

Original pronunciation

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Original pronunciation (OP) is the term that has become widely used chiefly in English-language theatrical contexts since 2004 for the reconstruction of the sound system of the Elizabethan period, with Shakespeare the main focus of attention. More generally, it refers to the reconstruction of the sound system of any period in the history of a language, which in the case of English includes Old English, Middle English, Early Modern English (within which the Elizabethan age falls), and later periods up to the emergence of sound recording in the 1860s. More technically, the approach is seen as an exercise in applied historical phonology - *phonology* in linguistics referring to the sound system of a language. Less technically, people talk about OP as a reconstruction of the *accent* of a period - or, more accurately, *accents*, for then, as today, there was a great deal of variation in the way people spoke.

Several words in the opening sentence above need amplification. Why '2004'? Why 'chiefly'? And what implications lie behind 'main focus'?

2004

This was the year in which Shakespeare's Globe in London decided to mount a production of *Romeo and Juliet* in OP, directed by Tim Carroll, as part of its mission to explore original practices in the new (since 1997) theatre - a replica (insofar as research allowed) of the original Globe built on the south bank of the River Thames in 1599. There had of course been earlier interest in OP, dating from the mid-19th century (there is a full account in Crystal, 2013). Richard Grant White, an American lawyer who was also a literary and music critic, wrote a memorandum on Elizabethan pronunciation as an appendix to his edition of Shakespeare in 1865. Shakespeare also figures prominently in Alexander Ellis's *On Early English Pronunciation* (1869–74), though in a period when a carefully articulated British Received Pronunciation (RP) was considered the only acceptable accent for serious stage drama, it is not surprising to see him write that 'it is, of course, not to be thought of that Shakspeare's [*sic*] plays should now be publicly read or performed in this pronunciation'.

A generation later, the climate was changing. Phoneticians such as Henry Sweet and Daniel Jones (1909a, b) began to present passages from Shakespeare in lectures and performances. In the 1930s, the BBC took an interest, beginning with "London Calling – 1600" in 1936, and Jones trained a small company to present a programme in 1949 as "The Elizabethan Tongue: passages from the plays of Shakespeare in their original pronunciation". In 1952 there was an OP production of *Julius Caesar* by the Marlowe Society in Cambridge, directed by John Barton, and the following year an OP production of *Macbeth*, directed by Joan Swinstead and starring Bernard Miles, at the new Mermaid Theatre in London. In the United States, Helge Kökeritz advised on an OP production of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* at the Yale School of Drama in 1954.

Interest then waned. The echoes of regional accents in OP (Irish, West Country, Yorkshire...) reduced its appeal in an era when RP continued to dominate Shakespearean performance in the UK, and in the US no-one seems to have followed Kökeritz's lead. Historical phonology developed greatly as an academic subject during the 1960s, but the focus of its practitioners - on constructing new theoretical models of phonology, and on making detailed studies of the evidence provided by historical texts - took attention away from theatrical applications, even if theatre directors had shown an interest. Or, if there was such an interest, an awareness of the practicalities of interaction with directors and casts would have been off-putting. A huge amount of rehearsal time is needed to make the actors' pronunciation accurate and effective, and to allow proper discussion of the choices OP makes available. Also, in a period when linguistics was only beginning to establish its presence in universities as a subject, and applied linguistics (as a branch of the subject) was in its infancy, the pressures on academics were such as to leave little time or energy for enterprises outside of core topics.

It was the Globe's focus on original practices that gave OP fresh impetus. The 2004 *Romeo* was only an experiment - a weekend in the middle of a run in Modern English (the story is told in Crystal, 2005), but the positive response of the audience led the following year to the Globe presenting the entire run of *Troilus and Cressida* in OP directed by Giles Block. Theatre personalities from other parts of the world, having been present at these productions, began to explore the option for themselves. Since then, some twenty Shakespeare plays have been given an OP production, mainly in the US - American actors and directors finding themselves warming to the period pronunciation far more than was ever possible with RP, which they found difficult to 'own'. In 2006, OP extracts from Shakespeare were presented during the 400th anniversary of Jamestown celebrations. In 2007 OP readings took place in an off-Broadway venue in New York City. In 2010, a full-scale OP production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was put on at Kansas University, directed by Paul Meier, and this was followed up by a recording for radio and a DVD. In 2011, Shakespeare scholar and collected-works editor Eric Rasmussen produced an OP *Hamlet* by the Nevada Repertory Company at the University of Nevada in Reno, directed by Robert Gander. In 2015, a group from Ben Crystal's Passion in Practice Shakespeare Ensemble performed an OP *Pericles* accompanied by the Trondheim Soloists led by violinist Daniel Hope at Stockholm's Berwaldhallen, and reprised at the Savannah Music Festival in Georgia with the German orchestra l'Arte del Mondo the following year. Ben also curated three world premieres of plays in OP with the Shakespeare Ensemble's tour of Japan in 2019. The Baltimore Shakespeare Factory has been presenting an OP production each year, directed by Tom Delise. A list of known OP productions can be found in the Archive page at the dedicated OP website.

In all this, we need to be careful about how we describe the experience of recreating OP, and especially to avoid using the term 'authentic'. The point applies equally to all aspects of 'original practices' productions - which is why Shakespeare's Globe also distances itself from using that word. Nothing can totally recreate the Jacobethan experience: the sounds, smells, and tactility of the Globe are hugely different from how it would have been. And it is the same with OP, which is best described simply as a 'plausible' reconstruction.

Chiefly ... main focus

Since 2004, OP has been used for other contexts than the theatrical, for other playwrights than Shakespeare, for other periods of English, and for other languages.

Non-dramatic poetry

Although most OP productions have been of Shakespeare's plays, the approach has been extended to include his non-dramatic poetry, especially the Sonnets. An illustration was included in a CD produced by the British Library, *Shakespeare's Original Pronunciation* - an anthology of extracts curated by Ben Crystal in 2012. In the same year, an OP reading by Ben of Sonnet 141 was included in the widely acclaimed *The Sonnets* app, produced by Illuminations Media, Faber and Faber, Arden Shakespeare, and Touch Press, which made the accent reach a wider audience than ever before.

Non-dramatic prose

Also in the audience at the talkback sessions following the Globe performances were people interested in how other prose texts of the period would have sounded. The 400th anniversary of the King James Bible in 2011 motivated several OP readings from that text at various venues in the UK. Two years later, the British Library commissioned an OP recording of William Tyndale's English translation of St Matthew's Gospel (1525) to accompany the publication of its facsimile of the Tyndale Gospels. And OP recordings of earlier periods of English were made for the British Library's *Evolving English* winter exhibition in 2011-12, including extracts from *Beowulf*, Chaucer, Caxton, and Margaret Paston.

In 2012 the Virtual St Paul's Project was launched by principal investigator John N Wall of the English Department at North Carolina State University. This is an online recreation of how St Paul's would have looked and sounded in the 1620s, with the aim of answering the question how it was possible for 2000 or more people to hear John Donne give one of his sermons in the Cathedral grounds. The acoustic core of the project was a recording in OP by Ben Crystal of Donne's sermon given on 5 November 1723. In a second stage, The Cathedral Project, which was completed in 2021, a re-creation was made of the entire liturgy for two representative days from the liturgical calendar: Easter Sunday and the Tuesday after the First Sunday in Advent, using the Book of Common Prayer, and including choir and organ music. All liturgical texts were recorded in OP by a team of actors, along with a (long) sermon in the morning by Bishop Lancelot Andrewes, and another (equally long) in the afternoon by John Donne.

An early example of OP being used off-stage was in a CD produced for Shakespeare's Globe in 2006, *This World's Globe*. A selection of music and play extracts from the Globe was accompanied by a commentary in OP by two actors from the *Troilus* company. In July 2014, extracts from the front matter of the First Folio were given an OP reading in the new Sam Wanamaker Playhouse (named after the American actor whose vision it was to reconstruct the Globe), as part of a concert programme organised by the theatre's Education wing, and performed by members of Passion in Practice.

Early music

The 2014 event included several songs. Early music in fact has proved to be an even more fruitful domain for OP exploration than the theatre, judging by the number of choirs, ensembles, and soloists who have shown an interest in it. The archive at the OP website lists many of the events that have taken place, with composers such as Dowland, Byrd, and Gibbons especially popular, along with Purcell from the late 17th century. As with their literary counterparts, musicologists have been struck by the fact that so many of the rhymes in songs, madrigals, and operatic texts do not work in modern English (see further below), and they want to hear them, and the general phonesthetic of the lines, as they would have been. A major project was a recording in 2011 of William Byrd's *Great Service* by Musica Contexta, directed by Simon Raven, available from Chandos (CHAN 0789).

Other authors

In 2015 Globe Education, under the direction of Patrick Spottiswoode, hosted a production of Christopher Marlowe's *Dr Faustus* in OP at the Sam Wanamaker Playhouse, performed by the Passion in Practice ensemble. This was followed in 2016 by a dramatized version of *Master Henslowe's Diary*, written by David Crystal as part of the Shakespeare quartercentenary events at the Globe, and also performed by Passion in Practice. A diverse range of texts from the 16th and 17th centuries have been given an OP performance, including extracts from the York Mystery Plays, the letters of Henry VIII, Elizabeth I, and James I, and poems by John Donne and Robert Southwell.

Outside the Jacobethan period, two recent projects have used OP. One derives from the Eighteenth-Century English Phonology (ECEP) Database, compiled at the University of Sheffield (Beal et al, 2015). Performances to date have been a scene from Oliver Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer*, made in 2017, and a reading of John Keats' poem 'Bright star' in 2021 to mark the 200th anniversary of his death. For the latter, linguists collaborated with social historians and digital specialists, who created a 3D model of the house in Rome where Keats died, as well as a virtual reality persona, based on scans of contemporary sources including portraits and death masks.

Digital technology also plays a crucial role in a project called 'A voice for Richard', commissioned by the Richard III Society. The discovery in 2012 of the skeleton of King Richard III (1452-85), buried within the site of the former Grey Friars Priory in Leicester, has opened up a new direction in OP in which phonological deduction is complemented by the possibility of a limited phonetic reconstruction. A team at the University of Dundee, led by Caroline Wilkinson, created a cranio-facial reconstruction from a 3D digital model of the skull (Wilkinson, 2013), and this is being used to deduce features of his voice quality, which, along with what is known about his social background and 15th-century phonology, will allow a tentative reconstruction of his pronunciation (Morley, 2014).

Other languages

Philological studies since the 18th century have reconstructed the sound systems of many languages, including of course prehistorical antecedents such as Proto-Germanic and Indo-European. Classical languages have received a great deal of attention, with the special place of Latin in Europe a primary focus. This research is of relevance to Shakespeareans, for fragments of Latin appear in several plays, so any attempt at an OP needs to take into account what is known about its pronunciation at the time (see, for example, Tunberg, 2005). Even more important is French, as this is a major feature of *Henry V* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, so OP explorations of Renaissance French are an important source of information. In 2020 a research team in France completed a reconstruction of Molière's *L'école des femmes* ('The school for wives', 1662).

Heritage

Some of the heritage locations which have tried to replicate the life and times of the early 17th century have expressed an interest in having their actors use OP, such as Mary Arden's Farm near Stratford-upon-Avon, UK, and the Fisher Museum at Harvard Forest, MA. Along with the careful reconstruction of ways of life, staff interacting with the public like to adopt a dialect which resembles (to the best of their ability) the kind of English which would have been used by the people of the time, and it is a natural next step to try to make the older grammar and vocabulary phonetically plausible. It is unclear to what extent this step has been taken, as no reports about initiatives have yet been submitted to the OP website.

The nature of the evidence

The reconstruction of OP is based on several kinds of evidence: spellings, rhymes, puns, observations by contemporary writers, and our general understanding of the nature of phonetic and phonological change, as established in historical linguistics. The evidence varies depending on the period being explored. For Old English, this is almost entirely based on spellings, informed by correspondences with Latin and other languages, and supplemented by structural features in the poetry (such as alliteration) and occasional rhetorical observations from the writers of the time. For Middle English, rhyme forms a major part of the reasoning, along with orthographic and dialect data arising from the great increase in manuscripts. For Early Modern English, not only are there more publications available (such as in rhyming poetry), we see the emergence of serious descriptions of English, many of which were written because of the 16th-century concern for spelling reform. Later periods are able to rely on information about pronunciation included in dictionaries, such as John Walker's *Critical Pronouncing Dictionary* (1791). A full discussion and illustration of the evidence for Shakespeare is provided in the introduction to *The Oxford Dictionary of Original Shakespearean Pronunciation* (Crystal, 2016), from which the following illustrations are taken.

Reconstruction is not always straightforward because the textual evidence can be difficult to interpret. A distinctive spelling may genuinely indicate how a word was pronounced, or it may be a typesetter's error. Words at the ends of lines may point to a genuine rhyme (as in a sonnet) or appear fortuitously in adjacent lines of blank verse.

What counts as a pun may be a modern interpretation, rather than something Shakespeare intended. And the evidence of contemporary writers (orthoepists, interested primarily in the vagaries of English spelling) can be difficult to interpret because they privilege different pronunciations, have different regional and social backgrounds, and wrote in different periods - those who wrote in the 1560s and 70s often describe words differently from those who wrote in the 1620s and 30s. Shakespeare was clearly aware of differing contemporary attitudes, as the character of Holofernes in *Love's Labour's Lost* illustrates. But despite the difficulties, there are numerous unambiguous descriptions which help to resolve OP questions. For example, *love* rhymes with *prove* and *move* several times in the *Sonnets*. The analyst has to make a decision: were the vowels of both words short (as in *love*) or long (as in *prove*)? For Ben Jonson, at least, they were short, as he describes the letter *o* in the introduction to his *English Grammar* (1616) thus: 'In the short time more flat, and akin to u; as... brother, love, prove'. (This does not of course exclude the possibility of *love* having a long vowel in a regional dialect.)

Rhymes

Because of their frequency - there are 3004 rhyming line-pairs in the poems and 4996 clear line-pairs for the plays, giving an unexpectedly round total of 7000 line-pairs in all - more needs to be said about this category of evidence. A deduction based on rhyme becomes convincing when we see a word being paired with different words in a range of clear cases. *War*, for example, rhymes with *jar* in *Venus and Adonis* (line 98), with *scar* and *afar* in *The Rape of Lucrece* (line 831), and with *bar* in *Sonnet 46*; *wars* rhymes with *stars* in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (3.2.408). There are no instances of *war* rhyming with words like *more* and *shore*, as they would today. This clearly warrants a pronunciation with an open 'ah' vowel.

Sometimes there are alternative pronunciations, as there are today. *Again*, for instance, is today pronounced either to rhyme with *main* or with *men*, and it was the same in Shakespeare's day. It rhymes with *brain*, *pain*, *rain*, and other such words, as well as *men*, *when*, *pen*, and others: a full listing is given in the *Oxford Dictionary*. Accordingly, in a prose text where the word appears, actors and directors are in exactly the same position as they would be in a production of any modern play in which they encounter the word: they have to choose, and for this they will look to other criteria than the linguistic. The role of the historical linguist is to demonstrate the options, not to make dramaturgical, literary, or phonesthetic critical decisions.

An OP approach to rhyme is especially important for Shakespeare as it can resolve anomalies resulting from the changes between Early Modern and Modern English. Rhymes are an important index of play structure, being a frequent marker of scene closure: 55 per cent of all verse scenes in the canon (376 out of 684, using the *Oxford Shakespeare* scene divisions) end in a rhyming couplet or have one close by. And when a rhyme fails - something that happens in 12 per cent of cases (44 times) - the effect is noticeable, as at the end of Act 2 Scene 2 of *Romeo and Juliet*, where haste is pronounced as *hast*:

Romeo: O, let us hence! I stand on sudden haste.
Friar: Wisely and slow. They stumble that run fast'

In the *Sonnets*, 96 of the 154 have line-pairs which fail to rhyme in Modern English - 142 instances (13 per cent of all lines). In two cases (*Sonnet 72* and *154*), four of the seven line-pairs fail to rhyme.

Spellings

Spelling was not standardized in Shakespeare's day: a notion of 'correct' spelling respected by all did not emerge until the 18th century. Accordingly, the choices made by writers and typesetters often provide pointers as to how a word was pronounced. For example, when Mercutio describes Queen Mab as having a whip with 'a lash of film' (*Romeo and Juliet* 1.4.66), the Folio and Quarto spellings of *philome* indicate a bisyllabic pronunciation, 'fillum' (still heard today, as in Irish English). Spellings of *apparition* as *aparision* and *petitioner* as *peticioner* indicate that the *-ti-* ending was pronounced with /s/ - a point confirmed by Richard Mulcaster, on p. 122 of his *Elementarie*, published in 1582: 'T, kepeth one force still sauing where a vowell followeth after, i, as in action, discretion, consumption, where as, t, soundeth like the full s, or strong c'.

Puns

When it comes to puns, we are on different ground, as semantic considerations arise, and it is important, as suggested above, to use only the clearest cases as evidence for OP, some of which may need to be expounded in detail for the wordplay to be understood. An example is the pronunciation of *Jaques*. The fact that this name was homophonous with *jakes* (meaning 'privy') was a common joke at the time. In *Troilus and Cressida* (2.1.63), Thersites rails at Ajax with the words 'But yet you look not well upon him; for whomsoever you take him to be, he is Ajax'. The insult is totally lost if one is unaware of the OP. The pun is reprised later in the play (2.3.95): 'Then will Ajax lack matter, if he have lost his argument'. And it turns up again in *Love's Labour's Lost* (5.2.574): 'Your lion, that holds his pole-axe sitting on a close-stool, will be given to Ajax'.

Using OP

Once a plausible OP system has been established, with all its variants, it can be used to indicate the options available for line readings, some of which can suggest a novel (to modern ears) interpretation of a familiar text. For example, knowing that the two modern diphthongs heard in *by* and *boy* were pronounced the same in Early Modern English adds a genealogical nuance (*lines*) to the physical sense of *loins* in the Prologue to *Romeo and Juliet*: 'From forth the fatal loins of these two foes'. The identity of *hour* and *whore* explains why Jacques laughs for an hour when he hears Touchstone's reflections (in *As You Like It* 2.7.23)

'Tis but an hour ago since it was nine,
And after one hour more 'twill be eleven,
And so from hour to hour we ripe, and ripe,
And then from hour to hour we rot, and rot,
And thereby hangs a tale.'

OP can also alter the relationships of alliteration or assonance among the words in a

text, conveying a significantly different auditory impression from what would be heard in Modern English. In *Sonnet 55*, there are four very different vowel values in the underlined syllables in these lines:

When wasteful war shall statues overturn,
And broils root out the work of masonry'

They would all have had a similar open-vowel 'a' resonance in OP.

The existence of alternative pronunciations offers actors options to suit their interpretation of a character, such as whether to pronounce or drop initial *h* in a stressed syllable, as in *happy* and *history*. In Shakespeare's time an educated person could drop it without attracting the kind of criticism such a practice would receive today (other than by pedants such as Holofernes). However, in making decisions about the forms to use in a production, it is not possible to ignore modern associations, and choices of this kind motivate considerable discussion in rehearsal rooms. In the 2010 production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, for example, the company decided to keep initial /h/ for Theseus and Hippolyta and the lovers, omit it for the mechanicals, and (after much debate) also for the fairies. A consequence of the latter decision was to allow Puck a fresh option when mimicking the voices of Lysander and Demetrius in the forest, by adding upper-class *h*'s as required.

The fact that pronunciations were changing over time during Shakespeare's lifetime offers a further option for characterization. For example, in the 1580s words like *musician* and *invention* had their endings sounded with 's', as described above, whereas forty years later we see pronunciations with 'sh', and the modern 'shun' pronunciations soon after. So in 1600 older people would very likely have said the former, and younger people the latter. And this allows a theatrical option, which was exploited in the 2004 *Romeo and Juliet* production. The old Montagues and Capulets said the words with 's' and the young ones ('new tuners of accent', as Mercutio puts it) with 'sh'.

Finally, we need to allow for stylistic choices in the use of OP. For example, there is a colloquial vs formal choice of *g*-dropping in the verbal *-ing* suffix (*possessing* vs *possessin'*), or of *t*-dropping in the *-est* suffix (as shown by such spellings as *interrupts* for *interruptest*). The colloquial elision of a syllable is very frequent, suggesting a stylistic contrast, as in *vtterance* along with *vtt'rance* and *vttrance*. Several of these options are doubtless a consequence of a speech rate that followed Hamlet's recommendation to the players that they should speak 'trippingly upon the tongue' (*Hamlet* 3.2.1). The cumulative difference in speed was seen in the 2004 *Romeo and Juliet*, in which the same company performed the play both in OP and in Modern English: the OP version was ten minutes shorter than its modern counterpart.

A movement?

It was never anticipated in 2004, when the Globe carried out its 'experiment' in OP, that there would be so much subsequent interest shown by so many diverse constituencies as those described above. In the world of theatre, the prospect that the application of OP could lead to fresh perspectives and discoveries has enthused a new generation of directors and actors, as illustrated by Ben Crystal's talk on OP at the

University of Otago in 2017. In the world of literature, serious discussion of its role and value has begun to find a place in literary critical studies, such as Sonia Massai's *Shakespeare's Accents: Voicing Identity in Performance* (2020) and René Weis's Arden edition of *Romeo and Juliet* (2012). But the OP phenomenon has also generated a remarkable popular interest, as evidenced by a podcast made at the Globe by David and Ben Crystal for the Open University in 2011, which has received over five million viewings to date. After only two decades, it might be premature to call the present-day use of OP a 'movement', but it certainly feels like one.

Further Reading

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- Wilkinson, Caroline 2013. The man himself: The face of Richard III. *The Ricardian Bulletin* September: 50–54.

Website links

- A Midsummer Night's Dream 2010 DVD
<<http://ffh.films.com/ItemDetails.aspx?TitleId=30535>>
- A Midsummer Night's Dream 2010 radio
<<https://www.paulmeier.com/dream-radio-broadcast>>
- Archive OP website page: Early music listings
<<http://originalpronunciation.com/GBR/Events?event=7#detail>>
- Ben Crystal on OP: < <https://youtu.be/iqmgeth4tFY>>
- British Library CD <<https://www.amazon.co.uk/Shakespeares-Original-Pronunciation-Performed-Shakespeare/dp/0712351191>>
- Chandos recording: <<https://www.chandos.net/chanimages/Booklets/CH0789.pdf>>
- David Crystal on the Henslowe performance:
<<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rnG7r0JEzLc>>
- Dr Faustus: <<http://www.passioninpractice.com/productions/dr-faustus-in-op>>

Eighteenth-Century English Phonology Database:
<<https://www.dhi.ac.uk/projects/ecep>>

Fisher Museum: <<https://harvardforest.fas.harvard.edu/fisher-museum>>

Hamlet 2011 <<https://www.unr.edu/nevada-today/news/2011/new-hamlet-production-in-old-language>>

Keats event: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nb417zYeK0U>>

King James Bible recordings
<[http://originalpronunciation.com.windows9.aspone.cz/GBR/Illustrations](http://originalpronunciation.com/windows9.aspone.cz/GBR/Illustrations)>
<<http://www.davidcrystal.com/GBR/buy-audio-recordings>>.

Mary Arden's Farm: <<https://www.shakespeare.org.uk/visit/mary-ardens-farm>>

Master Henslowe's Diary script
<<http://www.davidcrystal.com/Files/BooksAndArticles/-5209.pdf>>

Molière: <<https://alexandrin.org>>

Morley on Richard III: <<https://yourvoicebox.co.uk/a-voice-for-richard/>>

Open University: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gPlpphT7n9s>>

OP website <www.originalpronunciation.com>

Pericles 2015
<<http://www.passioninpractice.com/productions/pericles-recomposed>>

Richard III: <<https://le.ac.uk/richard-iii/identification/what-we-know-now/face-of-a-king>>

Shakespeare Ensemble <<https://www.theshakespeareensemble.com>>

Shakespeare's Globe <<https://www.shakespearesglobe.com>>

Sonnets recording <<http://originalpronunciation.com/GBR/Shop>>

Sonnets app <<https://apps.apple.com/gb/app/shakespeares-sonnets/id528646395>>

The Cathedral Project <<https://vpcathedral.chass.ncsu.edu>>

This World's Globe CD <<https://signumrecords.com/product/this-worlds-globe/SIGCD077>>, available from Signum Classics (SIGCD077)

Tyndale Gospel <<https://www.amazon.co.uk/Tyndales-Bible-Matthews-Original-Pronunciation/dp/0712351272>>

Virtual Saint Paul's Project <<http://vpcp.chass.ncsu.edu>>

Yale School of Drama 1954. Review of production of Merry Wives in the New York Times, 16 February. <<https://www.nytimes.com/1954/02/16/archives/yale-offers-bard-to-begin-festival-16th-century-pronunciation-used.html>>