinate level category with three repetitions. What is revealed here is that the repetition of the flower words does not create the effect of foregrounding on its own. It is rather because so many textual elements are at play simultaneously that the reader experiences an elevated sense of complexity, interrelation, stratification, and parallelism. The quantitative method proved adept at pointing to some of these parallels, the foregrounding of the flower words through repetition, but a close-reading reveals more on the specific workings of these processes.

### 5.2.2 Foregrounding through repetition

There are several instances of foregrounding through repetition throughout the novel, with passages holding a high concentration of this or that flower, but one passage is particularly loaded with flowers and it is interesting because it is found at the beginning of the novel. It foregrounds the flowers to such an extent that it can be argued that the flowers stay with the reader from this point on because their perceptual prominence is made clear and they become salient. Clarissa arrives at the florist’s and an abundance of flowers are being described. They are not only the ones that Clarissa can see but also the flowers she can remember, the flowers that she associates with the rest of her thoughts, as her mind drifts in this stream of consciousness:

#### Excerpt 3.

She advanced, light, tall, very upright, to be greeted at once by button-faced Miss Pym, whose hands were always bright red, as if they had been stood in cold water with the *flowers*. There were *flowers*: *delphiniums*, *sweet peas*, bunches of *lilac*; and *carnations*, masses of *carnations*. There were *roses*; there were *irises*. Ah yes--so she breathed in the earthy garden sweet smell as she stood talking to Miss Pym who owed her help, and thought her kind, for kind she had been years ago; very kind, but she looked older, this year, turning her head from side to side among the *irises* and *roses* and nodding tufts of *lilac* with her eyes half closed, snuffing in, after the street uproar, the delicious scent, the exquisite coolness. And then, opening her eyes, how fresh like frilled linen clean from a laundry laid in wicker trays the *roses* looked; and dark and prim the red *carnations*,

holding their heads up; and all the *sweet peas* spreading in their bowls, tinged violet, snow white, pale--as if it were the evening and girls in muslin frocks came out to pick *sweet peas* and *roses* after the superb summer's day, with its almost blue-black sky, its *delphiniums*, its *carnations*, its *arum lilies* was over; and it was the moment between six and seven when every *flower--roses, carnations, irises, lilac--glows*; white, violet, red, deep orange; every *flower* seems to burn by itself, softly, purely in the misty beds; and how she loved the grey-white moths spinning in and out, over the cherry pie, over the *evening primroses!* (Woolf 1925/2007: 13-14 [italics added])

There are 27 occurrences of flower-related words in the excerpt. It is a description of the highly subjective stream of consciousness in a calm moment in a flower shop. The flowers are multiplied since not only the physically present ones are described in the second and third line of the excerpt, but also mental representations of flowers. Once again, Woolf makes use of hyponymic relations, introducing first the basic-level category FLOWER, then proceeds to the subordinate level categories. This is done both at the beginning of the excerpt (line 3) using a colon and towards the end (line 15), using two dashes. More flowers are added in lines 11-18. In an allegorical manner, Clarissa's mind drifts to an imagined summer's day and evening and all the flowers that she feels belong intrinsically to the scenery. Moreover, in line 14, it is interesting to note that the *delphiniums, carnations, and arum lilies* are not commonly known by lay people in the same degree as, for instance, roses or tulips and these are therefore less entrenched flowers. Also, the next few lines following this example show several uses of asyndeton and the omission of conjunctions can be said to increase the intensity of the flower words. Lastly, this paragraph also exhibits anaphoras in the form of *its delphiniums, its carnations, its arum lilies* and *every flower* along with *over the cherry pie* and *over the evening primroses*. Thus, by adding emphasis on the arrangement of the clauses, not only on the flower words but also in the literary style of the phrases, the 'more of the same' foregrounding is even more noticeable. What further foregrounds the flower words are the fact that they are first listed rather mechanically and then re-listed but with pre- and post-modifiers. The modifiers add emphasis and an internal foregrounding as the imagined flowers are made different from the observed flowers. The first mentioning of the flowers is preceded by *there were*, listing the physically present flowers. Upon re-opening her eyes, Clarissa (or the narrative voice) describes the flowers in terms of similes, colour, brightness, freshness, and personification, adding emphasis to them. This creates an internal deviation from the previously, mechanically listed flowers and thus, this excerpt foregrounds flower words both in terms of repetition and parallelism and in terms of literary deviation from the norm. At first, the flowers simply *are*. In the second half of the excerpt, the flowers *are like, are glowing, are burning*, etc. The shift from an emotionless perception of the flowers to a highly emotive perception and subjective imagining of flowers further adds internal foregrounding. The foregrounding is not only internal but also external as repetition of the same lexical words creates perceptually prominence.

### 5.2.3 The symbolism of flowers

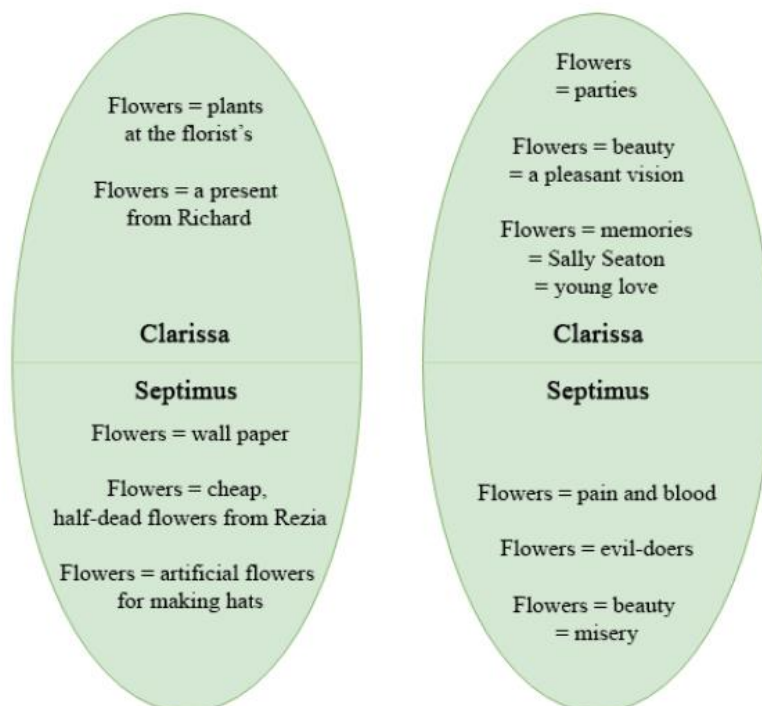
The flowers are used in a manner that makes them externally foregrounded because they are of a delicate constitution and often represent the romantic, the emotional and the fragile. However, their symbolic function is much more diverse in *Mrs Dalloway*. For example, they are described as weapons, "[b]earing his flowers like a weapon, Richard Dalloway approached her [...]" (Woolf 1925/2007: 127) and in more ambiguous terms, "Lady Bruton raised the carnations, holding them rather stiffly with much the same attitude with which the General held the scroll in the picture behind her [...]" (115). Roses are described as growing from the flesh of the insane Septimus: "[r]ed flowers grew through his flesh" (74-75). Flowers are used as a metaphor of the social order between social classes: "Sally went out, picked hollyhocks, dahlias – all sorts of flowers that had never been seen together – cut their heads off, and made them swim on the top of water in bowls" (36). In this example

we also see a further conceptualisation of the flowers as animate as they are made to do something (indicating that they do so unwillingly and thus have a will to begin with) but also that they swim (and not float), a type of movement requiring not only a body but also motor skills in order to engage in this particular type of movement. We can perhaps even argue that Woolf here establishes the conceptual metaphor of FLOWER IS ANIMATE or even FLOWER IS HUMAN (Lakoff & Johnson 2011).

Flowers are also used as symbols of budding sexuality: “Then, for that moment, she had seen an illumination; a match burning in a crocus; an inner meaning almost expressed” (35). They are described as “floating lamps” (72) and juxtaposed to lesbianism: “Sally stopped; picked a flower; kissed her on the lips” (38). In this final example, we, again, see a personification almost of the flower, the conceptual metaphor of FLOWER IS HUMAN, with the use of the personal pronoun *her* which is co-referenced with *flower*. It is this personification of the flower as not only human but also female which introduces the topic of lesbianism. This multi-purpose and self-contradictory use of the flowers poses the question of whether the flowers then stay internally foregrounded. It is possible that the internal foregrounding fades throughout the text, but the external foregrounding does not since many of the metaphors are novel and highly defamiliarise both ICMs.

Although the parallelism theory suggests that foregrounding is obtained because of the introduced regularities, there is also the possibility that a frequent repetition defamiliarises a word. In cognitive psychology, the phenomenon is known as *jamais-vu*, meaning ‘never seen’ in French. It is “the inappropriate impression of unfamiliarity with circumstances that are, in fact, familiar.” (Zeman 2009: 215). Repeating the same word over and over could then be defamiliarising an otherwise entrenched word, making it salient. Thus, foregrounding through repetition can be closely linked with foregrounding through deviation from a norm. Both effects are simultaneously exploited in *Mrs Dalloway*, as is evident from the above examples. The parallelism in the usage of flower words is also apparent in the characterisation process as several characters are compared directly to flowers. For example, Clarissa’s daughter, Elizabeth, is compared to “a hyacinth, sheathed in glossy green, with buds just tinted, a hyacinth which has had no sun” (134), and Septimus’ wife, Lucrezia, is “pale, mysterious, like a lily, drowned, under water” (97). Several other characters are juxtaposed systematically to certain flowers, such as Lady Bruton, a powerful, well-connected socialite, who is often surrounded by carnations, or Septimus who sees half-dead roses, artificial roses, painted roses and roses that pierce his body, but never benevolent flowers.

Figure 3: Non-symbolic and symbolic flower representations.



In the figure above, the flowers are divided into four categories: the flowers that contextually belong with Clarissa (top); the flowers that contextually belong with Septimus (bottom); the flowers as they occur in the narrative (left side); the flowers and what they come to symbolise (right side). What becomes apparent when comparing the right and the left side of Clarissa and Septimus is that there is a rather radical difference in the way that flowers are put in relation to these two different characters. For example, the non-symbolic flowers (left side) that are linked to Clarissa are of a fundamentally different constitution and nature than those linked to Septimus. The symbolic aspect of these flowers, outlined in the right-side figure, matches the non-symbolic qualities and contexts of the flowers on the left side. Clarissa is surrounded by flowers that are fresh and beautiful and they evoke associations in her to parties and youth. Septimus, on the other hand, is linked to flowers that are half-dead and evoke in him grotesque scenarios of horror and anxiety. The figure thus serves as a visual representation of the versatile manner in which Woolf applies the flower words, both on a descriptive level and on a symbolic, associative level.

## 6. Conclusion

The aim of this paper was two-fold: firstly, it aimed to demonstrate the potential and the applicability of combining methods from cognitive linguistics and stylistics and, secondly, it set out to test two hypotheses relating to the use of flower-related words in Virginia Woolf's *Mrs Dalloway*. These two hypotheses concerned the difference in the number of flower words between *Mrs Dalloway* and a corpus of Virginia Woolf's works ( $H_1$ ), and the difference between *Mrs Dalloway* and the BNC (used as a general reference corpus) in the frequency of flower words ( $H_2$ ).

To comment first on the latter aim, the results of the quantitative analysis showed that there was indeed an abundant and statistically significant overuse of flower-related words in *Mrs Dalloway* both compared to the Woolf corpus and to the BNC. We are thus able to confirm the literary critics' intuitions about the presence of a flower-motif in the novel if we assume that word frequencies are in any way linked to this. The qualitative analyses focused on the cognitive phenomena of entrenchment

and salience and linked these two notions with different types of foregrounding. Finally, we also looked at Woolf's use of flower words in connection with stylistic features, such as repetition, parallelism and symbolism, and we found that these structures also aid her in establishing a flower-motif in the novel. It is thus more than simple frequencies which lead to the foregrounding of flowers in *Mrs Dalloway*.

As for the former aim of the paper, the study undertaken demonstrated the benefits of combining both quantitative and qualitative approaches in stylistic analyses, but also the potential of combining insights from cognitive linguistics with more traditional stylistic features. One thing which we have not touched upon, however, is possible reasons for why the flower-motif plays such a significant role in *Mrs Dalloway*. The novel's plot unfolds in London and Westminster and indeed it has often been interpreted as a celebration of urban life (urban here being in juxtaposition to nature). Thus, one might indeed then ask why flowers (and nature more generally) are foregrounded the way they are. One possible explanation might be that by juxtaposing the bustling urban setting of the big city to the tranquil environment of nature, as if the two were not entirely separate, Woolf succeeds in creating a transfer of values from nature to city and vice versa.

This transfer of values between two concepts can perhaps be further elucidated by considering it in terms of conceptual metaphor. Seeing as the conceptual metaphorical construction is 'source domain IS target domain' (e.g. LOVE IS WAR), the source domain ICM (LOVE) is replaced with the target domain ICM (WAR), which is a deviation from the norm of nonmetaphorical writing and an excellent example of the interrelation of the domains (Lakoff & Johnson 2011). Similarly, the ICM of CITY and the ICM of COUNTRYSIDE or NATURE, in *Mrs Dalloway*, are equalled in a super-metaphor, conditioned by the foregrounding of nature. Thus, by conceptualising *city*, *countryside*, or *nature* as ICMs, it is possible to assess the relationship, and transfer of values, between CITY, COUNTRYSIDE, and NATURE in *Mrs Dalloway*. People are compared to flowers, animals, trees and have animal characteristics. All mantelpieces have vases with flowers on them and the parks seem to take up as much space as the purely urban spaces. The stringent dualistic segregation between nature and culture is effaced, leading the path towards a new experience of city life. The great modernist mantra articulated by Ezra Pound, to "make it new" (Pound 1934) is thus very visible in *Mrs Dalloway*, exemplified, for instance, by Woolf's ambiguous use of flowers, detached as they often are from their role as Romantic symbols of love. The FLOWER ICM is stereotypically feminine, colourful, spirited, and beautiful – benevolent in every way. This ICM is very much challenged in *Mrs Dalloway* as we saw above in figure 1, and Woolf has no qualms about re-interpreting and re-establishing the FLOWER ICM as she uses flower words to depict and describe her characters. This re-interpretation of the FLOWER ICM locally during the course of the novel is, then, another example of how the flower-motif characterises and permeates Woolf's novel *Mrs Dalloway* in ways which we do perhaps not expect.

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## **Erratum: Two directions of change in one corpus: phonology vs morphosyntax in Tyneside English\***

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**Abstract:** References to Rowe (2009) have been added in the text and a footnote has been added noting the diverging findings of said study and the one reported in the paper at hand.

Cheshire et al. (2005) argue that different levels of language do not necessarily follow the same patterns of change over time. In an attempt to test this prediction, this article reports on a comparison between two quantitative corpus studies of Tyneside English which are partly based on the same data. The first study was carried out by Watt and investigated levelling in the phonological variables in the FACE and GOAT lexical set (Watt 2002) based on data collected in 1994. Watt found that speakers were abandoning broad local vernacular variants in favour of more regional or generally Northern forms. The second study was a study of seven morphosyntactic variables based on data collected in the 1960s, 1994 and 2007-2009. This study found that the variables under investigation were either stable over time or used more frequently in the most recent data. Thus, the comparison of the two studies shows support for Cheshire et al. (2005). This difference in the direction of change is explained by socio-psychological processes linking linguistic forms, the local Tyneside area and speaker identity. More specifically, it is argued that speakers imbue local vernacular variants with social meaning (Podesva 2006). This means that speakers create a social index (Silverstein 2003) which links linguistic forms and additional non-denotational meanings through processes of enregisterment (Agha 2003). This allows speakers to express an affiliation with their local area and all that it represents to them at a time when this area is undergoing vast changes.

**Keywords:** Enregisterment, identity, indexicality, morphosyntax, social meaning, Tyneside.

### **1. Introduction**

Dialect levelling refers to the type of language change in which local dialects conform to regional varieties leading to the disappearance of more localized vernaculars (Trudgill 1986; Kerswill 2001, 2003). This change is often facilitated by the loss of rural dialect boundaries as people become increasingly mobile. Watt (2002) reported levelling in the phonology of Tyneside English based on data from the 1990s which is now part of the *DECTE* corpus (consisting of data from the 1960s, 1990s and now). Watt concluded that speakers were increasingly adopting supralocal variants as a means to retaining local membership whilst avoiding stigmatization through the use of broad vernacular forms. However, as Cheshire et al. (2005) remark, there is a lack of studies investigating levelling in other areas than phonology, and we should not expect levelling to affect different components of language in the same way. The study reported here aims to establish whether changes in the morphosyntax of Tyneside English can also be said to be levelling. It takes a quantitative approach and is based on data from the *DECTE* corpus. In short, the statistical tests performed map the frequencies of standard and vernacular forms of seven morphosyntactic constructions in order to establish any change over time. The results did not show that the variables were levelling. In fact, they either showed that the vernacular forms of the variables were used consistently over time or that their use was increasing. These results clearly do not follow the levelling hypothesis but support the observations of Cheshire et al. (2005) about the differences between phonology and morphosyntax.

The results of the morphosyntactic study are interpreted from a socio-cognitive perspective (e.g. Geeraerts 2005, 2010; Croft 2006, 2009). This approach to language and linguistic variation

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suggests that social and psychological factors can impact on speakers' language use. More specifically, it provides a framework for the interpretation of how changes in the urban landscape of Newcastle upon Tyne (Miles 2005) may impact on inhabitants' affiliation with the area which may in turn affect their use of vernacular forms (Burbano-Elizondo 2008). It is thus hypothesised that the difference in direction of change is linked to social factors which, through a socio-cognitive link, affect speakers' language use. Jensen (2013) suggests that *salience* is the property which facilitates the attachment of social meaning to linguistic forms on a cognitive level. As this article is primarily concerned with the differences in the direction of change between Tyneside English phonology and morphosyntax found in the *DECTE* corpus, I will not go into the *salience* argument in any great detail here although I briefly return to it in the discussion of results.

This article will first discuss dialect levelling and Watt's study in more detail and provide definitions of key terms employed in the interpretation of the results of the statistical analyses. I will then introduce the study of morphosyntactic change in Tyneside English by firstly describing the corpus data used in the study, secondly, by defining the seven variables under study and, thirdly, explaining the method used to extract tokens and analyse their patterning. I then report on the results of the different statistical analyses before discussing them in light of both Watt's findings for Tyneside English phonology as well as the key terms defined in the second section. I conclude by a brief discussion of possible caveats and make suggestions for future studies.

## 2. Dialect levelling and linguistic identity

According to Watt & Milroy (1999: 31), phonological levelling has taken place in the Northeast "for at least forty years" and the broader Tyneside dialect can be seen as levelling towards a more regional standard called Tyneside English, a variety closer to the national standard. The fact that speakers want to appear modern but also still retain linguistic affiliations with their local area can be seen as a part of the argument for the claim made in Watt (2002) – namely that

(c)ontrary to claims that the distinctiveness of Tyneside English (TE) is eroding under the influence of a southern standard model, however, these generational differences are hypothesised to reflect TE's shift towards a northern, or north-eastern, regional standard (Watt & Milroy 1999: 44-45).

However, as mentioned in the introduction, the stable or increased use of vernacular morphosyntactic forms is a change in the opposite direction of what is found in dialect levelling. Most studies within the framework of dialect levelling focus on changes in the phonology of localised dialects but the comparison presented here shows that studies investigating different levels of a variety using the same data might be a worthwhile undertaking. This furthermore supports Cheshire et al. (2005) who remark that there is a lack of studies investigating levelling in other areas than phonology and we should not expect levelling to affect different components of language in the same way.

### 2.1 Phonological levelling in Tyneside English

Watt's (2002) study of phonological levelling in Tyneside English was based on the *PVC* data which is now part of the *DECTE* corpus and described in more detail below. In his study, Watt compared the speech of 32 working class and middle class adults in two age groups: younger speakers (aged 18-25) and older speakers (aged 45+) and found that there was a significant difference in the vowels used by the two groups in words such as FACE and GOAT (see Table 1 below, from Watt 2002: 47):

Table 1: Phonetic variants of FACE and GOAT

|                            | FACE | GOAT     |
|----------------------------|------|----------|
| <b>Type I (supralocal)</b> | e:   | o:       |
| <b>Type II (local)</b>     | ɪə   | ʊə       |
| <b>Type III (national)</b> | eɪ   | oʊ<br>ə: |

The supralocal variants are classed as ‘generally northern’ or Scottish pronunciations which Watt also calls “‘mainstream’ northern variants” (Watt 2002: 47). The local variants, here called type II, are more local than the variants in type I and are classed as typically north-eastern characteristics. These characteristics are often present in the speech of Tyneside speakers even when other traits of the accent are avoided. The national or standard variants in type III are almost never found in Tyneside English. The fourth vowel in the GOAT set is a monophthong which has been a variant in Tyneside English for some time (Watt 2002: 47). At the end of his study, Watt concludes that the use of type II variants is diminishing and that the supralocal forms are used instead. However, he states, there is some evidence that the national forms are increasingly being used by some members of the middle class (Watt 2002: 57). In his discussion of his results, Watt hypothesises that this use of levelled, regional forms can be seen as the middle ground between an old-fashioned, backward and stigmatized variety (broad Tyneside) and the national standard which allow the speakers to retain local membership as well as allowing them a part in the modern and globalized nation at the same time (Watt 2002: 57-58).

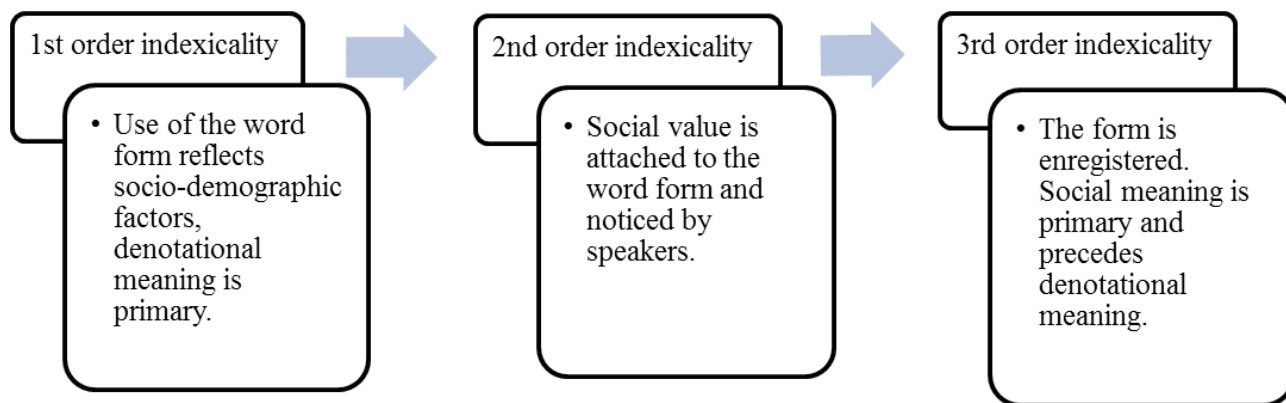
As I have already mentioned above, the results of the morphosyntactic study revealed markedly different results. While Watt found the broad Tyneside diphthongs to be used less by the younger generation of speakers, the morphosyntactic study found that local vernacular morphosyntactic forms, such as *divn’t* and *hoy*, were either used at a similar frequency over time or even increasing in use among younger speakers in the most recent data. The difference in direction of change between the morphosyntax and the phonology of Tyneside English raises a number of issues: one concerns the difference between phonology and morphosyntax on a cognitive level. How are these two levels structured and what are the differences in speakers access to or awareness of these levels? This is discussed further in section 5. Another important issue which should be addressed is that of the reason for the increase in use of local morphosyntactic forms. The levelling hypothesis provides an explanation for the loss of broad local phonological variants, but it obviously cannot be applied to the morphosyntax. I suggest that this change is linked to changes in the urban environment of Newcastle upon Tyne which has undergone a transformation from industrial heavyweight to a haven of leisure facilities (Miles 2005). I argue that the difference in the direction of change found in the *DECTE* corpus for phonology and morphosyntax can be linked to a socially meaning-bearing function of the local morphosyntactic forms (Silverstein 2003, Podesva 2006). Thus, this urban and cultural regeneration of the townscape seems to go hand-in-hand with the linguistic regeneration (which Rowe (2009) calls “revitalisation”) exemplified by the increased use of Tyneside vernacular morphosyntactic forms. In the subsection below, I will introduce the key terms involved in this argument. I return to and elaborate on this argument in more detail when I discuss the results of the statistical analyses in section 5.

## 2.2 Sociolinguistic concepts involved in shaping a linguistic identity

In this section, I introduce the key terms which I will use to interpret not only the results of the morphosyntactic corpus study but also in my discussion of the difference between the direction of change in Tyneside English phonology and morphosyntax. In my discussion, I will focus on the role of *social meaning* and the related terms of *indexicality* and *enregisterment*. The figure below shows

how the different terms are related. It is structured around Silverstein's orders of indexicality, which are explained further below, and the role of social meaning is elaborated on in the boxes in the front. We see that Agha's enregisterment is here synonymous with 3<sup>rd</sup> order indexicality. This is a simplification, but fits the purposes of this paper for the time-being. Enregisterment is also further explained below.

Figure 1: Indexical order and social meaning



*Social meaning* is the meaning which linguistic features accumulate over time in addition to their denotational meaning and can be defined as the enregistered value of forms which index a range of social ideals. Social meaning indexes different social characteristics and values which reflect different perceptions of the social world. These perceptions differ from person to person and thus the social meanings indexed by different linguistic forms are likely to differ between speakers. As a concept, social meaning is often used synchronically in linguistics as a means of describing what variation means to speakers in their daily lives and how social perceptions manifest themselves in language use. Thus, linguistic choices may be influenced by the social meaning of forms and the identities speakers wish to portray. In this way, social meaning may over time (through the medium of speaker choice) lead to diachronic change.

Linked to the notion of the social meaning of forms is the process of *enregisterment* which accounts for the diachronic process of the creation and accumulation of the social meaning of forms (Agha 2003). Enregisterment is based on the linking of forms and established social constructs in a speech community – something which has been described in great detail by Silverstein (2003) as *indexicality*. Both of these concepts prove very productive in the interpretation of the difference in direction of change which this article is concerned with.

Silverstein (2003) argues that in order to investigate the ways in which speakers relate linguistic features to socio-cultural values, and thus create social identities in interaction, we need to consider the concept of *indexical order*. In short, indexical order is the formulation of the observation that “*n*-th order indexical tokens” (i.e. linguistic features) have “contextual entailments” (i.e. social meaning) which are a consequence of “the ideological engagement users manifest in respect of the *n*-th order indexical meaningfulness” (the social values expressed and maintained by speakers) (Silverstein 2003: 193-194). Silverstein builds on this and adds the notion of “*n* + 1<sup>st</sup> order indexical value” which he defines as a competing structure of value which can be characterised as a distinct but overlapping form which directly indexes the ideological value (or social meaning) in communication (Silverstein 2003: 194). This “dialectic competition” between the two forms ultimately plays a role in linguistic change as the *n* + 1<sup>st</sup> (second) order indexical value replaces the *n*-th (first) order indexical value

(Silverstein 2003: 194). Eckert (2008) builds on Silverstein's indexical order and argues for the interpretation of the meanings of variables based on an *indexical field*. She states that a more fluid conceptualisation of the potential meanings of variables is needed as variation is inherent in the social meaning of variables (variants mean different things to different people in different situations). The indexical field is thus a

constellation of ideologically related meanings, any one of which can be activated in the situated use of the variable ... and each new activation has the potential to change the field by building on ideological connections. Thus, variation constitutes an indexical system that embeds ideology in language and that is in turn part and parcel of the construction of ideology (Eckert 2008: 454).

As mentioned above, connected to the notion of indexical order and the social indexicality of forms is enregisterment which describes "processes through which a linguistic repertoire becomes differentiable within a language as a socially recognized register of forms" (Agha 2003: 231). Indeed, it can be argued that the  $(n + 1) + 1^{\text{st}}$  (or third) order indexical value of a linguistic form expresses the enregistered meaning of the form (which is shown above in Figure 1). Enregisterment is discussed in depth by Agha (2003) in connection with the emergence and spread of RP in Britain, a process he treats in much detail. However, the overarching theme of the article is how cultural values are socially produced, maintained and transformed through discursive interaction and how cultural value as a dynamic property applies to language, which is here seen as any other cultural form. Agha comments that when non-linguists discuss accents they are not actually talking about specific sound patterns but rather about "a system of contrastive social personae stereotypically linked to contrasts of sound" (Agha 2003: 241-242). As an example of this, he mentions that RP is "enregistered in cultural awareness as part of a system of stratified speech levels linked to an ideology of speaker rank" (Agha 2003: 242). He proposes that the transmission of cultural values across a population takes place through discourse, through what he calls a *speech chain*. This he defines as

a historical series of speech events linked together by the permutation of individuals across speech-act roles in the following way: the receiver of the message in the  $(n)^{\text{th}}$  speech event is the sender of the message in the  $(n+1)^{\text{th}}$  speech event, i.e. where the terms 'sender' and 'receiver' ... are variable names of interactional roles, specified in different ways at different points along the speech chain (Agha 2003: 247).

A similar argument could be made for Tyneside English (and indeed other non-standard vernaculars which are thriving in today's Britain) where local word forms have been linked to an ideology. In this case not an ideology of speaker rank but rather an ideology of localness. Thus, social meaning (or cultural value, in Agha's terminology) is constructed through language but also part of the language itself.

Johnstone (2009) presents an empirical study of Pittsburgh English and clearly links the use of local linguistic forms with speakers' expression of local identity. In this paper, she focuses in particular on T-shirts featuring words or expressions believed to be written representations of Pittsburghese. Johnstone argues that the consumption of these T-shirts is part of a process which has generated the idea that a distinct Pittsburgh dialect exists. These T-shirts not only put the dialect on display, they also infuse the local vernacular with (social) value and create a standardized form of the vernacular. Finally, they also create a link between local vernacular speech and particular social meaning (Johnstone 2009: 157). The Pittsburghese T-shirts rely on enregisterment to find their market. Johnstone notes that it is only individuals who are able to recognise Pittsburgh speech as distinct from



other varieties and who link it with “authentic local identity” (Johnstone 2009: 168) who will find the shirts funny or appealing. In addition, the print on the shirts has to be recognised as a representation of Pittsburghese and thus rely on already enregistered forms. However, third order indexicality (or enregisterment) of a range of linguistic forms is also a product of these shirts through the display of forms, infusion of value, creation of a standard, and link with social meaning.

What we see from the above descriptions of indexicality and enregisterment is that they are useful theoretical terms to consider in the discussion of language and social identity. What they make clear is that language exists not of itself but shapes and is shaped by speakers’ social identity. Speakers are seen as active participants in the construal of social meaning through their language use and it is precisely this link between the social and the cognitive aspects of language which the socio-cognitive approach to language captures. The social, then, is not just an afterthought but very much part and parcel of what is conveyed by speech. Foulkes & Docherty (2006: 419), writing in the area of sociophonetics, summarise this in the following way: “Indeed, the interweaving of sociophonetic and linguistic information in speech is so complete that no natural human utterance can offer linguistic information without simultaneously indexing one or more social factor”. In their 2006 paper, Foulkes and Docherty explore the area of sociophonetic variation, drawing on findings from some of their own previous studies on Tyneside English, among other varieties. They also discuss sociophonetic variation from the perspective of first language acquisition, again focusing studies of data collected in Newcastle. They suggest an exemplar-based model in their account of how social and linguistic information may be acquired, stored long-term and accessed in on-line processes of production and perception although they also make clear that it is not clear, at present, how sociophonetic information is represented cognitively and how it is processed in comparison with other types of information.

They present insights from studies on variation on the segmental, suprasegmental, and subsegmental level and also present evidence (from Newcastle and Derby) supporting the ability of phonetic contrast to index social information. In other words, phonetic variation across speakers is not merely be a reflection of physiological differences between males and females but is meaning-bearing and can be perceived by listeners. The study looked at preaspiration and voicing in both Newcastle and Derby and found that while, in Newcastle, extended voicing was used more often by males than females (across class and age) and preaspiration was used mostly by young females (across both working and middle class). On the other hand, preaspiration was not found at all in Derby and extended voicing showed no significant social effects.

### 3. Data, variables and method

The aim of the morphosyntactic corpus study was to investigate the frequency of use over time for seven morphosyntactic variables: sentential negation with *do*, first and second person pronouns, sentential negation with *can*, and the verbs *go*, *throw*, and *told*. The variables are introduced in more detail below. Essentially, this study employs standard variationist methodology by considering linguistic variables and their envelopes of variation, i.e. how many different ways there are of saying the same thing (Labov 1972: 323). This methodology is based on Labov's work in the 1960s, which set the precedent for investigating the patterning of variation in language. This article adopts standard variationist annotation by placing the variable name in parentheses, e.g. (throw). Every linguistic variable has several variants, i.e. different ways that this variable can be expressed. In the example of (throw), the possible variants are *throw* (which is the Standard English form) and *hoy* (which is the Tyneside English form). Standard variationist annotation sees variants given in italics.

The seven variables included in this study were selected based on two different types of sources: firstly, scholarly literature (Beal 1993, 2004, 2010; Beal et. al. 2012) on the Tyneside dialect was consulted and, secondly, further examples were found in what can be described as *popular dialect literature*. This type of literature describes a genre of books and pamphlets, most of which were published in the 1970s, which are either wholly or partly written in what is claimed to be Geordie or

Tyneside English. These books often deal with aspects of the dialect (e.g. in the book *Larn yersel' Geordie* by Scott Dobson) or Geordie culture (e.g. *Scott Dobson's Geordie Recitations, Songs and Party Pieces*) in a humorous fashion and are aimed at visitors to Tyneside (as would be the case for *Larn yersel' Geordie*) as well as Tyneside speakers (perhaps particularly expatriate Geordies). However, the choice of variables was also limited by methodological considerations involving the types of search possible using the software programme R to search through raw (i.e. not annotated or parsed) corpus data. As for the clearly lexical variables, the criterion was that the lexical forms had to be particular to Tyneside. For the morphosyntactic variables, the criterion was that the variables displayed non-standard morphosyntactic forms in the syntactic environments under study.

Due to time constraints, this study does not consider any constraints of the variation (neither internal, external nor extra-linguistic) although it recognises that further investigations into these issues would yield valuable results. Before progressing to the study proper, however, it is important to make clear here how morphosyntax is understood as there can be an overlap between what constitutes morphosyntactic variation and different forms of lexical items in non-standard varieties. According to Crystal (2009: 315), morphosyntactic forms are “grammatical categories or properties for whose definition criteria of morphology and syntax both apply, as in describing the characteristics of words”. An example of this is the singular/plural distinction of nouns. The grammatical number of a given noun affects the corresponding verb when the noun is in the subject position, i.e. number affects syntax. In addition, if a noun is in the plural, it takes a plural ending (e.g. *-s*), i.e. number also affects morphology. In this way, variation in morphosyntactic variables affects both the surface forms (i.e. addition of plural *-s* on nouns) as well as the underlying syntax (i.e. the requirement for subject-verb concord where a singular noun requires a singular verb). The grey area between lexicon and morphosyntax arises as it is sometimes difficult to establish whether a variable is an example of one or the other. Lexical forms will most likely have less impact on the underlying syntax (although there are clearly reasons for why a speaker chooses one lexical form over another) than a morphosyntactic variable, which is why definition and classification is important. Although the main focus is on frequency change in standard and vernacular morphosyntactic forms, a few clear lexical variables have been included in the corpus study (e.g. (throw) which has the TE form *hoy*). However, some of the variables investigated here also fall into the grey area between morphosyntax and lexicon (an example is the variable (go) which has the TE form *gan*).

Each variable is described in more detail in section 3.2 below and the origins of the vernacular forms given. It is likely possible to argue that some variants of a variable reflect a clear synonymous relationship whereas others may display simple lexical form variation due to their etymology (and others again are examples of morphosyntactic variation). Considerations of this kind, while valid and insightful, not only raise issues outside the scope of this paper (differentiation between morphology and lexicon as briefly described above, the constitution of a synonymous relationship versus simple variation in form) but they are perhaps also less relevant in a study of this kind for two reasons. First and foremost, this study is interested in binary pairs of standard and non-standard forms regardless of whether they can be classed as synonyms or not and whether they are strictly morphosyntactic or more towards the lexical domain<sup>1</sup>. Secondly, what is of the essence is thus the vernacular quality of the variants which ultimately is a quality wholly determined by the Tyneside English speakers (i.e. a form is only a vernacular form if it is perceived to be one and thus indexes locality to some extent). This means that the status of the variants as morphosyntactic, lexical, synonym or form variant becomes less important.

### 3.1 Data

The data used for this corpus study is the *Diachronic Electronic Corpus of Tyneside English (DECTE)*,

<sup>1</sup> See Rowe (2007) and (2009) for more on the lexicalisation of the (do + NEG) variable.

Corrigan et al. 2010-2012) which is comprised of three subcorpora: *The Tyneside Linguistic Survey (TLS)*, the *Phonological Variation and Change corpus (PVC)* and the *Newcastle Electronic Corpus of Tyneside English 2 (NECTE2)*. The data stored in these three subcorpora were collected in the 1960s (*TLS*), in 1994 (*PVC*) and in 2007-present (*NECTE2*, the data included in this study was collected 2007-2009). The data stored in these corpora is interview data. The table below outlines the earliest and latest possible birthdates for the speakers in each corpus (adapted from Barnfield 2009). While this study does not consider informant age or year of birth in the analysis of change and variation, this table has been included here to give the reader an impression of just how many years the data manages to capture. The *NECTE2* corpus is truly a unique resource in that it incorporates local speech data from informants born in the late 1800s until now.

Table 2: Overview of data

| Corpus and years collected | Younger speaker birthdates (age 17-34) | Older speaker birthdates (age 35+) |
|----------------------------|--|------------------------------------|
| <b>TLS 1965-1970</b>       | 1935- 1968                             | 1895- 1934                         |
| <b>PVC 1991-1994</b>       | 1954- 1977                             | 1911- 1953                         |
| <b>NECTE2 2007-2009</b>    | 1967- 1990                             | 1923- 1966                         |

Before proceeding to the introduction of the individual subcorpora, it should be highlighted that the data stored in these corpora is not perfectly matched. A few ways in which the data differ include geographic spread (the *TLS* data is exclusively from Gateshead, the *PVC* data is exclusively from Newcastle, and the *NECTE2* data is from a larger area which can be described as Tyneside); age range (although this has been normalised for this study, i.e. informants have been separated into similar age groups across the three subcorpora); operationalization of social class (this is often a tricky subject in sociolinguistic studies, see also Jensen (2013) for a discussion of the issues of social class in general in the North of England); the number of speakers in each social cell (e.g. no old MC speakers in *NECTE2*, only 1 old male WC speaker in *PVC*); fieldwork methods and protocols of transcription.

### 3.1.1 The Tyneside Linguistic Survey

The data in this corpus was collected in the late 1960s in Gateshead, which is on the southern bank of the river Tyne. The data-driven approach pioneered in the survey is still employed today and is recognised for its empirical benefits to hypotheses of language variation and change (Corrigan et al. 2000-2005). A large amount of work has been put into restoring and securing the *TLS* data, some of which had been lost and some badly damaged. Today, 37 files, which contain complete interviews with informants and full transcriptions, are available and all were used in this study. The data files also provide social information about each speaker (age, gender and detailed social class based on level of education) and, on the basis of this information, the speakers were separated into the following categories:

Table 3: Overview of the *TLS* data

| WC            |        |           |        | MC            |        |           |        | Total |
|---------------|--------|-----------|--------|---------------|--------|-----------|--------|-------|
| Young (17-34) |        | Old (35+) |        | Young (17-34) |        | Old (35+) |        |       |
| Male          | Female | Male      | Female | Male          | Female | Male      | Female |       |
| 3             | 5      | 5         | 6      | 5             | 6      | 4         | 3      | 37    |

The interviews consist of a guided conversation between an interviewer and one informant, averaging 30 minutes in length, some interviews taking on a more relaxed conversational style and others a more formal question – answer format (Corrigan et al. 2000-2005).

### 3.1.2 The Phonological Variation and Change in Contemporary Spoken English corpus

This data was collected in Newcastle on the northern bank of the river Tyne between 1991 and 1994. The methodology used was broadly similar to that commonly employed in variationist sociolinguistic fieldwork today which means that it differs from that employed by the *TLS* fieldworkers. The interviews last around 60 minutes and involve informal conversations between a pair of friends or relatives. The *PVC* corpus consists of a total of 18 files each featuring 2 speakers and all were included in the study. The social distribution is shown below in Table 4. This data was also used in Watt's (2002) study of phonological change which is discussed further below.

Table 4: Overview of the *PVC* data

| WC            |        |           |        | MC            |        |           |        | Total |
|---------------|--------|-----------|--------|---------------|--------|-----------|--------|-------|
| Young (17-34) |        | Old (35+) |        | Young (17-34) |        | Old (35+) |        |       |
| Male          | Female | Male      | Female | Male          | Female | Male      | Female |       |
| 5             | 5      | 1         | 3      | 6             | 4      | 7         | 5      | 36    |

### 3.1.3 The Newcastle Electronic Corpus of Tyneside English 2

The material in the *NECTE2* corpus is collected by undergraduate and postgraduate students at Newcastle University and it consists of several data files, each containing an interview between an interviewer and two speakers (using the same methodology as the *PVC* corpus), a word list, and a reading passage. The style of the interviews is informal with minimal participation of the fieldworker and the speakers are, for the most part, closely acquainted. The interviews last around one hour. The files selected for this study were collected in 2007, 2008 and 2009 and the speakers were from either Newcastle or Gateshead in order to ensure maximum comparability with the speakers in the *PVC* and *TLS* corpora. A total of 24 files (48 speakers) were selected and the social distribution of speakers is given below in Table 5:

Table 5: Overview of the *NECTE2* data

| WC            |        |           |        | MC            |        |           |        | Total |
|---------------|--------|-----------|--------|---------------|--------|-----------|--------|-------|
| Young (17-34) |        | Old (35+) |        | Young (17-34) |        | Old (35+) |        |       |
| Male          | Female | Male      | Female | Male          | Female | Male      | Female |       |
| 8             | 6      | 6         | 7      | 9             | 6      | 0         | 6      | 48    |

## 3.2 Variables

The seven variables included in the corpus study are described in more detail below and the variants included in the study listed.

### 3.2.1 (do + NEG)

The Tyneside English contracted form for this construction is *divn't* (also represented as *divvent*) and, according to Beal (1993: 192), the auxiliary *div* (for *do*) is unique to Tyneside. Beal further states that the auxiliary *div* can occur in both positive and negative present tense statements and tag questions and that the phonological form *div* is never used for the main verb *do* (see sentence 1 below). Rowe (2007:361) adds that the positive form of the auxiliary *div* is rarely used except by conservative speakers and speakers using certain linguistic features as in-group markers (particularly a group widely identified across the Tyneside region as *charvas*<sup>2</sup>). Finally, *divn't* does not occur in the third

<sup>2</sup> A term used in Newcastle to denote groups of "tough" young people most often from a lower socioeconomic background known for their use of distinctive linguistic features (to signify group membership) as well as particular dress-code (branded sports apparel). The term has been absorbed into general English in recent years (it was *Word of the Year* in 2004) and now denotes members of the 'underclass' across Britain although the distinctive dress-code of sports apparel

person singular which is always *doesn't*, according to Beal (2004: 124) (although Rowe (2007: 365) gives the form *dizn't*). Whilst there is clear evidence that *divn't* is the dominant vernacular form of (do + NEG) in the Tyneside area, other non-standard forms can be found as well (see e.g. Cheshire et al. (1993), Rowe (2009), and Buchstaller & Corrigan (2011)). The variants included in this study were: *do*, *don't*, *don-t*, *div*, *divn't*, *divn-t*, *divn*, *does*, *doesn't*, *doesn-t*, *dinna*, *divven't*. The examples below are taken from the corpus:

- (1) what div I like to do in my spare time well... (tls28, male, old, WC)
- (2) and that you know and this pott singer I divn't care for that fellow I like to hear it sometime but as for watching it on television I don't care much for that you know (tls14, male, old, WC)
- (3) I don't know how I've got this... I divn't knaa where all my money's gone (necte2 07- 08/N/ML/159, male, young, MC)

### 3.2.2 Pronouns

Tyneside English is by no means alone in displaying variation in the pronoun system. In fact, this is a common occurrence in regional varieties of English (Trudgill & Chambers 1991: 7; Beal 2010: 39). This study only deals with the first and second person personal pronouns, although TE pronouns differ from those of Standard English in a number of ways. Some of these differences are also found in other regional dialects (such as using the object pronoun in the subject position in compound subjects, using *which* with a personal antecedent) and some are particular to Tyneside English (such as adding *-self/selves* to the vernacular possessive forms of pronouns throughout the paradigm giving forms such as *meself* and *theirselves* (Beal 1993: 205-207, 2004: 117-119).

- (First person pronoun): In Tyneside English, we find that the standard paradigm has been completely reorganised apart from the first person subject, as can be seen from the table below (Beal 1993: 205):<sup>3</sup>

Table 6: First person pronouns in Standard and Tyneside English

|                                   | <b>Standard</b> | <b>Tyneside</b> |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <b>Subject singular/plural</b>    | I / we          | I / us          |
| <b>Object singular/plural</b>     | Me / us         | Us / we         |
| <b>Possessive singular/plural</b> | My / our        | Me / wor        |

Beal (2010:42-43) discusses pronoun exchange in regional varieties of English and defines it as follows: “ ‘[p]ronoun exchange’ is the term used to refer to a phenomenon whereby what would, in Standard English, be the subject form is used in the object form and vice versa” and continues to note that in the Northeast, only the first person plural forms have been exchanged. However, as can be seen from Table 6 above (which is based on Beal 1993) the object singular and possessive forms are different in Tyneside English. Beal (2010) further comments that *we*

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and tendency to cause havoc in town centres is maintained (Rowe 2007, Hayward and Yar 2006).

<sup>3</sup> It should be noted here that in the most recent publication about North-eastern English, Beal et.al. (2012: 52) report Tyneside English to have the form *we* in the plural subject form, i.e. the same form as Standard English, however, the data for the corpus study reported here was compiled and analysed prior to this resource becoming available.

(pronounced with a weakened schwa vowel) in the object position is more frequent than *us* used in the subject position. The variants included in this study were: *we, us, me, my, our; wor; mi*. While the first person singular subject form *I* formed part of the initial data collection, it was excluded from the analyses as it is the same form in both Standard and Tyneside English and accounted for more than half of the initial 40,000+ tokens which were collected. Below are a few examples taken from the corpus data:

- (4) Keeps us on my toes (necte2, 07-08/G/DM/456, young, male, MC)
- (5) And he used to buy we like alcohol and that (necte2, 07-08/G/LR/195, young, female, WC)
- (6) and they constantly had me mam ganning up to the school to talk about us and stuff (necte2, 07-08/N/PS/243, young, male, WC)
- (7) Oh yeah, we're great friends with wor next door neighbours (necte2, 07-08/N/VL/3892, old, female, MC)

- (Second person pronoun): The vernacular form of the second person personal pronoun is *yous* (in both singular and plural, see below) in Tyneside English. This form has most likely been introduced by Irish immigrants and the form is also found in other northern urban varieties, e.g. Liverpool and Manchester (Beal 2010: 40-41). An older vernacular form in TE is the singular subject form *ye* (plural form: *yees*) which is thought to be a remnant from the Early Modern English period. For speakers who have the *ye* form, the second person pronoun paradigm has distinct forms for all four positions (where Standard English has *you* in all four environments). However, the *ye* and *yees* forms were very rare in the corpus data (Beal 1993: 205, 2004: 118, 2010: 40). As this study is strictly interested in the change in frequencies of non-standard forms over time, coding did not differentiate between the different vernacular forms used<sup>4</sup>. As we can see from the table below, there is an overlap in forms between Tyneside English and Standard English in the singular object position. Both Englishes have *you* in this position which makes it impossible to determine whether it is the vernacular or standard pronoun which is being used. In the coding of data, all occurrences of *you* were labelled as Standard English. Whereas this holds the potential to be misleading due to the ambiguous data, time constraints and the somewhat 'raw' format of the data meant that this seemed the best solution to this issue as opposed to leaving out tokens in the singular object position.

Table 7: Second person pronouns in Standard and Tyneside English

|                                | <b>Standard</b> | <b>Tyneside</b>   |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| <b>Subject singular/plural</b> | You / you       | (Ye) yous / yous  |
| <b>Object singular/plural</b>  | You / you       | You / yous (yees) |

<sup>4</sup> I acknowledge that this coding scheme hides internal patterns of variation across the different syntactic environments and social categories, however, as mentioned previously, this study is purely interested in changes in frequencies of vernacular forms over time. Furthermore, the corpus data had only a handful of tokens of the forms *ye* and *yees*, although this could be due, in part to the differences in transcriptions across the three corpora

The following variants were included in this study: *you*, *yous*, *ye*, *yees*, *ya*. The examples below are taken from the 1990s data:

- (8) It's just yous were good weren't you oh apart from that time yous collapsed (pvc09a, male, young, MC)
- (9) I know my mam says “yous are stupid yous are letting her manipulate you again making you feel guilty when you shouldn't have to feel guilty” (pvc12a, female, young, MC)

### 3.2.3. Verbs

This final category contains the following four verbal variables: *can* + negation (which is *canna*), the vernacular form *gan* for Standard English *go*, TE *hoy* for Standard English *throw*, and finally the form *telt* for Standard English *told*. The criteria for the selection of the four variables in this category were that they had to be either lexical forms particular to Tyneside (as is the case for *hoy*) or display non-standard morphosyntax (as is the case for *canna*). As mentioned previously, *gan*, but also *telt*, occupy the grey area between morphosyntax and lexicon.

- (can +NEG): According to Beal (1993: 199, 2004: 123), speakers of Tyneside English tend to opt for uncontracted constructions of in sentential negation with the auxiliaries *have*, *be*, *will*, and *can*. The TE form for Standard English *cannot* is *canna* (also reproduced as *cannae*). The negative particle *na* or *nae* is also found extensively in Scotland (Trudgill & Chambers 1991: 49; Dictionary of the Scots Language 2005). The variants included in this study were: *can not*, *cannot*, *can't*, *canna*, *cannae*, *can-nae*, *can-not*, *can-na*, *canne*, *can-ne*. The examples below are from the corpus:
  - (10) Yeah that's how different we are I would prefer going on holiday even though I cannae sit in the sun 'cause I burn loads (necte2 08-09/N/SG/456, young, female, WC)
  - (11) aye I'm sick of telling them if somebody else can hear it as well as you it canna be doing you no good (pvc18b, old, female, WC)
  - (12) I've just always quite liked it here I cannae think of a down side (necte2 Tessa.Durby, old, female, MC)
- (go): According to Beal (1993: 192), the Tyneside English form *gan* is a “lexically distinct verb” which is not found in Standard English. It is attested in the Survey of English Dialects (Upton et al 1994) in the imperative and in exclamations such as *gan to hell*, *gan on*, and *gan off* from Durham, York and Northumberland. According to Oxford English Dictionary, *gan* stems from the Old English infinitive (Oxford English Dictionary Online, “go, v.”) whereas Standard English has taken the Old Norse form. The table below shows the present tense paradigm for *gan* based on the occurrences in the three corpora:

Table 8: (go) in Standard and Tyneside English

|                                       | Standard           | Tyneside           |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| <b>1<sup>st</sup> person singular</b> | I go               | I gan / gans       |
| <b>2<sup>nd</sup> person singular</b> | You go             | You gan            |
| <b>3<sup>rd</sup> person singular</b> | He / she / it goes | He / she / it gans |
| <b>1<sup>st</sup> person plural</b>   | We go              | We gan / gans      |
| <b>2<sup>nd</sup> person plural</b>   | You go             | (no occurrences)   |
| <b>3<sup>rd</sup> person plural</b>   | They go            | They gan / gans    |

As we can see, there is some variability in the endings in the first person singular and first and third person plural. According to Beal (2010: 32), some Northern varieties of English have *-s* throughout the present tense paradigm (and not just in the third person singular as is the case for Standard English). However, the matter is complicated somewhat by the ‘Northern Subject Rule’ which states that “the verb takes *-s* in the plural where the subject is a noun or noun phrase, but not when it is a pronoun adjacent to the verb” (Beal 2010: 32). Based on the data used for this study, it seems that the two rules are in competition and that Tyneside speakers differ in which forms they prefer when. The following variants were included in the study: *go*, *goes*, *goin*, *going*, *gan*, *gans*, *gannin*, *ganning*. The examples below are from the corpus:

- (13) aye we used to play in the street you ca you couldn’t gan anywhere else to play (tls06, old, female, WC)
- (14) we often gan on about it now (tls03, old, female, WC)
- (15) drink bottles when I gan in there (pvc01b, young, male, MC)
- (16) the insurance gans down ((doon)) a tenner every week? (necte2 07-08/N/PM/85, young, male, WC)
- (17) Ah that music was ganning till half two last night did you hear it? (necte2 07-08/N/ML/159, young, male, MC)

- (throw): The Tyneside verb for ‘throw’ is *hoy*. It is relatively infrequent, however, it is a verb which is often mentioned as a ‘stereotypical’ Geordie word, e.g. in the oft-quoted phrase “Hoy the hammer over here” (e.g. see BBC, 2008). It is attested in Wright (1898) as a verb found in Northumberland, Durham and Cumbria meaning “to throw” with the first entry dated 1969. A similar entry is found in the Survey of English Dialects (Upton et al 1994). In Wright (1898), *hoy* is also mentioned as an exclamation occurring in other, more southern parts of England (Devon, Kent, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire and Lancashire). Furthermore, it is also attested in the Oxford English Dictionary and the definition given can be linked to the Tyneside English use for ‘throw’ albeit tentatively. The OED lists *hoy* with the meaning “[t]o urge on or incite with cries of ‘hoy!’; to drive or convoy with shouts” (Oxford English Dictionary Online, “hoy, v.”) and gives examples from as far back as 1536 and includes an example by Robert Burns, the famous Scottish poet, from 1786:

- (18) They *hoy*’t out Will, wi’ sair advice.

Based on the data used in this study, *hoy* seems to follow the regular verb paradigm as can be seen



from the table below (based on the corpora used in this study):

Table 9: (throw) in Standard and Tyneside English

|                                       | <b>Standard</b>      | <b>Tyneside</b>  |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| <b>1<sup>st</sup> person singular</b> | I throw              | I hoy            |
| <b>2<sup>nd</sup> person singular</b> | You throw            | (no occurrences) |
| <b>3<sup>rd</sup> person singular</b> | He / she / it throws | (no occurrences) |
| <b>1<sup>st</sup> person plural</b>   | We throw             | (no occurrences) |
| <b>2<sup>nd</sup> person plural</b>   | You throw            | (no occurrences) |
| <b>3<sup>rd</sup> person plural</b>   | They throw           | They hoy         |

Other forms which occurred in the data were *hoying* as well as *hoyed* (used as past participle in the construction *got hoyed* and in the past tense *he hoyed it*). The variants included in the study were: *throw*, *throws*, *threw*, *thrown*, *throwing*, *throwin*, *hoy*, *hoys*, *hoyed*, *hoying*, *hoyin*. The examples below are both from the corpus data:

- (19) that's it you used to hoy a few currants in (pvc02a, old, male, MC)
- (20) even when there was lasses in my college I never got put with any of them I got hoyed straight in with the lads (pvc06a, young, male WC)
- (21) and the other lass was a bit thin because eh you have to hoy the boxes though you see (tls37, old, female, WC)
- (22) Oh he got hoyed out didn't he, aye! (necte2 07-08/G/JF/123, young, male, MC)
- (told): The final variable in this category is the past tense form of the verb *tell* where Tyneside English has the regular suffix *-t* (which gives the form *telt*) rather than following the irregular paradigm of Standard English which has *told* (Beal 2010: 31). As this study is purely concerned with mapping frequencies of use over time of Standard and vernacular forms, it does not distinguish between past tense and participle forms (Tyneside English has *telt* in both constructions and Standard English has *told*). The variants included in this study were: *telt*, *told*. The examples below show how the vernacular form was used by speakers in the corpus:
 

(23) but you telt me it was a fact (pvc06b, young, male, WC)

(24) it was him who telt me (tls28, old, male, WC)

(25) he telt us he was having a party but he didn't tell us like when (pvc01a, young, male, MC)

### 3.3 Method

Tokens from the corpora were extracted using the program R (R Development Core Team, 2011), the coding of the tokens was done manually in Microsoft Excel 2010 and statistical analyses were carried out using SPSS 19.0.

The corpus data was structured so that each line began with a speaker code and the full turn of the informant followed and each line ended with either the speaker code again or a code signalling the end of a turn. If the speaker turn ran over more than one line, it was divided into two (or more)

lines at a natural point, all beginning and ending with the speaker code (or an end of turn code). The three subcorpora were merged to form one large corpus of approximately 700,000 words which was used as the basis for the token collection. It was possible to identify which corpus each token was from on the basis of the speaker code. The tokens were extracted by R in the following way: the corpus file was narrowed down to only those lines that contained speech of informants by using the *grep()* function. The corpus was then further narrowed down to only those lines which contain matches with the search terms again by using *grep()*. The function *gregexpr()* was used to get a complete list of all matches (as some lines contained more than one match) and the lines with matches were then split into three (see below) by using the functions *rep()*, *sapply()*, *unlist()*, and *substr()* and the output was saved to a .txt file which was opened as a tab delimited table in Microsoft Excel 2010 where all further coding was done (for more information on the R code used, see Gries 2009: 138-140). The Excel table consisted of three columns: the first column featured the preceding context (from the beginning of the sentence including the speaker code up until the token), the second column contained the actual token (called 'match') and the third column the subsequent context (the remaining part of the line).

Figure 2: R output in Excel

| 1  | PRECEDING_CONTEXT                                       | MATCH | SUBSEQUENT_CONTEXT  | INFORMANT      |
|----|---|-------|---|----------------|
| 2  | <07-08/ N/ 11>  | you   | are a cunt Hobbes. <@> ... cheers mate ... † ... (N (3))    | <07-08/ N/ 11> |
| 3  | <07-08/ N/ 11>  | yees  | wore blazers? ... where did you go to school at? <07-       | <07-08/ N/ 11> |
| 4  | <07-08/ N/ 11>  | you   | you were really bad <@> <07-08/ N/ 11>                      | <07-08/ N/ 11> |
| 5  | <07-08/ N/ 11>  | you   | would be getting that letter ... you would be getting       | <07-08/ N/ 11> |
| 6  | <07-08/ N/ 11>  | you   | did not bother with The Who? <07-08/ N/ 11>                 | <07-08/ N/ 11> |
| 7  | <07-08/ N/ 11>  | you   | are kidding? <07-08/ N/ 11>                                 | <07-08/ N/ 11> |
| 8  | pre .. just going to type it up ... bang .. done .. so  | you   | just get a print-out now and you are done ... aye ... I     | <07-08/ N/ 11> |
| 9  | ing .. done .. so you just get a print-out now and      | you   | are done ... aye ... I would never .. prepare for it tho    | <07-08/ N/ 11> |
| 10 | / 11> (continues American Accent) .. soccer .. do       | you   | want a game of soccer? ... (reverts back to standard        | <07-08/ N/ 11> |
| 11 | f soccer? ... (reverts back to standard accent) do      | you   | fancy a game of football? aye .. aye. <@> <07-08/ N/        | <07-08/ N/ 11> |
| 12 | they play that .. they have got that umm .. have        | you   | seen that .. Dos Santos .. kid {... the Brazilian guy ...   | <07-08/ N/ 11> |
| 13 | <07-08/ N/ 11> .. like a .. five goal deficit .. then   | you   | have to write the other guy a letter of apology .. to s     | <07-08/ N/ 11> |
| 14 | etter of apology .. to say <@> .. saying how poor       | you   | are at Pro Evolution Soccer. <07-08/ N/ 11>                 | <07-08/ N/ 11> |
| 15 | is .. and concepts ... it seems .. in your third year   | you   | have got to read like .. scientific journals like .. all th | <07-08/ N/ 11> |
| 16 | ead like .. scientific journals like .. all the time .. | you   | don't get any text books. ... (N (3)) <07-08/ N/ 11>        | <07-08/ N/ 11> |

If a line contained more than one match, each of these were stored in separate lines. All searches for the linguistic variants specified that these forms had to occur between word boundaries. This meant that forms such as *you're* were also included but occurrences of variants within other words (e.g. in *yourself*) were ignored. The use of word boundaries is also why, when searching for the variants of (do + NEG), the different negated forms had to be specified as a search for *do* alone with word boundaries would not return instances of *don't* and *doesn't* and a search for *do* without specifying that it should occur within word boundaries would return a multiple of other lexical items (such as *doing*, *down*, *donation*, *bulldog*). The same R code was used for the extraction of all the tokens for all the variables with only the search terms being different. All variables were kept separate throughout and thus the search was carried out once for each individual variable.

As the number of tokens collected for the different variables varied greatly, different statistical methods were used to investigate frequency changes across the three corpora. All tests, however, were concerned with mapping the frequency differences between the three groups, *TLS*, *PVC* and *NECTE2*. Not only must the tests be able to establish whether the patterning of tokens changes across the three groups, they must also be able to tell us whether the differences are statistically significant and between which of the groups the differences are largest. The two categories *sentential negation* and *pronouns* were analysed using parametric tests (ANOVA) and the variables in the final category, *verbs*, were analysed using non-parametric tests (chi-squared and Kruskal-Wallis). These are described in more detail below. Due to the use of different tests, the data needed to be prepared differently

following the initial extraction from the corpora.

### 3.3.1 Parametric tests

Parametric tests (ANOVA) were used for the analyses of variables (do+NEG), (first person pronoun) and (second person pronoun). As the number of tokens collected for each speaker varied greatly for each of these variables and because a very large number of tokens were collected overall, a random sample of 10 tokens (for do + NEG) or 20 tokens (for the pronouns) per speaker was selected and coded for source corpus and whether the token was standard or Tyneside English. Based on this selection, each speaker was given a *vernacular score* (for (first) and (second person pronouns) this score was between 0-20 and for (do + NEG) between 0-10) which simply comprised of the number of vernacular tokens in the random selection for each speaker. A between-groups (or independent) analysis of variance (ANOVA) was then carried out on the basis of the vernacular score. For the (do + NEG) variable, the initial search returned around 3,400 tokens. 10 tokens were then randomly selected for each speaker using Excel's RAND function to ensure a balanced and equally representative sample. Out of the 120 speakers in the corpus, 17 speakers produced less than 10 instances of sentential negation with *do* and were left out of the final sample. This left 103 informants (*NECTE2*=43, *PVC*=30, *TLS*=30) and a total of 1030 tokens.

For the first person pronoun, R initially returned over 40,000 tokens. However, this included the singular nominative form *I* which made up more than half of the total number of collected tokens. As this form is the same in both standard and Tyneside English, all tokens of *I* were removed from the data set. 20 tokens were then randomly selected from each speaker; however, 7 speakers had produced less than 20 instances of the first person pronoun so these were left out of the final sample. This left 113 speakers (*NECTE2*=45, *PVC*=36, *TLS*=32) and a total of 2,260 tokens. All selected tokens were coded manually according to variety (standard or vernacular) and grammatical role and number. This was necessary in order to determine whether the token is standard or vernacular due to the overlap in the pronoun paradigm. No instances of right-dislocated pronouns (e.g. *I don't like it me*) were included.

The total number of extracted tokens for the second person pronoun was a little greater than 15,000. It was not possible to eliminate any tokens from this data set because even though *you* does feature as both a standard and vernacular form it is also the only form in the standard. According to the paradigm, the only overlapping form between the standard and vernacular is the singular object (which is *you* in both varieties) and thus the only form which should be removed from the study if the method and line of argumentation used for the first person pronoun were to be replicated. However, in order to exclude all instances of the singular object form, all the tokens would have to be coded for number and position before the tokens could be removed. This was simply not very time efficient and thus all tokens were kept as the basis for the following random selection of tokens. Again, 20 tokens were selected from each speaker using RAND. Out of the 120 speakers in the collected corpus, 2 speakers were represented by less than 20 tokens in the data set and thus left out. This left 118 informants (*NECTE2*=47, *PVC*=36, *TLS*=35) and a total of 2,360 tokens. All instances of *you* were coded as 'standard'.

The table below shows the number of tokens included from the different corpora in the analysis of the first three variables:

Table 10: Distribution of selected tokens for ANOVA across corpora and variables

| Corpus →                            | TLS      |            | PVC      |            | NECTE2   |            |
|-------------------------------------|----------|------------|----------|------------|----------|------------|
|                                     | Standard | Vernacular | Standard | Vernacular | Standard | Vernacular |
| ↓Variables                          |          |            |          |            |          |            |
| <b>(do + NEG) N=1030</b>            | 262      | 38         | 278      | 22         | 386      | 44         |
| <b>(1<sup>st</sup> pers) N=2260</b> | 591      | 49         | 651      | 69         | 785      | 115        |
| <b>(2<sup>nd</sup> pers) N=2360</b> | 697      | 3          | 713      | 7          | 865      | 75         |

### 3.3.2 Non-parametric tests

The rest of the variables (*canna*, *gan*, *hoy* and *telt*) were analysed using two different non-parametric tests. Non-parametric tests were chosen as these can be used on smaller datasets as they do not rely on normally distributed data and do not make assumptions about the underlying population (Pallant 2007: 210).

The first test was the chi-squared test which tests for significant differences between groups of speakers over time. There is an issue, though, with applying chi-squared tests to a population of utterances (and not a population of speakers) where some speakers are represented by more tokens than others. This is because one of the (albeit few) assumptions for non-parametric tests is that all observations must be independent, i.e. each person may only be counted once (Pallant 2007: 211). However, it can be argued that for each token, the speaker had a choice between a vernacular and a standard form and thus each token represents a separate and independent speech act. This also means that what the chi-squared test reveals in this instance is variation across tokens rather than variation across speakers. As the number of tokens for the individual variables in the verb category was quite low, all tokens were included for all variables. The tokens were coded for the corpus they occurred in as well as whether the token could be classed as a standard or vernacular form and chi-squared tests were then carried out on the basis of this.

Because of the possible issue with the chi-squared test, Kruskal-Wallis tests were also carried out on the four variables. In short, Kruskal-Wallis is the non-parametric version of an ANOVA test (which was used to test the differences between the pronouns and (do + NEG)). The Kruskal-Wallis tests were based on a proportional score for each speaker which captured the proportion of vernacular tokens out of the total number of tokens collected for that speaker. The distribution of standard and vernacular tokens across the three corpora is given in Table 11 below:

Table 11: Distribution of tokens for non-parametric tests across corpora and variables

| Corpus →                 | TLS      |            | PVC      |            | NECTE2   |            |
|--------------------------|----------|------------|----------|------------|----------|------------|
| ↓ Variables              | Standard | Vernacular | Standard | Vernacular | Standard | Vernacular |
| <b>(can + NEG) N=260</b> | 64       | 0          | 81       | 1          | 81       | 33         |
| <b>(go) N=4567</b>       | 639      | 84         | 2146     | 93         | 1473     | 132        |
| <b>(throw) N=86</b>      | 10       | 8          | 30       | 7          | 23       | 8          |
| <b>(told) N=188</b>      | 28       | 2          | 78       | 13         | 62       | 5          |

## 4. Results

I will present the results of the statistical tests (ANOVA, chi-square, and Kruskal-Wallis) in two separate sections. The first will detail the results of the ANOVA tests for the variables (do + NEG), (first person pronoun), and (second person pronoun) and the second section, 4.2, will detail the results for the four variables in the group *verbs* which were analysed using the two non-parametric tests, chi-squared test for independence and Kruskal-Wallis.

### 4.1 Results of parametric tests

The table below summarises the descriptive statistics for the ANOVA test of the three variables discussed in this section. The ANOVA test compares the variability in scores between the three corpora (which is taken to be due to the time of collection) with the variability within each group (which is taken to be due to chance). Chance dictates that there will always be variation within the groups so for a significant result (expressed by a large *F* ratio), the variation between the groups must be larger than the variation within the groups as this would indicate that the independent variable which is being tested (here time of collection) is the cause of these differences (Pallant 2007: 242)<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Note that this explanation accounts for the logic underlying the ANOVA test. The variation within the groups may be

As the ANOVA test is based on the vernacular values for each speaker, the means and Standard Deviations also refer to these values. Interestingly, the maximum value reported for the first and second person pronouns in the *TLS* and *PVC* corpora are all very low, especially for the second person pronoun (1 and 2, respectively). The *Ns* given are the number of speakers included from each corpus.

Table 12: Summary of descriptive statistics for ANOVA

| Corpus ↓ Variables → | (do+NEG) | (1 <sup>st</sup> pers. pronoun) | (2 <sup>nd</sup> pers. pronoun) |       |
|----------------------|----------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------|
| <b>TLS</b>           | N        | 30                              | 32                              | 35    |
|                      | mean     | 1.27                            | 1.53                            | 0.09  |
|                      | SD       | 2.449                           | 1.796                           | 0.284 |
|                      | max      | 10                              | 7                               | 1     |
| <b>PVC</b>           | N        | 30                              | 36                              | 36    |
|                      | mean     | 0.73                            | 1.92                            | 0.19  |
|                      | SD       | 1.413                           | 2.116                           | 0.467 |
|                      | max      | 5                               | 6                               | 2     |
| <b>NECTE2</b>        | N        | 43                              | 45                              | 47    |
|                      | mean     | 1.02                            | 2.56                            | 1.60  |
|                      | SD       | 1.858                           | 2.981                           | 3.221 |
|                      | max      | 6                               | 13                              | 17    |
| <b>FULL CORPUS</b>   | N        | 103                             | 113                             | 118   |
|                      | mean     | 1.01                            | 2.06                            | 0.72  |
|                      | SD       | 1.933                           | 2.443                           | 2.164 |
|                      | max      | 10                              | 13                              | 17    |

For (do + NEG), the one-way between-groups ANOVA did not show any effect of time of collection (or corpus) on the frequency of use of vernacular forms ( $F(2,100) = 0.568$ ,  $p = 0.568$ , N.S., effect size (partial eta squared) = 0.011 (no effect))<sup>6</sup>. A non-significant result was also obtained for the second variable, (first person pronoun), ( $F(2,110) = 1.761$ ,  $p = 1.77$ , N.S., effect size (partial eta squared) = 0.031 (no effect)). The third and final variable in this section, (second person pronoun), is the first variable to show a significant effect. The one-way between-groups ANOVA indicated an effect of group (or time of collection) on speakers' use of vernacular forms ( $F(2,115) = 7.082$ ,  $p = 0.001$ , effect size (partial eta squared) = 0.110 (small effect size)). Post-hoc tests (Tukey HSD) indicate a significant difference between *NECTE2* and *PVC* ( $p = 0.007$ ) and between *NECTE2* and *TLS* ( $p = 0.004$ ). There was no significant difference between *PVC* and *TLS* ( $p = 0.973$ ).

These results show that there is no change in the frequency of use of (do + NEG) and (first person pronoun), however, there is an increase in use by speakers of the third variable (you), with speakers in the most recent data (*NECTE2*) using the vernacular form of the pronoun, *you*, more frequently than in the 1990s (*PVC* data) and 1960s (*TLS* data). The results are summarised alongside those for the other four variables in Table 15 below on page 62.

#### 4.2 Results of the non-parametric tests

The four dependent variables in this category were (can + NEG), (go), (throw), and (told). The differences in the patterning of tokens were tested using two different non-parametric tests. The frequencies of vernacular tokens as they pattern within the three corpora are given in Table 13a and

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structured and the differences between the corpora may be partially caused by the differences in collection methods and transcriptions.

<sup>6</sup> Note that Rowe (2009) reports on some differences in use over time of the (do + NEG) variable.

the frequencies of vernacular tokens as they pattern across the three corpora in Table 13b:

Table 13a: Within group frequencies of vernacular forms\*

|                          | <b>TLS</b>   | <b>PVC</b>   | <b>NECTE2</b> | <b>total</b> |
|--------------------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|
| <b>(can + NEG) N=260</b> | 0% (N=0)     | 1.2% (N=1)   | 28.9% (N=33)  | 13.1% (N=34) |
| <b>(go) N=4567</b>       | 11.6% (N=84) | 4.2% (N=93)  | 8.2% (N=132)  | 6.8% (N=309) |
| <b>(throw) N=86</b>      | 44.4% (N=8)  | 18.9% (N=7)  | 25.8% (N=8)   | 26.7% (N=23) |
| <b>(told) N=188</b>      | 6.7% (N=2)   | 14.3% (N=13) | 7.5% (N=5)    | 10.6% (N=20) |

\* The figures are proportions of vernacular forms out of the total number of tokens collected for that group. I.e. out of the total number of tokens collected for the speakers in the *NECTE2* corpus for the variable (can + NEG), 28.9% were vernacular forms. Similarly, out of the total number of tokens collected for the variable (can + NEG) across all three corpora, 13.1% were vernacular forms. The Ns are the total number of tokens collected for each variable.

Table 13b: Within variety frequencies of vernacular forms\*

|                         | <b>TLS</b>   | <b>PVC</b>   | <b>NECTE2</b> | <b>total</b> |
|-------------------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|
| <b>(can + NEG) N=34</b> | 0% (N=0)     | 2.9% (N=1)   | 97.1% (N=33)  | 100% (N=34)  |
| <b>(go) N=309</b>       | 27.2% (N=84) | 30.1% (N=93) | 42.7% (N=132) | 100% (N=309) |
| <b>(throw) N=23</b>     | 34.8% (N=8)  | 30.4% (N=7)  | 34.8% (N=8)   | 100% (N=23)  |
| <b>(told) N=20</b>      | 10% (N=2)    | 65% (N=13)   | 25% (N=5)     | 100% (N=20)  |

\* The figures are proportions of vernacular forms in each corpus out of the total number of vernacular tokens collected for that variable. I.e. out of the total number of vernacular tokens collected for (go), 42.7% came from the *NECTE2* corpus. The Ns are the total number of vernacular tokens collected for each variable.

The table below summarises the descriptive statistics for the three subcorpora and the corpus as a whole for the Kruskal-Wallis test. The Ns given refer to the number of speakers included from each corpus.

Table 14: Summary of descriptive statistics for Kruskal-Wallis\*

| <b>Corpus ↓ Variables →</b> |        | <b>(can + NEG)</b> | <b>(go)</b> | <b>(throw)</b> | <b>(told)</b> |
|-----------------------------|--------|--------------------|-------------|----------------|---------------|
| <b>TLS</b>                  | N      | 20                 | 37          | 17             | 18            |
|                             | mean   | 0.00               | 0.11        | 0.46           | 0.05          |
|                             | median | 0.00               | 0.00        | 0.33           | 0.00          |
|                             | SD     | 0.00               | 0.231       | 0.484          | 0.138         |
| <b>PVC</b>                  | N      | 21                 | 35          | 20             | 29            |
|                             | mean   | 0.01               | 0.0498      | 0.21           | 0.11          |
|                             | median | 0.00               | 0.00        | 0.00           | 0.00          |
|                             | SD     | 0.031              | 0.165678    | 0.386          | 0.310         |
| <b>NECTE2</b>               | N      | 24                 | 42          | 14             | 29            |
|                             | mean   | 0.29               | 0.10        | 0.08           | 0.06          |
|                             | median | 0.00               | 0.00        | 0.00           | 0.00          |
|                             | SD     | 0.415              | 0.243       | 0.214          | 0.228         |
| <b>FULL CORPUS</b>          | N      | 65                 | 114         | 51             | 76            |
|                             | mean   | 0.11               | 0.09        | 0.26           | 0.08          |
|                             | median | 0.00               | 0.00        | 0.00           | 0.00          |
|                             | SD     | 0.287              | 0.218       | 0.409          | 0.246         |

\* Kruskal-Wallis tests are based on ranked scores so it is not possible to talk about minimum and maximum scores as this value refers to the ranking score and not the proportional value on which the ranking is based.

I will present the results of both tests for each variable starting with (can + NEG). A chi-squared test of this variable found the difference between groups to be highly significant ( $X^2 = 45.032$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) and Cramer's  $V$  test for effect size (Pallant 2007: 217) revealed a highly significant medium effect (Cramer's  $V = 0.413$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). A Kruskal-Wallis test further confirmed that there are significant differences between the distributions of vernacular tokens across the three corpora ( $p < 0.001$ ). As can be seen from the frequency distribution in Table 13b, *NECTE2* speakers contributed 97.1% of all vernacular tokens for this variable.

For the second dependent variable in this category, (go), chi-squared testing of the difference in frequency of vernacular forms between the three corpora showed a highly significant difference with a small effect size ( $X^2 = 56.618$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $p < 0.001$ , Cramer's  $V = 0.111$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). When looking at the frequencies given in Table 13b, we see that there is a steady increase in the number of vernacular forms used by the speakers with the highest proportion being used by the speakers from the *NECTE2* corpus. However, the Kruskal-Wallis test returned a clear, non-significant result ( $p = 0.288$ ).

The reverse seems to be the case for the third variable, (throw), where the chi-squared test found no significant differences between the three groups but the Kruskal-Wallis test did. The result of the chi-squared test was non-significant ( $X^2 = 4.049$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $p = 0.132$ , Cramer's  $V = 0.217$ ), however, the result of the Kruskal-Wallis test shows a significant difference between the three groups ( $p = 0.034$ ). Comparing these results with the two frequency tables above (Tables 13a and 13b), it would seem that the use of vernacular *hoy* for Standard English *throw* is becoming more frequent again after a dip in the 1990s (PVC data).

The final variable is (told) and neither the chi-squared test ( $X^2 = 2.482$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $p = 0.289$ , Cramer's  $V = 0.115$ ) or the Kruskal-Wallis ( $p = 0.691$ ) found any statistically significant differences between the use of vernacular forms across the three corpora.

To summarise, we can see that the two different tests sometimes yield different results, in this case for the two variables (go) and (throw). The implications of this are discussed further below. We can also see that the two tests yield similar results for two of the variables, (can + NEG) and (told), where (can + NEG) was found to be increasing in use over time and (told) to remain constant (i.e. there were no significant differences between the three groups). The table below summarises the results for all seven variables across the three statistical tests:

Table 15: Summary of inferential analyses for all seven variables

|                    | (do + NEG) | (1 <sup>st</sup> pers.) | (2 <sup>nd</sup> pers.) | (can + NEG) | (go) | (throw) | (told) |
|--------------------|------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------|------|---------|--------|
| Significant ANOVA  | -          | -                       | +                       |             |      |         |        |
| Significant Chi sq |            |                         |                         | +           | +    | -       | -      |
| Significant K-W    |            |                         |                         | +           | -    | +       | -      |

To summarise, while not all seven variables showed significant differences in use over time, the ones that did (*youse* as second person pronoun, *canna* for sentential negation with *can*, *gan* for *go* and *hoy* for *throw*) all showed the highest frequency of use in the most recent data from 2007-2009. The results for *gan* and *hoy* are not as clear as those for *youse* and *canna*, as the two non-parametric tests reveal different results. One way to interpret this difference lies in the construction of the tests themselves. As discussed above, a chi-squared test reveals something about the difference in the patterning of individual tokens whereas the Kruskal-Wallis test is based on speaker ranks and thus compares the speakers across the three groups. In this way, it could be argued that the data displays a significant difference in the amount of *tokens* of the vernacular forms of (go), however, the behaviour of the speakers across the three corpora is not significantly different. This result could be caused by a general increase of use of all forms by all speakers in the newest data. In that case, the KW test would not find speakers to have changed their behaviour significantly as the *proportion* of vernacular tokens for (go) would remain the same. Conversely, in the case of (throw) where the KW test found a significant

difference between the speakers' proportional use of standard and vernacular forms over time, the distribution of tokens across the three corpora was not significantly different according to the chi-squared test.

## 5. Discussion

A comparison of the two studies thus indicates that it is possible for the directionality of change in different levels of one variety to go in opposite directions. This highlights important issues in our understanding of phonology and morphosyntax but also raises questions as to which factors impact language change and how. I will here suggest that identity factors may explain how we can find levelling in the phonology of Tyneside English while at the same time see an increased use of local morphosyntactic forms.

### 5.1 *The difference between phonology and morphosyntax*

One suggestion which might help account for the difference in directionality of change is *salience* (Labov 1972, 1994; Trudgill 1986) as it can be hypothesised that if there are differences in the salience of certain phonological and morphosyntactic forms, or of these linguistic levels in general, it is probable that this will affect the direction or extent of language change. Specifically in the example of Tyneside English, it means that it is possible for there to be an increase in vernacular morphosyntactic forms but a decrease in vernacular phonological forms simultaneously, which we have seen above.

If the phonological level is more salient, speakers can deliberately aim for a more standard, or at least less local, accent or pronunciation whilst actually, subconsciously, increasing their use of vernacular morphosyntactic features. However, if the morphosyntax is more salient than the phonology then there can be a deliberate choice of vernacular morphosyntactic forms (e.g. to indicate local identity and group membership). The change in phonological forms will then be subconscious so that speakers might pronounce certain words in a more standard manner but actually opt for more overt vernacular features, such as the vernacular forms *yous* or *hoy*. At present this is purely hypothetical and it should be added that it is possible for different phonological forms to be more salient than others and similarly so for morphosyntactic forms and that this is also likely to vary between speakers.

A methodological issue arises, however, in the conceptualisation of 'more or less local' which is based on the very nature of phonology and morphosyntax, respectively. As we saw in Watt's (2002) study, a type of graded scale can be created for phonological variants to exemplify levels of 'localness' or 'standardness'. But it is not possible to create clines with intermediate values of different morphosyntactic variants of variables as these are binary in nature. For morphosyntactic variables only local forms (*yous*, *divn't*, *hoy*, *etc.*) and standard forms (*you*, *don't*, *throw*, *etc.*) exist.

It is important to keep in mind that, due to methodological differences, it is not possible to compare the two studies on a speaker-by-speaker basis. Even though data from the PVC corpus was used in both studies, proposing that speakers are using more vernacular morphosyntactic features at the same time as they are using less vernacular phonological features is not straightforward. None of the studies have looked at what each individual speaker is doing with regard to *both* phonology and morphosyntax. It is possible for Watt's results to show a change towards a regional standard (i.e. dialect levelling) and for the results of morphosyntactic study to find an increase in use of vernacular morphosyntactic forms. Based on the two studies reported here, we cannot be certain of how the changes are expressed by each individual speaker. In theory, at least, speakers can increase their use of vernacular forms on both the morphosyntactic level as well as on the phonological level; they can decrease their use on both levels; or simply increase on only one level (c.f. Cheshire et al. 2005).



## 5.2 *Linguistic local identity*

While differences in the salience of phonological and morphosyntactic variables may be one way to account for the different directions of change found in the *DECTE* corpus, speaker identity may also play a part. Watt (2002: 53) also comments on the role of a local linguistic identity and states that “[s]elf-identity in Newcastle, Tyneside and the north-east generally is rather complex” but adds that Tyneside inhabitants generally hold very strong feelings of regionality and local pride (2002: 54). He concludes by considering the role of the social changes of large industrial cities in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and its impact on the development of new regional identities (2002: 58) and states that this is a topic of interest across many disciplines, such as sociology, psychology, history and politics. The discussion which follows below touches on these aspects and suggests that socio-psychological factors (such as local affiliation) are linked to the salience of linguistic forms. In this way, social changes can impact speakers' language use through processes of social indexicality and enregisterment.

### 5.2.1 The urban regeneration of Tyneside

The Tyneside conurbation is an area which relied heavily on the ship-building and mining industries following the Industrial Revolution. In present times, however, these industries are no longer present on Tyneside and the area represents a “deindustrialised landscape” (Miles 2005: 913). The area was very much a working class area (and still is, to a degree) with the Quayside playing a central role both as an industrial centre but also as the connecting link between Newcastle and Gateshead. More recently, the Quayside has undergone a transformation. It is no longer the industrial centre it was but is instead a bubbling cultural area complete with an art museum, an award-winning bridge, several bars and pubs and a musical centre and so the overall function of the Quayside has changed from “production to consumption” (Miles 2005: 920). Miles (2005) links the development of and changes to the Quayside with the development of and changes in regional identity and quotes Wrightson (1995) who describes the Northern identity as being both closely tied to a sense of place but at the same time marred by an awareness of the questionable place of the location within the social landscape of England which seems to persist despite the recent ‘culture-led regeneration’ (Watt 2002). This problematic position of the North within England also spread from opinions about the inhabitants of the region to opinions about their language.

The stigmatisation of non-standard varieties is not unique to Tyneside. The ideology of the standard is “the belief that there is one and only one correct spoken form of the language, modelled on a single correct written form” (Milroy 1999: 174) and this leads to the stigmatisation of certain features and dialects as the most favourable opinions are most often linked to the standard language rather than to rural or urban dialects, for instance. In England, the RP accent is often perceived as constituting Standard (spoken) English and is often used as a point of reference for describing other varieties of English (Smith 1996: 66-67) and thus the social differentiation this implies has great impact on the perception amongst speakers of non-standard varieties, that is the broader local accents and dialects of the lower classes (Wells 1986: 14; Hughes et al. 2005: 15-16). It is clear that from the point of view of the standard ideology, then, any language change must be equated with a weakening of the language which carries with it further stigmatisation. This opinion can also be found among speakers of stigmatised varieties who view their own vernacular as inferior (Milroy 1999). Foulkes & Docherty (1999) and Kerswill (2003) suggest that in relation to the levelling found in the phonology of Tyneside English, young speakers find the traditional dialect old-fashioned and so opt for more modern pronunciations in order to sound more contemporary or less old-fashioned. This is not an abandonment of their northern background but rather just a move to sound modern. The new forms which are adopted must not be part of any other varieties as the young speakers still want to signal in-group membership with other speakers in their region.

We thus have two contradictions: one is the recent ‘culture-led regeneration’ of the Tyneside conurbation focusing on more ‘middle-class values’ which seems to contradict the stereotype of

'backwards and working-class' which appears so persistent to both Tyneside speakers themselves but also to the rest of England. The second contradiction is the seeming divergence of change in the phonology and morphosyntax found in the *DECTE* corpus. When faced with the stigma attached to them and their local vernacular, Tyneside speakers have to decide whether they will let the stigma influence the way they speak, which is not necessarily a conscious or deliberate decision. Even though Tyneside English might be stigmatised in the rest of England (Watt 2002, Wales 2006), does not mean that it is so in the local speech community. It can be suggested that it is exactly the first contradiction which is part of the underlying cause of the second: with increasing globalization and loss of local identity in other areas, perhaps speakers are looking for ways to mark and express their identity.

For the sake of argument, it may be worthwhile to briefly consider an alternative to the contradiction hypothesis based on common perceptions in sociolinguistics as to the role of phonological and morphosyntactic variants. Phonology is probably the most well-researched area when it comes to language variation (Cheshire et al 2005 make a similar statement) and, as a legacy from Labov, no doubt, is often seen as the foremost indicator of personal identity. Conversely, variation in morphosyntax is often seen as a marker of style or register (although some argue that register shifts also encompass lexis and phonology, see Ferguson (1996 [1959]) on diglossia). Linguistic choices based on style are often the results of social background (class, education) but also to a large extent determined by speech situation, of course. Under this view, there is no contradiction in the directions of change found in the Tyneside data by Watt and me. On the contrary, the speakers' choice to sound northern, rather than Tyneside working class or southern, mirrors the urban cultural regeneration of Newcastle described above. The persistent or increased use by younger speakers of some local morphosyntactic forms is then a stylistic move which allows the speakers to keep a level of informality and friendliness (through use of non-standard forms) and Tyneside regionality. Thus, rather than diverging, the changes in phonology and morphosyntax could be seen as actually converging towards a place in between the local and the standardised, a place which reflects the values of a northern, post-industrial leisure-oriented society.

The issue with this alternative hypothesis, though, is that it assumes a number of things which we cannot necessarily take as fact. First of all, register or style can also be a badge of identity when a specific register is associated with a specific activity which denotes a community of practice (Lave & Wenger 1991; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1992). Thus, taking phonology as the primary index of personal identity cannot always be justified. Secondly, the area of variation and change in non-standard morphosyntax as well as comparisons between linguistic levels (such as phonology and morphosyntax) is an under-researched area (see Cheshire et al. 2005). While it seems commonly accepted that speaker access to the different levels of language is not equal, how this difference manifests itself and the impact of it is not clear. I suggest that this taps into the notion of salience, a topic currently receiving a lot of attention from a variety of perspectives (Hollman & Siewierska 2006; Podesva 2011; Chiarcos et al 2011; Jaszczolt & Allan 2011; Rącz 2013; Jensen 2013). As this is thus a relatively young topic in linguistics, it is not possible to make strong claims about the connection between salience (which is related to both perception and production and has links to language learning, identity formation and styling, accommodation and other areas) and the role of speakers' access to or awareness of different levels in language.

### 5.2.2 The social value of local forms

As I mentioned in section 2.2, it has been proposed that linguistic identity is created through the linking of linguistic forms with cultural values through the process of enregisterment (Agha 2003). An understanding of this process and its link with the related concepts of social indexicality (Silverstein 2003) and indexical fields (Eckert 2008) lends further support to the argument that social and linguistic issues are connected. Here, I adopt the view that these processes are furthermore linked with salience in that a linguistic form becomes salient exactly because of the attachment of social

meaning. Saliency is thus linked with indexicality as this is concerned with how social values emerge in a community and it is also linked with enregisterment as enregistered forms are forms where the social meaning of the forms *precedes* the original denotational meaning of the form. An elaboration of this argument can be found in Jensen (2013) but see also Honeybone & Watson (2013) for a similar argument based on data from popular dialect literature (which they call *Contemporary, Humorous, Localised Dialect Literature*) from Liverpool capturing the Scouse dialect.

Johnstone & Kiesling (2008) argue that different variables mean different things to different people and thus what constitutes sociolinguistic meaning then differs from person to person and is constantly in a state of flux. It is this web of socio-cultural meanings in a community which make up the indexical field of a linguistic form which (following Silverstein) speakers and hearers access when engaging in language. Thus we can see that considering factors such as enregisterment and social indexicality in the interpretation of patterns of language change can help shed light on the way in which Tyneside speakers anchor their identity when the place they have previously identified with is being changed and no longer represents values that are familiar to them (see above). This approach would account for the revitalisation (or steady use) of local vernacular forms to signify local identity.

Johnstone (2010) continues this line of argumentation and argues that the re-indexing of social meaning and enregisterment of vernacular forms (which she calls resemiotization) is caused by globalization (which I here interpret to be evident in Tyneside in the urban regeneration of the area) rather than being a reaction to it. The heart of the matter here is the very strong link between speakers' linguistic identities and their sense of place and belonging. In enregisterment processes of local vernacular linguistic features, it is precisely the social value and meaning of 'place' which is the primary index and, in turn, the local community which inhabit this place. This community, however, is a prime example of an *imagined community* (Anderson 2006) and the construction of a linguistic identity expressed through the use of a narrow repertoire of forms indexing this imagined community adds further to the 'them and us' situation. This community is being constructed and reinforced by every use of an enregistered form, every display of local identity be it in written or spoken form, in casual conversation or for sale in the tourist office. It is this unbreakable link between language and place which is both built on cultural stereotypes and simultaneously feeds these stereotypes (which are in essence displays of *invented traditions*, (Hobsbawm 1992)) which makes this linguistic identity so powerful and important.

The results of the statistical analyses of the morphosyntactic variables revealed that the vernacular variants of all seven variables were either stable or increasing in use. This pattern could provide support for the idea of linguistic forms functioning as indexes of local affiliation and identity. However, we saw earlier that the same cannot be said for the broad Tyneside vowels in Watt's (2002) study, which he found were being replaced by less broad and more generally Northern forms. Even if Watt's conclusions point toward an abandonment of a very localised Tyneside identity in favour of a more general Northern identity, this difference in patterning is not necessarily a problem for the identity argument presented here due to a number of factors, the most prominent one being time. The reader is reminded that Watt's data was collected in 1994 whereas the data for the morphosyntactic study also included data from 2007-2009 and it is possible for there to have been a shift in the perception of the Tyneside conurbation within the area itself over the last two decades or so. Much of the recent urban regeneration mentioned in section 5.2.1 has taken place in the period after the PVC data was collected and, in recent years, media exposure of the Tyneside area and language variety,

such as the famous *Big Brother* narrator<sup>7</sup>, MTV's *Geordie Shore*<sup>8</sup> and TV presenters Ant & Dec<sup>9</sup>, has also become prominent on national TV in the UK. All of these factors may contribute to an increased sense of local affiliation and pride among the Tyneside inhabitants.

## 6. Conclusion

The results of the corpus study of changes in Tyneside English morphosyntax showed that vernacular variables were either stable or increasing. These results were compared to those of Watt (2002) who found that local diphthongs were levelling towards a regional standard. The difference in direction of change between these two was sought explained by a difference in the salience of the different levels of language linked to social changes through the processes of enregisterment and social indexicality.

A few caveats should be added, however. One issue concerns the quality and comparability of the data, mainly in the morphosyntactic study where data from three subcorpora is used, which was briefly mentioned in 2.2. This affects the reliability of the statistical results as they can only ever be as accurate as the data they are based on. Working with historical data means that researchers often have to make do with less than perfect data and very few ways to improve it. This is important to keep in mind in the interpretation of any results based on historical data even if all measures to even out the flaws have been taken. A second issue which was also mentioned above is the fact that the linguistic behaviour of the individual speakers was not mapped, i.e. even though the *PVC* data was used in both studies, the phonological and morphosyntactic tokens for each speaker were not compared on an individual basis. Finally, while several studies of language variation and speaker identity invoke arguments of salience, social indexicality, enregisterment and local affiliation as significant contributors to speakers' language use and changes over time (Llamas 2001; Burbano-Elizondo 2008; Beal 2009; Johnstone 2009; Honeybone & Watson 2013; Jensen 2013), further empirical work to test these supposed links is needed. Future studies of the connections between speakers' social experiences and psychological response mediated through language perception and use hold the potential for yielding valuable results which would help us understand the intricate web of connections which impacts on speakers' language use and thus language variation and change.

On a more specific level, the outcome of the comparison between the two studies based on *DECTE* data shows two things: the first is that speech corpora provide a valuable resource for studies investigating a variety of speech phenomena. We have seen that using the same data to investigate changes in different areas of a language variety has been fruitful and opened up new avenues for research. Secondly, this outcome further supports Cheshire et al. (2005: 167) who argue that just because levelling is found on the phonological level, we cannot expect to find it in other aspects of a language.

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<sup>7</sup> The reality show *Big Brother* first aired in the UK in 2000 on Channel 4. The narrator is Marcus Bentley who was born in Gateshead on the southern bank of the river Tyne. <http://www.marcusbentley.co.uk/>

<sup>8</sup> *Geordie Shore* first aired in 2011 and is a reality show set in Newcastle featuring North-East participants. It is currently on its eighth season. Marcus Bentley is also the narrator of this show. <http://www.mtv.co.uk/geordie-shore/about> & <http://www.marcusbentley.co.uk/>

<sup>9</sup> Anthony McPartlin and Declan Donnelly became famous after their roles in BBC's children's drama *Byker Grove* in the early 1990s and went on to record three multi-platinum albums. Since 1997 they have focused on presenting popular TV shows, such as *Pop Idol*, *Britain's Got Talent* and *I'm a Celebrity...* and awards ceremonies, such as *The BRIT Awards* and *Comic Relief*. <http://www.officialantanddec.com/about>

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