TRAINING, LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

'The limits of my language are the limits

of my world'

– Ludwig Wittgenstein

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TRAINING, LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

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CONTENTS

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Introduction to Issue 2(4)

by Elena Malyuga

Editor-in-Chief TLC

Welcome to Issue 2(4) of Training Language and Culture.

This final issue of the passing year has drawn together a set of diverse research with studies ranging from teaching languages in emerging economies to the use of interjections by British royal family members. The former subject has obviously become one of the central concerns in both practical and scholarly terms as developing countries worldwide are struggling to overcome educational obstacles and provide for language learning. In *English for the underserved: Closing the digital divide,* Michael Carrier explores what can be done to support the population with no access to digital technology, speaks in favour of edtech facilities as a productive tool in combating overcrowded classrooms, offers case studies all the way from Bangladesh, Rwanda, Uruguay and Guatemala, and explores educational technology resources and teacher training approaches contributing to the development of digital literacy.

The issue of language loss is addressed by Peter McGee in *Endangered languages: The case of Irish Gaelic.* This is not only a thorough study, but a very timely one, as languages (and, consequently, cultures) are currently dying at an accelerated rate, not least because of globalisation and neo-colonialism. The author examines the various factors triggering language decline, identifies general and community-specific variables to be considered in assessing the issue, and draws on the example of Irish Gaelic to show how an endangered language could be revived.

A scholar of diverse scientific reach specialising in literature, languages and business administration, Brian Bebbington offers an exceptional study on the intricacies of communication in *The defeat of radical singularism in Russian, English and French literature.* The paper is a mixture of linguistic, literary and philosophic takes on the nuances of cognition and language interpretation with an increased focus on literary history.

Further on, Anna Avramenko et al. discuss *Developing creative writing skills in a high school ESL classroom* to advertise creative writing as a crucial means in boosting imagination, artistic skill and self-esteem in high schoolers. The authors argue that *'in order to impart creative writing skills to high school students, teachers need to create favourable conditions to incorporate creative writing in the language classroom by means of different techniques and heuristics'.* The latter are examined at length in the paper, supported by a case study and an appendix of recommended creative writing preparatory activities.

In *The role of cultural scripts in non-native speech generation,* Vladimir Savitsky and Aryuna Ivanova

analyse the way the learning process can be organised to promote authenticity in students' speech production bringing it closer to native speaker standards. The authors suggest that the script-based approach should be considered as a solution to the problem and offer a comparative study of English and Russian language material that foreign language teachers seeking to address speech training issues will find most useful.

Last but not list in the original article section, Natalya Panina and Oksana Amerkhanova dwell on the topic of speech portrait construction in *Interjections in the speech of British royal family members*. The authors make valuable inferences concerning the inevitable affinity of interjections, contemplate their role in the natural process of speech formation, highlight the key reasons for the lack of conative and phatic interjections as well as the scarcity of emotive interjections and the frequency of their occurrence in the respondents' speech.

In our Reviews section this issue we offer entertaining accounts on a number of highly topical subjects, including *First you write a sentence: The elements of reading, writing… and*

life by Joe Moran reviewed by Dominique Vouillemin, *It's all Greek: Borrowed words and their histories* by Alexander Tulloch reviewed by Maurice Cassidy, *Have you eaten Grandma?* by Gyles Brandreth reviewed by Barry Tomalin, and *Multilingual computer assisted language learning* by Judith Buendgens-Kosten and Daniela Elsner (Eds.) reviewed by Barry Tomalin.

As always, the issue also features news from ICC, EUROLTA and RUDN University offering insights into their current activity.

ICC and RUDN University are stepping into the new year with a lot of ideas and a growing readership represented by the members of international scientific community. On behalf of our teams, Barry Tomalin and myself would like to thank TLC readers, authors and subscribers for the continued interest towards our work that will carry on in 2019 with renewed vigour.

TLC Editorial Board welcomes contributions in the form of articles, reviews and correspondence. Detailed information is available online at rudn.tlcjournal.org. Feel free to contact us at info@tlcjournal.org or info@icc-languages.eu.

English for the underserved: Closing the digital divide

by Michael Carrier

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This paper explores the problems faced by schools in developing economies worldwide in accessing interactive communications technologies (ICTs) due to lack of electricity, lack of equipment and lack of training both for teachers and for students. Although the middle class in developing economies is growing fast, something like 4 billion members of the global population have no access to digital technology, giving rise to the term, 'digital divide'. Governments, international agencies and charities are all investing personnel and resources to overcome these problems and provide opportunities for language learning and other skills. The paper argues that the introduction of edtech facilities in local schools in emerging economies will help solve problems of overcrowded classrooms and teach learners essential skills that they will need in their careers. It provides case studies from different countries and examines types of educational technology resources and teacher training approaches used to help learners access and master digital literacy.

KEYWORDS: *edtech, educational technology, digital divide, ICTs, developing economies, digital immigrants, digital literacy*

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper outlines the nature of the digital divide in developing economies and how we can use new and alternative technologies to narrow this divide, thus providing broader opportunities for learning and access to global knowledge, even in low-resource contexts.

Butare is a sizeable town in the south of Rwanda, about 4 hours from the capital Kigali. The school we were visiting was a collection of low red brick buildings around a fairly muddy and uneven schoolyard. The classrooms were cramped, given there were 50 children in each classroom, and the chalkboard was so scratched that it was hard to read the English vocabulary the teacher had written up there.

We brought a gift of dictionaries, as we had been informed that the school had none available. The few textbooks that they did have were kept locked in the head teacher's office. There was no technology – no TV, radio or computer – and there was only intermittent electric power. But the learners were energetic, sharp and eager to learn.

Ever since I first visited Rwanda when I was at the British Council, and saw the difficult conditions

that teachers faced in the rural and small-town schools, I have felt that we in the edtech community could really do a lot more to help students and teachers in developing economies. This led me to look into the world of 'alternative' edtech, by which I mean simply innovative edtech that is outside the mainstream of what schools and teachers normally use.

2. WHO ARE THE UNDERSERVED AND WHAT DO THEY NEED?

The problem of digital learning, and the use of educational technology, is that no matter how wonderful the affordances of these technologies are, and how much they complement teaching and support learning, they are all somewhat useless if students cannot gain access to the technologies because they lack the economic resources or the infrastructure access.

This is the so-called 'digital divide'. The key premise is that *'the global spread of ICT has increased inequality, and that the poorest and most marginalised have therefore failed sufficiently to benefit'* (Unwin, 2017). Essentially, it means that the poorest learners in the world do not have access to the same technologies that are available to students in richer economies, and thus lack the same access to knowledge and learning opportunities. This is something that educators need to address, to reduce inequality and improve equity of learning access.

The digital divide is shrinking in some areas, as more and more people in the global population are able to access mobile phones, and even Internet-connected smartphones. Mobile phone users were estimated at 4.7 billion in 2017, while Internet users in 2017 had grown to about 3.8 billion (eMarketer, 2017), thus providing around half of the world's population with Internet (and thereby learning) access.

But this leaves around 3-4 billion people with no Internet connection, and a similar number without reliable access to electricity, without the actual devices to connect to the Internet, without affordable mobile phone service, and without the economic opportunity to buy data subscriptions.

This half of the global population represents *the underserved*, those on very low incomes and without technology provision who therefore have less access to learning in general and English language education in particular.

Their situation is improving to some degree as earnings at the base of the economic pyramid are rising, and there is rapid growth in those defined as 'middle-class', earning between $10-$50 per day. There has been a huge increase in the middle class in Brazil, the middle-class in Africa is projected to double to 2 billion by 2030, the middle-class in Asia is projected to double by 2030 to 3.5 billion, and the middle-class market in India will be bigger

'This half of the global population represents the underserved, those on very low incomes and without technology provision who therefore have less access to learning in general and English language education in particular'

than either the US or China by 2030 (Kharas, 2017). This increase in income will eventually lead to families being able to buy books, pay school attendance fees, buy data plans for mobile phones, and thus increase access to learning resources. In the meantime, and for some time to come, alternative technology is one of the answers to lack of access.

3. HOW CAN WE HELP?

How can we help these people in the meantime to access global knowledge and global learning opportunities, given the constraints that they face? Their needs are the same as ours, they need English for education, employment, mobility, and access to global knowledge. Their challenges come from their economic situation. They lack access to power, connectivity, and Internet-enabled devices, but also lack access to suitable, trained teachers who can help them with digital access to knowledge and practice opportunities in schools, learning centres and universities.

At the moment, these learners are served by the state education systems, and where they can afford it, by low-cost private education systems, or if they are fortunate, by the support of charitable organisations and NGOs who run schools and colleges.

There are some corporate actors working with disadvantaged people at the bottom of the pyramid. Microsoft teamed up with the British Council in Project Badaliko, for example, to set up digital learning centres across Africa to bring digital learning opportunities to disadvantaged learners. Intel, the microprocessor company, has trained over 15 million teachers of maths and science in developing economies over the last 10 years, giving them the confidence to use digital technologies in school.

Some might ask why people in emerging economies need digital learning, when they have access to more traditional forms of education? Well, in theory they do. In many countries the traditional primary, secondary schools, and even the universities, can face major challenges to bring the desired level of education to the populations that they serve.

In many countries, learners only receive a primary education up to about the age of 12 or 14. In many countries, girls are not encouraged, and sometimes prevented, from going to school or

staying in school to the end of secondary education. In many cases, teachers are un(der)qualified, or inexperienced, and in extreme situations such as in Pakistan, a substantial proportion are absent from schools at any period of time. On an academic level, there can be problems with the curriculum, with access to appropriate learning materials, and with access to and rigour of assessment systems.

Thus, giving people digital access to enable them to extend their exposure to English, extend their time on task by giving opportunities for reading, listening, study activities, vocabulary extension and so on, is a valuable way to extend the English language learning opportunities for students in emerging economies.

4. EQUITY

For those of us in developed economies, our access to technology gives us such a privileged situation, because it brings access to global knowledge and opportunities for higher education, employment and mobility – exactly the life chances that students in emerging economies lack. Although Western economies spend billions in aid to emerging economies, it does not always find its way into classrooms, and certainly not English language teaching classrooms.

It ought to be a given that providing the wherewithal to learn English (such as alternative

technology) would be a significant goal of the aid agencies working in developing countries. But the key NGO and state aid funding agencies seem to have overlooked the benefits to a developing population of improving the language skills that give them access to education, mobility and economic opportunities.

Britain's aid ministry, the Department for International Development (DFID), is a case in point. Despite a very generous budget (currently ca. £14 billion per year), it has for many years resisted any funding of English projects. This is largely the legacy of former Labour minister Clare Short, who apparently felt that learning English was an 'elitist' and 'colonial' pursuit. She disregarded the fact that many citizens of developed economies felt that English was the language of opportunity and liberation from poverty.

This reminds us of the arguments of Robert Phillipson, who believes that the idea of teaching English at all in developing countries is a form of imperialism (Phillipson, 1992).

Since then DFID has, with some exceptions like *English in Action* in Bangladesh, blocked any significant funding of English language education.

Most aid agencies are rightly concerned primarily with poverty alleviation, and with improving the

basic education of primary school children, especially girls. This is the most important focus, of course, but it is hard to see why a small slice of the £14 billion the UK spends on aid annually could not be targeted at improving access to educational technology and connectivity, so that disadvantaged students can get better opportunities to learn and expand their horizons.

When considering the so-called 'digital divide', it is very important to understand what actions need to be taken. It is not merely a question of technology access, as Brabazon (2013) explains: *'The digital divide is based on the assumption that access to technology is a proxy for learning how to use it'* (Brabazon, 2013, p. 71). We will look later at the issue of training and development of the digital literacies required to turn access into learning.

It is certainly a question of equity, of 'digital justice', in Brabazon's phrase: *'By committing to digital justice rather than lamenting the digital divide, citizens of the world can avoid a global monoculture, celebrate, preserve and encourage local languages'* (Brabazon, 2013, p. 85).
An early example of a country aiming to provide this equity is Finland. In 2010, the government of Finland enshrined broadband access into a 'right of citizenship'. This is certainly the preferred direction of travel; Brabazon claims that 'broadband is no longer only an enabler of

entertainment and leisure, but the basis of social justice and equality' (Brabazon, 2013, p. 72).

5. ENGLISH OPENS DOORS

A series of reports from Euromonitor, funded by the British Council, built on the work of economist Francois Grin and made clear the advantages of learning English. The economic advantage to the individual is increased earning potential (from 25% up to 40% more income than with no English competence) and the benefit to the state is an increase in foreign direct investment from corporations who know they can find workers with sufficient levels of English. The report found the following:

'An important element of these growth strategies is recognition of the importance of English, in order to communicate in the international business world. A focus on improved language skills has helped to attract more foreign investment, further increasing the need for English speakers in these countries. This underpins the growth of national and individual wealth, and helps drive economic development. Workers with solid English language skills are therefore in the best position to take the fullest advantage of new opportunities in these rapidly developing economies' (Euromonitor, 2010, p. 4).

These reports make clear that the underserved have economic needs that are not being met.

6. SOLUTIONS

6.1 The potential of alternative technology

We have seen that the underserved lack access to technology, lack equity and digital justice, and need English in order to develop economic opportunities. What are the potential solutions? Apart from unrealistically large financial investments that would be needed to provide first world infrastructure everywhere, the key factor here is the provision of alternative technologies that get around the constraints of power and connectivity.

What attracted me to the world of 'alternative' technology is the energy and innovative spirt of the people who are trying to reverse this marginalisation while keeping a close eye on the cost to users. There is no point in coming up with incredibly innovative new technologies if they are so expensive that no individual, school or village can afford them, and only Western governments can utilise them. Interactive whiteboards come to mind here, as a prime example of the most over-rated and over-priced edtech (though this view may cue howls of outrage from some quarters).

6.2 Power

To solve the issue of access to electricity and reliable power, a number of organisations have been offering solar-powered technology. A good example is *Lifeline Energy*, run by Kristine Pearson in South Africa, which provides solar-powered radios and MP3 players to allow teachers and community leaders to bring audio content into rural areas and isolated villages without reliable power. The MP3 unit can record radio broadcasts for later sharing, and can be updated with new content by adding cheap memory cards in the front panel slot.

While at the British Council, I set up a project with this NGO to buy large quantities of their solar-powered MP3 player, called the *LifePlayer* and to equip them with memory cards containing the British Council's listening material, podcasts, and teacher training material in audio format so that this could be used in low resource contexts for English language learning.

This has been successfully rolled out in Kenya, Mozambique and Ethiopia, allowing around 60,000 students and teachers to gain access to materials that would otherwise be too difficult to deliver via traditional publishing or broadcasting.

All this technology requires for wider rollout is a small investment in devices and access to open-source material (such as that above) that can be duplicated and distributed at low cost.

6.3 Connectivity

To solve the problem of lack of connectivity in remote and rural areas or undeveloped areas, we need to look at the advances in long-distance wireless connectivity.

Intel have developed a new type of wireless Wi-Fi called *WiMax*, which can send Wi-Fi signals up to 5 miles along line of sight from antenna to antenna. This is used in some rural areas in England, where phoneline-based broadband is unavailable or too slow for people who need to work remotely. One cooperative village Internet provider in Norfolk, for example, broadcasts Wi-Fi from a dish on the tower of the village church.

The second connectivity support is to provide prepaid telco programmes. This is relevant if students have an Internet-enabled phone and a strong enough signal to be able to connect to the Internet from their location, but the cost of a monthly data subscription is far too high for them to afford. The solution is to give them cheaper access through a prepaid card, which works like a scratchcard with a code number. For a small fee this gives, for example, one gigabyte of data access but does not commit users to an ongoing monthly subscription, which would be unaffordable.

Intel have developed several programmes like this, including with the Vietnamese Ministry of Education, in order to help people access the Internet via PC or phone at an acceptable cost.

6.4 Portable servers
Another kind of connectivity solution is to move the content that students need to access closer to the students themselves – away from the open Internet that they cannot access. Instead of giving students open access to the Internet, it can be educationally appropriate to provide students localised Wi-Fi access to selected and curated educational and open knowledge content, which they can access through a portable local server.

Of course, many schools in remote areas do not have traditional servers or the IT staff to maintain them, so a solution is to use portable offline servers. A portable offline server combines in one box the teacher's need for connectivity, Wi-Fi, storage of material and electrical power. It is essentially a modified router, Wi-Fi access point and storage server squeezed into one small box, about the size of a A5 notebook.

In addition to the router (the device used in any home or office to connect to the Internet and provide Wi-Fi access), the unit has a hard drive to hold content selected by the teacher or school, and a rechargeable battery.

When it is set up in a school or learning centre with a live Internet connection, material can be downloaded from the web on to the server. Teachers can also download on to it any type of content stored locally in their school, or created locally, and organise it for access by the whole class (such as audio or video files or PDF documents). This content is all accessible via the Wi-Fi hotspot to anyone with a browser and a Wi-

'Of course, many schools in remote areas do not have traditional servers or the IT staff to maintain them, so a solution is to use portable offline servers'

Fi device, even when the server is disconnected from the Internet – it is self-sufficient. It runs off its battery power, long enough for a school day, and it creates its own Wi-Fi hotspot to 'feed' devices near to it. Students use phones or tablets to get wireless access to the curated content on the server's hard drive, which is accessed via a standard browser.

As the server is portable and self-contained, it can be moved from room to room in a school, or used outdoors in a more remote and rural location where there is no electricity and no external connectivity. The unit can be recharged in a location with electricity, and then used in any location where there is no electricity and no external connectivity. The advantage of this solution is that teachers or schools or educational aid groups can preselect and load content onto these portable servers, via network or USB or memory card, charge them up in a central location and send them out with a group of phones or tablets or laptops to be used anywhere in the field.

6.5 Server devices
The Intel version of this concept is called an

'education content access point' and costs around $250-$300 (Intel, 2016). There are other versions of the same licensed design available, such as *MyMaga* from Portugal and other similar devices with different designs, some based on cheap Raspberry Pi computers, available from projects such as *Internet in a Box* and *MundoPosible*.

A current example of this implementation is the *RACHEL Project*. RACHEL stands for *Remote Area Community Hotspot for Education and Learning*. The charity that runs the RACHEL Project, WorldPossible, is determined to bring connectivity to the 60% of the world's population that remains offline. This population is predominantly rural, low income, elderly, illiterate, or female (WorldPossible, 2018).

'A common refrain we hear is that children are in school, the teacher is there, but no-one is learning. Offline content serves as a resource for students and teachers to not just educate themselves, but also develop vital 21st century skills in digital literacy, research and critical thinking' (Jeremy Schwarz as cited in Carrier, 2017).

The RACHEL server runs on open-source software (Ubuntu) and drives tablets and notebooks in a small offline learning lab, hosts off-line copies of websites, audio files, PDF reading texts, lesson plans, video clips and anything else that a standard browser can access.

'Today the students felt empowered. No longer were they dependent on what the teacher could teach them at the blackboard. No longer did those who got it need to wait on the others who need more time' (Jeremy Schwarz as cited in Carrier, 2017).

6.6 Offline content

A portable server, however accessible, is not much use without good learning content. Local teachers cannot be expected to always create their own material, so they need to be directed to external sources that are free.

Sources of offline content are rich and varied, as open educational resources (OER) are being built up and extended in a number of different repositories, British Council being a prime example.

The RACHEL Project offers offline versions of Wikipedia, TED talks, 400 books from the Gutenberg Project, the African story book project, and radio lab. Other similar sources include organisations such as *eGranary, Loan Equality* and *Kiwix.*

Schools and teachers can provide their own offline content simply by making any kind of locally available or downloadable English language teaching material available in browser-readable format. This means that material such as PDF documents, listening files in MP3 format and videos in MP4 format can be shared and downloaded into the server device without conversion and used in class.

6.7 Student access technology

Of course, none of this is of much use unless students have devices which can access the Internet directly or via the offline server. Students need a device with a browser to 'read' this content.

The penetration of mobile phones even in emerging economies is extremely high and by 2022 it is estimated that there will be 8.9 billion mobile subscriptions and 6.1 billion unique mobile subscribers, which is almost one for every person alive on the planet.

It is therefore likely that in most locations a sufficient number of students in the class will have access to a phone that can be used to access learning content with a browser application on the phone. Even older non-Internet phones (feature phones) are often supplied with a simple browser application and local Wi-Fi capability. If not, schools and aid projects need to develop loan systems so that the teacher can bring one device per group of students into a class along with the offline server.

Where this is not possible, then the students can

also access learning content as a group rather than individually.

Teachers can provide the class access to the learning material from the teacher's phone or tablet, by connecting it to a portable projector (for example a *Pico* or handheld projector) and displaying this on a white wall, or a wall covered with a white sheet of paper. Pico projectors are not particularly cheap (about £200-250), but cheaper than a set of 50 tablets.

6.8 PC replacement technology

Some aid projects have invested in setting up computer labs in schools in emerging economies in order to help students get access to connectivity. This is excellent but expensive, not only in terms of procurement but in terms of the need for specialised setup and maintenance skills. It is likely that standalone PCs will cease to be necessary for this kind of implementation, because of the ubiquity of smartphones which are increasingly available for as little as $25-$50.

For ease of use by groups of learners, these smartphones can now be connected to screens and keyboards to create a PC-equivalent experience for learners. New adapters such as Microsoft's *Continuum adapter* and the Samsung *DEX adapter* make it possible for any phone to act as a personal computer and be connected to a full-sized monitor and keyboard.

7. CASE STUDIES

There are many past and current projects which use clever technology solutions to improve the equity of access to learning materials and global knowledge for students in low resource contexts.

For example, the *English in Action* project in Bangladesh, managed by the Open University, BBC and Cambridge Education has brought audio and video learning materials and teacher training materials to classes by using memory cards inserted into Nokia phones, which are then connected to speakers or television (English in Action, 2017).

In Rwanda, there has been an extensive *One Laptop Per Child* project bringing device access to students using the low-cost OLPC laptops, with customised English language learning software, some utilising the open educational resources from the British Council (OLPC, 2017).

A different approach was used in Uruguay, where remote schools did not have access to English language teachers. In an ambitious programme called *Plan Ceibal*, the country connected all the remote schools by fibre optic cable to the capital city, so the live video conference teaching could be broadcast to each school individually. Each class got one or two lessons per week of the specialised English teacher from a remote site, teaching via live videoconference link, while the

local teacher in the classroom assisted with activity implementation (Plan Ceibal, 2017).

In Guatemala, schools were challenged by a lack of connectivity in rural areas so a project called *MundoPosible Guatemala* installed RACHEL-Plus off-line servers in 44 schools, trained 743 teachers, and provided offline content to more than 14,000 learners (WorldPossible, 2017).

The RACHEL project has been expanded to partnerships in 47 countries including Namibia, Sierra Leone, Kenya, Ghana, Tanzania. The servers are used by over 500,000 learners around the world, providing free open educational resources that support teachers as well as learners.

8. OPEN SOURCE ELT

These kinds of solutions make clear that the technology can be made available to solve these challenges, but appropriate teaching and learning depends on the availability of inexpensive or free open source teaching resources. These are not just lesson plans and lesson activities, but assessment tests, curriculum designs, textbooks, and readers.

Of course, there are some OER resources already, such as the British Council *LearnEnglish* and *TeachEnglish* websites which provide large amounts of free material of high quality. Most of it is for self-access rather than classroom use in structured course delivery.

The team behind the RACHEL project has led the way by creating a new online repository of OER materials, called *OER2Go*. The project team takes content from OER sources and customises it (with permission) so it can be used with offline servers like RACHEL, with no connection to the external Internet.

Similarly, a US non-profit, the *Widernet Project*, which is dedicated to improving digital education, has developed an OER solution that is very easy to use, as the OER resources are not online but housed in an 'appliance', the eGranary Digital Library. This is essentially an offline server, an 'Internet-in-a-box' solution that stores thousands of pages of learning materials, including offline websites, for students to use in an institutional setting. The eGranary project 'provides millions of digital educational resources to institutions lacking adequate Internet access. The eGranary is much more than just static information: the digital library contains built-in tools for subscribers to upload and edit local materials as well as create and edit their own websites, which are stored locally' (eGranary, 2017).

It is hoped that there will be more developments in creating and sharing for free open source (OER) English language teaching materials either created by teachers, or released into the public domain by publishers once a textbook or reader is no longer appropriate for global sales. Publishers of English

language classroom textbooks and materials issue new textbooks every year, and often remove older versions from sale. It would be possible for them to donate the content of these out-of-print materials for use in open-source environments as described above. Many textbooks from 10 years ago are no longer on sale, but could still represent a great learning support for students in emerging economies if they could have free access to the content.

Ideally, an English Language Teaching OER repository would contain more than lesson activities, and its core would include:

- core curriculum;
- core training course design;
- core placement test;
- core achievement tests;
- core textbook;
- core skills development;
- core readers.

Most of these core ELT resources are only available as commercial purchases, and it is necessary that an OER project be initiated to collect non-copyright and non-commercial versions of these resources, to be shared with the underserved.

9. TRAINING AND SUPPORT
9.1 A range of actions to be taken
When considering the so-called 'digital divide' and how to fix it, it is important to understand what

range of actions need to be taken.

'The digital divide is essentially based on the assumption that access to technology is a proxy for learning how to use it' (Brabazon, 2013, p. 71). Obviously, access alone is not enough. As Brabazon points out, 'access is the preliminary stage in the project of learning' (Brabazon, 2013, p. 72).

Brabazon cites the OLPC project as a negative example, explaining, 'we do not focus on computer literacy, as that is a by-product of the fluency children will gain through use of the laptop for learning' (Brabazon, 2013, p. 71). This is also the view taken by Sugata Mitra whose famous Computer in a Hole in the Wall project in India raised manifestly unrealistic expectations that learners did not need teacher support any more (Mitra, 2012).

It is clear that both teachers and learners need support and development to help them make use of these new technologies. Projects designed to bring alternative technologies to underserved areas need to ensure that a significant part of the budget and time allocation is devoted to this training and support. Therefore, any project focused on bringing new technology to local learners must also focus on how to implement training for both teachers and learners. It is important to ensure they both develop digital literacy competences so that they

can make best use of the technology to achieve learning outcomes. This includes supplying professional development for teachers, modifying and updating the curriculum, supplying learning materials and resources (online and offline), and helping learners develop lifelong learning strategies. In most cases, learners need to be guided to use new technology, and a structured learning experience based on a structured curriculum and carefully prepared learning resources is more likely to be of lasting value.

9.2 Digital literacy

Both teachers and learners need to develop digital literacy skills and competences. Digital literacy has been defined by Paul Gilster as 'the ability to both understand and use digitised information' (Gilster, 1997, p. 2).

Digital literacy is important for all teachers and learners in developing economies, whether they are 'digital natives' or 'digital immigrants'. It is important for language teachers as more and more language teaching resources are available in digital formats, and more and more schools use digital devices to teach, and more and more students have access to digital world outside their classroom.

Hockly et al. (2014) define digital literacies as 'the individual and social skills needed to effectively interpret, manage, share and create meaning in the

growing range of digital communication channels' (Hockley et al., 2014, p. 2). They set out a digital literacy framework that covers the following areas.

1. A focus on language: print and texting literacies, mobile, gaming, hypertext, code. This includes reading online, understanding texts and texting, understanding hypertext links, how to navigate on the web, and how to work with games and game-like learning.

2. A focus on connections: personal, participatory, network and intercultural literacies. These literacies include operating in social networking spaces, which includes blogs, wikis, and social media like Facebook.

3. A focus on information: search, information and tagging literacies. This means knowing how to search online and find (and evaluate) useful and reliable information.

4. A focus on (re)design: remix literacy. This more advanced competence includes modifying media, remixing and creating 'mashups' by combining text and images from different media. This is largely beyond the context of the underserved, except that the competence to record voice, take photos and marry them together to tell stories is well within the confines of the low technology resource provided.

9.3 Digital natives and immigrants

A central part of the development and support teachers need is help in understanding their learners and their needs. Some concepts can be misleading, however. Marc Prensky introduced, or at least popularised, the concepts of 'digital native' and 'digital immigrant' (Prensky, 2001). He intended to highlight the new skills that younger learners, born into a digital and Internet age, would have from their early life experience, whereas older learners would need to have learned these skills. This distinction has now been largely discredited as inaccurate and somewhat ageist, but the terminology is still in use. It is inaccurate because not all young people know how to use technology well, and not all over-30-year-olds are incapable of learning digital skills.

What many of these experts like Prensky (2001) and Phillipson (1992) have in common is the view that only they can advise on the 'right' way for learners to succeed.

In looking to support the underserved learners, we need to be more open to new varied and even contradictory ways to support learning through technology, including through alternative technology that is matched to the local resources.

9.4 The digital teacher

One useful tool or resource for developing teacher training programmes in digital skills is the digital competence framework developed by ELTjam and Cambridge Assessment English (ELTJam, 2017). This framework consists of a bank of can-do statements outlining digital teaching competences, at different levels of teacher experience and qualification. It is based on the research-led Cambridge CPD Framework which I initiated while consulting for Cambridge English, which builds on the EAQUALS and British Council frameworks and combines the CEFR approach to can-do statements with teacher competences required at each stage of a career.

This resource provides also hints and tips for how to use certain hardware and software in class, and how to further develop one's skills. The range of competences outlined is more complex than those required in a more restricted learning context such as described in this paper, but the core principle of analysing and training teacher digital competences still stands. The core framework defines competences under these headings which are just as applicable to low-resource contexts:

- *The Digital World:* how teachers can be digital citizens, utilise the opportunities and keep students safe in an online environment;

- *The Digital Classroom:* how teachers can develop their awareness of what is available in digital learning, what theories and methodologies are appropriate and

what tools and resources are relevant to their context;

- *The Digital Teacher:* how teachers can improve their own professional development and work with peers to build broader competences;

- *Designing Learning:* how to select, evaluate and use digital resources in lesson planning, linking digital content to the curriculum;

- *Delivering Learning:* how to communicate effectively with students and develop their skills in utilising digital tools;

- *Evaluating Learning:* how to assess student progress using digital tools and assess the effectiveness of the digital implementation.

Ideally, to better serve the underserved teachers, a simpler and more concise Digital Skills Framework needs to be designed that is more closely mapped to the sort of digital devices and resources that would be available in low resource contexts. This work has yet to be done but might include a simple definition of competences – and training activities – for each of these areas:

Teachers:
- how to use (i.e. 'operate') the technology

supplied;
- how to design curriculum content;
- how to use in class;
- how to support learners using tech outside class.

Learners:
- how to use the technology supplied;
- how to learn interactively in pairs and groups with technology;
- how to practise outside class;
- how to build a lifelong learning strategy and habit.

10. CONCLUSION

What is it that the underserved communities really need, and how can we help them to access this? It is clear that underserved communities of students need equitable access to education and therefore higher levels of English that will enable them to further their education and get broader opportunities in life. It is clear that these underserved communities therefore need new radical innovation in digital infrastructure and connectivity in order to get access to global knowledge and English language teaching materials that will help.

It seems only fair that we should look for ways to share the benefits that we in richer countries have experienced, and some of these 'alternative' technologies may help to bridge that digital divide.

We will need more investment help, perhaps via edtech NGOs that gain funding for such work, and we will need much wider access to open-source language learning materials to use as content for the alternative technologies. But it can be done.

Given their lack of economic resources, it is also clear that they need access to good, free, Open Source ELT content as they cannot be expected to pay western publishers' commercial prices. Similarly, the teachers of the 'Next Billion' learners of English need access to good, free, Open Source training and CPD opportunities as well as Open

Source curricula and assessment content.

What can we do? We can donate materials to projects like WorldPossible in Guatemala. We can volunteer to write learning materials that can be used in open source contexts. We can influence our professional networks to get involved – lobby, act, train, donate or write material, or fundraise for technology purchase. Above all, we can spread the word that providing access to English language learning for the underserved communities can be greatly helped by taking a radical view of technology solutions and open source content.

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Endangered languages: The case of Irish Gaelic

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Research into why some languages die and why other languages survive is an important area of linguistic and cultural research. Languages represent a culture and when the language dies, more often than not, the culture it expresses dies with it. Various factors influence language decline and the author identifies macro-variables which influence all endangered languages and micro-variables which are particular to a specific language community. However, research also suggests ways in which endangered languages may be revived and revitalised using Crystal's six steps. This paper analyses the situation of one endangered language in the context of the use of Gaelic in the British Isles, focusing on Irish Gaelic. Its conclusion is that in spite of its status as the official language of Ireland and an official EU language, Irish Gaelic is in fact in decline and must be considered as an endangered language.

KEYWORDS: *Gaelic, language endangerment, globalisation, language revitalisation, language shift, linguistic determinism, linguistic relativism*

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper discusses the situation of Irish Gaelic, including both the symptoms and underlying causes of this language's endangerment. The outcomes of such a situation may either be language survival or language death. It is also important to discuss whether efforts to revitalise a language are either worthwhile or beneficial. The value of language survival is in contrast with the belief that the disappearance of languages with very few speakers may be inevitable due to globalisation. Conversely, it is widely agreed that language influences thought, identity and culture, and vice versa. As a consequence, there are strong implications to these factors when it comes to

language revitalisation. In order to discuss these issues, the paper is divided into six sections.

Section 1, the *Introduction*, includes a discussion on why languages are dying and why linguists care about the issue. Section 2, *Materials and Methods*, discusses the role of Gaelic in the British Isles and covers the linguistic impact of language endangerment and the signs to look for. Section 3, *Theoretical Background*, presents typologies of language endangerment, the link between language and cultural identity, and the cultural implications for losing a language, are presented. It also considers arguments for and against the idea that a language shapes the perception of the

world of its speakers. Section 4 applies the lessons of the theoretical background to the case of Irish Gaelic, and the discussion in section 5 examines perceptions and strategies that can be used to revive or strengthen endangered languages. Section 6 investigates how a language endangerment crisis may be addressed through the use of language documentation and revitalisation strategies. Finally, the paper ends with a conclusion of the main findings.

2. MATERIALS AND METHODS

This paper focuses on Irish Gaelic, an EU official language and the official language of Ireland, used in signage, in official announcements and in broadcasting. It is also taught in schools. Nevertheless, Irish Gaelic is losing ground to English and fewer and fewer Irish citizens are using it. This paper analyses the different uses of Irish Gaelic, how intensively they are used and what influence they have on Irish working, social and cultural life.

3. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

3.1 What is Gaelic and where is it used?

Gaelic is a Celtic language. It is the language used by the inhabitants of Britain before the Roman (54BCE) and Norman (1066CE) invasions. Driven westwards by successive waves of invasion, it is a minority language concentrated in Scotland, the Republic of Ireland, the Isle of Man, Wales and Brittany in France. It is part of the Indo-European

'To classify a language as dead is easy enough. When there is only one speaker left, one can say that the language is dead. This single speaker cannot talk to anyone in that particular language if no one is interested in learning it'

family of languages but is a minority language, secondary to the use of English in the United Kingdom and the Irish Republic and the use of French in Brittany. Despite its status as a minority language, Celtic culture has a considerable influence in establishing a traditional Breton (Brittany), Celtic Irish, Celtic Scottish and Celtic British (Wales and the west of England) culture through music, writing and through the Druidic religion and traditional celebrations.

3.2 Causes and symptoms of language endangerment

To classify a language as dead is easy enough. When there is only one speaker left, one can say that the language is dead. This single speaker cannot talk to anyone in that particular language if no one is interested in learning it (Crystal, 2000, p. 11). However, it is impossible to say how many speakers are necessary to guarantee the life of a language. The presence of several people speaking that language may not be sufficient. It is necessary

to analyse individual cultural situations for each endangered language. For instance, if the population speaking one language is scattered around a large city, the chances of maintaining that ethnic language are minimal. That is, the population size of a language does not provide an accurate indicator of the situation of a language. However, it is also true that the number of speakers can be an indicator of the endangered status of a language (Crystal, 2000, p. 14). In the case of Irish Gaelic, the note published by Houses of the Oireachtas Service (2016) states that even though the number of Irish-Gaelic speakers – using the language at home – has increased, it still only represents less than 5% of the overall population. The Oireachtas is the government of Ireland, known also as the Oireachtas Éireann in Irish Gaelic. It consists of the president of Ireland and the two houses of the Irish Parliament, Dáil Éireann (lower house) and Seanad Éireann (upper house). Hence the Two Houses of the Oireachtas Service refers to the Irish Parliament.

Crystal (2000) states that comparing levels of language endangerment is rather difficult as each language is in a different situation. Factors contributing to the level of endangerment include the rate of acquisition by the children of the community, the attitude of the community to the language and the level of impact that other languages have over it. For instance, if a language is no longer learned by children as a mother

tongue, it may be considered moribund. This would indicate that a language lacks intergenerational transmission (Crystal, 2000, p. 19). In the case of Irish, Houses of the Oireachtas Service (2016) records that there is a very low number of families who raise children speaking Irish-Gaelic. Moreover, Gibbs (2002) notes that a re-occurring factor when a language is endangered is that the community shows collective doubts about the usefulness of the language. Similarly, speakers may consider that their own language is inferior to the majority language. If this is the case, speakers tend to stop using the minority language on all occasions. This attitude gets passed on to younger generations. Gibbs argues that this attitude explains why Irish Gaelic is only rarely used daily at home (Gibbs, 2002, p. 85). Furthermore, the fact that the language is official does not entail that the language is not endangered. For instance, Irish Gaelic is the first official language of the Republic of Ireland, but this status was only designated in order to revitalise the declining language (Brittain & MacKenzie, 2015, p. 437).

3.3 The linguistic impact of language endangerment

Gibbs (2002) notes that many scholars 'mourn' the loss of languages for various reasons. To begin with, linguistics has a scientific interest in minority languages. As many of the basic questions in linguistics are linked to the limits of human

'Furthermore, the fact that the language is official does not entail that the language is not endangered. For instance, Irish Gaelic is the first official language of the Republic of Ireland, but this status was only designated in order to revitalise the declining language'

speech, rare languages can provide some insight on the issue. In fact, some researchers believe that all languages help towards providing ideas on the universal structural elements of language. If there are any grammatical or lexical features that are truly universal, linguists could claim that these features are hardwired in the human mind. Hence, preserving all languages is paramount in order to identify such universal features (Gibbs, 2002, p. 80).

Another area of linguistic interest on the topic of language death and language endangerment involves the desire to reconstruct ancient migration patterns through the comparison of borrowed words that may occur in unrelated languages. In both areas, the number of languages studied offers more validity to the results. Besides, losing a language means losing the knowledge of the culture and view of that particular community. For these reasons, researchers such as Elmendorf

(1981) have highlighted the issue of endangered languages to draw attention to its scale and call for an organised response.

Brittain and MacKenzie (2015) note that linguists should care when they notice cases of language shift. The reason is that language shift, where one language is replaced by another, means more than just a change of language, as the culture may also disappear. Other authors also argue that any reduction in the world's linguistic diversity translates into an impoverishment of our heritage as a species (see Crystal, 2000; Mithun, 1998; Nettle & Romaine, 2000). For instance, Mithun (1998) argues that the loss of language diversity entails a loss of the full creative capabilities of the human mind.

3.4 Typologies of language endangerment

Grenoble and Whaley (1998) argue that endangered language situations need some type of typology, including factors such as literacy. This typology must also allow for ranking certain variables above others and it must be able to differentiate between various macro-variables. For this purpose, the authors argue for the framework suggested by Edwards (1992). In order to ascertain the vitality of a language, one must take into account the following factors: demography, sociology, linguistics, psychology, history, politics, geography, education, religion, economics and technology (Grenoble & Whaley, 1998, p. 25).

This framework covers features of an individual speech community together with features of the broader context of the language. The former are micro-variables, and the latter are macro-variables. The authors note that macro-variables are the most important in determining whether a language is under threat (Grenoble & Whaley, 1998, p. 27). This is due to the fact that macro-variables are indicative of features shared across various endangerment situations. On the other hand, micro-variables are characteristic of a particular linguistic community. With these micro-variables, one may reverse language shift. This can be done through education in the minority language.

3.5 Linguistic relativism and linguistic determinism

The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis states that language shapes the way people think. Each language names the world in its own way. Similarly, different language structures determine how one sees and interprets the world (Kay & Kempton, 1984, p. 67). This hypothesis comes from Whorf's principle of relativity and linguistic determinism. Whorf (1940) asserts that every speaker is bound to describe the world constrained by the modes of interpretation of a particular language and argues that languages with a common origin tend to be more similar than those languages that are not related.

Different family languages will allow for a divergent analysis of the world. This means that different languages may bring about different observations and views of the world. Linguistic determinism is an extreme form of relativism, in which language determines how speakers see the world. As a consequence, speakers are not capable of seeing the world in a different way. This would impose a strong constraint on speakers, not allowing them to be perfect bilinguals (Lucy, 1996, p. 104).

3.6 Language, multilingualism and cultural diversity

The difference in views associated with each language is what makes them all so valuable. Consequently, authors such as Lo Bianco (2010) address the importance that multilingualism has on cultural diversity. This author states that it is critical to develop language policies that support the intergenerational retention of minority languages. Globalisation is a great challenge for language diversity, but efforts to appreciate and promote human differences need awareness of the importance of multilingualism. As researchers highlight, the adoption of a majority language such as English entails that speakers are becoming more uniform culturally (Mufwene, 2007, p. 383). In the case of Irish, both Irish Gaelic and English are Indo-European languages, and hence these two languages may share ways of viewing the world. However, they come from different branches. While Irish comes from the Celtic

'Irish Gaelic is a good example of a country trying to reverse the process of language shift through making it official'

branch of the family tree, English comes from the Germanic branch (Forston, 2011, p. 10).

4. RESULTS

4.1 Reversing language shift in Irish Gaelic

Irish Gaelic is a good example of a country trying to reverse the process of language shift through making it official. Even though the language has never been used as the language of parliament, the government attempted a shift from English to Irish through the National School system (Bradley, 2014, p. 539). In the early days of this policy, Irish was used as the medium of instruction in infant classes, as well as in geography, history and singing lessons for older children. However, the implementation of time dedicated to Irish was a decision taken by each parish. Later, as primary and secondary graduates noticed that there was no communicative need for Irish, it gradually stopped being used. By 1960, the Department of Education started to discourage the use of Irish in infant classes. By 2006, a government report concluded that there had been a decline of the use of Irish in schools since 1985. In this case, Irish public education did not manage to reverse language shift (Bradley, 2014, p. 540). According to

Grenoble & Whaley (1998), the importance of literacy impacts the macro-variables. In many cases, such as Irish Gaelic, literacy is implemented at a macro-level but it still may fail because of other factors.

In any case, considering all factors is necessary. For instance, Irish Gaelic is the first official language, the national language (Fishman, 1991, p. 122), but the language is still regarded as endangered. This is an anomalous case, as the displacement of Irish during and immediately after World War I has had a lasting effect. In the case of Irish Gaelic, there has been a combination of cultural, economic, politic and demographic factors that have established English as the dominant language both in urban and rural areas. It has been a combination of warfare, English-established centres of commerce, famine, emigration and legal prohibitions against Irish that have influenced its gradual shift (Fishman, 1991, p. 122).

4.2 The intersection of language, culture and identity in Irish Gaelic

Many authors, such as Hinton (1994) argue that community identity can be maintained and asserted through language. In the case of Irish Gaelic, the concern over the loss of the language, and consequently the cultural identity, was not noted until the late 19th century. At that point, the Gaelic League turned language revival into a

political issue by emphasising that Ireland's unique cultural identity should be restored. This rationale continues to this day (Bradley, 2014, p. 539). In 1938, Douglas Hyde became the first president of Ireland and he argued that the Irish language was central to Irish identity. On the other hand, he regarded English as the language of modernisation. This is a view held by various linguists. For instance, Mufwene (2007) notes that globalisation has caused dominant languages such as English to function as a lingua franca. In turn, this has affected the vitality of local vernaculars such as Irish Gaelic (Mufwene, 2007, p. 386). To quote Hyde (1892), *'The losing of it [Irish] is our greatest blow, and the sorest stroke that the rapid Anglicisation of Ireland has inflicted upon us'* (Hyde, 1892, p. 123).

The 2011 census notes that people who are able to speak Irish are 1,774,437 in a population of over four and a half million. However, this figure does not distinguish between native speakers and second language learners (Bradley, 2014, p. 539). The fact that the figure relies on self-reporting may mean that a strong emotional attachment to Irish may lead some respondents to exaggerate their proficiency.

Similarly, the feeling that the language is inextricably linked to national identity gave hope to those government officials promoting Irish education. These people believed that patriotism

would ensure the survival of Irish. However, this national identity and patriotism are not sufficient, considering that there are other markers of Irishness, such as residence in the Irish State and belonging to the Catholic Church (Bradley, 2014, p. 540). In fact, the Irish government acknowledged in the 1966 White Paper that it would not be realistic to expect English to be displaced as the majority language because of the geography of Ireland and its economic and social relations with the UK. As Edwards (2007) argues, it is not possible to bring about language shift when merely appealing to the population with abstractions like 'cultural heritage' and 'tradition' (Edwards, 2007, p. 242). In parallel, others assert that in order for children, the future generation, to be comfortable using the minority language, they should believe that it is the language to be used at home – that is, that they identify the language as the language of the family (Fishman, 1991, p. 356). Otherwise, education by itself is not sufficient as it does not have an effect on intimacy and identity. In the Irish context, it would appear that unless the cycle of learning the language as a second language is broken, students will have forgotten the Irish they learned at school by the time they come to have their own children.

5. DISCUSSION

5.1 Strategies for language revitalisation

Crystal (2000) argues that there are various factors that help the progress of endangered languages.

Apart from the data collection and documentation carried out by linguists, an endangered language can revive if the speakers of that language do the following, in no particular order. First, the language should be recognised as an official regional language. Second, the language should be standardised in both written and spoken form, so as to gain further prestige. Third, speakers should be using the language within the home environment. Fourth, it should have a strong presence in education, where it should be used both as a method of instruction and a language of study. Fifth, texts in the language should be out in the public domain: i.e., texts should be written and published. These texts should cover a variety of genres to spark the general public interest. Finally, speakers should increase the prestige of the language within the dominant community so the language may be spoken and written in the public domain (Crystal, 2000, p. 155-156).

In the case of Irish Gaelic, it is the official regional language of the Republic of Ireland, and one of the languages of the European Union. Its official status is incontestable. As Dorian (1993) notes, the political nature of the revival of endangered languages is unavoidable. Irish Gaelic does also have a standard form. In fact, there are numerous books on its orthography and grammar (e.g., Forbes, 1848). Crystal (2000) advocates the use of the language in the household. In the case of the Irish language, the Census of 2011 reveals that

'In the case of Irish Gaelic, it is the official regional language of the Republic of Ireland, and one of the languages of the European Union. Its official status is incontestable'

there are 1.77 million self-reported speakers. The question on the Census however only asked whether the respondents speak Irish, not whether they spoke it in the home environment. However, the Census also asked how often they spoke Irish, and the number who reported speaking Irish outside the classroom is a mere 77,148. In other words, the strategy to get people to use Irish Gaelic within the household has not yet been successful. However, the census reports an increase from 2006 to 2011 of 7,781 speakers using Irish Gaelic daily outside the classroom environment (Houses of the Oireachtas Service, 2016, p. 5). Similarly, the Gaeltacht Act 2012 intended to provide the public with the opportunity to play a role in the language planning process. It also attempted to promote a wide range of activities and learning opportunities for the public (Houses of the Oireachtas Service, 2016, p. 14).

The current education system promotes the inclusion of Irish Gaelic in the curriculum, as well as it being a medium of instruction. Houses of the

Oireachtas Service (2016) reports that there are 143 schools with a total of 45,184 pupils, as well as 41 secondary schools with 13,848, using Irish as a medium of instruction in Gaeltacht areas (Irish Gaelic speaking regions of the Republic of Ireland) (Houses of the Oireachtas Service, 2016, p. 15). The Education Act of 1998 recognises the role of Irish in the education system, placing the responsibility of education in Irish Gaelic directly onto the schools. A new language curriculum was implemented in 2016 allowing for schools to implement a period of immersion in Irish in infant school classes. However, schools have proved themselves incapable of engendering language revitalisation since those graduating went on to use English in their everyday lives (Bradley, 2014, p. 541). At university level, for example, apart from language courses, there are only two university courses in the country using Irish Gaelic as the medium of instruction. On the other hand, schools are producing large numbers of pupils with high levels of proficiency (Harris, 2008, p. 49). With regard to Irish Gaelic being part of the written and spoken culture, there are many who use Irish Gaelic in their daily routines by listening to Irish language broadcasts, watching Irish language shows or buying, reading, and writing books in Irish Gaelic (McCloskey, 2005, p. 84). Besides, there is a proposal under review to improve the delivery of public services in Irish Gaelic (Houses of the Oireachtas Service, 2016, p. 17). However, Bradley (2014) argues that there is

just one television channel in Irish, while the rest of channels and cyberspace are all in English.

It is agreed by most researchers that language revitalisation in Ireland has not been fully successful to date. Still, there is a public debate between those active in the language movement, and those who strongly oppose it. However, both sides agree that official efforts to support Irish have been both hypocritical and ineffective. According to McClosky (2005), both sides have shown cynicism, pessimism, and anger about the fate of the Irish language. In part, this disillusion was due to over-optimistic expectations of reviving the language quickly. The researcher also blames this pessimism and anger on the authoritarian and insular views associated with language activism in Ireland (McClosky, 2005, p. 77-78). Irish language activism was co-opted by some of the narrowest and darkest forces in twentieth century Ireland, i.e., views rendered as extremist. In other words, Irish Gaelic is being used as a symbol of a strong national identity.

Ireland has one immensely nationally important quality, patriotism. There is a belief and a delight and a willingness to exploit Irish culture, Irish political history and the beauty of the Irish landscape, rural life and architecture. All this can be exploited through the celebration of Irish history and culture expressed through the *Gaeltacht*, in Gaelic. Irish dance, music, arts, film,

'Ireland has one immensely nationally important quality, patriotism. There is a belief and a delight and a willingness to exploit Irish culture, Irish political history and the beauty of the Irish landscape, rural life and architecture. All this can be exploited through the celebration of Irish history and culture expressed through the Gaeltacht, in Gaelic'

politics and culture can be expressed and 'marketed' to build an international life for Irish Gaelic both nationally and internationally and to some extent already is. In other words, Gaelic, its use and promulgation can be part of Ireland's 'soft power'.

5.2 Gaelic in Irish schools

On the community level, language endangerment can be reversed if the children are encouraged to relearn the language with the help of the surviving speakers in playing situations. Literacy programmes and mother tongue education are of course essential as well, especially if they are backed up with language attitudes such as ethnic identity awareness. The success of such programmes depends in no small measure on

national and international language policies such as official language status and linguistic human rights in general (Skuttnab-Kangas & Phillipson, 1995).

5.3 Re-orgnisation of government resources to promote language revival

Ó Giollagáin (2011) proposed that the existing language-support institutions be replaced by the following agencies, possibly within the existing allocated government budget.

1. *A Gaelic Community Trust* – to manage collective resources and to administer the benefits of group membership.

2. *Dáil na nGael* – a form of assembly to develop group leadership and to empower practical strategies and actions.

3. *A research and information centre* – to disseminate knowledge on best-practice and strategy.

This would allow an independent body with government support to focus on and make recommendations to place Irish Gaelic firmly in the centre of Irish cultural life and education without displacing English and other languages to facilitate international communication. I would want to advertise the importance of an identified 'ethnic' language as a way of promoting Irish

identity and culture internationally as an element in its soft power strategy.

5.4 Government involvement in promoting Irish Gaelic in schools

The Irish government must allocate the resources required to implement an effective, dynamic and comprehensive policy which includes the following five elements.

1. Ensure that the Irish education system facilitates native speakers, a Gaeltacht education policy must be drawn up. Historically, school teachers posted to these areas were not fluent in Irish, so they should not be sent there.

2. Increase the funding available to the Gaeltacht to enable native speakers to remain there.

3. Increase substantially the support for Gaeltacht groups to empower their members to use their native language and develop their communities. It has been suggested that children's play groups and child-minding facilities should be set up, with an increase also in the number of social events to take place in Irish. Some of these have already been implemented in Connamara and Donegal.

4. Draft policy proposals for educational provision in Gaeltacht areas to ensure that the Irish language is given significant constitutional and legislative protection by the state.

5. For the government to support parents raising their children through Irish in the Gaeltacht, being aware of the dynamics of language change and the pressure minority languages face as a result of the ever-increasing dominance of English.

6. CONCLUSION

This paper has reviewed the theories of the factors influencing language endangerment and revival and focused on the importance of understanding macro- and micro-variables leading to language 'ill-health', the influence of culture and identity on language survival and the applicability of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis of language relativism and language determinism to the world view of language speakers, particularly in the light of the globalisation encouraging the dominance of a few 'global' languages, such as English. On the basis of these principles the paper highlighted the situation of Irish Gaelic as an endangered language. The fact that Irish Gaelic is endangered may be explained by numerous factors, in particular the dominance of English taking over as the majority language. The result has been that despite efforts by the Irish government to re-inforce the use of Irish Gaelic through official channels there are not many Irish Gaelic speakers, or more importantly, Irish Gaelic speakers do not use this language on a daily basis. There is a strong link between language and cultural identity, and as this paper has noted, this strong cultural identity may at times work against the revival of Irish Gaelic.

To sum up, the efforts to revive Irish Gaelic have not proven successful to date and the prospects for the long-term survival of the language are still unclear. What is obviously required is a new strategy to confront the challenges facing Irish and the inadequacies of the present one. This is a common situation globally with minority languages. The existing strategies to increase the number of Irish speakers are failing, so a new imaginative and creative approach is needed.

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The defeat of radical singularism in Russian, English and French literature

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The fracture between a sender's intent and a receiver's actuality in the communication process is the result of a radical singularism, which maintains that meaning is not communicable at the level of deep structure. This, in turn, is the result of idiosyncratic cognition, a function of the value orientation sets, qualia, and hypostatisations of reality inhabited by the parties to the communication. It is a platitude, however, to point out that humans do in fact communicate at some level. The question addressed in this paper is how radical singularism has been defeated in selected works of English, Russian and American authors, supported by works of other figures in literary history. The conclusion is that the singularist interpretation of a word, text (or indeed the universe), which results from knowledge by acquaintance, is strongly mediated by its mode of presentation and description. In particular, counterfactuals are ensured despite experience. In conclusion, persuasion – the ancient method of successfully associating the systematised philosophical positions of speakers and hearers – is shown to proceed by abandonment, explanation, or assumption. The latter process may lead to exploitation, as the American singer Bruce Springsteen reveals of US President, Donald Trump.

KEYWORDS: *singularism, semantics, semiotics, qualia, hypostatisations of reality, literature, novelists*

1. INTRODUCTION

The fracture between a sender's intent and a receiver's actuality in the communication process is well-established (see Bebbington, 2017, p. 109). Specifically, the failure in domain-mapping between the parties to that process has been indicated, the relevant semantic mappings being functions of the idiosyncratic cognitions of sender and receiver. Cognition includes perception, intuition, reasoning, and reflection. In general, cognition is metaphoric: all human thinking, including mathematical, logical, and 'scientific' conceptualisation, is thinking in metaphors (Lakoff & Núñez, 2000, p. 4). Disposed cognition is defined as that 'mental act or process by which knowledge is acquired' (CEDT, 2007, p. 217) which is derived from the 'composite … psychological make-up of a person' (CEDT, 2007, p. 584). Idiosyncratic cognition refers to the degree of uniqueness motivating the semantic mappings of individual persons. Idiosyncratic cognition differs from cognitive bias, of which Haselton et al. (2015) write: *'Using faculties of social perception, humans construct images of the*

social world in similar ways' (Haselton et al., 2015, p. 2). It is not social perception which forms cognition that is idiosyncratic, but intensely personal, private experiences that are necessarily not directly communicable. Although the process of constructing images of the world may be the same (because of the common physical makeup of human beings), at a deep-structural level the content of those constructions, and therefore the constructions themselves, are not.

2. MATERIAL AND METHODS

This study focuses on the work of a number of leading historical literary figures, including Russian novelists Boris Pasternak and Mikhail Lermontov, British novelist Lewis Carroll, and French novelist Marcel Proust, and analyses how they use the concepts of qualia, value orientation and hypostatisations of reality to communicate meaning.

3. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

3.1 Value orientation sets

Semantic mappings are functions of lived experience upon pre-lexical structures. These structures comprise three closely interrelated elements: value orientations, qualia, and the hypostatisations of reality. The value orientation sets of senders and receivers are their idiosyncratic subsets of the universal set of human values, which anthropologists have identified as manifest in all societies. Even though every society has a

uniquely configured subset of values, the values themselves are limited in number. They have as a collective objective the provision of practical and moral solutions to the existential problems of human beings relative to time and space, to nature and the supernatural, to other human beings, and to basic human motives and the nature of human nature (Hills, 2002, p. 3). Neither the problems nor the solutions are isolated. They always occur in cohesive patterns, which can identify not only societies but also their members.

The problems and their solutions have ethical and behavioural implications, and together directly affect both the concrete behaviour and the abstract reasoning of the people who hold them. Finally, although value orientations are analytical constructs, they allow the systematisation of phenomena observable in human behaviour and its results, including literary works of different writers, periods, schools, and genres, and less structured communications such as those considered as speech acts more generally (Bebbington, 2017; Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961).

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's (1961) analysis of contemporary American society found that citizens valued domination over the natural environment, as against being in harmony with it or subjugated by it. They were oriented toward present time, as against the past or the future, and lived actively for

the moment, as against striving for goals or thinking. They considered other people as both good and bad, as against inherently one or the other. They took individual responsibility in interactions with others, as against a group or a hierarchical distribution of responsibility. They inhabited a physical space that is private, as against a space that is public or a mixture of public and private. With minor regional geographical variations, similar values have continued into the 21st century (cf. Hackett, 1989; Woodard, 2011). To compare, an assessment of Russian culture in 2013 found that domination of nature was valued, as was a traditionalist and future orientation to time, a mode of being as striving, other people considered as both good and bad, group-oriented responsibility, and a public conception of space (Ivanova, 2013).

Under semiotic analysis, value orientations are instantiated and communicated in texts as the term refers to any assemblage of signs which together constitute a coherent whole. Such texts comprise literary works, verbal utterances, films, paintings, music, historical events, human relationships, and even the sense of self (cf. Martin & Ringham, 2006, p. 199).

American values are expressed perhaps most clearly in the poetry of Frost, Whitman and Crane, the short stories of Willa Cather, the novels of Steinbeck, the music of Aaron Copeland, and the paintings of Winslow Homer. Russian values enliven the works of inter alia Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Repin, Surikov, Tchaikovsky, Borodin, Mussorgsky, and Rimsky-Korsakov. Pushkin valued individual responsibility, which was the major reason for his vilification by the tsarist authorities immediately following his death (cf. Feinstein, 1998, p. 275). Boris Pasternak provides a parallel case (De Mallac & Šilbajoris, 1981, p. 267).

As questions of praxis and morality, value orientations involve not only strictures concerning behaviour, but they also invoke a dynamic complex of speakers' and hearers' beliefs – philosophical, religious, factual, and fanciful. Value orientations are revealed in the metaphors of conduct that is socially deemed to be right/correct/acceptable, and the converse of these, that permeate ideologies of all political conviction. This is so because all metaphors comprise source domains, which are rooted socially, culturally, and historically.

Singularisms grounded in value orientations are not so much defeated as transfigured. The Russian and American value of dominating nature, for instance, is equivalent because both cultures possess it. Any given reference within a communication to that particular value can therefore be translated directly from one language to the other. The value of responsibility, however, is contrary as regards each culture: while Russians

value group orientation, Americans think of themselves as individualists. Translation from one to the other language would foreground an anomaly.

3.2 Qualia

Metaphors and their source domains are also functions of the qualia of the parties to a communication; these comprise the second component of lexical structure. Qualia are the most deeply subjective, unique, and therefore non-communicable aspects of experiences, feelings, and physical sensations that accompany awareness (Edelman, 1992, p. 66). They concern physical sensations such as the smell of fresh bread, the feel of silk, the blue of the sea, the taste of vinegar, the pain of a headache, the redness of roses, and the recognition of a face (Nelson, 2011, p. 41). Visual shapes such as the oval also have qualic reference in art and in life, being predicated on such structures as the shape of the human eye and recognisable in everyday utensils such as plates and bowls seen in perspective (Rawson, 1969, p. 32). Qualia also concern the 'transition points in [one's] life history' (Holmes, 2014, p. 88), such as the first contact with one's caregiver, one's first experience of solitude, and one's first sexual encounter (Winnicott, 1990; Phillips, 1994; Barnstone & Barnstone, 1992). The initial formalisation of the events underlying a quale, with their causes, constitutes a semantic primitive, a record as a physical memory trace. Qualia are

stored in long-term memory and are usually included in semantic memory, but they consist of information that is not, and often cannot be, encoded in language (Colman, 2003, p. 544). They are quintessentially idiosyncratic. They are neutral as regards positive or negative, joyful or distressing, noble or shameful experiences. They possess an immediacy of apprehension in which awareness precedes consciousness. We are aware of a particular sound or taste, feeling, or sight before being conscious of its significance.

Singularisms underlain by qualia are the most resistant to defeat. This is of course because they are *sui generis* unique to each party in a communication. There is simply no basis on which qualia can be compared. So, for instance, the emotion motivating Pushkin's *'Я вас люблю'* can be appreciated, sympathised with, taken to be warning to others in a similar predicament of regret, sorrow, guilt, rage, etc., or to be the initial statement of a reported experience. But it cannot be known as its writer knows it. It is understanding without cognition; the kind of anomaly that exercised Socrates and caused Jesus Christ to despair (Gospel of Matthew 8.26). The depth of feeling is unique to Pushkin as a human being (the expression is unique to Pushkin as a poet). Similarly, Burns's revelation that *'My love is like a red, red rose'* depends completely on its qualia, as emphasised by the repetition of its affective essence.

3.3 Hypostatisations of reality

The third component of the pre-lexical structure of words as they are used by senders and receivers is ultimately the residue of the hypostatisations of reality which the parties inhabit. The hypostatisation of reality is the human propensity to appropriate reality as essentially benevolent or malevolent. It is a process of abstracting the experience of an object in order to generate a private mythology, on which one's conduct in the world proceeds (Watzlawick et al., 2011, p. 259; Bebbington, 2017). The concept is closely interlaced with qualia and value orientations, and is therefore not a simple dichotomy of fortune and misfortune, or enabling and disabling fate.

Reality hypostatisation is related more generally to the concept of reification, the innate tendency for human beings to simplify experience in order to enhance the constency and predictability of the social world. It stems from the 'deep aspiration for security and longing for truth' which characterises human life (Naugle, 2002, p. 179), and therefore has epistemic significance. We know the ways of the world and how to behave accordingly. The reified world is 'a dehumanised world … experienced as a strange facticity, an *opus alienum* over which [a person] has no control rather than as the opus proprium of his own activity' (Berger & Luckmann, 1991, p. 89).

In the light of Karl Jasper's conception of

Weltanschauungen (worldview), reality hypostatisation can be understood both subjectively and objectively. For Jaspers, the worldview of an individual – but also of a society, philosophy, or a religious system – is constituted by the combination of 'attitudes' (*Einstellungen*) and 'world pictures' (*Weltbilder*). Attitudes are 'the formal patterns and structures of mental existence by means of which the world is experienced in active, contemplative, rational, sensualistic, ascetical, or in other ways' (Naugle, 2002, p. 121). *Weltbilder* are 'the entire objective mental content an individual possesses' (Lefebre, 1981, p. 489). It is by means of the basic attitudes produced by innate ideas and childhood experiences that an individual 'encounters the objective world and forms a mental picture of it' (Naugle, 2002, p. 122).

Hypostatisations take many forms. Deep pessimism and a negative hypostatisation of reality characterise the poet Lermontov, as suggested by his known early biography (lonely childhood, ill-matched parents, the death of his mother, alienation from his caregiver) and of his own writings such as *Demon* and *Hero of Our Time*. The Scottish Gaelic poet Sorley MacLean was initially attracted to Marxism through his disgust with the hierarchical structuration of Calvinism. To MacLean, Marxism suggested a more egalitarian society. His hypostatisation of reality, however, was that society in general was inimical to human

well-being, and it turned him away from utopianism despite his life-long commitment to a socialist philosophy. At the age of 21, Sylvia Plath was highly sensitive to the jealousy and envy of her friends at her modest successes in life, while simultaneously undergoing agonies about love and marriage (Plath, 1979, p. 113; Kukill, 2000, p. 180-185). By contrast, St Francis of Assisi revealed a positive hypostatisation following an illness at the age of about 20, in his poem *The Canticle of Creation (Laudes Creaturarum),* in which fire and the sun are his brothers, water and the moon and stars are his sisters, and the earth is his mother (Robinson, 1906, p. 150). Hypostatisations of reality can exist and co-exist at varying levels of severity.

Value orientations and qualia are stable, but only to a degree. They can be altered or destroyed by successive life-experiences: for instance, the memory of a face can change if the person is met with again later in life, a phenomenon which Aristotle called *anagnorisis*, 'recognition' (Lucas, 1968, p. 168). Dickens's Ebenezer Scrooge undergoes a change of value orientation from negative to positive during the course of a chain of dreams. Goethe's Faust changes from fervid philosophe to narcissistic hedonist, to social benefactor who does Good Works. Hypostatisations of reality, however, have tenacious stability. A character who starts out or who is born with a given orientation usually will

continue so. Thus, Shakespeare's Macbeth begins in scepticism at the prophesies of the witches and dies in the process of testing them: fate, for him, is no kind mistress. Similarly, Voltaire's Candide begins his career with unbounded optimism, and tempers it, but does not reverse it, after undergoing excessively many disasters of fortune. Of all the pre-lexical elements, reality hypostatisation is beyond the defeat of, or by, the participants in a communication.

3.4 Systematised philosophical position

A language user's idiosyncratic cognition can be said to underlie his or her systematised philosophical position. This is a proposed receptionist paradigm of reading that is generalisable to a broader model of communication. The characteristic of the systematised philosophical position is that it mediates the visibility of the literary text. It exists in various degrees of sophistication, completeness, coherence, richness, and depth among individual readers; it is approximate in content and degree of systemisation but is sufficiently systematised to serve uniquely the purpose for each person. It is dynamic throughout the individual's life, open to restructuring and is unstable to that degree; it is reasoned, operating interactively with social, cultural, economic, and political orders; it is idiosyncratic. The systematised philosophical position is dialectical, because its *telos* is a change in the structure of understanding (of text, of Self, of

social relations), and therefore of consciousness. It is dialogical, because it is inhabited by the many voices of Self, and indeed by any 'meaningful phenomena' (Bakhtin, 1994, p. 399). It is a-rational, because the motivating force of the relationships it encompasses is the human capacity to reason approximately in the face of vague, ambiguous, and imprecise reality, which is neither entirely rational nor entirely irrational. The dynamic dialectical-dialogical interaction constitutes the appropriate hermeneutic circle that is necessary to the 'unreflective involvement' of everyday human lived existence (cf. Heidegger, 1971; Matthews, 2010, p. 88).

When reading or otherwise traversing a text, the leaps of faith to the aesthetic and to the imagined occur during a-rational navigation within that circle, across perceptual, functional, encyclopaedic, and taxonomic cognitive categories. This entails that the systematised philosophical position is existentially terrifying, because it discloses the abyss between different and perhaps rival experiences and (therefore) realities (Bebbington, 2018).

The fuzzy boundaries and variable content of idiosyncratic cognitions ensure their mutual incommensurability, which entails that at their deepest level, they are largely in mutual opposition. Some content, namely the 'dictionary' meaning of words, is held in common, and these

'When reading or otherwise traversing a text, the leaps of faith to the aesthetic and to the imagined occur during a-rational navigation within that circle, across perceptual, functional, encyclopaedic, and taxonomic cognitive categories'

collectively constitute a shared encyclopaedic knowledge.

At the deep level of semantic mapping, however, communication is defeated because words mean radically different things to senders and receivers (cf. Grice, 1957; Levinson, 2010).

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Qualia and qualic referencing in the works of Proust and Pasternak

Qualic referencing is an indispensable requirement of literature. This is because of the intensely personal and incommunicable – almost mystical – deep-structure nature of experience. Proust exactly describes the qualic process in his famous passage on the Madeleine biscuit dissolved in tea. The process is intricate: from an initial pleasure which, he says, *'invaded my whole body'* (Proust, 1954, p. 45), through iterative interrogations of the feeling as a *qualic protoform*, to a liberating revelation of self. The process

involves an act of *kenosis* in which *'I feel something shift within me,'* he says, *'something that wants to rise, something that wants to undock itself from a great depth'* (Proust, 1954, p. 46). He realises that this unknown entity is *'the image, the visual memory, which being linked to that taste [of the tea-soaked Madeleine], is trying to follow it into [his] consciousness'* (Proust, 1954, p. 46). At the lowest point of his despair, the memory suddenly reveals itself in its complete detail, going back to a family ritual in his childhood. The meaning of the whole episode, he then tells himself, is that, *'when from a distant past nothing subsists [in memory], after the people are dead, after the things are destroyed, then alone, more fragile but more indestructible, more insubstantial, more persistent, more faithful, their smell and taste remain long, like souls, remembering, waiting, hoping, amid the ruins of all the rest; and they bear unfaltering, in their almost impalpable droplet, the vast structure of recollection'* (Proust, 1954, p. 47).

Qualia are individual attempts to contain the ontology of the world by the phenomenology of language in an intimate and highly personal way (cf. Dews, 1988, p. 115; Lyotard, 1971, p. 38). As Proust demonstrates, a quale that is trivial to other people may have revelatory implications for oneself that are terrifying in their scope. Pasternak's appropriation of Proust's image for his description of Venice, that the city was *'swelling like a biscuit soaked in tea'* (Pasternak, 1961, p. 32), presents a highly complex realisation. The reference to the Madeleine imagery superficially repeats the cliché that emotions intrinsically cannot be communicated, and Pasternak conveys this by constructing a new emotional protostructure, a new quale. This is Pasternak's insight. His appropriation of Proust asserts that the insight is a necessary condition of the imagination, and that it can be communicated only by reference to another kind of consciousness, a non-conversational consciousness, a literary consciousness – one that pays attention to detail, which relentlessly unpacks the relevant quale, as against Pasternak's own poesis of describing it. The literary methods of Proust and others reveal the process of bringing qualic awareness into an everyday consciousness, of achieving the homeostasis following resolution of the existential anxiety felt when meeting a phenomenon in the world that is – simultaneously – known and not known. Pasternak's poetic method is to emphasise precisely both the idiosyncratic nature of a quale by foregrounding its unique, almost mystical, character and its strange quality of somehow being instantly recognised, and known.

To recover the genealogy of a quale, as Proust observes, is to engage in a search of a lost self. The archaeology of a quale raises anxiety or outright terror, as Henry James illustrates in his autobiographical essay on the World War I. He

describes how news photographs of soldiers at Passchendaele invoked *'a sudden leap back'* to his experiences in the American Civil War which *'broke upon us … fifty-four years ago',* almost to the day (James, 1918, p. 19).

During the process of excavating the connection, James claims that his previous being was devastated and changed beyond recognition: his *'house of the spirit'* was transformed from an *'inhabited, adjusted, familiar home … into I scarce know what to call it, a fortress of the faith, … an extravagant, bristling, flag-flying structure'* (James, 1918, p. 19-20). All qualia are idiosyncratic readings of experiences in their entirety. They are elements of deep-structure cognition and therefore of deep-structure semantics. As such, the most terrifying aspect of excavation is the sheer contradictions that a quale can comprise, confrontation with which can permanently change one's self.

As a final instance of qualic import, Rimbaud's poem *Voyelles* can be read as a statement of the vowels of everyday speech as personal qualia, precisely because their analogies defy logical analysis. For him, vowel sounds are born of his experiences in the world, and they retain latently the images of their original stimuli. *A*, for instance, has a nightmarish association with a black velvet garment that encloses the body, made of brilliant flies that buzz-like bees around cruel, stinking

chasms of darkness. *I* recalls to him red-purple things: spat blood, and the smile of beautiful lips in the intoxications of anger or of penitence (Bernard, 1960, p. 110). Rimbaud, here, is communicating both his sub-conscious self and the qualic triggers that recall it.

4.2 Hypostatisation of reality in the work of Edward Lear

A negative hypostatisation of reality can be discerned in the work of Edward Lear (1812-1888), a polymath and the *'Laureate of Nonsense'* in European literature (Jackson, 1947, p. 11). He is perhaps most famous for his poem *The Owl and the Pussycat* and his joyous and hilarious exploitation of the limerick form of poetry, together with comical but pointed illustrations. He was at one point teaching art to Queen Victoria. In his writings, he was fond of neologisms such as the *Owl and the Pussycat's* 'runcible spoon', and of 'fantastic verbal adventures' (Jackson, 1947, p. 26), once introducing himself by an extended pseudo-title which comprised an imaginative and essentially nonsensical combination of words from several languages and the name of a Sicilian town which he visited and painted many times over 20 years. In words and syntax, he nonsensified flora and fauna, geography, natural history, botany, anthropology, and himself.

But Lear considered himself physically ugly and

socially inept. He wrote in his bitterly ironic self-portrait *How Pleasant to Know Mr Lear!* that *'his visage is more or less hideous, his beard it resembles a wig'*, *'that crazy old Englishman'* who *'weeps by the side of the ocean [and] weeps on the top of the hill'* (Jackson, 1947, p. 27). Throughout his life, he was prone to epileptic fits, which he kept secret and prior to which he would withdraw into isolation. His epilepsy made him feel unworthy and fearful of marriage. He always considered himself an invalid. He had asthma and chronic bronchitis, from which he eventually died. He showed signs of clinical depression at seven years of age and suffered from periods of severe melancholy from then onwards. At the age of 15, he was selling drawings of 'morbid diseases' (his phrase) to hospitals and medical doctors, and in his letters sometimes refers to himself as 'being morbid'. His most-used adjective is 'sad', referring to illness, death, and the misfortunes of himself and others (Strachey, 1909, 1911).

According to his earliest critic, Holbrook Jackson (1874-1948), an activity which appeared to begin and end as the casual amusement of children was in fact a diversion of himself:

'His occasional excursions into the realm of nonsense … pervaded the whole of his life, ultimately becoming a continuous as well as formal medium of expression. Nonsense was the safety-valve of his consciousness responding to

most of his approaches to himself and his environment. It became a world in itself specially created by him as a refuge from the trials and irritations of life: ill-health, lack of means, and, above all, an over-strung sensibility. … It was as though he lived a double life, one in the realm of sense and the other in the realm of nonsense; and he had the power of transmuting himself one to the other at will' (Jackson, 1947, p. 12).

Throughout his life he was genuinely puzzled about himself, his talents, and his status in society. He was conscious of *'being influenced to an extreme by everything in natural and physical life, i.e. atmosphere, light, shadow, and all the varieties of day and night'* (Strachey, 1909, p. 234). Given the circumstances, it is hardly surprising that his personal reality hypostatisation was negative. But he was able to sublimate his experiences into his work. Other poets and authors similarly situated were moved to suicide, or worse.

5. DISCUSSION

The intended communicative act is to bring receivers to imagine the scenes or the facts described therein, either perfectly if the intentional object is within the shared encyclopaedic knowledge of sender and receiver, or adequately if at some point that knowledge is aporetic. Encyclopaedic knowledge is what one knows about the world, and in general it is shared by one's speaking community. Perfection, the first

condition, is impossible because of the idiosyncrasy condition of that shared knowledge, and the second condition is only approximate for the same reason.

We do understand each other at some level of dialogical adequacy, however, if the sender's knowledge by acquaintance, knowledge gained by experience, is mediated and its singularism is ameliorated by the mode in which that knowledge is described or presented. Conversational presentation allows for a reciprocity that more formal communications deny. The paradox lies then between the systemic failure of the deep-structure communication which emanates from the sender's systematised philosophical position and its reception with an understanding that is adequate to the success of the sender's intention.

This seems to be true even if the object is inscribed in a counterfactual. Zhivago's *Varykino*, for instance, is modelled on the village of Vsevolod-Vilva, in the Perm region where Pasternak worked in 1916. That is, 'Varykino' has experiential validity and results from the author's internal dialogue (cf. Bakhtin, 1994, p, 398). Exactly so is St Theresa's *Interior Castle*, which has its factual correlate in her family's traditional palace, as impregnable and imposing as any fort in 16th century Spain, where she was brought up. Shakespeare's storm at sea at the start of *The Tempest* is taken from pre-existing literary

descriptions supplemented by conversations with seafarers in the pubs of Deptford. All these literary constructs have the truth of knowledge by acquaintance and not merely of knowledge by description (DePoe, 2013). However, while their status as counterfactuals is protected (if they existed, their descriptions would be true), they are not considered to be the incommunicable phantoms of distant singularisms.

For any given text (verbal, written, symbolic), then, there is a presumption of the intention to communicate. That is, no text is produced as a vacuum. This is so even with such phenomena as Leonardo da Vinci's mirror writings which, although functioning as an encryption device (White, 2000, p. 131), were intended to communicate with himself. In another context, the articulatory gestures engaged in Celtic *puirt à beul* and scat-singing in jazz are self-referential communications of melodic and rhythmic ideas.

Successful communication entails a particular relationship between a text and the parties to the communication. Since lexical structures have idiosyncratic components, the attention of both sender and receiver must be directed toward the non-idiosyncratic, 'dictionary' meanings of the words they use if a common understanding is to be achieved. The influences of value orientations, qualia, and reality hypostatisations must be suppressed, non-trivially, in some degree. Three

processes are available for this suppression: abandonment, explanation, and assumption.

Abandonment is the process of transferring all or most of the responsibility for communication to the receiver. It occurs in the use of neologisms by Sappho and Velimir Khlebnikov, in the syntax and sound nexuses of Stéphane Mallarmé, the distortions of sense by Lewis Carroll, and the portmanteau words and created language of Gerard Manley Hopkins (Campbell, 1990; Marchal, 1996; Tenniel, 2003; Gardner, 1966; Milroy, 1977). Sappho's characterisation of love as 'sweet-bitter' *(γλυκύπικρον),* for instance, was her invented word to describe correctly the trajectory of a love affair. Klebnikov's grasshopper flies 'like golden writing' *(золотописьмом),* a similarly coined word.

The meaning of words and phrases with which the hearer is not familiar – be they standard usages of the language or not – is discovered by inspection of the immediate context in which they are embedded. This is how children learn vocabulary. In the *Jabberwocky* we guess that *'slithy toves'* has sinister connotations because, first, we are warned authoritatively to *'Beware the Jabberwock',* and then we associate *'slithy'* with English words such as slime, slither, sly. Unknown words are often left to the receiver's ingenuity: according to its author, *'slithy'* is pronounced with a long, not a short vowel.

'Successful communication entails a particular relationship between a text and the parties to the communication'

The process by which the sender assumes responsibility for communication is *explanation*. It is characteristic of pedagogic and theistic texts, such as those of the French Encyclopédistes of the 18th century and of the Greek, Latin and Russian Apostolic Fathers of earlier times. However, the process can be deliberately subverted for reasons of rhetorical or humorous effect by authors who purport to provide an explanation. In the *Cratylus,* for instance, Socrates plays in the realm of fantasy with derivations of words. The word 'man' *(ἄνθρωπος),* he writes, was once a whole sentence which through small phonological changes became a noun, as follows: the word ἄνθρωπος carries the implication that other animals do not consider *(ἀναθρεῖ)* what they see, but that man not only sees *(ὄπωπε)* but also considers what he sees; man is therefore the only animal correctly called ἄνθρωπος, which means ἀναθρῶν ἃ ὄπωπεν, 'one who reflects on what he sees'. Less tediously, Lewis Carroll offers an explanation of the *Jabberwock* as deriving its name from the Anglo-Saxon word *wocer* or *wocor,* meaning 'offspring or fruit'. Taking *jabber* in its ordinary acceptation of *'excited and voluble discussion',* this would give the meaning of *'the*

result of much excited and voluble discussion' (Tenniel, 2003, p. 328). The *Jabberwock* is usually taken to be some sort of prehistoric monster. *Wōcen* is attested.

The limiting case of defeated singularity is that of political persuasion, and this uses the process of *assumption*. The objective of political discourse is to influence the behaviour and beliefs of a targeted constituency. The Sophist philosopher Gorgias is credited with the idea that the art of persuasion was greatly superior to all other arts because it subjugated all things not by violence but by willing submission. Hearers consent to what speakers tell them more by conation than by conquest. Socrates pointed out that there are two forms of persuasion, one producing belief without knowledge, the other producing knowledge, and that it is the function of statesmanship to decide whether, in any given communication to 'the general mass of the population', to persuade them by telling stories or by giving them formal instruction. Most crucially, it was generally believed that legislators rely for persuasion on the mass's lack of education.

Cynically, the most effective form of political persuasion would therefore seem to be that which inculcates a belief in but not a knowledge of social realities, relies upon the audience's ignorance and is based upon an economy of truth. To be persuasive, such a communication must construct a space of discourse from elements of the hearer's worldview; i.e. it must reach into its audience's systematised philosophical position. For instance, the popular singer Bruce Springsteen has shown how Donald Trump used the language, imagery, and general belief systems of a particular segment of the American public to gain his votes. According to Springsteen, Trump addresses the same blue-collar, working-class population as does he himself, both emphasising its prevailing sense of economic insecurity and instability. But Trump deflects the emotions of that group by overt references to racial groups within America and to wage competition from Mexico (Rufford, 2018). Trump's strategy was to engage a Barthean code of belligerence and insult, which framed the hearers' perceived frustrations in contemporary society, and to profit from that to his own advantage (Tohar et al., 2007). Similarly, the Brexit movement in Britain was strengthened by prior extensive analysis of social concerns as they were expressed on social media platforms. A number of issues of concern to the general public were identified, and these were used to persuade an audience that is now recognised to have been deeply unfamiliar with those issues. Moreover, the issues themselves, together with the poor understandings associated with them, were quickly broadcast exponentially into wider populations outside of the Internet ecosystem through *virality*, the tendency of any image, video, item of information, or meme to enter public discourse instantaneously. Successful

communication, the defeat of singularism, on the political front is therefore achieved by the speaker's suppression of the proprietary cognitive set of reality hypostatisation, qualia, and value orientations, and a deliberate assumption and exploitation of the hearer's set.

6. CONCLUSION

The major function of one's systematised philosophical position is to make sense of one's world. It is systematised to the degree that it can serve as a *philosophy of life*. The process of persuasion interacts with it in a way that is particularly important for the well-being of speakers and hearers and of their societies. Assumption, for instance, is an extremely

pernicious method of persuasion because it reinforces the hearer's existing position, with all that position's prejudices, biases, and false consciousness. This makes the method ideal for deception and exploitation. Abandonment results in the incorporation of the communicated topic into the hearer's philosophy provided there are no contradictions with his or her pre-lexical structures. For those who have never experienced a love affair, for instance, Sappho's coinage has no meaning. Explanation makes the communicated topic, and thus an alternative philosophical position, available for consideration. Socrates's circuitous method of drawing explanations out of his interlocutors themselves did just this – and civilisation progresses.

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Developing creative writing skills in a high school ESL classroom

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The article considers the relevance of creative writing in language development while emphasising the role of this type of writing in personal development through boosting imagination, creative thinking, self-esteem and the ability to find original solutions. The paper sets out to identify skills required to ensure productive creative writing, addresses various approaches towards defining creativity and compares creative writing to expository writing. The authors argue that in order to impart creative writing skills to high school students, teachers need to create favourable conditions to incorporate creative writing in the language classroom by means of different techniques and heuristics. The authors conclude that creative writing should receive more attention as part of the school curriculum since it transforms the learning process by rendering it more stimulating and enjoyable.

1. INTRODUCTION

While communication employs both oral and written language, the latter is a challenging task for L2 learners for a number of reasons, including *'permanence and distance of writing, coupled with its unique rhetorical conventions'* (Hedge, 2005). To master the writing process, students should adopt a thorough approach involving adequate planning, composing, evaluating, revising and editing. The complexity of written production results in teachers encountering a set of problems, such as lack of motivation, interest, or effort, as well as increased levels of anxiety and procrastination. Therefore, writing presents difficulties from the student-teacher perspective. Teachers have to employ appropriate resources, set clear objectives, provide learners with clear guidance and create certain stimuli and conditions ensuring successful writing practice, while it is imperative for students to understand the different steps that underpin text production.

The creative writing approach is sometimes viewed as a remedy to the above listed problems

since it has the potential to promote inspiration, motivation and imagination through unlocking students' individuality. Also, it helps render the learning process more enjoyable and stimulating. Creative thinking and creativity are known to form the basis of creative writing, which is often regarded as imaginative and inspiring written products, normally taking the form of fiction and poetry. There exist two propositions concerning whether creativity and creative writing can be taught, which will be addressed later in the paper.

Creative writing as an academic discipline dates back to the late 19th century. As a new academic field, it originated in the USA, the UK, Australia and South Africa, with the USA and the UK offering a variety of programmes pertinent to the subject. It has been widely practised since the 1960s and viewed as an indicator of literacy.

Creative writing skills are included in the CEFR (Common European Framework of Reference). This document addresses the concept of creative writing from a broad viewpoint. According to the CEFR different kinds of descriptions, reviews and any other texts not confined to strict rules and procedures can be regarded as creative. Creative writing is also present in various academic contexts in English, which in its turn testifies to the relevance and significance of this type of writing.

This article considers the set of skills needed to

acquire expertise in creative writing. It also outlines the results of a pedagogical experiment aimed at identifying the level of high school students' preparedness to produce creative texts and their views concerning activities specific to it.

2. MATERIAL AND METHODS

The study was conducted on the basis of a writing task for high school students, based on the Russian Olympiads. Evaluation and analysis of data was supported by qualitative methods of research that allowed for graphic representation of the information gathered.

3. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

3.1 The creative approach to teaching and learning foreign languages

Cultural and social changes are known to exercise a significant influence on various spheres of life, including that of education. These external factors have led to universities adopting new methods, pedagogy, approaches and educational styles, which in their turn have contributed to a change in teacher-student interaction patterns. Initially viewed as 'mere objects of teaching', learners were later on actively involved in a learning process characterised by individualised and interactive components. The role of the teacher has also undergone significant transformations, with a clear shift towards their status as guides, advisers and facilitators, rather than authoritative figures. Therefore, a creative approach to language

'The role of the teacher has also undergone significant transformations, with a clear shift towards their status as guides, advisers and facilitators, rather than authoritative figures in the training process'

teaching appeared as a response to sociocultural changes in conjunction with the growing need for creativity, flexibility and good communication skills.

A creative approach to language teaching is centred around the idea that creativity possesses an innate quality, characteristic of every person and every language. The proponents of this approach claim that every individual is capable of being creative under certain conditions with the teacher having to stimulate this faculty in students by means of creative activities. Within the framework of a creative approach to language teaching, language teachers have three advantages at their disposal. Firstly, it is the creative nature of any human language which enables us to communicate ideas in various ways. Secondly, language classes can be built upon different topics, which expand learners' horizons while still focusing on language. Thirdly, language classes help incorporate creative activities, such as close-to reality situations, requiring that students use

novel steps and techniques in order to succeed in performing certain tasks (Stepanek, 2015).

A creative approach to language teaching is based on certain general factors and generic principles required to stimulate a creative atmosphere in the classroom. General factors include regular practice activities, encouraging students to disclose their creativity through being kind and supportive, implementing a variety of inputs, processes and products to create the atmosphere of expectancy, etc. Generic principles focus on the implementation of heuristics, the application of the principles of constraint, association, etc. (Maley, 2015).

3.2 Defining creativity and creative thinking as the basis of creative writing

There are numerous definitions of creativity, or divergent production (Guilford, 1967), which testify to its complex nature. The unifying idea underpinning the majority of the existing views concerning the essence of creativity is that this notion symbolises everything that is novel, original, inventive and of artistic value (Seow, 2002; Amabile, 1988; Torrance, 1965; Rothenberg, 1990; Lucas, 2001; Robinson, 2011). Similar definitions can be found in Cambridge, Oxford, Collins and the Merriam Webster dictionaries. Recognising its complex nature, some scholars question whether creativity can be defined at all (Amabile, 1996). Some views reflect the

diachronic approach to interpreting creativity, i.e. they investigate the evolution of ideas concerning the concept of creativity (Simonton, 2004). Creativity can also be viewed as a process incorporating a number of stages such as preparation, incubation (dominance of the unconscious over the conscious), illumination (solution), verification (clarification, elaboration and presentation of the ideas gathered) (Wallas, 1926). Some scholars view creativity as a combination of objects, concepts and ideas that normally cannot be aggregated (Koestler, 1989). The concept of creativity is sometimes addressed through the prism of the multidimensional approach that sees creativity as the collaboration between an individual involved in the specific field and an expert in that field (Csikszentmihalyi, 1988).

According to Rawlinson (1981), creative thinking means *'establishing a relationship among unconnected objects or thoughts'* (Rawlinson, 1981, p. 69), while Guilford (1968) suggests that creative thinking encompasses a range of intellectual abilities including the ability to generate numerous ideas (fluency), produce ideas of various types (flexibility), build on existing ideas (elaboration), and produce original ideas (originality).

Therefore, the word 'creativity' itself represents an umbrella term incorporating a variety of cognitive

'Writing is viewed as one of the most difficult skills to acquire while learning a foreign language due to its complex nature and the number of skills needed in order to use written language effectively'

skills and processes required to adopt a creative approach.

3.3 Significance of writing in ESL

Writing is viewed as one of the most difficult skills to acquire while learning a foreign language due to its complex nature and the number of skills needed in order to use written language effectively. It involves a wide range of abilities such as using cognitive, affective, social and psychomotor skills. Writing activities also require numerous skills ranging from lower level (spelling, pronunciation and word choice) to highly complex skills such as planning and structuring a text along with generating and organising ideas (Hedge, 2005).

Building on the numerous definitions of writing, this activity serves as a tool for conveying messages, ideas and feelings by means of a written text. Various approaches to teaching writing reflect different views concerning its specificity. Thus, the process approach to writing suggests that this

activity comprises four main stages – planning, drafting, revising and editing – with drafting followed by responding, evaluating and post-writing. Another approach has been the focus of researchers' attention in recent years and is referred to as the genre-based approach. It postulates the importance of students' awareness of different purposes concerning written communication and how information is structured and presented in different written products. Some researchers resort to metaphors attempting to explain writing. For example, Tompkins (1982) compares writing to a road map that helps monitor students' actions and thoughts.

Considering the complexity of written communication, teachers should be aware of the writing process and the different genres, which will help improve students' writing skills as a means of expressing ideas and thoughts (Senel, 2018).

3.3.1 Creative vs expository writing

The numerous definitions offered in various dictionaries reveal that creative writing is mostly imaginative, authentic and personal, not confined to strict conventions and standardisation (Brookes & Marshall, 2004). That being said, some scholars tend to juxtapose creative writing and expository writing. According to Alan Maley (2015), creative writing is 'any kind of writing which has an aesthetic or affective rather than a purely

pragmatic intention or purpose' (Maley, 2015, p. 8). It is characterised by 'a playful engagement with language, stretching and testing its rules to the limit in a guilt-free atmosphere, where risk is encouraged' (Maley, 2015, p. 9). In comparison with expository texts, creative writing is built upon intuition, close observation, imagination and personal memories. According to Sharples (2013), creative writing is 'recreation of sentimental experiences within the mind' (Sharples, 2013, p. 128).

Scholars distinguish between different genres of texts that constitute creative writing from poems or stories, to letters, journal entries, blogs, essays and travelogues. Additionally, Maley (2015) argues that any text can be considered creative (including academic writing) if it engages a reader. Therefore, there exist 'narrowed' (only fiction, poetry and stories) and 'broad' perceptions (different genres of texts) of what creative writing stands for.

3.2.2 The relevance of creative writing from learners' and teachers' perspective

The importance of creative writing in language development has been a heavily debated discussion topic. Maley (2015) approaches its significance from two angles – how both learners and teachers can benefit from it – and outlines numerous reasons testifying to its importance for learners, suggesting that creative writing allows the teacher to:

- ensure language development at all levels;
- expose learners to language play as a part of the language acquisition process;
- involve the right brain, responsible for feelings, intuition and musicality;
- promote self-esteem and self-confidence;
- develop group cohesion;
- create expectation of success;
- eliminate monotonous aspects in learning by making activities more appealing for learners, who are active participants;
- increase student motivation through cooperation and learner autonomy;
- enhance student satisfaction, etc.

The usefulness of creative writing for language learners both from the psychological (eliminating fear, increasing motivation and self-confidence) and linguistic standpoints (improving writing skills) has also been addressed in a number of studies (Leki, 1992; Lee, 2012; Stillar, 2013). Creative writing has also been approached as a contributor to articulating learners' voices and expressing their identity (Chamcharatsri, 2009).

A thorough multidimensional analysis concerning the benefits of creative writing for students is presented by Shultz (2001), who suggests that creative writing is instrumental in developing speaking and reading skills. It also enables students to examine and perceive their identity from another angle by means of a foreign

language. The specific nature of creative writing ensures the continuous development of writing skills and more profound exposure to the foreign language (Schultz, 2001).

According to Maley (2015), language teachers can also benefit greatly from incorporating creative writing in the curriculum since:

- it stimulates professional development (through enhancing teachers' language skills, making teachers serve as role models and providing new insights into teaching writing;
- it contributes to personal growth;
- it allows a more efficient materials presentation;
- it diversifies lessons by offering solutions to organising the lesson in terms of its content.

3.2.4 Deterrents to creative writing

Despite the significance of creative writing in the language learning process, there are certain deterrents to implementing the creative approach. Referring to Robinson (2011), Maley (2015) mentions *'increasingly tight curricular constraints, the obsessive concern with objectives to the exclusion of broader educational aims, the intense focus on testing and measurement and the love-affair with 'efficiency' expressed in statistical terms and quick results'* (Maley, 2015, p. 11). In other words, traditional curriculum with its time limits,

'Considering the complexity of written communication, teachers should be aware of the writing process and the different genres, which will help improve students' writing skills as a means of expressing ideas and thoughts '

assessment schemes and views on education serve as major impediments to the successful implementation of creative writing.

Notably, some scholars are opposed to creative writing, referring to it as an unimportant self-indulgent activity (Light, 2002). Also, opponents of this type of writing mention its *'lack of academic value'* (Chamcharatsri, 2009, p. 18).

Other possible deterrents include the 'teaching potential' of creative writing (whether creative writing can be taught or not), teachers' preparedness to effectively expose learners to this type of writing, the validity of the creative approach to writing (difficulties concerning quantifiable outcomes), the issue of evaluation, the unpredictability of outcomes and their dependence on the genre used, the uncertainty of the writing process, etc. (Anae, 2014). As to the 'teaching potential' of creative writing, addressing this issue researchers tend to distinguish between

teaching creativity and teaching creative writing. While creativity cannot be taught, according to some scholars (Volz, 2013; Weldon, 2013), their opponents state that creative writing can be taught (Harper, 2006; Hyland, 2015; Munden, 2013).

4. STUDY AND RESULTS

The experiment involved the participation of 64 highschoolers (10th and 11th grades), who were offered various preparatory exercises aimed at stimulating creative writing skills. Upon completing the exercises, they had to fill in a questionnaire containing the following questions:

1. Have you been taught creative writing as part of the school curriculum?
2. How difficult do you think it is to produce creative texts?
3. Do you wish to continue mastering your creative writing skills within the school curriculum?

The results revealed that the majority of high school students were trained in creative writing (57%). Only 9% admitted to being unfamiliar with this type of writing. 34% of the respondents had heard of this type of writing but had never actually been exposed to it (Figure 1). This may be due to the following reasons: (1) they have not formed a clear idea of what creative writing is; (2) they have not practised it on a regular basis; (3) poor instructions and guidance from teachers.
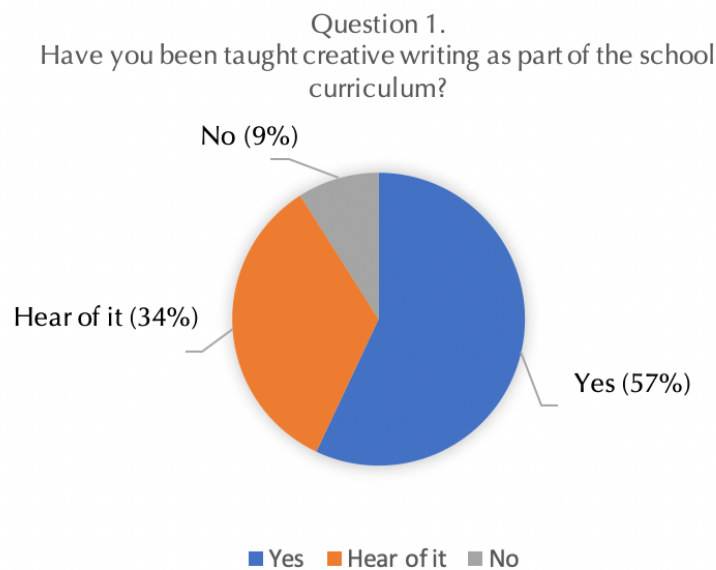
Figure 1. Data retrieved from respondents' answers to Question 1 of the questionnaire: 'Have you been taught creative writing as part of the school curriculum?'

Therefore, the results show contradictory figures, which points to a traditional approach to creative writing in the Russian academic setting, generally characterised by insufficient focus on this type of writing activity. At the same time, school staff tend to realise the importance of creative writing skills in language development so that attempts are being made to allocate time to practise it. Although creative writing is not included in the Russian State Examination, it is present in various academic competitions in English, taking the form of fairy tales or stories. Students are supposed to produce the main body and conclusion of a story on the basis of continuing the story after reading beginning or writing the beginning and the main content on the basis of reading the conclusion.

This type of activity can be supported with visual aids in the form of pictures or without them.

While responding to the second question concerning the complexity of creative writing, high school students were also divided. Only 2% regarded it as a simple exercise with the majority (89%) viewing it as a relatively difficult task. According to 9% of respondents, this exercise referred to complex activities. These figures demonstrate an unequal level of expertise and creative writing skills.

At the same time, there are strong indications that creative writing is taught within the school curriculum (Figure 2).
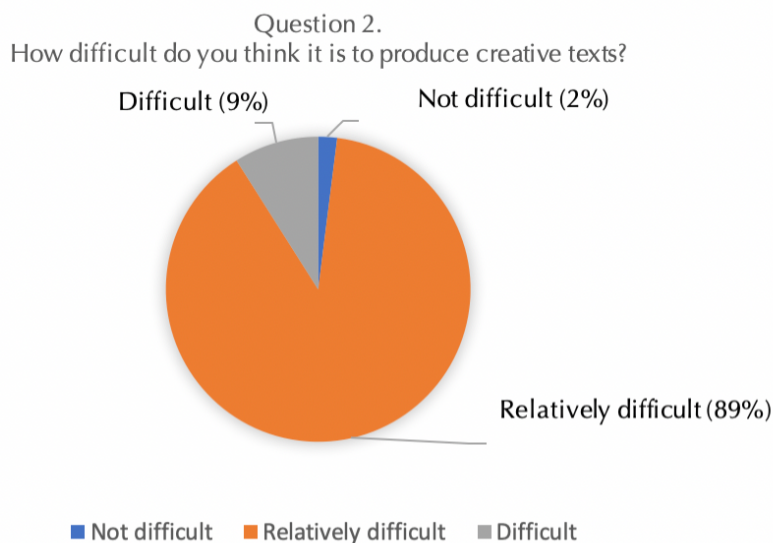
Question 2.
How difficult do you think it is to produce creative texts?

Difficult (9%)   Not difficult (2%)

Relatively difficult (89%)

■ Not difficult   ■ Relatively difficult   ■ Difficult

Figure 2. Data retrieved from respondents' answers to Question 2 of the questionnaire: 'How difficult do you think it is to produce creative texts?'

The answers to the third question indicate that creative writing is generally favoured by the majority of students (77%).

Some respondents noted that creative writing helps engage with a language in a more productive and stimulating way, allowing students to employ their imagination.

20% of the respondents found it difficult to provide an answer. This may be due to the fact that they had got accustomed to practising traditional writing genres in the realm of academia, such as different kinds of essays, reports and letters (both personal and official). As a result, they feel uncomfortable and lack confidence while being trained in creative writing.

3% of the respondents opposed the idea of continuing to practise creative writing on a regular basis as part of the school curriculum.

This may be attributed to the fact that they are not proficient in writing for a number of reasons, including lack of vocabulary, poor command of grammar and, not least importantly, insufficient background knowledge.

Accordingly, this may account for their reluctance to practise creative writing since, unlike academic writing, it requires more effort and dedication due to the absence of schemata and strict patterns.
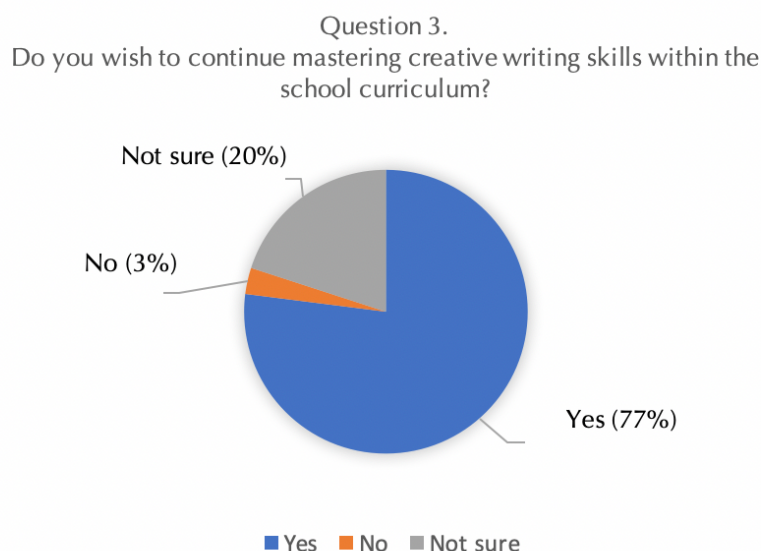
Question 3.
Do you wish to continue mastering creative writing skills within the school curriculum?

Figure 3. Data retrieved from respondents' answers to Question 2 of the questionnaire: 'Do you wish to continue mastering your creative writing skills within the school curriculum?'

Creative writing preparatory activities with the use of heuristics specifically designed by the authors (see Appendix) revealed a significant increase in learners' motivation and engagement in classroom activities. According to the learners, these activities made the learning process more interactive, inventive and stimulating. The students admitted that such activities promote imagination and encourage them to find original solutions.

5. DISCUSSION

The overall results demonstrate the need for a more intensive training in creative writing in order to expose students to different types of written activities offered in academic competitions. Obviously, teachers should allocate more time to practising creative writing as part of the curriculum. There is a definite gap between the writing tasks included in the Russian state examination and that of academic competitions (although some writing activities are present in both of them). Accordingly, teachers may encounter a dilemma in prioritising the content of writing activities they offer to their students.

Consequently, it appears that creative writing should be incorporated in compulsory training, i.e. regular language classes aimed at exposing students to the basics of creative writing, and also in extracurricular training designed to enhance knowledge of the subject (for those who intend to participate in academic competitions).

Study results can be employed in two directions, from the student's and the teachers' perspective. A set of preparatory activities devised by the authors can be incorporated in textbooks aimed at preparing learners for the writing task in academic competitions in English. At the same time, the activities offered may constitute part of teacher training courses focused on methods and techniques in terms of teaching writing.

In addition, a set of preparatory exercises can be integrated in special online courses curricula aimed at teaching creative writing. For example, there is a course launched by Wesleyan University via the Coursera platform, called 'Creative writing five-course specialisation'.

Therefore, the results obtained can help promote a multidimensional application of creative writing skills in three directions: student-oriented, teacher-oriented and online courses for a broad audience.

6. CONCLUSION

Creative writing plays a significant role in the learning process since it has the potential to diversify it through a range of creative activities offered to students. Not only does it aid language development (including grammar and vocabulary) but it also contributes to personal growth. This type of writing is proven to stimulate imagination and inventiveness, boost self-esteem and raise self-confidence, so that students are more eager to express their identity and find original solutions. Consequently, it makes the learning process more person-oriented, inasmuch as it motivates students to express their own voices and thoughts in written texts. A lack of strict schemata and rules, which overwhelm academic writing (essays, reports, etc.), eventually stimulates students to think independently and freely. Therefore, being of substantial educational value, creative writing should be incorporated in the school curriculum and taught on a regular basis. Creative writing has a long-term perspective since it helps develop creative personalities characterised by flexible thinking, independence of views, high productivity and originality. These are the skills needed in every occupation.

APPENDIX

Creative writing preparatory activities

1. Look at this picture for 2-3 minutes. Try to interpret its direct meaning first, then the figurative meaning. What associations does this picture trigger? Describe your impressions.
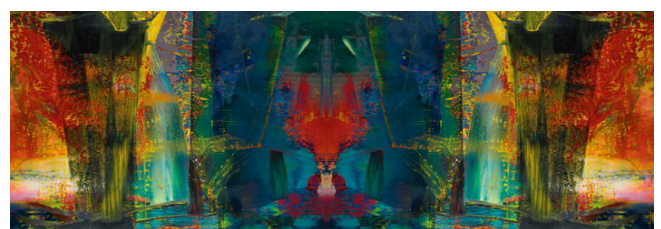
2A. Think about as many associations as possible for the following words: *summer, school, book, week-end, friend, motherland.*

Example: autumn > the beginning of the academic year, apple pies, walks in the park, yellow leaves.

Friendship, home, teenagers, relationships, travelling.

2B. Here is a list of words. Provide as many associations as possible for each word. (Each student provides association based on the word suggested by their peer.)

Fame, music, literature, foreign languages, the Internet.

3. Provide as many ideas as possible regarding one of the following topics:

- The role of upbringing and education in the individual's destiny.
- The role of foreign languages in the modern world.
- The influence of ICT on education.

4A. Imagine that you have been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for your contribution to making the world a more harmonious and safer place.

Describe your emotions and feelings when you learnt that you had become a Nobel Prize Winner. Imagine that you have to give a short acceptance speech (благодарственная речь) in which you are supposed to express your gratitude and talk about your plans in the field of resolving the world's most serious problems.

4B. Imagine that you have been awarded the Oscar as the best lead actor/actress.

Describe your emotions and feelings when you learnt that you had won. Imagine that you have to give a short acceptance speech (благодарственная речь) in which you are supposed to express your gratitude and speak about your plans for the future.

5. Based on the method of the '6 hats', study the following issue and come up with thoughts and ideas. '*What if there were no schools and universities'?*

White hat – rational approach. Has to do with collecting information about the topic.

Red hat – emotional approach. Has to do with emotions and feelings in relation to the topic.

Black hat – pessimistic approach. Has to do with the discussion of possible failures or drawbacks.

Yellow hat – optimistic approach. Has to do with the advantages.

Green hat – creative approach. Has to do with finding new solutions to a problem and looking for possible alternatives.

Blue hat – philosophical approach. Has to do with general perception regarding a certain topic.

6. Read the text and think about the title.

One day an English writer told his friends about the first book he had written: 'I was 22 years old when I wrote this book. The whole edition was sold out and I felt very happy'.

'Now I know that if I work hard, I can write really good books', – I told my grandfather.

Two months later the editor rang me up and asked me to come and have a word with him. The next day I came to the editor's office and we made arrangements about the second edition. Then he said, 'By the way, I've noticed that though the first edition of your book was sold out there was nothing in newspapers about it. I can't understand why'.

Very soon I forgot all about it. I worked very hard indeed and I wrote some books and they were sold out and all the newspapers wrote about them.

Then my grandfather died and my mother asked me to look through his correspondence. I started going through the papers and among them I found 1000 copies of the first edition of my book. I realised that my grandfather had bought

the copies to let me think that I had written a good book and could be a writer.

7. Study the following pictures. What are they about? What do they have in common?

8. Provide as many questions as possible concerning the picture below.

9. What is life for you? Choose the picture which most accurately reflects your attitude towards life and express your ideas about life using metaphors based on the images.
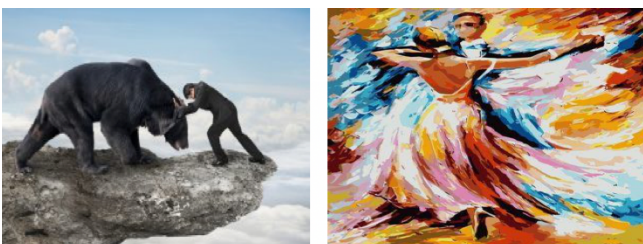
10. Read the following fragment of a poem and think about its meaning and the topic it raises.
I wonder why
Large ears only listen
To worthless gossip…

11. Read the beginning of a story and try to complete it orally. Divide into pairs. Compare your version with the original one.

Joe and Delia both loved art. Joe came to New York to study painting. They met at a friend's studio. In the evening, the studio was always crowded with young artists who were fond of talking about painting, theatre and music. Delia attracted Joe's attention the moment he saw her. They began to meet at the studio and soon got to know each other well. A year later they got married. They were very happy, they had their art and they had each other. But one day they realised that they had no money.

12. Read the story below and do the following exercises. A. Describe the inner world of the protagonist (his feelings, emotions, character). B. Imagine that you are the protagonist of this story. Replace his thoughts and ideas with yours.

Looking for a job (after M. Gold)
When I was twelve I was one of the best pupils in my class at public school and left it a year earlier than most boys. My parents were proud of me, of course. They wanted me to go to high school. But even then, I realised that education was for the rich. I refused to go to high school. I knew that most of the boys in my class were going to work and I decided to be one of them. I told my parents that I needed to spend four years at high school, then six years at college before I could become a doctor. Ten years of study! Where could I get thousands of dollars for books, tuition and everything else? There were four children in my family. My mother could not work. Could my father get the money for all of us and pay for my education? Of course not.

Miss Barry, my English teacher, tried to get me to go to high school, too. She said that she could hardly imagine that I would work in a factory. 'I've never seen better compositions than yours, Michael,' she said. But I told her that my father was unable to support me and that I would have to work. She asked me to promise her to study at night. I told her that I would, though I knew it was a lie. But I loved books. I was carried away by many books. I wanted very much to go to high school and college. Miss Barry presented me with a

book. I thanked her for it and threw it under the bed when I returned home. I never read a page in it or in any other book for the next five years. I told myself that I hated books, that they were lies and were different from life.

It was not easy to find my first job. I looked for it for months. Every morning I bought a newspaper and looked through the Want Ads. At last I found work. It was in a factory. The place was dark and hot. The air was poisonous. The boys and girls working at the long table were wet. Their faces were white

and angry. There was no time for anything but work. I forgot my college hopes. I could not sleep at night. My mother saw that I was in bad health and she made me leave the job. Then I got jobs in a shop, and at a chemist's. Jobs. Jobs. I went from one to another without a plan, without hope. I was at a loss.

One day I stopped to listen to a man who was speaking about the struggle for a better life. The words brought hope to me and made me think, struggle and live. It was the great beginning for me.

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The role of cultural scripts in non-native speech generation

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The article analyses the way non-native speech can be brought closer to authentic speech (that of native speakers) via a number of key parameters. Arguments are offered in favour of the view that approximation is necessary due to intensification and expansion of international contacts causing the need for deeper cross-cultural understanding. Language teachers face the challenge of forming and developing non-native speech habits exceeding the level of communicative sufficiency. The level of non-native speech needs to be raised so that it sounds like authentic speech. The script-based approach is offered as a solution to the problem. These are dialogues, which reflect the foreign language as it is actually used in practice, focusing on current language usage and culture. Cultural scripts, as they are known, are viewed as constituent parts of the ethnic culture constituting the cognitive substratum of verbal communication. Native speakers' verbal behaviour 'moves along the tracks' of cultural scripts. Therefore, the scripts must be embedded into students' linguistic and cultural competence and included in the generative models of speech. The research is based on English language material contrasted with Russian language material. The article is intended for experts in speech production and foreign language teaching.

KEYWORDS: *speech generation, linguistic and cultural competence, authentic speech, non-native speech, idioethnic speech, cultural script, communicative sufficiency*

1. INTRODUCTION
When developing non-native speech habits at the advanced level of teaching a foreign language, language teachers face the challenge of bringing students' speech closer to that of the native speakers in a number of (ideally – in all) respects. An effective means of achieving this goal is arranging the language material under study to provide so-called cultural scripts or scenarios (Minsky, 1974; Fillmore, 1985) representative of the native speakers' ethnic culture. The study focuses on this aspect of the language – culture interconnection.

2. MATERIAL AND METHODS
Drawing a parallel between natural and artificial languages will be useful here. As is known, an artificial formalised language is a semiotic system consisting of the informational component (a set of signs) and the procedural component (a set of

rules). In accordance with the rules, the language signs are combined into utterances constituting a text in a formalised language (Church, 1996). If the rules are observed, the procedure enables the language user to generate texts that are completely correct. The formal correctness of the texts is guaranteed by the formalised language system itself.

Unfortunately, teaching a foreign language and developing non-native speech habits is often based on equating natural language to formalised systems to some degree. Many language teachers believe that knowing the natural language system automatically guarantees generating correct utterances and texts. As a result, teachers introduce a certain vocabulary and some grammatical rules and then give their students tasks in oral or written composition, expecting correct speech production. However, generating speech in natural language is regulated not only by the rules of its system but also by the prescriptions of its norm and usage traditions, speech register and genre, the requirements of style, the rules of speech etiquette, the communicators' social, cultural, psychological, age, gender and other characteristics, i.e. by factors that are not laid down by the formal language system and thus need to be mastered separately. Learning the foreign language system is a necessary but insufficient condition for generating speech which is as close as possible to that of native speakers.

One can acquire the necessary skills only in discourse, i.e. using language in its sociocultural context, taking into account the above-mentioned prescriptions and requirements.

Those who have mastered only the system of the language being studied generate utterances and texts, consciously or subconsciously applying the norm, usage traditions, stylistics and etiquette of their own native speech and involuntarily manifesting the peculiarities of their ethnic mentality. As a matter of fact, people in this situation do not possess the genuine generative models of the language being studied. Instead, they resort to the generative models belonging to their own mother tongue, inserting foreign words into them at the last stage of generation (see Table 1).

The formulae in the third column do not contain language errors; they do not violate the rules of the language system. They just deviate from the norm (the generally accepted ways) of expressing ideas. Such speech is not idioethnically correct and is not authentic. Students of English should learn to generate utterances like those presented in the first column of the table above. To achieve this, they must replace Russified generative models by genuine English models in their linguistic competence. By way of illustration, some Russian students of English were asked to express in English the idea of interrupting someone's

Table 1

Cross-application of language norms and its consequences

ENGLISH LANGUAGE NORM	RUSSIAN LANGUAGE NORM	LITERAL TRANSLATIONS FROM RUSSIAN MADE BY RUSSIAN STUDENTS
I am hungry / thirsty	Есть / пить хочу	I want to eat / drink
Stay away!	Не подходи!	Don't come up!
He ran out of supplies	У него кончились запасы	His supplies came to an end
He was breathalysed	Его проверили на содержание алкоголя в крови	He was tested on presence of alcohol in his blood
The plane is boarding at Gate One	Посадка на самолет производится через выход номер один	Boarding the plane is taking place at Exit Number One

vacation. The Russian respondents offered the following versions: (1) *He was returned from his holiday.* (2) *He was asked to come back to work when he was on vacation.* (3) *He was called from his leave.* (4) *The Boss demanded that he should return to work when he was on holiday.* (5) *They called him back from his leave,* etc.

None of the respondents offered the standard formula – *He had his leave stopped* –or – *his leave was cancelled* unanimously recommended by the members of the control group (native speakers of

English). The Russian respondents said that the formula would never occur to them.

Another example is the Russian respondents' attempts to render the idea of a medical contra-indication: (1) *I may not raise heavy things.* (2) *I am prohibited to raise heavy objects.* (3) *The doctor told me not to raise anything heavy,* etc. The standard formula – *I mustn't do heavy lifting* – or- *I mustn't lift anything heavy* - recommended by most of the control group members, did not occur to any of the Russian respondents.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results of the enquiry confirm the assumption that many standard (generally accepted) ways of expressing ideas in English are missing in Russian students' linguistic competence. When speaking English, they have to resort to Russian standard speech patterns or invent their own formulae.

The traditional approach to teaching English in Russia implies mastering the basics of the language system (phonetics, grammar and vocabulary) plus (as a kind of decoration of speech) learning some set expressions. This results in acquiring habits of Russified English speech that meets the demands of communicative sufficiency (it is grammatically correct and intelligible, which is enough for short term purposes) but differs from authentic speech in many ways.

If communicative sufficiency is the final goal of teaching and considered adequate to meet practical requirements, then the existing methods of teaching foreign languages may be left intact. The question is, however, what depth of cross-cultural understanding is required under modern sociocultural conditions? The expansion and complication of international contacts in all spheres of human activity necessitates deeper penetration into the 'core' of foreign cultures and languages. Without this it is impossible (or at least very difficult) to hold international discussions on complicated issues, make adequate translations,

comprehend others' cultural values, reach consensus on key points or find solutions to global problems. Hence the growing importance of acquiring linguistic competence exceeds the level of communicative sufficiency.

Ideally, at this higher level, non-native speech must conform to all the canons of authentic speech, i.e. speech generated by native speakers. In practice, the ideal is not always attainable but in the process of education one must strive for it, going beyond the limits of communicative sufficiency as far as possible.

The degree of non-native speech approximation to authentic canons depends on the training course duration, the quality of the educational materials, the means and conditions of training, the teachers' qualifications and the students' learning abilities and diligence. If the final goal of education is the maximum approximation to the above-mentioned canons, then language teachers must reject the widely practised principle whereby they must first teach students to speak English in a Russified manner and only then, at advanced stages, acquaint them with some of the peculiarities of authentic speech.

It is like building the lowest storey with construction defects, then destroying it, then rebuilding it correctly, then erecting the next storey, etc. The ineffectiveness of the method, with

its waste of time and effort, is evident. Why instil speech patterns bound to be annulled later on? Why mislead students by instructing them to say *medical sister* (a word-for-word translation of Russ. **медсестра**) instead of *sister*, *ward sister* or *trained nurse*; or *sanitary book* (Russ. **санитарная книжка**) instead of *health record*; or *many-flat house* (Russ. **многоквартирный дом**) instead of *block of flats*; or *professional orientation* (Russ. **профориентация**) instead of *career guidance*? Isn't it better to acquaint Russian students with the English phrases everybody uses from the very start?

Correct speech habits must be developed, beginning at the initial stage of language learning. No matter how laborious identifying and teaching what native speakers actually say may be, it is, in the long run, much less laborious than correcting and re-teaching words and phrases to break already formed conditioned reflexes. (In many cases they are never broken, so language school graduates retain non-normative formulae in their language memory for the rest of their lives and persist in using them in their speech in the language they have studied.)

The issue under discussion goes way beyond the range of practical educational and methodological issues. It also involves the theoretical problem of the ethnic specificity of speech generation. In different languages, the same idea is often formulated in different ways. Analysing

> *'The issue under discussion goes way beyond the range of practical educational and methodological issues. It also involves the theoretical problem of the ethnic specificity of speech generation'*

peculiarities in expressing ideas is an inherent part of socio- and linguocultural studies that have both theoretical and applied (primarily didactic) value.

Let us consider some principles of teaching non-native students of English to generate speech closely approximating that of native speakers. It will hardly ever occur to Russian students of English that, for instance, low heel shoes or calf length boots should not be called *half-boots* (a literal translation of Russ. **полуботинки**), a vacuum cleaner – a *dust sucker* (Russ. **пылесос**) or a machine-gun – a *bullet-thrower* (Russ. **пулемёт**), etc. Most students realise that English words should be looked up in the dictionary rather than coined for the occasion by copying the structure of Russian words but often they do not extend this rule to set expressions. Somehow many of them think it possible to translate a day-care centre using a literal translation from Russian (a *children's garden* as in Russ. **детский сад**), milk powder – *dry milk* (Russ. **сухое молоко**), cod-liver oil – *fish fat* (Russ. **рыбий жир**), etc. Our teaching

experience shows that students can be weaned from using Russified word combinations. It is enough to point out that they are as inadmissible as the above-mentioned pseudo-words of the *half-boots* kind and that genuine set phrases should be looked up in dictionaries or checked on Google –

just like genuine words. However, it is not these gross deviations from the English norms that constitute the main problem. This is represented by subtler cases of verbalising ideas regulated by tradition and etiquette rather than the language system rules. Cf. Table 2:

Table 2

Cross-application of language norms and its consequences

ENGLISH LANGUAGE NORM	RUSSIAN LANGUAGE NORM	STUDENTS' FORMULAE
I booked seats in the stalls	Я купил билеты в партер	I bought tickets to the stalls
Hold the line	Не вешайте трубку	Don't hang the receiver
I had a tooth cavity filled I had a filling	Мне поставили пломбу на зуб	A stopping was put on my tooth

Such examples are numerous. They show that Russian students of English don't use the standard (normative) ways of expressing ideas in English. In order to cope with the problem, we must first of all make an inventory of ideas.

At first sight, the goal seems absurd. Human thinking is boundless and infinitely diverse. But we do not mean listing all ideas – this is indeed absurd. We do not set a grand goal of teaching students creative thinking in a non-native language. We set a much more restricted goal –

developing skills of routine communication within the boundaries of a standard set of topics comprising the so-called actual culture. Inside each of the topics the number of standard ideas is limited and therefore countable. For instance, a set of topics in a training course aimed at preparing students for a business trip abroad may include: *Railway / Air Travel; Staying at a Hotel; Using Public Transport and Public Conveniences; Making Telephone Calls; Business Visit / Negotiating a Contract; In the Bank; Going about Town / Sightseeing; Shopping; Eating Out; Social Events /*

Entertainment; Homeward Bound. Each of the topics may be arranged as a cultural script explaining to its participants their role behaviour (both verbal and non-verbal) in conformity with the norms of the host culture and language. *When in Rome, do as the Romans do* (and importantly – speak as they speak).

The verbal provision of a cultural script is a complex of role texts (unlike stage roles, they admit a certain variety and improvisation within the limits of an invariant). These 'dramatic' texts contain standard nominations, set phrases, speech patterns and routine formulae (clichés). This is what we call *the inventory of routine thoughts* in their standard verbal form.

This approach may be called thesaurus-based or script-based: the students' verbal thinking 'moves along the tracks' of a script and its language provision, which raises the ideoethnic level of their speech as non-native users and corresponds to the norms and traditions of authentic English speech. The reality is that native speakers of English generate their speech exactly that way – on the basis of cultural scripts belonging to their culture. Cultural scripts in their totality make up the cognitive substratum of culture.

The script entitled *Ordering a Taxi by Phone* may serve as an example. It includes the roles of a customer and a dispatcher. The language provision of the script will probably contain the following phrases: *I would like a taxi, please. Can I get a taxi to the train station? Can I book a taxi for 7 p.m.? How much will it cost me to go from … to …? How long do I have to wait?*

The script *Taking a Taxi* includes the roles of a passenger and a cabdriver. The language provision of the script might contain the following phrases: *Are you free? Take me to this address, please. Could you take me to …? How much will it cost? I am in a hurry. Could you speed up, please? Would you mind making a short stop? Could you please wait for me here? Could you drop me / stop here? Let me off at the next corner, please. Keep the change. May I have a receipt, please? Thanks for the ride.*

The language provision of the scripts also contains response cues. Together with the stimuli, they constitute the material for making up dialogues and arranging role-plays.

Students who do not know the clichés and speech patterns have to use word-for-word translations from Russian, which may lead to communicative failures and frustration during an actual trip. Clichés are obviously not just a supplementary means of expression. They are not mere speech decoration. They are what speech mostly consists of. Mastering them is an absolutely necessary condition of forming non-native speech habits.

The language system offers many ways of expressing one and the same idea but the norms and traditions of speech limit this diversity to one or two (seldom three) forms and establish levels of gradation of preference. It is desirable that every student of English should know and use these normative forms instead of inventing their own forms or borrowing forms from their mother tongue. Only in spontaneous communication, in case the student does not know the required authentic form, is using non-normative forms permissible, provided that the message is successfully conveyed. But at first opportunity the student should make inquiries about the correct form of expression and add it to their linguistic competence.

At the initial stage of being acquainted with a certain script, students should not be allowed to generate spontaneous speech, because excessive freedom of self-expression at this stage is fraught with the risk of generating non-normative speech under the influence of the students' native language and culture. There is a danger of non-normative speech patterns taking root in the students' language memory and staying there for a long time, if not forever. That is why, like actors in rehearsal, students should reproduce texts of model dialogues and scenes. Further on, as they master the plot, the roles and the language provision of the script, they may be allowed to improvise and vary the content of the script

scenes. The students' own initiative will grow in proportion to the growth of their knowledge of the script and its language provision, going through a process of reproducing model texts without initiative / simulation game with minimum initiative / role play with broader initiative (Livingstone, 1983; (Cho, 2015) / spontaneous speech with maximum initiative allowed within the script. In other words, students will act out a script before moving into role-play, allowing a greater degree of improvisation. This is more likely to prevent non-normative speech patterns from settling in the students' minds, which is obviously an outcome to be avoided.

From the linguistic perspective, the growth of freedom of self-expression must manifest itself by inserting lexical variables into speech patterns, recombining parts of the dialogue and modifying the plot of the script to suit the situation. But if an element of the script is correlated with a normative name, a clichéd formula or a stereotyped dialogue, students should reproduce them as they are and refrain from coining their own phrases. It is only under these conditions that students' non-native speech regarding a given situation may get as close as possible to that of native speakers. Native speakers are tied to cultural scripts, too. In standard sociocultural situations, they do not so much produce their own statements as reproduce clichés. The following typical dialogue may serve as an example.

– *Hallo, this is Mr. M. speaking. Is Mr. N there?*
– *We don't have a Mr. N. here. What number are you calling, sir?*
– *(So-and-so).*
– *I'm sorry, that's a wrong number. You must have misdialled.*
– *Sorry to have troubled you.*

The dialogue consists almost entirely of clichés. So, native and non-native speakers find themselves using the same script and the same language. This is how the script-based approach works. In real communication, people are regularly involved in combined situations that fit into more than one script. However, before proceeding to them, students should learn to navigate mono-script situations.

A cultural script has a typical structure that sets certain role relationships between its participants. Within the script, verbal communication is first of all role communication corresponding to the socio-semiotic parameters of the speech situation and the cultural norms valid in the given community in the given historical period. According to Halliday (1978), the communicators must take into consideration the topic of conversation, the role structure of the situation and the purpose of communication. The communicative strategy depends on these factors.

Incessant reproduction of sociocultural

programmes of behaviour determines reproduction of scripts. Every script is characterised by a certain degree of formalisation and institutionalisation. For instance, the script of a military ritual is regulated by military statute and is strictly formalised, whereas the script of a birthday party is not regulated by official norms and varies within the boundaries of a rather loose plot. As noted in a number of studies, British culture is generally characterised by a stricter regulation of role behaviour within standard scripts than Russian culture. Even informal social events (a party, an at-home, etc.) are characterised by stereotyped topics for discussion, contents of conversations, language forms, as well as event procedures, dress code, table manners, etc. To the representatives of the Russian culture, who are used to a greater freedom of behaviour, a greater meaningfulness and sincerity of conversations, British participants in social events seem to be either puppets or actors repeatedly performing in a tedious play. But this stereotyped nature of communication strategy is not determined by the British communicators' personal characteristics. It is determined by the cultural prescriptions they follow.

Such is the tradition. The determinism of both verbal and non-verbal role behaviour leads to the standardisation of verbal formulae comprising the scripts' language provision. Some clichés exist only within one script, e.g. *Sorry, wrong number* is used only in telephone conversations. Other

clichés are used in more than one script but, as a rule, in one and the same inter-script interaction, such as expressing gratitude: *I appreciate it! – My pleasure. /The pleasure is mine*. Such formulae are too situation-dependent to be considered language units. Nevertheless, they are mastered alongside language units in the development of spoken communication and become part of linguistic, communicative, cultural competence. The communicative approach to developing non-native speech habits suggests replenishing the language material with a wide range of clichés tied to certain scripts and inter-script interactions. Otherwise, deviations from the English speech norm will arise, influenced by the Russian speech norm.

The standardised nature of sociocultural situations accounts for the standardised nature of the messages conveyed, which, in turn, accounts for the standardisation of language means. Only poets can create new ways of expressing ideas and feelings, but even poets spend a lot of time and effort doing it. Ordinary speakers, who do not have the same poetic talent and no time to think what language forms to use to express ideas, often fall back on clichés and expressions based on common usage. That is why clichés and speech patterns are widely used in speech.

Importantly, speech is not generated automatically by language regarded as a logical device

(Chomsky, 2014). Language is not an agent but an instrument of communication. Speech is generated by a human personality involved in social and cultural relations. Therefore, an ethnic language should be mastered in close connection with its corresponding sociocultural differences.

Sociocultural differences may be presented as a system of scripts constituting the cognitive substratum of verbal communication. The sociocultural specificity of the scripts determines their idioethnic appropriateness and authenticity of speech. Cultural scripts should be included into models of speech generation in order to make the models more appropriate to the psycholinguistic reality. This requires creating a unified metalanguage for describing both language and culture.

In the 20th century, a goal was set to create a cybernetic model of natural language, i.e. 'a logical automatic device simulating linguistic competence' (Kibrik, 1987, p. 6). So that an automatic device should be able to generate speech indistinguishable from human speech, it was planned to supply it with *'a full, sufficient and explicit description of all language objects and rules'* (Apresyan, 1981, p. 32).

Looking back, the idea was clearly utopian. Is it possible to apply an algorithm to what von Humboldt called 'the spirit of the nation'?

Simulating linguistic competence means simulating a human personality. At a certain stage, the simulator will be unmasked, just like the robot from Isaac Asimov's sci-fi novel *The Caves of Steel* who pretended to be a human being but was unmasked by a robopsychologist who asked the disguised robot a few questions and received inappropriate answers (Asimov, 2014). To be unmasked, a logical device must become the object of its impersonation, i.e. a language personality that has not only rational but also emotional and intentional qualities.

Full formalisation of the process of speech generation is hardly possible and hardly needed. What is really needed is heuristic algorithmisation of speech that implies taking into account not only the factors of the language system but also discursive (psychological, cultural, social) factors. Leaving intact the Chomskian interpretation of speech generation as following the rules of selection and arrangement of language for expressing ideas, let us enumerate ten factors largely determining the selection and the arrangement of language use, 'the ten commandments' if you like.

1. The system of language that prescribes how it is admissible / inadmissible to speak, but within the boundaries of admissible speech forms allows a wide range of periphrases (alternative forms of expressing one and the same idea).

2. The norm of speech that prescribes how it is customary / not customary to speak within the range of possibilities provided by the language system and establishes the preferences in choosing the language used to express ideas.

3. Communicative register that defines the choice of language with regard to the topic of conversation (the field), the *dramatis personae* of the script (the tenor) and the purpose of communication (the mode), according to Halliday (1978). The register includes usage traditions and speech etiquette. The strictness of the prescriptions varies depending on the register.

4. Speech genre that defines the choice of speech forms (oral / written), the communicative regime (formal / informal) and the normative and functional styles. In their turn, these factors define the choice and combination of the language used.

5. The amount of extralinguistic competence common for the participants of a communicative act. It determines the degree of implicitness / explicitness of the message conveyed.

6. The amount of linguistic competence common for the participants of a communicative act. It influences the choice of the language stratum in a particular act of communication (literary language, colloquial language, jargon, language for specific purposes, etc.). For instance, an attempt to use a

professional language when speaking to a non-specialist will lead to a communicative failure. Therefore, a specialist tries to avoid professional terminology.

7. The type of discourse determined by different parameters (institutional / interpersonal; formal / informal; theoretical / practical).

8. The recipient's personal characteristics defined by age, gender, race, nationality, world outlook, education, intellect, traits of character, appearance, and a number of other aspects. These must be taken into account by the speaker when choosing what language to use. This relates to tolerance, political correctness, tact and recommendations concerning the complexity / simplicity of the speech form.

9. The speaker's linguistic identity, which determines the peculiarities of their idiolect (personal preferences in using language, the individual style of speech, culture of speech, etc.).
10. Communication channel characteristics: audial or visual; natural or artificial (technically mediated); with or without disturbance; with high or low carrying capacity, etc. They define the choice of language means as well. For instance, low audibility makes the speaker change the phonation (voice quality) properties of speech. For example, slow down and raise the volume. Other physical conditions of communication can be

mentioned here, too. For example, the limitation of screen time on TV requires from newscasters a higher speed of speech. In order to maintain intelligibility, rapid speech must be very distinctly articulated.

The list may be incomplete, but it still shows clearly how many factors have to be taken into account to generate genuine idioethnic speech rather than its Russified surrogate.

When generating spontaneous speech, one must bear all these factors in mind simultaneously and choose language instantly. This is usually done automatically. To acquire spontaneous speech habits, ideally one should be born into it, grow up and master the actual culture or, at least, get a general education in the bosom of the culture, get imbued with the national mentality and ideology, absorb the national system of values and share the nation's interests and aspirations – in a word, the spirit of the nation. One must think and feel and express oneself like native speakers.

Hence a conclusion that may sound silly on the face of it but is correct in its essence is this. In order to speak English like a native, one must be a native or at least acquire a second language identity. That happens among natural bilinguals, so deeply-rooted in the national soil is perfect language proficiency. (The latter includes not only knowing the language system but also how to manage speech habits in the context of discourse.)

'Hence a conclusion that may sound silly on the face of it but is correct in its essence is this. In order to speak English like a native, one must be a native or at least acquire a second language identity'

Community, ethnic culture and ethnic language are semiotic phenomena. Their ontological kinship is the basis for their interaction that manifests itself in social and cultural codes' expansion into natural language and their joint participation in speech generation. Today, social semiology and cultural linguistics have gained priority in the circle of the humanities. It has become practically impossible to study language apart from community and culture. The above factors cannot be strictly algorithmised. A compromise between the logical and discursive description of speech generation can be reached as follows. On the one hand, a generative model should still be regarded as a set of formalised rules regulating the choice and arrangement of language. On the other hand, the social, cultural and psychological factors of speech generation should also be taken into account. This is supposed to result in creating a heuristic (non-strict) algorithm of speech generation. It is meant not so much for rigid regulation of the process as for giving mild instructions concerning the above-mentioned

choice and arrangement of language, allowing a certain freedom of creative individuality. This will enable researchers to model the balance between the common and individual components of speech generation.

4. CONCLUSION

Every language has its own peculiar system of generative models. Native speakers use the models to generate authentic utterances and texts. They acquire the models early in their childhood, in the process sociocultural and speech development. As for those who learn a non-native language in the classroom, they have at their disposal mostly rules from a manual and translations of words from a bilingual dictionary. The result is a hybrid style of speech that is constructed in the speakers' native language at the initial stage of generation and in the study of language at the final stage. A paradoxical situation arises. Many Russian students of English generate English speech without possessing the genuine models of production. What kind of speech is produced as a result? Is it English speech or an ersatz speech style that bears 'birthmarks' of Russian linguistic, communicative and cultural competencies? What prescriptions, besides those of the language system, must be followed in speech generation? This study formulated them in the most general way in the 'ten commandments' list. Revealing their full content requires further development of the generative theory in its discursive aspect.

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Interjections in the speech of British royal family members

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The article draws on publicly available interviews to consider the range and functions of interjections used by members of the British royal family as elements of speech behaviour elucidating the corresponding features of their speech portraits in the framework of the lingua-pragmatic and socio-cultural lines of research supported by qualitative and quantitative methods of data analysis. The authors make inferences concerning the inevitable affinity of interjections, contemplate their role in the natural process of speech formation, highlight the reasons for the lack of conative and phatic interjections as well as the scarcity of emotive interjections and the frequency of their occurrence in the respondents' speech. The results obtained support the arguments of the anthropocentric approach in linguistic studies, proclaiming that emotion, an inseparable part of human activity, can be verbally expressed in the form of interjections.

KEYWORDS: *interjection, emotion, interview, speech portrait, royal family, speech formation, social subsystem*

1. INTRODUCTION

The anthropocentric orientation of today's scientific paradigm sparks increased interest in the role of the human factor in language production, the issues having to do with the connection between language and thought, language and linguistic identity, language and communication. Serving as an instrument of human communication, language reflects people's perception of the surrounding reality.

Linguistic study today is increasingly oriented towards the study and analysis of speech practice. The prevailing appeal to pragmatics is only natural as *'there is nothing more theoretically valuable*

than conclusive practice' (Levy-Leboyer, 1988, p. 779). This paper explores speech practice in interviews, which is a genre of two-way communication between an interviewer – less spontaneous due to preparative planning – and an interviewee – often much more unpredictable, spontaneous, situational and emotional.

As it tends to be emotional, the interviewee's speech is of particular interest in terms of studying interjections. Being codified signals of emotions, interjections occur in speech and express a spontaneous feeling or reaction. Despite their relatively low rate of occurrence, interjections have enormous communicative significance,

mostly because they help clarify the speaker's feelings and emotions. Considering their spontaneous occurrence in speech, interjections essentially reveal the psychological state of the interviewee and their stance on whatever is being discussed, which is probably why interviews with members of the royal family attract special attention. The social status of the representatives of the royal family imposes certain restrictions on their personal and speech behaviour. Therefore, constructing the speech portraits of the British royal family will imply manoeuvring between the limitations of social status and the 'boundless' nature of an interview.

The aim of the paper is to identify interjections in speech portraits of members of the British royal family and consider their qualitative and quantitative features.

2. MATERIAL AND METHODS

The study was conducted within the framework of lingua-pragmatic and socio-cultural lines of research supported by qualitative and quantitative methods of data analysis. Research material features publicly available interviews with members of the British royal family (Queen Elizabeth II; Prince William, Duke of Cambridge; Catherine (Kate) Middleton, Duchess of Cambridge; Prince Harry, Duke of Sussex; Meghan Markle, Duchess of Sussex), including a recently released documentary, entitled 'The *Coronation*

with Her Majesty the Queen' (2018) and the first interview with Prince Harry and Meghan Markle before the 2018 royal wedding.

3. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

3.1 Interjections

While interjections arguably remain one of the most controversial parts of speech, their semantic and structural features evidently make them unique in terms of their capacity to express an emotion without naming it. The thing is that interjections, unlike notional parts of speech, possess only connotative meaning, which is directly connected with the conditions of and participants in the communication. Connotative meaning incorporates emotional, axiological, expressive and stylistic components. Unlike functional parts of speech, interjections don't express any relations between the words or sentences and can be classified as emotional lexis as they include all of its main typical features, namely lack of syntactic connections with other parts of the sentence and semantic irradiation, which implies that with only a single emotional word present, the entire utterance acquires emotive potential. So, interjections can be described as *'specialised emotives'* (Statsenko, 2017, p. 93).

Interjections play an important role in the process of communication. Acting as lexical means expressing emotion, interjections convey the

subtle atmosphere of the communicative act. In terms of psychological perspective, life is impossible without emotions. One way or another, people repeatedly express their attitude to whatever is taking place in the immediate surrounding reality. This attitude can be revealed in gestures, mimicry or the emotive lexis, which has over the past few decades clearly kindled scholarly interest (Ameka, 1992; Clark & Tree, 2002; Cruz, 2009; Jovanović, 2004; Kharkovskaya & Panina, 2018; Wierzbicka, 1992; Wilkins, 1992, etc.).

Interjections are typically associated with dialogism, informality, spontaneity and the oral form of conversation and have recently become the object of studies in discourse, such as literary, educational, media and other forms of expression.

3.2 Interviews as part of publicist discourse

The current stage in the development of linguistics is characterised by an increased interest in the issues of mass communication and mass speech influence. The language of newspapers, radio, television and electronic media has now become the centre of numerous scientific studies as linguistics is shifting from the static 'language proper' paradigm to the idea of its strong correlation with people as producers of speech, their spiritual and practical expression, which clearly demonstrates the way the subject of linguistics has expanded and continues to expand.

Following Olomskaya (2013), we turn to the classification that divides media discourse into discourse types on account of their communicative functions (public, advertising and PR discourse) and implementation channels (television, radio, computer and Internet discourse).

The publicist in general exploits the special properties of the language as a system of expressive signs which function as instruments of persuasion and manipulation. The orientation of a publicity text towards the communicative process makes it possible to deal with pragmatics underlying the theory of discourse. Recent research represents publicist discourse as a kind of cultural phenomenon.

Publicist discourse is, in the primary instance, recording even the smallest language transformations and defining a new type of discourse characterised by a number of distinctive features. Over time, publicist discourse has become personalised. The author presents the material in an original way to the reader, raising increased interest in the subject matter. There is an expansion of the issues discussed in the articles. Taboo topics have practically disappeared from the publicist sphere. Open criticism by journalists has replaced closed questions. Consequently, the amount of evaluative vocabulary reflecting an ironic, sometimes even sarcastic, attitude to reality

has skyrocketed. Publicist discourse has become more emotional and figurative. The substantial diversity of the material contributes to an increase in the number of words and phraseological combinations of various topical layers used. Dialogism and stylistic dynamism has also increased, reflected in the increasing number of language items expressing the evaluative position of a journalist (Păun, 2014).

Dialogism, dynamism, expressiveness and orientation towards unhindered evaluation are, to a greater extent, manifested in genres of communication such as interviews, live dialogues, public speeches and press conferences.

Any interview, whose genre is of central interest to this paper, implies cooperative interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee (Malyuga & Orlova, 2016). Although it represents an active speech activity, which differs in the types of communicative interaction, the interviewer's speech is traditionally pre-planned, while the respondent's speech is spontaneous and not prepared in advance. The nature of colloquial communication objectively predetermines the occurrence of verbal signals of emotional state, such as interjections, which are obviously capable of exerting a pragmatic influence on the course of the interaction. Indeed, as an interview begins, the respondent typically tries to restrain their emotions and even deliberately hide them behind a mask of

politeness or restraint. However, as interaction progresses and affects their personal interests and emotions, they may manifest their emotions on both the verbal and non-verbal levels of communication. Thus, when personal issues are concerned, *'oratio naturalis'* is brought to the forefront and is accompanied by extralinguistic factors, such as distinctive tonality, intonation, melody, facial expression, gesticulation, acting as supportive elements in the analysis of the functional load behind the communicative use of interjections. For this reason, respondents' speech portraits are of considerably more interest, compared with the speech portraits of interviewers with their pre-planned questions and reserved demeanour.

3.3 Theoretical insight into the notion of a speech portrait

In modern linguistic studies, the term 'speech portrait' often appears ambiguous and controversial. Some disputed issues concern the understanding of the concept itself, its structure and the essence of its basic and derivative definitions (Gavra, 2011; Nancy et al., 2018). Issers (2000) focuses on the communicative behaviour of the individual – a communicative portrait – since she believes that the concept of a communicative portrait is associated with the analysis of speech behaviour. The indistinct boundary between the two notions persists in a number of publications (Balykina & Netesina,

'Social class is also relevant in this respect since it identifies a certain social network with a hierarchy of internal and external connections, while social differentiation of speech reflects social differentiation within a society'

2012; Otegen & Rgizbaeva, 2014) which even consider them as synonymous. The original interpretation offered by Issers (2000) suggests that a communicative portrait implies greater analysis of the individual characteristics of speech behaviour, while Yarmahova (2005) considers the concept of a speech portrait in both the personal and the social meaning of its interpretation. As to the collective speech portrait, the author equates it with the concept of 'type' (Yarmahova, 2005, p. 34).

From what can be gathered from the scientific literature, the term 'speech portrait' is more frequently used in modern research and is more relevant within the scope of this study. Based on a synthesis of descriptions available in the literature, we suggest that a speech portrait can be viewed as a set of personal and communicative linguistic features, presented in the form of an open model that also reflects the collective description of a representative of a particular culture. Social class

is also relevant in this respect since it identifies a certain social network with a hierarchy of internal and external connections, while social differentiation of speech reflects social differentiation within a society.

The way an individual behaves is largely determined by the culture (social norms and rituals) in which they are brought up. Communities of people united within various social formations have not always been socially, culturally or economically homogeneous, which is naturally reflected in the specifics of the use of linguistic expressive ways reflecting a person's mentality and worldview, their place within the social hierarchy, educational background, etc. On the one hand, a speech portrait is individual and reflects a unique life experience for each person. On the other hand, language is a collective custodian of information about the world, society and its institutional manifestations. From these positions, language acts as a kind of a 'mirror' reflecting the activity of the members of a particular society. In any society, there is a number of unique social subsystems, including a specific genre of intragroup speech. These subsystems include two types of social communities.

1. Isolated subsystems are those whose members are physically (legally) detached from the rest of the society, when leaving the subsystem is either impossible or limited by laws and regulations. The

most typical type of such subsystems is a prison camp, which can serve as an example of an isolated subsystem in its purest form. The army, military schools, orphanages and boarding schools are less closed.

2. Open subsystems are those where members are not fenced off from the rest of society physically or legally but their living and working conditions imply their relative isolation. This category includes students, schoolchildren, some professional groups and groups united by a common interest (Dyachok, 1992).

According to this classification, the members of the British royal family can be assigned to the open social subsystem. Each community, including the British royal family members, has its own language peculiarities typical of the corresponding social subsystem and these peculiarities mould a specific speech portrait of a given social group. 'Speech portrait' as a notion implies that some elements characterising speech behaviour are chosen from a number of options to be used or not used in speech depending on the context of communication. There are socially marked ways of choosing and using linguistic means of expression as indicators of individual speech behaviour. While this study considers the typical features of the royal speech in terms of *using* interjections, our drawing on the term *using* as opposed to *choosing* is not incidental, as it more or less

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highlights the spontaneity and the role of subconscious triggers, whereas *choosing* would imply a more rigid and deliberate process of speech production, which is obviously not the case with interjections. Therefore, the study will explore the quantity and quality of interjections *used* by the representatives of the British royal family, whose speech is to a certain extent restricted by their status and the social subsystem to which they belong.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Within the scope of this paper, interjections are divided into four groups: conative interjections (attracting attention and requiring feedback, e.g. *eh, well*), emotive interjections (expressing emotional state, e.g. *ah, God, oh, wow*), phatic interjections (used to maintain the communicative contact, e.g. *aha, uh-huh*), and interjections expressing hesitation (used to pause, e.g. *er, uh, um, well*). This classification was utilised to systemise the findings shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Qualitative and quantitative indicators of English interjections as per linguistic data retrieved from a series of interviews with the members of the British Royal family

TYPE OF INTERJECTION	OH	UH	UM	WELL	TOTAL
Conative					
Emotive	13%				13%
Expressing hesitation		7%	57%	23%	87%
Phatic					

The group of emotive interjections includes only one interjection – *oh* (13% of the total number). Interjections expressing hesitation – *uh, um, well* – amount to 87% of the total number of the data obtained, which indicates the unprepared nature of the respondent's speech. They serve as 'assistants' helping overcome the problems in communication (Kharkovskaya & Panina, 2018).

As the table shows, conative and phatic interjections are not registered at all in the material analysed. Regarding the interviews, the lack of conative interjections in respondents' speech is quite obvious. As they are the ones required to provide feedback, their goal is not to encourage the interviewer to respond. The lack of phatic interjections can presumably be explained by the restrictions of the social status of the members of the royal family, as these interjections are generally conversational.

Turning to the quality of the interjections registered, the ones expressing hesitation are represented not only by the prevailing quantity but also by the most diversified lexical units in comparison with the other groups of interjections. The diversity of interjections identified in the speech of the members of the British royal family is very scarce, which is also predetermined by the royal status of the interviewees.

Having examined the functions of the interjections mentioned it was observed that one and the same interjection can express both positive and negative emotions, depending on the context. The interjections of this kind are described as *ambivalent*. This difference, according to the emotional focus of the statement, is considered

within this paper and can be seen in the following examples.

The example below is an extract from an interview with Queen Elizabeth II, recorded for a documentary film, *The Coronation of Her Majesty the Queen,* to commemorate the 65th anniversary of the coronation (aired on BBC One on January 14th, 2018). At the sight of the crown of King Edward the Confessor, often called King Edward's Crown or St (Saint) Edward's Crown, which the Queen saw for only the second time in her life 65 years after the coronation, she carefully examined the crown, deciding to check whether its weight was five pounds or less and having lifted it, she noticed with surprise that it 'weighed a ton'.

Interviewer: *The crown is incrusted with 440 precious and semi-precious stones and with a frame of solid gold. It weighs five pounds.*
Queen Elizabeth II: *Well…is it, is it still as heavy? … Yes, it is. Oh, it weighs a ton!*

Obviously, *well* expresses hesitation and occurs at the beginning of the utterance to prompt speech production, whereas the emotive *oh* expresses genuine surprise.

Another excerpt from the same interview calls for the clarification of certain cultural and historical allusions. The situation is that during the coronation ceremony the monarch puts on King

Edward's Crown as a symbol of the accession of a new monarch to the throne. After that, the monarch puts on the smaller crown of the British Empire, which he or she is subsequently obliged to wear to all significant state events. Thus, when the Queen was given the crown during the interview, she was surprised it was much smaller than the previous one.

Interviewer: *The most important items used in the coronation are the monarch's two crowns. If the Queen had only worn St. Edward's Crown once, she's much more familiar with this Imperial State Crown.*
The Queen: *Oh, you see, it's much smaller, isn't it?*

Foreshadowing the third example involving the Royal Charitable Foundation, it should be noted that this organisation was set up in 2009 to enable Prince William and Prince Harry to move forward their charitable ambitions. Kate, as she is always known, and Meghan Markle later joined as patrons of the foundation. In 2018, Prince Harry and Meghan Markle took part in the first annual Royal Foundation Forum, where the future Duchess of Sussex was for the first time introduced as its 4th patron. The patrons discussed why the Royal Foundation was set up, the projects they were working on and their ambitions for the future.

In an extended interview, the interviewer inquired

whether royal family members had disagreements concerning the organisation of the events under the aegis of the Royal Charitable Foundation. The response came from Prince William, who uttered with great significance: 'Oh, yes ...', which meant, that disagreements really arise and the vocal gesture of the interjection *oh,* uttered with a slight lengthening of the vowel and followed by a long pause, pointed to a feeling of sadness and inevitability, yet at the same time with a tinge of self-irony.

Interviewer: *As a family, do you have disagreements about the things?*
Prince William: *Oh, yes…*

In this particular micro-context the ambivalent interjection *oh* expresses sorrow and ironic disposition.

The next example is taken from the BBC interview with Prince Harry and his bride Meghan Markle following the announcement of their engagement (aired on November 27th, 2017).

Replying to the questions concerning the beginning of their relationship, the description of the day of the proposal and their feelings, Prince Harry remarked on the reaction of his bride, citing her words at the sight of the ring. She was confused and happy at the same time, as expressed by her mouthing the interjection *oh.*

Interviewer: *Can we start with the proposal and the actual moment of your engagement? When did it happen? How did it happen?*
Prince Harry: *It happened a few weeks ago, earlier this month, here at our cottage, just a standard typical night for us.*
Interviewer: *Was it an instant yes from you?*
Meghan Markle: *Yes, as a matter of fact, I could barely let you finish proposing. I said, 'Can I say yes now?'*
Prince Harry: *She didn't even let me finish. She said, 'Can I say yes? Can I say yes?' And then there were hugs and I had the ring on my finger and I was like, can I give you the ring? She goes, 'Oh yes, the ring'. So, no, it was a really nice moment, it was just the two of us and I think I managed to catch her by surprise as well.*

Later on the interviewer turned to another burning question referring to the period of time spent together with Prince Harry.

Interviewer: *And this is how long after you first met?*
Meghan Markle: *Oh, it would be a year and a half, a little bit more than that?*

In the response of Meghan Markle, *oh* demonstrates the combination of surprise and confusion as she needed to provide an immediate answer, which at the same time had to be accurate and informative, but ends in a question mark as a

request for confirmation.

Having analysed the pre-wedding interview with Prince Harry and Meghan Markle it was interesting to compare it with with a similar interview of the Duke of Cambridge and his future bride. Thus, the next example is taken from an interview with Prince William and Kate before their wedding in 2011. In the interview (aired on the BBC on November 16th, 2010), Kate Middleton commented on their long-standing relationship with Prince William.

Interviewer: *All of your friends say that this is a very substantial love that has built up over a great period of life.*
Kate Middleton: *Uh, well, I think, uh, um…when you go with someone for quite a long time, um, you do get to know each other very, very well. Um…You go through the good times, you go through the bad times… You know both personally, but also within a relationship as well. And you know I think if you can come out of that stronger and learn, as I said. things about yourself. It certainly, it's been a good how many years?*
Prince William: *Uh, well a lot of time.*

Kate Middleton tried to explain her feelings, noting that having known each other for so many years and sharing both joys and sorrows together, it is practically next to impossible not to build strong and trusting relationships. Answering the question,

the Duchess uses 6 interjections expressing hesitation. This means that her speech was unprepared and using such interjections as *uh, um* and *well* she subconsciously set aside time for herself to make a statement. As for Prince William, it seems obvious *uh* and *well* were used mainly as starting points, preventing awkward pauses caused by the Duchess's question about the exact number of years spent together.

According to Chafe (1980), the fundamental reason for hesitation is that speech production is an act of creation, referring to pauses, false starts, afterthoughts and repetitions as steps on the way to achieving the goal. This idea is clearly illustrated in the following examples.

Interviewer: *Kate, just coming to a close, people have, you know, put some, made some criticisms of you about your work and so on. Does that hurt? How do you respond to people who say those things?*
Kate Middleton: *Well, I think I know I've been working very hard for the family business, and sometimes those days are long days […].*
Interviewer: *You know your family, as you've said that you are very close. Does it hurt about what's said or do you let it run off your collective backs on the grounds that's just what you have to live with?*
Kate Middleton: *Well, again I think, if you … the people around home are very supportive to us and*

you know those are the people who really matter to us, our close friends and family […].
(BBC, November 16, 2010).

Prince Harry: *I tried to warn you as much as possible, but I think both of us were totally surprised by the reaction after the first five, six months we had to ourselves. You can have as many conversations as you want and try and prepare as much as possible but we were totally unprepared for what happened after that.*
Interviewer: *The scrutiny?*
Prince Harry: *Well, all sorts (laughs).*
(BBC, November 27, 2017).

Interviewer: *So you lived … you ended up sort of in the same flat. Was that if you don't mind me asking, was before you were going out or . . .?*
Prince William: *No, we moved in together as friends because we were living together, we lived with a couple of others as well, and it just sort of blossomed from there, really. We just saw more of each other and, you know, hung out a bit more and did stuff. So, um yeah.*
Kate'Middleton: *You liked the cooking.*
Prince William: *Well, your cooking is alright. (Kate laughs) It's gotten better.*
(BBC, November 16, 2010).

Interviewer: *That has to be a good sign. Speaking of dogs, have you brought yours to the UK?*
Meghan Markle: *Well, I have two dogs that I've*

had for quite a long time, both my rescue pups. And one is now staying with very close friends and my other little guy is — yes, he's in the UK. He's been here for a while.
(BBC, November 27, 2017).

Interviewer: *It's such a ballet, where everyone knows precisely where to go!*
The Queen: *Well, we jolly well ought to after all the rehearsals we had.*
(BBC, January 14, 2018).

These examples demonstrate the use of interjections expressing hesitation in the speech of British royal family members, which ultimately vividly illustrates that interjections are one of the constituent elements of their speech portraits.

5. CONCLUSION

Human activity is associated with emotions that are verbally expressed in the form of interjections, which tend to occur in the types of discourses characterised by emotional and colloquial features, such as the publicist discourse and the interview as its most common manifestation. In interviews, the communicative behaviour of the interviewee poses a greater scientific challenge due to its spontaneous nature.

With the British royal family members as respondents belonging to a royal subsystem, certain social status restrictions have to be taken

into account. Therefore, the study offered a collective speech portrait of representatives of the British royal family.

Having analysed a series of relevant interviews with some of the members of the British royal family, including Queen Elizabeth II, Prince William, Kate Middleton, Prince Harry and Meghan Markle, the study registered the quantity and quality of some of the emotive interjections and interjections expressing hesitation. The group of emotive interjections, represented only by one interjection *oh,* is quite scarce in terms of both their quality and the frequency of occurrence in speech (13%), whereas the number of interjections expressing hesitation is much more frequent. The latter are represented by three interjections – *uh, um* and *well* – and amount to 87% of the total number of interjections used in the interviews. This significant difference in the rate of occurrence can be explained by he spontaneity of speech production having a lot to do with the psychological implications of human behaviour. For this reason, a great number of interjections

were used where the person didn't know exactly what to answer and the interjections *uh, um* and *well* were used to gently take the initiative or to fill a pause in the conversation. Emotive interjections, on the other hand, were practically left out. From the great diversity of existing emotions and interjections expressing them, only the emotive and ambivalent interjection *oh* was used to express emotions such as sadness, confusion, surprise or happiness. This clearly limited range of expressed emotions illustrates the reserved behaviour of the members of the British royal family that is imposed by their royal status, as well as their socio-cultural background. In defiance of the social status, interjections expressing hesitation are indispensable constituents in the process of speech production. However, the diversity of emotive interjections and the frequency of their occurrence in speech can reflect a person's association with a certain social subsystem and shape their speech portrait. Thus, a wide variety of emotive interjections, conative and phatic interjections are not typical elements of the speech portrait of British royal family members.

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Review

First you write a sentence: The elements of reading, writing… and life (a review)

Original work by Joe Moran published by Viking 2018
Reviewed by Dominique Vouillemin

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What is a sentence? For most of us it is a syntactic structure containing a subject, verb and object. For Joe Moran, Professor of English and Cultural History at Liverpool's Sir John Moore's University in the UK, it is much more. His book, *First You Write a Sentence*, is about how to give a sentence stronger emotional and intellectual impact to get your message across effectively.

It is a shortish book (230 pages) with a select bibliography and index, containing seven chapters and dealing with word order, the use of nouns and verbs, using plain words, writing long sentences, how to link sentences, and as Moran describes it, *'why a sentence should be a gift to the world'*. The book concludes with *Twenty Sentences on Sentences*, summarising the author's advice. It is an interesting and inspiring read and will be valuable for academic as well as creative writers. Early on, he cites Wendell Berry, a teacher of English at the University of Kentucky in the United States. Berry gave his class an assignment to write a single sentence. Berry wrote an essay entitled *Standing by Words,* in which he explained that a sentence is the indispensable tool by which we see, feel and know the world. The function of the single sentence assignment was to force his students to slow down and think about what they wrote and say what was necessary in a short space. There is, as Moran writes, *'no virtue in volume, no benefit in bulk'*.

Moran writes that we tend to use syntax (grammar) to organise sentences but choose words to add colour and style. The word *sentence* comes from the Latin, *sentire,* meaning *to feel.* Any sentence, writes Moran, should contain life and convey feeling. What gives it that feeling is the syntax, the order in which the words are presented. He notes that inflected languages like German and Latin

with word endings are less dependent on word order. English, which has few inflections, is. He stands by the classic word order of old-English – time, manner and place – and stresses the simplicity of explaining what happened, when, how and where.

Writing as a means of communication derives from four things – syntax, word choice, punctuation and typography. These, he says, are the human voice in print.

The first writing we know of was the *Cuneiform Script* invented by the inhabitants of Sumer in Mesopotamia. This was mainly used for recording oil, corn and cattle. *'The true heir of those little clay tablets,'* writes Moran, *'is not the sentence but the spreadsheet'*. The first 'real' sentences, he argues, were the epigrams engraved on ancient Greek tombs. An important part of the epigram was the development of carving letters and the migration from stone to papyrus. Virgil and Ovid and other great writers made part of their living from writing epigrams to order for festivals and celebrations and even for satire. As the epigram developed, so did sentence style.

Moran is very conscious of the importance of economy in sentences. He cites research showing that the attention span of the average reader is low. Short term memory retains most sentences in the head for about a minute. That means sentences

should be shorter and memorable. Moran mentions the Latin writer, Martial, who was one of the first to use a strong stress at the end of a sentence for overall effect and to make the sentence memorable.

Syntactic traps can also cause problems for readers, such as misplaced prepositions or prepositional phrases which can assume a completely different meaning to the one the writer intended, as in *'I wrote my speech on my flight to Paris on the back of a sick bag.'*

One of Moran's pet hates is what he calls *nouny sentences*, i.e. sentences with too many nouns, especially long abstract nouns, called *nominalisations*. According to the linguist Michael Halliday, nominalisation emerged at the beginning of the 17th century with the discovery of science. Over the next three centuries words ending in *-ity, -ism, -ology* and *-ation* took over the physical and social sciences, government and management. The answer, he suggests, is simple. Use more verbs. Verbs breathe life into sentences drowning in nouns, he believes. Another book called, *'Do I Make Myself Clear?'* by the former Editor of the Sunday Times newspaper (reviewed in TLC Volume 1 Issue 4) makes the same point. Instead of *puts emphasis on*, writes Moran, say *emphasises*. Instead of *gives the impression*, say *suggests*.

But even verbs, it seems, have their problems,

especially auxiliaries and modals, such as *would, could, may* and *might*. However, while preferring a more direct style of writing, Moran recognises that the use of modals offers a more polite and less confrontational style of address and therefore eases social relations in making suggestions or proposing a change in behaviour.

Most syntactical constructions we use have upsides and downsides, but the passive voice is particularly noticeable. It can be used to emphasise what happened or who made it happen as in *The new building was opened* or *The new building was opened by the Queen*. It can also be used to avoid blame as in *The accident was caused by bad weather* (i.e. not by bad driving).

Roland Barthes, the French writer and cultural theorist, hated adjectives. He felt they were used to give weight to nouns that they didn't need or deserve, or were used to disguise nouns to make negatives look more positive. In business, for example, *a robust style of management*, where *robust* is used to intensify style. The same goes for some adverbs, also often used as intensifiers as in, *an intensely robust management style.*

So, we come to punctuation.

Punctuation, Moran tells us, derives from *neume* (from the Geek *Pneuma* meaning *breath*). It told the singer or reciter when to pause and breathe.

When the early Christian monks first wrote down prayers and passages of the gospels to be read aloud they marked the voice pauses on the manuscript – what today we know as punctuation. The most important pause was the full stop, the end of one thought and the beginning of another.

The ideal length of sentences is another key feature of the book. Rudolf Flesch, a graduate of Columbia University New York in the 1940s, calculated that the average length of a sentence should be a maximum 25 words but the ideal number was 17, the average sentence length in a popular magazine like *Readers Digest*. Another readability expert, Robert Gunning, developed his own *Fog Index* to test readability. A high fog index meant the sentence was almost impossible to read and a low fog index meant it was clear. Gunning trained leading American corporations to improve the readability index of their publicity, including General Motors, Ford and American Airlines. He and Flesch were both employed by leading news agencies, Flesch by Associated Press and Gunning by United Press.

Long sentences have their place. A series of clauses well linked together can carry the reader along through a very long sentence as in masters like Tolstoy or, as Moran cites, the British historian Thomas Babington Macaulay.

The book is full of stories and one of the most

affecting is that of Lev Zazetsy, a young Russian soldier and star engineering student, who was shot at the battle of Smolensk in WW I. Half his brain was blown away. He was treated by neuropsychologist Alexander Luria, who worked with Vygotsky in the Vygoskty-Luria circle. Although Zazetsky could no longer see, remember, read or be active, with Luria's help he learned to write and kept a journal for the rest of his life. Every three days he wrote about 1000

words in a private journal and died in 1993 at the age of 73. The ability to write sentences allowed him, as Luria wrote, *'to live and not merely exist'*.

This is an extraordinarily rich book in the advice it gives and the stories it tells. If I were to choose one of the *Twenty Sentences on Sentences* in the conclusion I think it would be this: *'Listen, read and write for the sentences, because the sentence must be right or nothing will be right.'*

It's all Greek: Borrowed words and their histories (a review)

Original work by Alexander Tulloch published by The Bodleian Library 2018
Reviewed by Maurice Cassidy

It's All Greek is really a play on words. The phrase *It's all Greek to me* is a way of saying *'I don't understand anything.'* In this case, Tulloch is making the point that Greek is the origin of many commonly used English words. His book, subtitled *Borrowed Words and Their Histories,* explains the origin and meaning of 260 words and phrases used in English with roots in ancient Greek.

In his introduction, Tulloch claims that Greek is the longest continuously spoken and written language in Europe. A variety of Greek was being used in 1500 BCE, and Homer was using it to narrate the *Iliad and the Odyssey* in the 8th Century BCE. Latin dates from the 3rd century BCE. The Celtic, Slavonic and Germanic languages date from the 6th century CE. Greek, he explains, is especially common in science and technology but also in household implements and food. *Marmalade, currants, butter* and *margarine* are all

words of Greek origin. *Chemist, church* and *cemetery* are also modified Greek words, as are *telephone, lamp* and *television*. Even the words *cinema* and *theatre* are of Greek origin. The book is an etymologist's dream.

As a result of ancient Greek expansion and empire, Greek words spread all over Europe and Asia and the New Testament of the Bible was originally written in Greek. Religious words like *bible, bishop, cathedral, chorus, priest* and *choir* all derive from ancient Greek. Many words you would not expect also have Greek origins, such as *purse, place, chimney, pirate* and *chair*. The scientific revolution in Europe in the 16th century rejected older Latin religious thinking and sought for a new language to provide the new words needed to describe new discoveries and new ways of thinking. The answer was Greek. Words like *machine, orthodox, dilemma, diagnosis,*

anthropology and a lot of other words all entered the language in the 16th century.

The entries explain the original Greek use of the word under discussion followed by its entry into European languages and into English and explains how it is used. The word *kithara* in Greek became the English word *guitar.* In Latin, it was known as a *cithera,* in Old French – as *guiterre,* and in Spanish – as *guitarra.* It entered English in the 17th century, used initially to describe a lute but as the instrument evolved, came to mean *a guitar.*

An interesting entry is the word *hoi-polloi.* This is one of the relatively few Greek words which has become an English word with no change. In English, it used to refer to the common people and is a pejorative term. In ancient Greek, it meant simply *the people,* specifically, *those who hang around the market.* The poet John Dryden was the first to use it in English in 1668 and it was absorbed into the English language in 1837.

As Tulloch explains *polloi* is the plural of *polus,* which means *much.* This in turn became *poly* and the basis of a large number of other English words in use today, including *polyglot, polymath* and *Polynesia.*

As well as its definitions and origins of English words derived from ancient Greek, *It's All Greek* also contains explanations of common Greek references. The Eleusinian Mysteries, the Gods, ancient Greek characters all make an appearance with a short explanation and their relevance today. One fascinating entry concerns the phrase, *Pandora's box.* The mythical warning is that you must never open Pandora's box as it contains dangerous things. The only problem is – it isn't a box. Apparently when Erasmus, the great medieval philosopher, first translated the story he mixed up the words and confused the Greek word for 'box', *puxis,* with the word *pithoi,* meaning *an earthenware jar!* We think we prefer Pandora's box to Pandora's jar.

Review

Have you eaten grandma? (A review)

Original work by Gyles Brandreth published by Michael Joseph 2018
Reviewed by Barry Tomalin

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In 2003 the writer and broadcaster, Lynne Truss, published what became an international best seller, *Eats, Shoots & Leaves: The Zero Tolerance Approach to Punctuation*, a humorous but also serious guide to correct punctuation. She dedicated the book to the memory of the printers of St Petersburg in Russia, who in 1905 demanded to be paid the same rate for punctuation marks as for letters.

Now Gyles Brandreth, the broadcaster, humourist, former member of parliament and, currently, Chancellor of Chester University has followed in her footsteps but expanded the brief. *Have you Eaten Grandma?* is an informal and humorous guide not just to correct punctuation but also to spelling and vocabulary. It contains ten chapters with a useful index although there is no contents list or suggestions for further reading. The ten chapters cover the basic elements of punctuation, the use of dashes and hyphens, when and when

not to use apostrophes, spelling rules, plural forms, the influence of American English, the use of homophones, homographs and heterographs, abbreviations and bad language, and concludes with a summary of rules for writers, offered by such luminaries as George Orwell, Martin Amis and William Safire.

The title *Have You Eaten Grandma?* sums up the humorous style but serious intent. Without the comma, the question suggests cannibalistic tendencies. With the comma after 'eaten' as in, *'Have you eaten, Grandma?'* the meaning is completely different, a grandchild asking their grandmother if she would like something to eat. The punctuation section is light-hearted but good and clear with plenty of examples of unfortunate errors, especially in the misuse of apostrophes. But it is spelling where the book gets going, starting with US Vice-President Dan Quayle correcting a child on a visit to an elementary school. The child

had written the word *potato* on the board. Quayle stepped forward and corrected the word, adding an 'e' – *potatoe!* Quayle later described the error as 'a defining moment' of the worst imaginative kind.

An interesting discussion considers the work of the English dictionary maker Dr Samuel S Johnson in 1752, and the US dictionary maker Noah Webster in 1828. It was Webster who 'americanised' the English language by dropping the silent 'u' in *color* and *humor* and turning *centre* into *center* and *theatre* into *theater.* He changed *defence* to *defense* and *gaol* to *jail.*

He was the author of *The American Spelling Book* (1783) and *The Elementary Spelling Book* (1829) and, as an obsessive speller, pioneered the competitive spelling bee. His list of difficult English words to spell and his list of mnenomics to suggest ways of remembering is very helpful. His rules of when to use capital letters are useful to learners, teachers and researchers, as are his lists of common prefixes and suffixes.

Lists are where Brandreth comes into his own and will be of the greatest value to linguistic researchers. He is good at advising when a noun ending in 'o' takes an 's' or an 'es' in the plural and giving examples of nouns derived from Latin, Greek, French and Italian. He is also good at correcting one of the commonest errors made by

non-native speakers. Do we say, *'Here is the news'* or *'Here are the news'?* If you're French you'll probably want to say, *'Here are the news'* in the plural. But in English 'news' is singular.

Brandreth is very good on American imports into British English. Did you know the impeccably British expressions, *keeping a stiff upper lip* and *keeping your cool* are actually American in origin? *Stiff upper lip* was introduced in 1915 and was popularised by an American women's rights activist Phoebe Carey, who used it in a poem.

For linguists who are not millennials or members of Generation Z, the real payoff of this book is the study of acronyms used in social media and so-called 'bad language'. If you're not familiar with *OMG (oh my God!)* and *LOL (lots of laughs),* or *AFK (away from keyboard)* this is the place for you and your chance to 'get down with the kids'.

Some very rude expressions are also presented and explained, though with impeccable political correctness. One reason for the increased use of acronyms is lack of space in electronic communication by Twitter, Instagram, Snapchat, etc. That's one reason why many users finish their tweets with *end of,* meaning *nothing more to say.* By the way, when you receive an email from abroad in English, do you actually know the origin of the abbreviations 'cc' and 'bcc'? We know that 'cc' means *copied to* and 'bcc' means *copied in*

private, but the origin of 'cc' is *carbon copy*, going back to the days when a copy of a message was made on carbon paper for future reference, and 'bcc' stands for *blind carbon copy*, a carbon copy for someone we haven't told you about. Funny how the old and the new meet in the modern.

Have You Eaten Grandma? is an amusing and a highly enjoyable browse for English language enthusiasts. It's also a useful guide for teachers and language researchers into what constitutes contemporary English usage.

OK. End of.

Multilingual computer assisted language learning (a review)

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A new methodology and a new technology and pedagogic strategy of delivery are the key themes of this book. Buendgens-Kosten and Elsner teach at the Goethe University in Frankfurt in Germany and are convinced that the pedagogy of the one-language teaching method, either in L1 or in L2 and occasionally a mixture of both where translation is an aid to comprehension, is out of date. This is due to the increase in globalisation with the vastly increased movement of people around the world both for work and to live and the accelerated speed and volume of international communication made possible by the Internet, with the myriad and increasing ICT applications being used by people around the world but not as widely in language learning.

The key for Buendgens-Kosten and Elsner is not a first or even a second foreign language learned at school or university but multilingualism. They define it as the *'co-existence or co-presence of two or more languages within and without language learning contexts'*. They stress the need to look at language and language learning from a multilingual perspective, citing the Council of Europe in 2011 saying, *'a multilingual perspective not only rejects a compartmentalised view of languages and language learning, it furthermore appraises all languages and any kind of language competence as meaningful'*.

The editors also recognise the vital role that ICTs now play in everyday life and in language use and language learning. Foreign language now comes from all corners of the earth not just in classrooms but on T-shirts, pop music, advertising and movies and people spend more time on mobiles and computers than they ever spend in classrooms. This is why CALL (Computer Assisted Language Learning) is so important but needs to incorporate a multilingual not just a mono- or bilingual

approach. The editors call this MCALL (Multilingual CALL) and describe it like this.

'Multilingual CALL is the study and practice of language learning, with digital media in non-monolingual contexts or settings using non-monolingual media. This may involve the use and/or activation of native language(s), previously studied language(s), heritage language(s) or dialects(s). Multilingual CALL can be multilingual due to the multilinguality of learners, due to the multilinguality of a group of learners (including telecollaboration or CMC settings) or due to the multilinguality of teaching material/tasks.'

MCALL involves the use of technological diversity in designing language training, providing teaching materials and offering opportunities for telecollaboration between remote classrooms, i.e. classrooms where students are not physically in the same place. The means used include chat rooms, computer games, digital stories and ebook apps, online texts and interactive whiteboards.

The book is divided into five sections, contains 13 essays plus an introduction, and ends with concluding remarks by Gabriela Meier at Exeter University in the UK. The five sections are *Multiliteracies and MCALL, Multilingual Texts, Intercomprehension and MCALL, Multilingual Online Exchange and Telecollaboration and*

MCALL, and *The Professional Development of Teachers.*

The essays include the use of online communication vehicles such as Facebook, computer games, home-made videos and cartoons, and using tablets. One of the great values of the MCALL approach is how it validates the learner's own language as a learning resource. This is very important for migrants who have recently moved home and have to fit into a new classroom environment and a new community. Knowing they have the means to refer to their own language(s) when they need to is a way of instilling confidence. The essays also stress another important aspect of MCALL – responsibility and community. Students can use their familiarity and ability with computers to take responsibility for examining their own languages and language(s) they are learning and share what they have learned with other students. This helps build both an online and face-to-face community of students as they act as language explorers, detectives and analysts, sharing what they have found out. The role of the teacher also changes from that of sole learning authority to that of coach, organiser and facilitator – a role already advocated in many teacher training courses.

MCALL can also build communication in the classroom, in the local area, nationally and internationally. Classrooms can link up

internationally, exchanging information about their own lives in different cultures as in the British Council's *Connecting Classrooms* initiative. This exchange enables students to overcome reservations about others and build empathy with them by learning about their lives. This can lead, as it does in *Connecting Classrooms,* to international class visits and exchanges. The recognition of local languages and cultures also helps the teacher build empathy with the students, understand any problems they may have and find ways to support and overcome them, as Cutrim Schmid and Si'ilata point out. As Antonie Alm writes in his essay, using Facebook in language learning, the aim changes from language learning to communication as a goal.

In her concluding comments, Gabriela Meier emphasises the importance of MCALL in encouraging a more collaborative understanding of learning. She stresses its value in individualising learning because it allows users to proceed at their own speed in the way that best suits them. It also gives the opportunity for the user to choose the language that best suits him or her. Above all, it brings into the 'classroom' what young people do every day outside it – use digital devices to pursue their own aims and enthusiasms.

The other feature she considers important is MCALL's multi-modal approach, including sound, music, maps, diagrams, photos, moving pictures

and emoticons. Much of this already exists in the conventional classroom, which also adds drama, body language, small group discussion and face-to-face roleplay. However, Meier recognises that MCALL offers better opportunities for repetition, looking up meanings and getting words and content from different languages. As she writes, *'The digital dimension potentially facilitates opportunities for self-regulated and autonomous learning, while the multilingual dimension offers opportunities for deep learning.'*

Meier recognises that online language resources intended for language learners may date faster and need updating and renewing more frequently than standard textbooks. However, she feels that a much wider range of resources is available on the open Internet than on educational digital media. But the open Internet has both advantages, in choice of content, and dangers, in exposure to inappropriate material and influences (grooming, hacking and even illegal activity through the Dark Web). It can also serve as distraction: instead of using computer as a learning resource students spend the time checking their Facebook pages.

Therefore, an important part of individualised MCALL learning is teacher education. Teachers need to be trained in how to help their students make the most of the computer as a language learning and language practice resource. This should be part of all language teacher training

courses and university post-graduate teacher training programmes. Teachers should also be trained to be aware of the downside of the open Internet and learn how to spot and deal with possibly malign influences. Critical media literacy should be an important part of both teacher and learner training and Meier cites one of the authors, Henriette Dausend, who says that *'technology alone doesn't make a good lesson'* and that lessons need to be carefully planned, with clear objectives. Most importantly, Meier believes that MCALL is an answer to the traditional monolingual approach to language learning in class and that students should be encouraged to use other

languages they have been exposed to or even been brought up to speak as part of their language learning journey. She also feels that learning languages should be more linked to students' own interests and needs and less just a school subject to be mastered and improve grades. MCALL can provide an avenue for this.

In summary, the book opens up an interesting field of research into the relationship between multilingualism and CALL and the thirteen papers show how teachers can use MCALL to develop linguistic growth both in the classroom and in professional development.

ICC News

by Michael Carrier
ICC Board Member

ICC Annual Conference, May 3-5, 2019
Colleagues are invited to come and join us in Berlin from May 3rd to May 5th 2019 for the ICC annual conference. The theme for 2019 is *Teaching and learning languages in the multilingual world: Policy and practice*, an important debate about how language educators can contribute to a multilingual world.

Programme
There will be an opening session on Friday afternoon, so participants can travel on Friday morning May 3rd. There will be a welcome reception on Friday evening. The members' AGM will be on Friday evening before dinner. Further programme details are available at icc-languages.eu/conferences/26th-icc-annual-conference-2019-berlin.

Call for Papers
We would like to invite colleagues to speak at the conference. If you have an idea for a presentation talk, workshop or panel discussion, please contact the ICC Chair, Dr Ellinor Haase, at chair@icc-languages.eu.

Conference Venue
The ICC Conference will be held at the European Academy Centre. The venue is the beautiful European Academy (EAB) in central Berlin. In this country house – in a style reminiscent of the late 19th century – ICC delegates will have the use of 5 seminar rooms of varying sizes, a lounge with a fireplace, a dining conservatory and 32 hotel rooms. There is also a beautiful garden with mature trees for delegates to enjoy in between sessions. The address of the venue is Europäische Akademie Berlin, Bismarckallee 46/48, 14193 Berlin. Venue website is eab-berlin.eu.

EUROLTA Day at ICC Conference 2019
A separate EUROLTA event will be held alongside the ICC conference in Berlin. More information and a draft programme will be sent to EUROLTA training centres and trainers and assessors early in 2019. Please let ICC know if you wish to attend this special EUROLTA event.

ICC Presents at ECML Graz
Ifigenia Georgiadou, Director of the Hellenic Culture Centre in Athens and board member of ICC, attended the Professional Network Forum of the ECML (European Centre for Modern Languages) in Graz (Austria) in November. The topic was the ECML 2020-2023 programme on languages entitled, *Inspiring innovation in language education: changing contexts, evolving competences*. Details are available at youtube.com/channel/UCbYzHyW9GmkdigXNWYPPVRw.

Ifigenia presented the history, aims and activities of ICC, including The Berlin Conference 2019 (see above), EUROLTA and the TLC Journal, to 25

delegates from 15 leading European language organisations. The Professional Network Forum focuses on language education and assessment and represents current and former project co-ordinators, ECML consultants and members of the ECML governing board. Each representative offered their perspective on current challenges in language and education and how the ECML can address these through its next programme.

ECML

ECML is a unique institution committed to linguistic and cultural diversity and embodying the values of the Council of Europe. It has 33 member states. ECML offers training and consultancy to member states as well as organising language programmes for learners and language professionals.

Among their initiatives are training in digital literacy, a teacher's programme for optimising the use of the CEFR (Common European Framework of Reference), developing language awareness in classes teaching other subjects and promoting excellence in sign language instruction.

They are also concerned to set up action research communities for language teachers to create a quality assurance matrix for CEFR use, language tools for professional development and a roadmap for schools in order to support the language(s) of schooling.

For more information please visit ecml.at, or visit hcc.edu.gr for the Hellenic Culture Centre.

EUROLTA News

by Myriam Fischer Callus
EUROLTA Co-ordinator

EUROLTA Grows

The iOR Language Institute has become a new EUROLTA centre. The school was founded in Freiburg, Germany, in 2004 and together with a second school in Lörrach it specialises in the teaching of German as a foreign language. It is one of the largest schools in this area and accommodates 700 students daily in about 150-200 courses. The school offers German courses at all levels all year round: intensive immersion courses, summer and holiday courses, literacy classes, one-to-one classes, company and in-house training.

The students come from all parts of the world and the multicultural background of the participants makes the German courses exciting and challenging. Studying in international groups helps activate and boost the learning process. The language school is also a cultural institute. The leisure programme ranges from visits to the European Parliament in Strasbourg to discovery trips to Rome and other European cities.

The school employs about 60 teachers who are all qualified specialists in German as a Foreign Language. The director and owner of the school, Frau Inga Heenemann, says: *'Teaching is not just a profession, but a vocation that our teachers fulfil*

daily with renewed energy and enthusiasm.'

The school places great importance on high quality training. The director of the school sees the EUROLTA teacher training programme as a suitable in-service further qualification for language teachers not only for their school but for the whole area of Freiburg and Lörrach. The school will offer EUROLTA to teachers who have not yet started teaching, but also to other participants who would like to start a career in teaching. There will be two programmes – an intensive four-week programme (200 sessions) and a modular two-month programme running on alternate Saturdays and Sundays (160 sessions).

EUROLTA and Teacher Training for Immigrants
ICC and EUROLTA were represented by ICC Chair, Ellinor Haase, at the EU Lifelong Learning Platform seminar held at the European Parliament in Brussels on December 6.

The aim of the meeting was to update delegates on the developments in Erasmus+, the Lifelong Learning platform, the European Education Exchange and Youth for Understanding, and ICC and EUROLTA. The meeting included contributions from experts from the European Commission Schools division and the Council of Europe.

A key topic was the difficulty of adaptation of students going abroad to study and the education of students entering EU countries, particularly in the development of language and multiculturalism. The unique contribution of EUROLTA is that it provides practical teacher training programmes for language teachers with little experience and turns them into effective trainers able to help fill the gap in teachers needed to train new immigrants.

This was particularly important in Bavaria in southern Germany in 2016 where the government was short of teachers to meet the demand for language training for the influx of migrants from the southern Mediterranean.

Using the EUROLTA training programme, the local authorities were able to certify 225 teachers in a short time and get them to work. It made clear that EUROLTA is a key training facility for enabling state and private bodies to increase the provision of language teachers to meet the demands of expanding educational populations, especially in adult education.

EUROLTA Manuals
In order to make the work of a EUROLTA Training Centre easier, the ICC team under Myriam Fischer has produced new EUROLTA manuals to help teacher training centres and teacher trainers to design and run their courses. These manuals contain the training materials that you need, and all the information about starting and running a training centre.

The manuals are now available to all accredited training centres. Please contact Ms Fischer at myriam@icc-languages.eu.

RUDN University News

by Elena Malyuga

Editor-in-Chief TLC

Five O'Clock Tea Club Welcomes Michael Young

October 31, the Department of Foreign Languages of the Faculty of Economics held the meeting of the *Five O'clock Tea Club*. The event was a treat to English language and culture enthusiasts and had a special national Celtic flavor thanks to an unusual presentation prepared by Michael Young, a teacher at the British College of Banking and Finance. The event turned out dynamic and entertaining. RUDN University students studying English learned amazing and informative trivia about Scotland, the birthplace of Mr. Young. In his interactive presentation, he spoke about the flag and the emblems, the population of this part of the UK, their language and traditions, as well as the chequered patterns on kilts.

As the participants had an opportunity to listen to traditional Scottish songs performed on a bagpipe, they all noted it was the most memorable part of the meeting. Mr. Young showed to the spellbound audience the complicated the process of setting up the instrument, then treated the students to a delightful performance of Scottish tunes which obviously earned him a well-deserved applause, and also taught the participants to sing the traditional Scottish New Year song, *Auld Lang Syne*. The meeting ended with a quiz and an award ceremony with the most attentive and erudite students receiving gifts all the way from Scotland.

RUDN University Rector is Appointed Chairperson of the UNESCO Committee on Educational Programmes

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Sergey Lavrov, has appointed RUDN University Rector Vladimir Filippov Chairperson of the UNESCO Committee on Educational Programmes. The corresponding decree was issued on December 15. Earlier on, Professor Filippov was put in nomination at the founding meeting of the Russian Committee on UNESCO Educational Programmes, which took place on November 27 in Ryazan.

OPEC Opens the Doors to RUDN University Students

The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) opened its doors for the first time to students from Russia. RUDN University students visited OPEC headquarters as part of the joint internship of RUDN University and the Financial University under the Government of the Russian Federation, *Business Organisation and Development in the EU*. An interactive demonstration highlighting the establishment and functioning of OPEC was presented by OPEC PR specialist and an employee of Public Relations and Information Department Hind Zaher. Following the presentation, programme participants had an extended discussion on OPEC activity and

prospects of cooperation within OPEC+.

IEEE FRUCT 2018

November 13-16, the 23rd annual conference of the International Open Innovations Association FRUCT – IEEE FRUCT 2018 – was held at the University of Bologna, bringing together about 150 participants from 30 countries, including Italy, Finland, Russia, Great Britain, Denmark, India, and Brazil. The event welcomed academics and industry representatives (Dell EMC, Nokia, Intel, Open Mobile Platform, etc.). FRUCT is a large pan-European cooperation network that promotes the development of open innovation in academia and industry and annually holds scientific events to bring the academic and business communities together to promote innovative projects.

Results of Times Higher Education World University Rankings

November 7, the Times Higher Education World University Rankings by Subject 2019 were announced. For the first time, Peoples' Friendship University of Russia entered the Times Higher Education (THE) subject rankings in two fields: 501–600 in *Clinical, Pre-Clinical & Health*, and 601–800 in *Physical Sciences*. In terms of medicine, the ranking regocnised 7 Russian universities with RUDN University sharing its second place countrywide with Kazan Federal University, Novosibirsk State University, and St. Petersburg State University. The ranking evaluates universities in 5 categories: teaching, research, citations, international activity, and industry income.

TRAINING, LANGUAGE AND CULTURE