'Language is the road map of a culture. It tells you where its people come from and where they are going' Rita Mae Brown

Training Language and Culture

Aims and Scope

Training Language and Culture covers language training and cultural training and research throughout the world. Our aims are to enhance the scientific foundation of the teaching process, promote stronger ties between theory and practical training, and strengthen mutually enriching international cooperation among educationists and other professionals. All our articles are peer reviewed. Our areas of interest include:

• Language and linguistics research
• Intercultural research
• Language, intercultural and communications training
• Language and cultural training technology
• Language and cultural assessment.

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Anzhela is Vice-Rector for Further Education at Peoples' Friendship University of Russia (RUDN University). She is the author of a raft of articles and monographs devoted to the problems of migration in Russia, the Integration Exam and using of language tests for migration purposes. She is the Executive Secretary of the Russian Testing Consortium, the Head of the Methodological Commission of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation. She also coordinates the development of the Testing System of Russian as a Foreign Language and the new language exams introduction. Anzhela supervises RUDN University projects promoting the Russian language abroad and uniting Russian Language teachers all over the world.

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Gayane Oganesovna Petrosyan
Gayane graduated from Armavir Teachers' Training Institute. Faculty of Russian and English Languages and Literature in 1997 with a diploma with distinction. In 2008, she received her academic degree in philology at Stavropol State University. She has been teaching English for more than 10 years at school, college and university. Her research interests are mainly focused on the methodology of training students at school, majoring in the development of reading and writing skills, researching functions and micro forms in the genre of historical novels and concepts of beauty and manliness in Russian literature. She is author and co-author of over 20 publications, including one monograph, and participates in conferences on linguistics and teaching methods.

Nicolaos Maras
Born in Katerini in Greece on the foothills of Mt Olympus, Nikolaos majored in English language and literature at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki and received his B.A. in 1980. He has been a language school ('frontistirio') owner in Katerini since 1983 and was elected to the PALSO Board of Directors in 2003. From 2005 to 2017, he served as chairman of the examinations committee for the PALSO exams in four languages: French, German, English and Italian. He is currently second vice president of the Board, responsible for public relations. Nicolaos has been a teacher trainer and supervisor of oral examiners for the EDEXCEL/PTE examinations since 2006, and, since 2014, for the NOCN exams. He chairs the committee that developed *The PALSO Guide* 2nd edition. He was assigned to the development of the European Language Passport (ELP) portfolio for PALSO, which he carried out in cooperation with Karen Lee, for release in spring 2018. PALSO is the only private organisation in Greece to have developed an ELP portfolio awarded the Council of Europe stamp.

Karen L. Lee
Karen has worked with PALSO since the spring of 1986. In addition to teaching EFL in tutoring schools, she has been an examiner, supervisor, and general supervisor of English essay marking. Since 1990, she has produced the PALSO listening test recordings. She also participated in development teams for the new format and *PALSO Guide* publications, took part in English test construction and materials writing, conducted training for interview examiners, and presented on writing skills at PALSO seminars around Greece. Having worked in journalism and community organisation, she received her BA in the multi-disciplinary field of International Studies from Ohio State University, Columbus, USA.

Introduction to ISSUE 5

Barry Tomalin Joint Managing Editor TLC

For some of us it's been a hard winter but welcome to Spring. As you can see, for Volume 2 we have changed our issue release dates to March, June, October and December, (appropriately seasonal, Spring, Summer Autumn and Winter).

The two big events in the immediate future are the RUDN (Peoples' Friendship University of Russia) international conference on 'Topical Issues in Linguistics and Teaching Methods in Business and Professional Communication' (April 19-20, 2018) and the annual ICC-languages international conference on 'Migration and Language Teaching' (May 5-6) on the beautiful Greek island of Santorini. For those who can't attend personally we will be reporting on the Moscow conference in our June issue and on the Santorini conference in our October issue. For more information on each conference please visit http://lspconference. ru (Moscow) or www.icc-languages.eu (Santorini).

Now down to business. What have we got for you in this issue? First, as we know, European migration is a major concern and how to integrate new citizens successfully is an important question, especially for teachers of languages and culture. This

is why we are especially fortunate to be able to publish Anzhela Dolzhikova and Marina Kunovsky's paper on the immigrant examination approach used by RUDN University. RUDN University is the academic institution tasked by the Russian government with developing and administering immigrant examinations in language and culture, and Anzhela herself will be one of the plenary speakers in the ICC-languages conference on Santorini in May.

Dr N.S. Prabhu in India is one of the most influential teachers and teacher trainers of our day having introduced as early as the 1960s the principles of task-based learning and communicational teaching (as he called it) through the Bangalore Project in South India. A lesser known idea but equally important initiative of his, relating to teacher development, is the teacher's sense of plausibility – what motivates teachers and how they incorporate new methods in helping children learn. His ideas are discussed by Alan Maley, who knows Prabhu personally and was greatly influenced by him. Alan himself is a leading figure in English language teaching internationally both as a British Council Officer and as a

writer, editor and teacher trainer and winner of the British Council's ELTons lifetime achievement award for excellence.

Continuing our studies of the relationship between literature, language and culture, Bilyana Scott contributes a fascinating paper on the relationship between poetic and diplomatic languages in *Poetry and diplomacy: Telling it slant*, a topic that is also covered by Rosalie Rivett in her book *Diplomatic Protocol*, reviewed in these pages.

We are delighted to feature the teaching of translation in Anisimova, Pavlyuk and Kogotkova's article on classroom factors to consider in selecting a translation equivalent and, continuing our discussions of grammar usage, Gayane Petrosyan explores the use of free indirect speech as in, 'She laid down her pen. Why was she so tired?' All will be revealed on page 72.

As you know, we have taken the opportunity to publish papers on how language institutions developed both as part of the history of language learning and teaching and as a possible model for other countries wishing to develop their own institutions. In TLC 2 we explored

changes in teaching methodology in China with Patricia Williams-Boyd and in TLC 3 Engelbert Thaler explored how the German Gymnasium had contributed to excellence in language learning. Now in TLC 5, as we like to call it in-house, Nicolaos Maras and Karen Lee explain how the development of tutorial schools or frontistiria met the needs of a post second world war emerging Greek middle class wishing to take advantage of international trade.

Together with news from RUDN University, ICC-Languages and EUROLTA and reviews of Daniel Dennett's *How language began*, Rosalie Rovett's *Diplomatic protocol*, David Crystal's *Making sense: The glamorous history of English grammar* and Andy Scott's *One kiss or two*, you have a variety of fascinating and maybe in some areas unexpected but always informative topics.

As always, we'd love to hear from you. Feel free to contact Elena Malyuga (en_malyuga@hotmail.com) or me (Barrytomalin@aol.com) and remember we can send you any articles you want or all 8 issues of Volume 1 and 2 online free of charge as a special introductory offer. All it takes is an email to me at the above address. Happy Reading!

Integration examination in the Russian Federation, three years of experience and research. Success or failure?

Anzhela V. Dolzhikova and Marina N. Kunovski

The 3-module Integration Examination, incorporating Russian language, History and the Basics of Law tests, is a mandatory integration requirement for immigrants in Russia. Integration tests and educational courses are only a few examples of the new 'civic integration policies' used all over the world to promote common values for newcomers. Through the present study, the authors address the question of whether these requirements facilitate the migrants' integration process. In doing so, they examine the impact of the Integration Exam in Russia as one of its integration policy strategies. The paper draws on surveys to explore the attitude towards the Integration Exam among different categories of migrants. The research is supported by the all-Russia 2015-2017 Integration Exam statistics. The authors reveal causal relationships between language proficiency and integration. The results presented in the paper indicate that most migrants support the idea of the Integration Exam and demonstrate understanding of the importance of civic integration. The level of integration correlates with the purpose of migration, which is reflected in the Integration Exam's level structure. The findings presented in the article help explore the Exam's perspectives. They make it possible to facilitate better-addressed education programmes, and discuss legislative initiatives in influencing Russia's State Migration Policy.

KEYWORDS: *Integration exam, migration policy, civic integration, language assessment, language proficiency*

1. INTRODUCTION

The problem of integration tests and the role of language in the integration processes are 'hot topics' among researchers dealing with the issue of migration. Works published since the late 1980s analyse the phenomenon from different angles (see, for example, Joppke, 2017; Resnyansky, 2016; Kostakopoulou, 2010; Ager, 1992). For Russia, these problems are relatively new, and there are not many local studies devoted to this topic. The present

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'Integration tests and educational courses are only a few examples of the new 'civic integration policies' used to promote common values for newcomers'

paper examines the practice of the 3-module Integration Exam in the Russian Federation. The exam, incorporating Russian as a foreign language, History and Basics of Law tests, is a mandatory integration requirement. In this article, the authors examine the impact of the Integration Exam as one of the integration policy strategies. An attempt is made to ascertain whether such requirements can facilitate migrants' integration process. Several countries in Europe have already adopted obligatory language and country knowledge requirements for settlement and naturalisation. Given the concerns of some countries regarding levels of integration, naturalisation is a pertinent issue in the field of migration. (Peters et al., 2016). Integration tests and educational courses are only a few examples of the new 'civic integration policies' used to promote common values for newcomers. Many countries use naturalisation tests, though the form of the examination can be different. The test can be conducted by written examination or interview. Some countries, including Australia, have changed from a written test to a citizenship interview.

There are different approaches to assessing the level of the language skills development for the purposes of migration. Some countries have a language test as a separate part, some 'measure' language proficiency indirectly by means of civic tests. *'Liberal democratic states adopt widely varying attitudes and policies towards foreign residents who seek to naturalise as citizens. Language proficiency is … a widespread requirement for naturalisation in liberal democratic states'* (Hampshire, 2011, p. 963).

Only four countries in the EU – Belgium, Ireland, Italy and Sweden – do not require applicants for naturalisation to demonstrate proficiency in the of official language of the state. Australia, Canada and the United States require that applicants be able to speak and understand basic English. In the United States, it is required that they can also write a basic sentence in English.

James Hampshire mentions language proficiency as the most common requirement for naturalisation and sees it as relatively uncontroversial. *'A basic*

proficiency in the official language of the state is often seen as essential to effective participation in civil society and the labour market, as well as a prerequisite for informed political participation. While the implementation of the language tests has not always been pursued with alacrity ... the principle is widely accepted' (Hampshire, 2011, p. 955).

2. MATERIALS AND METHODS

The main source of information for the study was an anonymous survey of foreign citizens applying for the Integration Exam to RUDN University Examination Centre. The purpose of the survey was to explore the attitude towards the Integration Exam among different categories of migrants. The survey was conducted from January to March 2017; 150 candidates agreed to act as respondents. 52% of the respondents were women, 48% were men. The majority of the respondents were between the ages of 30 and 40. For more than half, the period of residence in Russia was from one to five years. There was also a substantial group of respondents, whose period of residence amounted to ten years and more.

The research was supported by the all-Russian Integration Exam statistics collected in 2015-2017. The theoretical base for this research was the principles of language proficiency assessment and its quality (CEFR, 2001; Balykhina, 2009).

3. STUDY AND RESULTS
3.1. Integration Tests and the path to citizenship in Russian Federation

The 3-module Integration Exam was introduced in the Russian Federation in January 2015 following the provision of Russia's Migration Policy Concept. It was initiated as a prerequisite for migrants to enjoy a comfortable stay in the country. It aimed at the full social adaptation of a foreign citizen in the host society; migrants' legal literacy and ability to protect their rights; prevention of the formation of ethnic enclaves and, consequently, the security of the host society.

The Integration Exam requires a command of Russian (the official language of the Russian Federation), knowledge of the nation's history, law and some level of acculturation. From the beginning, the exam was meant as an educational tool rather than a barrier to entry. Its developers are aware that the exam has to be affordable and that the bar is set at a level which accommodates migrants with a low education level. The test does not contain questions about the applicant's personal beliefs, but foreign citizens are expected to demonstrate an adequate knowledge of life in Russia. The Integration Exam was pre-tested after a robust debate in professional circles and among the public at large. The goal of all these procedures was to introduce a test that would not discriminate against less educated migrants.

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'From the beginning the purpose of this exam has been an educational tool rather than a barrier to entry'

The test developers relied on the opinions of people involved in immigration testing procedures and immigrants themselves and acknowledged that the decision to use language tests as an instrument of policy was not taken lightly, as the outcomes of language tests have important consequences both for the candidates and society at large (Saville, 2012).

The exam is universal and is aimed at the following categories of foreigners coming to Russia: (i) those who are planning to work and who will apply for a work permit; (ii) those who are planning to continue living in Russia and start a naturalisation process. The latter apply for a temporary residence permit followed by a permanent residency status before the acquisition of full citizenship. The Integration Exam serves the purpose of the first two categories and has three examination levels, namely:

(i) work permit application;

(ii) temporary residence permit application;

(iii) permanent residency status application.

The final stage – citizenship acquisition, or naturalisation – requires only a certain level of proficiency in the Russian language (a minimum of A2).

The Integration Exam is a one-stage, complex non-computerised test taken mostly in written form with only the language proficiency part including a speaking assessment (dealing with different communicative tasks that require dialogue or a short monologue). The Integration Exam consists of three parts/modules.

1) Russian as a Foreign Language test that assesses listening, writing, reading and speaking skills; it also includes a special section assessing knowledge of Russian grammar and vocabulary. This module meets the basic communicative needs of foreigners in their communication with Russian native speakers.

2) The basics of Russian Federation law test consisting of 20 multiple choice questions on society, government, and the responsibilities and rights of a foreign citizen in the Russian Federation.

3) Russian history test consisting of 20 multiple choice questions covering the history of Russia, which are of importance to the forming of the national identity. This module also includes questions on Russian culture and prominent personalities, people who are considered significant in the development of the nation's history and culture.

The Integration Exam was developed first of all as an exam corresponding to the real language needs of migrants in Russia. The Russian language module of the exam is based on the structure and language requirements of CEFR A1 Russian as a foreign language proficiency level test (Elementary level in Russian as a foreign language), with a vocabulary of 900-1000 lexical units. These lexical units include, inter alia, 240 internationalisms (loanwords existing in several languages with similar meanings or etymology) and approximately 30 items of speech etiquette, as well as the vocabulary required in situations typically used in migrants' social interaction in Russia. The article focuses on the educational advantages of the Integration Exam for all categories of immigrants coming to live and work in Russia. When the Integration exam was introduced, it was an innovation in Russian as a foreign language testing practice. Its development was timely – a practical realisation of the migrants' adaptation model, which can be done through learning Russian as a foreign language and the basics of law and history. Special attention is paid to the challenges of overcoming the language barrier, aspects of socio-cultural adaptation, the language learning environment and its role in facilitating adaptation.

The language assessment system of Russian as a Foreign Language comprises six levels. The system was officially recognised by the Association of Language Testers of Europe (ALTE) as being equivalent to the European system of levels of foreign language proficiency. The multi-level system of Testing Russian as a Foreign Language was developed by the universities who are participants in the Russian Testing Consortium. It allows assessment of the level of Russian communication competence of foreigners and unifies the requirements for the contents of teaching Russian as a foreign language.

The Integration Exam developers relied on the vast theoretical, academic and methodological understandings established through the theory and practice of teaching Russian as a foreign language over the last 60 years. They took into account existing testing methods, developed in Russia and abroad, and analysed them to verify their effect and usability in testing for integration purposes.

The fact is that migrants in Russia have special language objectives and language

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needs. These objectives reflect the peculiarities of their communication in the host country. The migrants require more vocabulary units than are provided by A1 (Elementary Level) Standard. A1 Level of competence in Russian as a foreign language is considered to be a breakthrough level. According to the CEFR (Common European Framework of Reference for Languages), A1 language proficiency means that candidates can understand and use familiar everyday expressions and very basic phrases, can introduce themselves and others and can ask and answer questions about personal information such as where he/she lives, people they know and things they have. This level allows interaction in a simple way provided the other person talks slowly and clearly and is prepared to help. The vocabulary and the grammar of this level let the migrant establish and maintain social contacts in standard everyday situations. The language skills development is usually enough to get acquainted with somebody; to give typical holiday greetings and to reply to them; to offer an invitation, to accept or refuse an invitation, and explain the reason for refusal. The communicative competence at A1 level also includes the ability to find out and give your address and phone number and information about where you live. A migrant should know how to use a transport schedule, understand street signs and directions at stations, and the airport,

manage the conversation with a waiter at a restaurant or café, order food and drinks and pay for the meal.

Besides language proficiency, the Integration Exam checks whether people know their rights. The test determines whether the migrants are aware of their rights and that their rights cannot be denied (for example, migrants should know that they are free to practise their religion). The test contains many questions that stress basic knowledge, such as *What is the currency of Russia?* and *What is the main identification document in the territory of Russia?* The test also establishes whether a person has some familiarity with Russian history. It asks questions about the Great Russian Revolution and the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945. The test also checks social knowledge, such as the dates of the main public holidays and other socially important events. It also tests applicants on some aspects of their rights, for example, *Who has the right to vote and at what age?* and *Do men and women have equal rights for medical help?* The test also determines the candidate's knowledge of the people who contributed to the development of the Russian history, science and culture and what exactly their contribution was (for example, Alexander Pushkin and Yuri Gagarin).

The number of questions and their difficulty correlates with the reason for migration

and varies from one exam level to another. Depending on the exam level, the two modules (law basics and the history of the country) consist of one or two parts. The highest level of the exam (for those who apply for permanent residency status) includes 20 multiple choice questions but also five write-in (open) questions where the applicant must give an answer to at least two questions of the five set. The pass rate also depends on the exam level and varies from 50% to 85%.

If the applicant fails to pass one of the exam modules, they have the right to take it one more time. Where two out of three modules are failed, then the entire exam can be taken one more time. Strictly speaking, there is no limit on how many times a migrant can take the exam. The test can be repeated as many times as necessary. The candidates are provided with extensive pre-exam preparation. The lists of all the questions for the 'History of Russia' and 'The Basics of Law of the Russian Federation' modules are published in advance and can be obtained from the Russian Testing Consortium website, as well as the sites of any examination centre offering the exam (either online or face-to-face). There, a migrant can also take a mock exam (online or face-to-face as part of pre-exam preparation). Dictionaries explaining and translating the main legal and history terms are available in eight languages

of the main migration flows in Russia (Moldovan, Uzbek, Kyrgyz, Vietnamese, Chinese, Turkish, Korean, and Tajik). These dictionaries are considered a useful educational tool as they give socio-cultural commentaries in the native language of an immigrant.

Immigrants are often unaware of their rights and what is to be done when these rights are violated, so extensive preparation is required. The migrants are both rights-bearing individuals and people who must assume responsibilities toward the host-country and its society. One of the purposes of the pre-exam preparation is to explain to migrants that they also have to be ready to assume responsibilities in relation to the host country community.

All the above-mentioned measures aim to help candidates succeed in the Integration Exam. They are not there to hinder those who do not speak Russian well or who do not have a high enough level of education. Teaching Russian as a foreign language and pre-test preparation are provided by universities and institutes, as well as ethnic, religious and immigration groups. The scope, amount and quality of preparation depends on a candidate's initial level of Russian language proficiency. Classes are usually delivered by experienced teachers of Russian as a foreign language with expertise in specialised intensive teaching methodology.

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'The process of teaching the Russian language to migrants as the form of pre-exam training is taken seriously as it is a great responsibility for the host country'

The process of teaching the Russian language to migrants as the form of pre-exam training is taken seriously as it is a great responsibility for the host country. The development of communicative competence is the focus of this language support so that the migrant can deal with the main communicative tasks and challenges, which are not limited to his or her workplace, but include different situations for social interaction.

In planning the language courses, migrants' knowledge of Russian and intended period of residence are taken into account. For the migrants, the fact that their language repertoire varies greatly depending on the purpose of their coming to Russia and the planned period of residence is always taken into consideration. At the present time, the Professors of RUDN University and Moscow State University are developing a Minimum Vocabulary List for the Integration Exam. The fact is that migrants usually exceed the A1 vocabulary level as they communicate in a wider range of situations than many people applying for the Elementary Level Exam in Russian as a foreign language. These applicants are mostly students. Their communicative needs include such topics as police and migration services, work, health and safety, and so on. Other factors, such as age and psychological issues, which may also influence language needs, must be taken into account, as they may affect the speed of language acquisition. Migrants' native language can be used in the classroom as the language of instruction, thus making the educational process more effective.

3.2. Is it necessary for migrants to know Russian history and the basics of Russian law?

Analysing the results of the conducted survey, an interesting statistic emerged. In the group of female respondents, 38% stated they knew two languages and 45% stated they knew three or more languages. In the male cohort, 38% stated they knew two languages, while only 24% of respondents stated they knew three or more languages.

Figure 1. Age distribution of the respondents

Age group	Percentage
55 and older	2%
50-55 years old	6%
45-50 years old	2%
40-45 years old	4.6%
35-40 years old	16%
30-35 years old	19%
25-30 years old	20%
20-25 years old	14%
20 years old and younger	3%
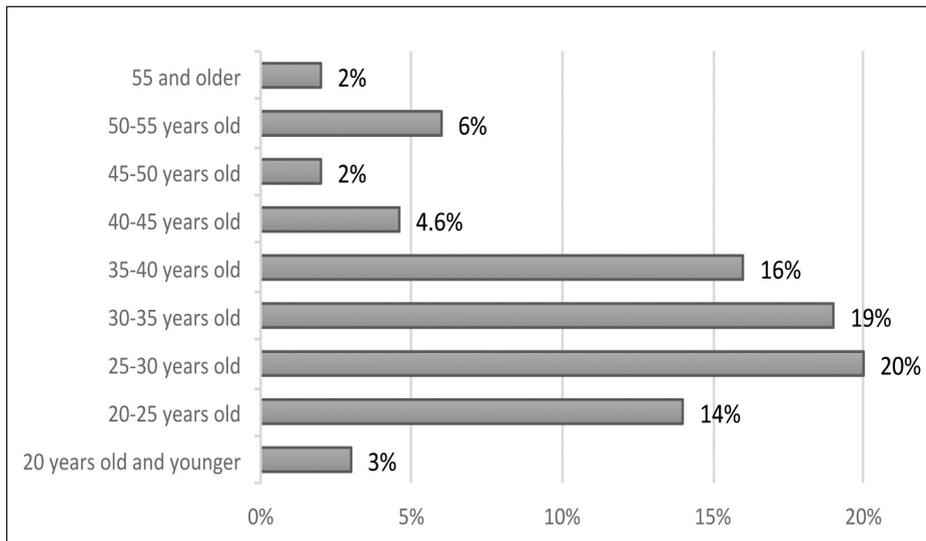
The majority of the respondents came from Eastern Ukraine (40.7%), the rest came mostly from former USSR republics, though there were candidates from other countries, including Iraq, Afghanistan, Latvia, the USA and Australia.

Figure 2. Distribution of the respondents by countries

Country	Percentage
East Ukraine	40.7%
Uzbekistan	13%
Moldova	12%
Armenia	9.2%
Azerbaidzhan	4.6%
Kyrgyzia	3.8%
Tadzhikistan	3.8%
Turkmenistan	2.3%
Kazakhstan	1.3%

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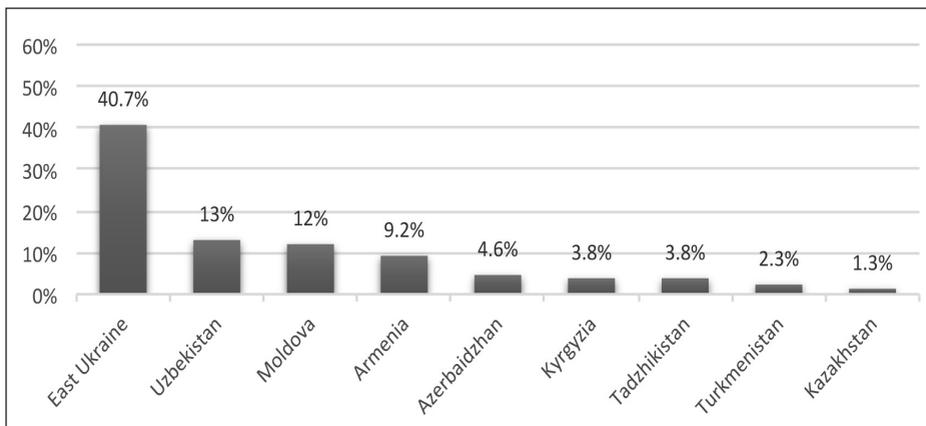
Although more than 50% of the respondents mentioned Russian as their native language, the Integration Exam presented substantial difficulties even for them. They considered it necessary to study online for the exam (learning from books, using the Internet and printed books (less popular). One respondent claimed to have passed the special preparatory course without special study. 80.8% of female respondents and 75.4% of male respondents considered it necessary to study for the exam, though there is no correlation between the age of the respondents and their readiness to 'study' for the test. People aged 35 and older normally demonstrate better results. The largest re-examination number is among the 25 to 30-year-old cohort.

The authors conclude that migrants realise the importance of the exam procedure as a component of their naturalisation journey and take preparation seriously. Even though half of these people speak Russian as their native language (mostly those who come from Eastern Ukraine), they still need to prepare for the exam in order to complete the law and history modules successfully. When asked whether it was necessary for a migrant to know Russian history and the basics of Russian law, 94% of male and 89% of female respondents replied in the affirmative.

The percentages are presented in Table 1 below.

Table 1
Responses to questions on need to know Russian basic law

Women:		Men:
29%	necessary to know as I am going to live in this country	28%
16%	not to break the law	15%
5.8%	for general knowledge	14%
4%	to communicate in a comfortable way	10%
3%	to acquire citizenship in the future	-

One US citizen living in Russia for 21 years, gave the following answer: *'A foreign citizen should know the history of Russia and the basics of law to be able to participate in the life of the country.'*

It is interesting to note that the questionnaire did not offer any variations for the responses; the questions were open, and the candidates provided their own answers. Analysing the survey data, one might say that migrants generally realise the importance of the history and legal system of the country they are

going to live in. Men pay more attention to understanding the law and history for easier social communication.

The results of the survey in relation to the respondents' age are presented in Table 2 below.

Table 2

Opinions concerning the need to know Russian history and basics of law

Age group	Is it necessary for a migrant to know …		What for? (the most frequent answers)
	Russian history?	the basics of law?	
<20	No - 10% Yes - 90%	Yes	Not to break the law / For easier communication / It is useful
20-25	Yes - 90% No - 10%	Yes	Not to break the law / For general knowledge / To live in Russia / For easier communication
25-30	Yes	Yes	Not to break the law / To live in Russia / For easier communication / For general knowledge
30-35	Yes	Yes	Not to break the law / To live in Russia / It helps to study / For general knowledge / To acquire Russian citizenship
35-40	No - 8% Yes - 92%	Yes	Not to break the law / To live in Russia / For easier communication
40-50	Yes	Yes	Not to break the law/ For normal life / For easier communication
50 <	Yes	Yes	Not to break the law / To live and work in Russia / To participate in the life of the country / To acquire Russian citizenship

We can see that the answer *'the knowledge of basic law / it is important not to break the law of the host country'*, was given mostly by respondents aged 40 or older. For a potential citizen, it is an important integration factor.

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Table 3

Survey respondent age groups

%	20%	33%	16%	7%	28%	50%	30%
Age Group	20	20-25	25-30	30-35	35-40	40-45	50-55

The analysis of statistics shows that migrants have a sensible and practical approach to the Integration Exam. At the beginning of 2015, when the exam was being introduced into the structure of migration procedures, the dominant attitude was the opposite. The attitude of many migrants to the exam was sceptical, even negative. The candidates answered the questions in a deliberately inaccurate way and directly expressed their rejection of the Integration Exam. There was stiff resistance to the preparation process. The motivation to study for the exam was extremely low, with results confirming this resistance. The situation has been changing slowly yet surely, thanks to the introduction of different pre-exam training mechanisms and exam popularisation. All the exam requirements and questions are available in open access online and there are various preparation courses for those who need teacher's help. An important factor in acceptance is that the Integration Exam is administered only by the leading Russian universities. Today,

the exam enjoys undeniable authority and status in the educational process.

4. DISCUSSION
4.1. One nation – one language? Russian as a lingua franca
Russian society is not following the path that Jeff Millar calls *'the European ideology, one nation – one language'* where a society is essentially monolingual (Millar, 2013). Language proficiency requirements imply standardisation or impose rules on its usage. On the other hand, there is no implied wish to minimise the importance of migrants' mother tongues. There is a strong tradition of co-existence of different languages in Russia. The country does not require a 'full assimilation' where migrants are expected to renounce their ethnic or cultural identity. What is expected is integration, which means learning the language of the host society and appreciating its history, constitutional evolution and ways of life. As some researchers claim, these are the preconditions for full political

participation in civil society and democratic processes (Kostakopoulou, 2010).

The Integration Exam is the sum of three tests: Russian as a foreign language, the Basics of Law, and Russian History. The Russian language in this case functions as a facilitator and as a means of getting the necessary appropriate knowledge and not only as a means of communication. Thus, we can emphasise the educational component of Russian language learning by migrants: they acquire new information through the language they learn. Competence in the language of the host society means a migrant has more opportunities to participate in the social and public life of the host country. At the same time, the absence of fluency in this language doesn't exclude social or even political participation.

Migrants live in an environment where everybody speaks Russian. They are not always mentored by other migrants who are better experienced in the Russian language. Most migrants realise that the better they know the language, the easier for them it will be to socialise and function in the host society. In addition, essential things, like safety in the workplace, depend on the knowledge of the language. One of the reasons why the Integration Exam model in the Russian Federation has proved to be successful seems to be the fact that most migrants come from the former

USSR republics. In all these territories, Russian was a second state language. The older generation learned it as a foreign language and some even studied at Russian schools and were bilingual. After the break-up of the USSR, Russian became the lingua franca in all 15 post-Soviet republics.

4.2. Integration tests – pros and cons

There is currently a lot of debate about naturalisation tests. Recent reforms of naturalisation policies, especially in Europe, have been criticised by academicians like Kostakopoulou (2010), who argues that naturalisation reforms, which include language or citizenship, tests are essentially 'matters of control', driven by nationalistic and even xenophobic sentiment. From a liberal perspective, there is not much support in Europe for language and citizenship tests. They are more often justified in nationalistic terms. *'In any case, it is unclear whether naturalisation tests reveal the depth of a migrant's knowledge of the country and its history and norms, rather than his/her ability to memorise facts about the country in order to pass an exam. And even if one conceded the civic educative role of integration tests in the short term, in the long term, learning about a country and the cultivation of an ethos of engagement can only be self-directed and socially embedded, that is, obtained as a result of one's involvement*

Integration examination in the Russian Federation, three years of experience and research. Success or failure?

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'Making the effort to learn the Russian language, has a positive impact associated with autonomy, sense of achievement and ability to cope with everyday communicative challenges'

in as many networks of cooperation and spheres of social and economic life as possible' (Kostakopoulou, 2010).

James Hampshire, referring to Joseph Carens, claims that naturalisation exams testing civic knowledge do not work well, regardless of the questions they ask. At best the test will assess the applicant's ability to memorise a number of discrete facts, but it will reveal little about his/her acculturation at any fundamental level. Moreover, formal tests are likely to be biased against less-educated applicants, which suggests that education rather than acculturation will be a surer route to success (Hampshire, 2011).

Lack of proficiency in the language of the host country causes stress among the migrant community. Many of the migrants living in Russia have less than functional Russian. Making the effort to learn the Russian language has a positive

impact associated with autonomy, sense of achievement and ability to cope with everyday communicative challenges.

5. CONCLUSIONS
The findings presented in the paper indicate that most migrants, especially those for whom Russian is one of the native languages (those who come from the former USSR republics), support the idea of the Integration Exam as the way to learn about the national features of Russia and its legal framework. They demonstrate a better understanding of the importance of civic integration.

There are causal relationships between language proficiency and integration. The level of integration correlates with the purpose of migration, which is reflected in the Integration Exam level structure. The level of difficulty of the exam depends on the purpose of migration. The findings presented in the article help explore the

Integration Exam perspectives. Socio-cultural integration is measured by host country identification, proficiency, use of the host country language and interethnic social contacts (Ersanilli & Koopmans, 2010). As a final step, there is a link between socio-cultural integration and naturalisation.

The migration flows are diverse, with different migration purposes and countries of origin. The migrants coming to Russia have different levels of education and different native languages. The three-module Integration exam is universal, targeting all the categories of migrants before they apply for citizenship. The original purpose of the Integration Exam was to promote the social integration of migrants, to avoid their isolation from the host community and consequent increase in negative attitudes towards them, to harmonise inter-ethnic relations and to assist with migrants' successful adaptation and integration. This exam doesn't make Russia less attractive for immigration as all the exam procedures, information about the exam itself, the information sources and the ways to prepare for it are transparent and accessible.

The authors believe that the Integration Exam will positively influence the adaptation and integration of all the categories of migrants coming to Russia irrespective of the purpose of their arrival. Nevertheless, the study is not without its limitations. The findings present only a small part of a much larger picture of the Integration Exam perspectives. The authors are planning to continue their research and investigate the correlation of the exam results with the mother tongue of the migrants. Another limitation is that the study does not capture the difference in exam scores of migrants with different educational backgrounds, which is why further studies are in order.

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TLC

The teacher's sense of plausibility

Alan Maley

Dr. N. S. Prabhu is one of the pioneers in the development of task-based learning and the communicative teaching of language through his work on the Bangalore Project in India in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The work he instituted as part of the project has since become one of the bases of current language learning theory and practice. However, the teaching of language methodology through teacher training courses does not necessarily ensure it will be taken up and used by all teachers. Far more important in Prabhu's view is teachers' own 'sense of plausibility', which is based on experience and which determines how they think about language and how language is best learned. This often-unconscious process of reflection informs teachers' personal psychology and influences what teaching and learning approaches they find plausible and therefore acceptable. The paper aims to explore Prabhu's contributions to language learning and teaching through the development of task-based learning and the communicational approach, examine his concept of 'the teacher's sense of plausibility', and give it substance by applying it, as an example, to the author's own career. It emphasises how teachers develop professionally (and personally) by building a personal theory of teaching action based upon their own accumulated experiences – and reflection on them. In doing so the article suggests that the continuing development of a personal 'theory' of teaching can be a valuable element within the framework of teacher development as a whole.

KEYWORDS: *Prabhu, teacher development, Bangalore Project, task-based learning, communicative approach, plausibility*

1. INTRODUCTION

Objective history is useful, but perhaps more interesting are our personal histories. Five key strands of places, personalities, ideas, publications and critical moments demonstrate how our personal histories influence our approach to teaching and learning. In his article The teacher's sense of plausibility (Prabhu, 1990) Dr N. S. Prabhu argued that teachers build their personal theories of teaching and learning through a continuing process of reflection on life experiences. It is this process that fuels their personal and professional growth.

This conceptualisation of teacher development is significantly different from the training paradigm which currently

'The act of teaching and learning is not scientific but highly individual and personal to both learners and teachers'

enjoys popularity. The training paradigm is broadly algorithmic in nature. *If we give teachers X forms of training, they will emerge with Y competences.* The plausibility paradigm, by contrast, is broadly heuristic. *Whatever training we give them, teachers will adapt and transform it according to what works for them and to the belief system they have evolved, and this is forged through the experiences they undergo.* The act of teaching and learning is not scientific, but highly individual and personal to both learners and teachers. While my own 'sense of plausibility' will be different from that of other teachers, my expectation is that by sharing experience some valuable truths may emerge from it which are shared across the profession – and that we might do well to attend to them at least as much as we do to the more algorithmic systems of teacher education.

2. THE BANGALORE PROJECT

Prabhu developed his ideas during the Bangalore Project, known among its members as the *Communicational Teaching Project*. This was an English teaching project carried out by teachers in primary

and secondary schools in southern India over one to three years in the late 1960s and early 1970s with the support of the Regional Institute of English in Bangalore (Bengaluru) and the British Council in Madras (now Chennai), where I was working at the time. The project was a response to an increasing feeling in India that, as Prabhu described it, *'the development of competence in a second language requires not systematisation of language inputs or maximisation of planned practice, but rather the creation of conditions in which learners engage in an effort to cope with communication'* (Prabhu, 1987, P.1). Up to that time, Indian second language education (and foreign language education) had focused on a Structural-Oral-Situational (S-O-S) approach, in which language competence was seen to be based on mastering the grammar system. The work of Prabhu and his colleagues was devoted to building communicative competence to achieve social and situational appropriacy. In doing this, Prabhu pioneered three major developments in second and foreign language education, two of which are

now firmly established and one (the main focus of this article) which deserves deeper consideration. These developments are task-based learning, the communicational approach and the teacher's sense of plausibility. I will deal with each in turn, but first I will outline what was Prabhu's own course of development as a teacher.

3. PRABHU'S BACKGROUND

I had the pleasure of interviewing Prabhu for the Teacher Trainer Journal in 1989. During the interview, he outlined what he understood by the teacher's sense of plausibility. First, he mentioned his own influences, the linguists Harold Palmer and Noam Chomsky. *'Early in my ELT career'*, he said, *'I stumbled on Harold Palmer's 'Principles of Language Study'. It's a very small book. I really was greatly moved by what I thought was a pedagogic sense of intuition and excitement in that book. It's a book I've read again and again since then. The other thing was Chomsky's 'Syntactic Structures'. It's equally small! These two books had a great influence on me. In a way, I've been trying to make sense of language teaching in a way that is in harmony with those two views'* (Maley, 1989, P. 1).

The key difference for Prabhu was to move from focus on grammatical competence to a focus on meaning, for which the Bangalore Project was a major stimulus. He said, *'I think it came, at least in southern India, at a time when there was a wearing off of people's belief in the structural approach. There was a kind of psychological readiness. In my own mind, the idea that grammatical competence might be provided through a preoccupation with meaning took shape suddenly as a result of earlier tentative thinking. I saw it as taking Harold Palmer's thinking a step further. Because of the psychological readiness, a few people in the project said 'Why don't we go ahead and do it in the classroom?' And also, it seemed a good way of stimulating professional discussion in the light of actual teaching and evidence about teaching made available to people – rather than going on with seminars, etc. So, it was one way of getting professional discussion going and making it more meaningful'* (Maley, 1989, P. 2).

The key issue for Prabhu was what he saw as classroom attitude. He found that the imposition of a structural methodology actually demotivated teachers. As he said in the interview, *'The implementation of the structural approach in India ... became a fixed set of procedures which teachers carried out with no sense of involvement, and in some cases actually with a sense of resentment. I can't think of that kind of teaching being beneficial to learning, whatever the method'* (Maley, 1989, P. 2).

'The key difference for Prabhu was to move from focus on grammatical competence to a focus on meaning, for which the Bangalore Project was a major stimulus'

Teacher and, therefore, student motivation was all important to Prabhu and led him to focus on how to develop motivation through learning through doing tasks which demanded communication in the language being learned.

4. TASK-BASED LEARNING

In a summary of a talk in Chennai in South India in 2017, Prabhu compared second language learning (L2) to the process of first language learning (L1). If L1 is the medium through which the child makes sense of the world around it, L2 performs the same function. In Prabhu's opinion, it is the process of engaging in interesting second language activities that really stimulates learning. That is why he advocated a problem-solving format or, as he also described it, a task-based learning programme, nowadays adopted by most interactive textbooks and online language learning programmes.

For Prabhu, one of the most successful ways of learning was through reading. He believed that texts are much more structured and condensed in meaning than a group of sentences and allow readers to understand them at different levels. He went on to add that task-based reading comprehension *'involves a more sustained pre-occupation with meaning than oral exchange (with a more intense contact with the language)'* (Prabhu, 2017, p. 42).

This focus on reading as a key means to improve understanding reinforced Prabhu's understanding of the relationship between 'passive' and 'active' vocabulary and his belief that comprehension stays well ahead of production throughout life, both in the use of L1 and L2. In Prabhu's view, the emphasis should not be on production, but on comprehension. *'Learners'*, he said, *'find themselves producing the language before they are ready for it, and make errors by overgeneralising, resorting to the L1, etc. This leads to the teaching of grammar as a way of remedying the deficiency. Grammar teaching is thus remedial in nature, not developmental, just as medication is remedial in contrast to nutrition. Though it is right to teach grammar as a remedial measure, it is not right to do so while it is still possible to develop comprehension*

further – it will be like resorting to medication in preference to nutrition. It is best to leave grammar teaching until about the end of formal education' (Prabhu, 2017, p. 42).

From the point of view of the teacher therefore, *'The teacher can learn to judge the challenge level of tasks through trial and error over a period of time, while the learners too learn by repeated engagement to do successively higher levels of problem-solving while coping with higher levels of the language. The syllabus for the class, that is to say, can emerge in the process of teaching and learning'* (Prabhu, 2017, p. 43).

5. THE COMMUNICATIONAL APPROACH

The communicational approach puts the stress on communicative competence. As long ago as 1914 the linguist Leonard Bloomfield stressed that *'real language teaching consists of building up in the pupil those associative habits which constitute the language to be learned'* (Bloomfield, 1914, p, 294).

What Prabhu originally described as the communicational approach owed a lot to the development of the functions of language explored by David Wilkins at the University of Reading in the UK and incorporated in the Council of Europe Threshold Level and Waystage projects compiled by John Trim and Jan Van Ek in 1975, now enshrined in the Council of Europe Common Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR).

This approach stresses the importance of interaction in the classroom, of pair and groupwork practice in solving problems together in the language to be learned. The initial stress tends to be on the development of oral and listening skills as opposed to Prabhu who, as we have seen above, emphasised reading. Key tools used in the communicative approach are *information gap activities* which set students a problem to be solved and *role plays*, in which students in pairs are encouraged to exchange opinions and ideas and also act out roles in common situations such as shopping or giving directions. So Prabhu, while agreeing with the basic principles of the communicative approach, diverges from this in the way of implementing it.

Both task-based learning and the communicative approach are well established in language teaching methodology. However, Prabhu's third principle of language teaching evolved through the Bangalore Project is far less established while potentially far more subversive.

6. THE TEACHER'S SENSE OF PLAUSIBILITY

In my interview Dr Prabhu outlined his understanding of the teacher's sense of plausibility. *'I'm thinking more and more*

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'Both task-based learning and the communicative approach are well established in language teaching methodology'

about what it means for a teacher to work with some understanding of how the teaching leads to learning, with some concept that has credibility to the teacher himself. Also, about what it means for the teacher to be influenced by other concepts and how ideas change. To the extent that we can understand this, we can look for ways to clarify and facilitate the process' (Maley, 1989, P. 3).

The key issue for him was the danger of what he called 'the routinisation of teaching' which demotivated both teachers and learners. *'I think in teaching, as in any human interaction activity, one needs to work with some understanding, some concept of what is going on in teaching, how the act of teaching might lead to the act of learning. That conceptualisation of intentions and effects and so on is 'a sense of plausibility'. I call it that because I don't want to make any claims about it's being the truth. For that teacher, however, it is the truth! There is a very real sense in which our understanding of phenomena at any one time is the truth for us.*

There is also in teaching, as in other recurrent interactions, a need for routinisation. But if the job becomes 'over-routinised', there is no sense of plausibility. The 'sense of plausibility' gets buried or frozen or ossified. From that point of view, the aim of professional activity should be to keep the teacher's sense of plausibility alive and, therefore, open to influence by the ongoing experience of teaching and interaction with other teachers' perceptions and senses of plausibility' (Maley, 1989, P. 3).

Prabhu expressed his views in more detail in his 1990 article *'There is no best method - Why?* for the TESOL QUARTERLY (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) Journal. He recognised that imposing a methodology to ensure uniformity of approach might suit education systems and textbooks, but the key factors in successful teaching and learning are the motivation of the teachers and the learners. He cited the applied linguist Jack Richards, who wrote: *'The important issues are not which method to adopt, but how to develop procedures and instructional activities that*

will enable programme objectives to be obtained' (Richards, 1985, p. 42).

For Prabhu, what allows teachers to achieve that motivation is not just classroom interaction, but the opportunity to reflect on their influences, and one of the ways to do that is to create an environment where teachers can exchange views.

All teachers, Prabhu points out, are subject to a series of influences throughout their career that change the way they approach their classes. Some of these are enduring personal beliefs about language learning and teaching, often learned through their own education, and others are learned through classes they teach, teacher training courses, articles and the teaching materials they use. In our interview, Prabhu expressed reservations about imposing particular methodologies through teacher training. He said, *'I think the problem in teacher training is finding a way of influencing teachers' thinking without seeking to replace their existing perceptions. Teachers ought to be able to interact with ideas from outside, and those ideas have to be available to them and, in fact, to be put forcefully so as to give them full value. But how to do this without psychologically intimidating or cowing down teachers or demanding acceptance of the ideas is, I think, the problem of teacher training. It's giving value to what teachers think, but giving*

value too to the ideas one puts to teachers' (Maley, 1989. P. 4).

This process of aligning new ideas and methodologies with teachers' own experience and beliefs is part of the process of teacher development. He adds, *'There has to be some measure of routinisation, but there needs to be some room for something to be at stake, some scope for satisfaction and dissatisfaction, so that something is learned from the act of teaching'* (Maley, 1989 P. 3).

7. WHY THE TEACHER'S SENSE OF PLAUSIBILITY IS IMPORTANT

'The enemy of good teaching is not bad method, but over-routinisation', wrote Prabhu in his TESOL Quarterly article (Prabhu, 1990, p. 174). In the article, he recognises the importance of organised teaching, but also understands its limitations. *'Language instruction that attempts to cater directly to social objectives, learning needs, target needs, learners' wants, teachers' preferences, learning styles, teaching constraints, and attitudes all round can end up as a mere assemblage of hard-found pieces of content and procedure – a formula that manages, with difficulty, to satisfy multiple criteria and therefore cannot afford to let itself be tampered with.*

There is, however, a price to pay for this simplification of pedagogy. The

'It is the teachers' sense of plausibility, their understanding of what enthuses them that creates motivation and enables them to motivate their students'

instructional procedures most directly derivable from a specification of needs, wants, and objectives are those of supplying to learners the relevant tokens of language, or getting them to rehearse target language behaviour in simulated target situations. Any concept of developing in learners a more basic capacity for generating tokens of language when needed, or for adapting to unforeseen target language behaviour as necessary, leads one toward ideas about the nature of language ability and the process of language acquisition – complex methodological issues that the discovery procedure seeks to avoid' (Prabhu, 1990, pp. 164-65).

Routinisation occurs for a number of reasons; syllabus, exams, textbooks, teaching methods, teacher training, teacher qualification examinations. All these have their place in creating an organised teaching learning system. It is

the teachers' sense of plausibility, their understanding of what enthuses them that creates motivation and enables them to motivate their students. *'This personal sense of plausibility may not only vary in its content from one teacher to another, but may be more or less firmly or fully formed, more or less consciously considered or articulated, between different teachers. It is when a teacher's sense of plausibility is engaged in the teaching operation that the teacher can be said to be involved, and the teaching not to be mechanical'* (Prabhu, 1990, p. 172).

Mechanical teaching, according to Prabhu, *'results from an over-routinisation of teaching activity, and teaching is subject to great pressures of routinisation. It is, after all, a recurrent pattern of procedures on regularly recurrent occasions. It is also a form of recurrent social encounter between teachers and learners, with self-images to protect, personalities to cope with, etc.*

And, like all recurrent social encounters, teaching requires a certain degree of routine to make it sustainable or even endurable' (Prabhu, 1990, p. 173). There are reasons for teachers to value at one level the routinisation of their work. A role-defining routine can help overcome problems of adequacy, confidence, overwork, status, satisfying peers' and superiors' expectations. Above all, it can provide a standard, which says the teaching has been done, regardless of the learning success of the students.

Prabhu also makes the point that a successful method in itself, which is widely accepted, such as task-based learning and the communicational approach, can achieve a high level of plausibility by influencing a large number of teachers' perceptions. There is some truth to all or most methods, but what is the most plausible for the teacher at any given time may vary. The key is interaction and dialogue; teachers exchanging with each other their best methods and ideas and arriving at a modus vivendi for the class or institution. As Prabhu concludes, *'The search for an inherently best method should perhaps give way to a search for ways, in which teachers' and specialists' pedagogic perceptions can most widely interact with one another, so that teaching can become most widely and maximally real'* (Prabhu, 1990, p. 175).

And so we come back to Prabhu's sense of real motivation. The question to ask about a teacher's sense of plausibility is not whether it implies a good or bad method, but, more basically, whether it is active, alive, or operational enough to create a sense of involvement for both the teacher and the student. To summarise, if we regard our professional effort as a search for the best method which, when found, will replace all other methods, we may not only be working toward an unrealisable goal but, in the process, be misconstruing the nature of teaching as a set of procedures that can by themselves carry a guarantee of learning outcomes. However, by making assumptions about a 'best method' we either assume that methods have value regardless of teachers' and learners' subjective understanding, or we consider subjective understandings of methods, which means objective evaluation is useless. Prabhu's alternative is clear. *'If, on the other hand, we view teaching as an activity whose value depends centrally on whether it is informed or uninformed by the teacher's subjective sense of plausibility – on the degree to which it is 'real' or mechanical – it becomes a worthwhile goal for our professional effort to help activate and develop teachers' varied senses of plausibility'* (Prabhu, 1990, p. 175).

What is important in teacher training, concludes Prabhu, *'is the process of teacher development, to introduce a process of*

'The key is interaction and dialogue; teachers exchanging with each other their best methods and ideas and arriving at a modus vivendi for the class or institution'

reflection and exchange, which allows teachers to decide what works for them and puts them in a situation where they review and maybe revise their approach to teaching and learning' (Prabhu, 1990, p. 175).

8. HOW TO APPLY PRABHU'S 'TEACHER'S SENSE OF PLAUSIBILITY'

For Prabhu, the key technique for successful reflection was writing. In the Bangalore Project, there was surprisingly little teacher training as such. Instead, Prabhu encouraged the teachers on the project to reflect, write and discuss. Writing was crucial. He said, *'I want to try to get the teachers to state on paper what they've said. Trying to write clarifies things. It straightens one's thinking. It reveals and develops new thoughts. This is the 'process writing' philosophy. So, a small number of teachers trying to state their perceptions, and then other teachers trying to state their perceptions but taking in the*

perceptions of the first group - this cannot only help those teachers immediately, but it can also reveal to us some of the processes by which teachers' perceptions work.' He suggested, *'Perhaps there's room for something like a journal – not in the sense of learned articles – but of teachers' statements circulated to other interested teachers'* (Maley, 1989, P. 3).

I first met Prabhu when I was appointed Regional Director for the British Council in South India. My previous posts included British Council English Language Officer in Yugoslavia (as was), Ghana, Italy, France and First Secretary Cultural Affairs at the British Embassy in China and finally British Council Director South India, before taking up the post of Director General of the Bell Educational Trust in UK, and I was a published author throughout this time. At each stage of my career, I have applied Prabhu's principles by reflecting on my experience and what I have learned and

how that learning has added to my enduring beliefs about teaching and learning and as a consequence how it has affected my work in teaching and training teachers.

How I do it is simple, although the reflection process that leads to it is not. I write down key reflections in a series of bullet points and keep them safe so that I can refer to them later. Then I compare how my enduring beliefs about language and teaching have changed over the years.

If I look back over my career, I can discern certain enduring beliefs, some going back to my early experiences at school and university. Here are some examples; the first an exchange with a French family, one from my experience of learning German during National Service with the RAF, one from university and one from my British Council posting in India. One of my earliest memories was an exchange with a French family. I was learning French. They did not speak English. The lessons I learned have formed some of my enduring beliefs about language learning and teaching. What were the enduring beliefs I formed on the basis of these experiences?

A) That being able to speak a foreign language was a major advantage.

B) That teachers can change their students' lives for the better. This had been a truly transformative experience for me.

It literally changed my life.

C) That I could learn a lot on my own, without a teacher.

D) That learning languages was a lot of fun.

E) A growing suspicion that I might be good at something after all.

These beliefs were reinforced by my experience of teaching myself German during my National Service in Germany, after a disappointing experience with a German teacher with a very literary bent. The enduring beliefs I formed on the basis of these experiences are listed below.

A) That teachers were only of limited use.

B) That reading was a very powerful technique for learning a language.

C) That language learning is a highly emotional, deeply personal experience, not just a rational one.

D) That I was beginning to get the hang of learning languages, and was not afraid of trying more of them.

Postgraduate study at the University of Leeds and practice teaching in Madrid were other major learning experiences. What influence did these experiences have on me?

A) I became sharply aware of the divide between academic theorising and classroom reality.

B) I realised that my future did not lie in academic research, but rather in exploring practical materials and methods.

C) I realised that the socio-political context strongly influences language teaching. (The Franco regime in Spain was lukewarm towards anything foreign.)

D) Motivation is key to learning. Unmotivated students do not learn much.

E) Colleagues can often be more helpful than lecturers. (Luckily my classmates included many with extensive overseas teaching experience which they shared with the novices like me.)

F) I developed what was to be a lifelong interest in literature in English written by non-native speakers of the language and in the many evolving varieties of English worldwide.

As a last example, I cite my experiences as Director British Council South India from 1974–1980. This affected my development as a language learner, teacher and trainer in the following ways.

A) I was greatly influenced by the ideas of Dr Prabhu and his proposal of a procedural syllabus based on tasks.

B) I was immersed in the complexities of a pluri-lingual society, in which English had multiple and equivocal uses. Many of my assumptions about English as an international language had to be re-assessed in the light of this.

C) I became re-enthused about literature in English. There was a plethora of established and up-and-coming poets, novelists and playwrights in English. I ran two short-story competitions with subsequent publications of winning entries. India also stimulated my first interest in creative writing as a support for language learning.

D) It was in India that I first became interested in the importance of 'the voice' for teachers. This emerged from a visit by Patsy Rodenburg, then voice coach at the Royal Shakespeare Company. This was an epiphany for me, and led me to develop courses for teachers on voice, and the publication of *The Language Teacher's Voice* (Maley, 2000).

David Horsburgh, the founder of the revolutionary educational experiment at Neel Bagh, died a week after my arrival in India. But I soon had the opportunity to visit his unconventional school and was deeply affected by his views on institutional education shared by other thinkers such as Ken Robinson (2015) and John Holt (1982). The Neel Bagh school, founded by Horsburgh in 1972, was

deeply influenced by the ideas of Bertrand Russell and the logical philosophy of R. F. Dearden, and was visited several times by the philosopher Jiddu Krishnamurti and by the poet Rabindranath Tagore. It was what we would call nowadays a progressive or 'free' school like Montessori, Steiner or Summerhill. What made it special was its ability to treat each child as an individual and to focus on human as well as academic development. To achieve this, Horsburgh set in place an academic organisation, many of whose principles are still considered radical today.

First, there were small classes. Numbers might vary according to the subject being taught, but the average class size was 10 students. Secondly, classes were multiple-graded. In other words, in each group students were of mixed age, gender and educational ability. The older students were encouraged to advise the younger ones. The academically cleverer students were encouraged to support those experiencing difficulty. There was a degree of streaming. A student might join a lower level group for languages and a more advanced group for mathematics, for example. Thirdly, although there was a timetable and teachers had a schedule, the focus was on individual and group work. There might be short class presentations, but then the students would divide into small groups or work on their own, and this was where the real learning was considered to take place.

The principle was that you can present a topic to a group, but the learning happens at the level of the individual student. The teacher was effectively the facilitator and might be asked by student groups to offer additional sessions of advice and support as required. Sometimes parents would come in from surrounding villages two or three mornings a week in order to prepare for an examination or simply learn about something they needed to know, and they were allocated a teacher. However, these were not the 'official' teachers, but the students themselves with the official teachers in the background ready to provide help if required.

Fourthly, and perhaps most surprisingly, there were no examinations. The academic and skills progress of the students were of course observed by their teachers and the tasks they completed assessed, but the aim was to encourage the students to monitor their own learning development, become aware of what they had achieved and still needed to achieve and then move on. Many would move on to take state examinations and to continue their studies at college or enter the professions.

All in all, the aim was to reproduce the atmosphere of the local community in the school and to concentrate on human development even more than on academic development, although the students were expected to work hard at all times. In this

'The teachers were trained in academic knowledge and teaching skills but what they learned at Neel Bagh was to focus on the students' psychological development'

'family style group', older students mixed with younger. They socialised and worked together, calling on the adult teachers as needed. This is why the focus was on the student as a developing human being, and the role of learning in helping that process in the interests of the student, the group and of society as a whole.

What about teacher training? The teachers were trained in academic knowledge and teaching skills, but what they learned at Neel Bagh was to focus on the students' psychological development. Neel Bagh introduced its own teacher training programme focusing on observation and reflective skills rather than technical teaching skills. This meant understanding the individual's psychology, learning style and aptitudes and taking the time to be aware of students' unexamined feelings and knowing how to recognise potential, encourage and bring out the best in them. This was a very different approach from the large class authoritarian, examinations-focused style most schools have to

maintain today just to ensure everyone gets a primary and secondary education.

The Neel Bagh school closed soon after David Horsburgh's death in 1984, but this experience transformed my own views on education and the need for radical change.

The lesson is simple. All teachers are different. Your experiences and hence your beliefs as a teacher may be very different from mine. The key is what works successfully for ourselves and for our students. By reflecting on and writing down our key learning experiences, we can build a picture of the real influences which affect our teaching and relationships with our students.

9. CONCLUDING REMARKS
The work of Prabhu in developing the concepts of task-based learning, focusing on meaning and communication, effectively launched the seminal breakthrough in communicative teaching methodology which is still such an important part of language learning today.

However, even more important in the long run is probably his concept of the teacher's sense of plausibility. This is what the teacher believes is the best way to teach and help students learn based on his or her own experience, reflection and enduring beliefs. These come from reflecting on what has been learned and what has worked at each stage of career development, and it means that ultimately teaching methods will depend on the teacher's own beliefs regarding what works.

The implication is that even teacher training courses and systematic 'algorithmic' training in methods of application cannot change teaching methodology unless teachers themselves are convinced it will be successful in helping them help students learn. In the end, as Prabhu points out, there may be 'no best method' for teaching language.

I have tried to amplify Prabhu's notion of 'the teacher's sense of plausibility' with reference to my own history in language and language teaching. But why did I bother to do this?

1. According to Socrates, the unexamined life is not worth living. I believe that retrospective reflection on our professional development can be highly revealing. It can help strip away unexamined suppositions and prejudices, and this can feed into changes in our current practice.

2. As I mentioned in the introduction, I believe that there is an over-emphasis in teacher training as an algorithmic system, and that not enough attention is paid to the human, personal side of learning and teaching. Regular group sharing and discussion of individual 'senses of plausibility' can be highly rewarding as part of a teacher training programme.

3. Such a programme could draw on a number of published sources too. These include Lew Barnett's *The Way We Are* (1988), a collection of teachers' reports on their histories as teachers. Esther Ramani's Theorising from the classroom (1987) is an early example of looking at teachers' conceptualisation of their practices. Ephraim Weintraub's ideas in *Ghosts behind the blackboard* (1989) highlight the way we are all in some sense replicating the way we ourselves were taught. There is also the classic account of a language teacher's life in Appel (1995). Pickett's survey of experienced language learners' personal accounts is also informative and could be replicated (Pickett, 1978). Jacobs and Sunderarajan (1996) made an early attempt to collect teachers' stories – this is currently being followed up by Floris and Renandya (2019). My account of teacher creativity might also be the starting point for further work (Maley & Kiss, 2017). There is also an interesting ongoing project in China run by Richard Young which should yield useful results (Young, 2016).

I conclude with Young's comments in his study proposal (2016):

'Very few previous studies in applied linguistics have addressed the synergy between the personal history of teachers and learners and the discourse of language learning in the classroom....'

It is time for change.

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Selecting a translation equivalent: Factors to consider in the classroom

Alexandra Anisimova, Marina Pavlyuk and Seraphima Kogotkova

The article focuses on the translation of terms in the Humanities, as well as the direct dependence of the translation equivalent selection on the mode of coining a term and on the peculiarities of its functioning. The authors argue that in the Humanities a lexical-semantic way to coin new terms is common, which makes the majority of terms consubstantial. This provision is developed in the article on the basis of Russian and English materials. A number of contemporary English-Russian and Russian-English terminological dictionaries in various fields of the Humanities (politics, law, history) have been chosen as source materials for research. The study relies on the methods of semantic analysis, dictionary definitions analysis, elements of system analysis and pragmatic analysis. The authors also describe the processes of terminologisation and determinologisation in the terminological systems of different fields of the Humanities and study various ways and methods of translation and the selection of the translation equivalent.

KEYWORDS: *semantic derivation, consubstantial term, terminologisation, determinologisation, diachronic approach, monosemantic term, polysemantic term*

1. INTRODUCTION

In today's globalised world, integration and harmonisation of different nations' humanitarian views and concepts seems to be the inevitable platform of coexistence, if mankind is setting the goal of sustainable and secure development for everyone. The needs of international collaboration in various spheres of life stimulate mutual adaptation and coordination of humanitarian notions (including special terms) existing in different linguistic communities. Without this co-ordination, it would be impossible for people to understand each other's way of life, objectives and prospects for the future.

That is why linguists see one of their primary purposes as analysing the actual processes going on in nations' worldviews as reflected in language, and researching the best methods of rendering that knowledge to those involved in international communication. Our special

'Our special interest lies in the ways Humanities terms correlate in different languages, the ways in which such terms are coined and how this knowledge may be systemised to be taught in class'

interest lies in the ways Humanities terms correlate in different languages, the ways in which such terms are coined and how this knowledge may be systemised to be taught in class. All this taken together is the focus of the present paper.

2. MATERIAL AND METHODS

Looking into the ways new terms are coined and then translated into another language cannot be confined to any one particular research method, as it is necessary to reveal different aspects of the process, namely semantic development in language history, its correlation with the possible similarities in general literary or colloquial language and its pragmatic loading and the possibility for everything to be transmitted through the verbal arsenal of a different language. While conducting the research, the authors use such methods as semantic analysis, dictionary definitions analysis, elements of system analysis and pragmatic analysis, which allow them to represent the linguistic

material as a combination of the general and the individual, disclose the specific and recurrent features of the translation process and establish norms to improve the quality of translation.

A number of contemporary English-Russian and Russian-English terminological dictionaries in various fields of the Humanities (politics, law, history) have been chosen as source materials for the research.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The distinction between the scientific and everyday interpretation of a concept and a word is fundamentally important in the study of terminology, particularly the terminology of the Humanities which often reflects not only the relevant object of nomination but also its pragmatic and psychological perception. In different theoretical studies on the essence of the word, there is a provision about the 'closest' and 'further' meanings of the word. On the basis of such work, modern terminological science formulated a

postulate on the realisation of different types of information depending on the correlation of the word with its everyday or scientific concept (Bowker, 2014; Grinyov-Grinevitch, 2008; Manik, 2015).

Both fundamental and practically oriented studies dealing with the systemic nature of language have increasingly emphasised the necessity of a diachronic investigation of any systems and subsystems of language (Kageura, 2002; Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2012; Ponomarenko, 2016). In other words, it is necessary to consider both the systemic nature of the terminology and its development in dynamics without placing these properties in opposition to one another. Furthermore, it is methodologically reasonable to consider the terminological element and its connections with the entire system of terms in its historical development.

Semantic variability or, according to another classification, semantic derivation, is a characteristic feature of terminology in the Humanities. At certain times, in various national communities as well as within the boundaries of individual scientific areas, strictly defined word concepts may have some changes in semantics (meaning increment, change in selection characteristics), especially due to the rapid development of scientific and technical knowledge, culture and cross-lingual communication. Changes in the

semantics of the term depend directly on a number of factors, both extralinguistic and purely linguistic (Anisimova, 2010; Avakova, 2006; Budykina, 2012). For instance, it would be appropriate to refer to the linguistic reasons for changes in the coinage of used terms. Thus, to a certain extent the translation of a term depends on the way the term is formed. A good example might be the terminology of diplomacy, where over 85% of terms are loan words and expressions, approximately 30% of them being terms that entered the English language more than 450 years ago but have remained almost unchanged (they did not undergo an assimilation process) (Avakova, 2006). Thus, the time factor is not crucial in the process of assimilation (and therefore, for choosing how to translate a particular term). For our purposes, the crucial factor is the method of term coinage, the way it entered a certain system of terminology.

For instance, in political terminology the percentage of consubstantial terms exceeds 95% (Raymond, 1992). Still, a different method of term coinage is quite typical of this terminology system – metaphorisation (based on either formal or functional resemblance). For instance, *a lame duck* – a person, business, etc. that is experiencing difficulties and needs to be helped. As a result of metaphorisation based on formal resemblance, some terms have appeared and already entered dictionaries, such as

the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (LDCE, 2015):

lame duck president – a president, whose powers will soon expire;

lame duck candidate – a candidate who failed at the elections;

lame duck country – a country that has lost its former influence;

lame duck congressman – a member of the congress not elected for a new term, but who still has the right to work in the congress before the end of the session.

These examples demonstrate how metaphorisation leads to new term coinage. This mode is very productive in the political terminology system, and is actualised in parallel in different languages. Compare the definitions of the same notions in the explanatory *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (LDCE), 2015) and in the *English-Russian Dictionary of Politics* (Kramarevski, 2008), one of the popular dictionaries in Russian lexicography giving definitions and translations of political terminology:

carpetbagger – someone who tries to become active in the political life of another area for their own advantage (LDCE, 2015);

carpetbagger – a political adventurer, dodger, rascal (Kramarevski, 2008);

blockbuster – a book or film that is very good or successful (LDCE, 2015);

blockbuster – 1. tremendous success; 2. a dealer in real estate (Kramarevski, 2008).

In the above examples, we can consider the entire process of word transition from common literary language, its terminologisation through metaphor, a change in meaning, and then its transformation into a proper term.

Thus, the common literary meaning of *blockbuster* only partially (the metaphor is the result) entered the semantics of the term, in particular, the seme (elementary unit of meaning) *success* is evidently actualised in both usages of the word. Further development of the term can also be traced back to the 1930s-40s when real estate dealers were well-known to be a successful and wealthy cohort of American society. Then the term blockbuster was likely to mean a *successful real estate trader*. Today, this term has become polysemantic with two semes in its meaning: *success* and *real estate trader*, although the second definition is hardly used in modern British or American English.

Thus, the initial common literary meaning is the main one. Most political terms exist in general English usage and when they become proper terms, their definitions are specified and detailed; the scope of the meaning of a term narrows in comparison with the semantic scope of a word in general English usage.

The changes in the scope of meaning (expansion, narrowing and specification) are lexical processes typical of any system of terminology. The process of changing the scope of the meaning of a term can be based on a number of principles.

First is the traditional or historical principle. Terms relating to another historical epoch or culture are transferred to the present. For instance, the term senate in Ancient Rome meant the supreme authority, i.e. the state council. In tsarist Russia from 1711 to 1917 it was the highest legislative and judicial-administrative institution. At present, the Senate is the upper legislative chamber of the parliament in many countries (for instance the USA, France, and Australia) (Egorova, 2012). Here we see a narrowing in the scope of meaning which, in its general meaning, previously indicated the highest authority. In Russia, its scope was further expanded to the judicial

and administrative body as well as the highest legislative authority. Today, the meaning of the term has narrowed – it now stands for the supreme (but a smaller part of the whole) legislative chamber of parliament.

Another example is the term *tribunal*, which means *'a court of justice set up to deal with a particular kind of problem'* (LDCE, 2015). The term *tribunal* originated from *tribune*, used in ancient Rome to denote *'an official elected by people to protect the interests and rights of plebeians from the encroachments of patricians'* (Egorova, 2012). Later, another meaning of the term *tribune* appeared – a public figure, distinguished speaker and publicist (Kramarevski, 2008; Ozhegov, 2012).

One way of coining new terms may be through the transformation of a proper name into a common noun with subsequent terminologisation. Thus, the political term *бойкот* was borrowed into Russian from the English boycott. In 1880, Irish tenants first applied this measure to their estate manager, the Englishman Ch.K. Boycott

Let us compare the scope of meaning of this term in Russian and English:

Бойкот (from English *boycott*) -

'One way of coining new terms may be through the transformation of a proper name into a common noun with subsequent terminologisation'

1. a method of political and economic struggle, consisting in the complete or partial termination of relations with an individual, organisation, or state and refusal to participate in any activities. This measure was first applied in 1880 by the Irish tenants to the estate manager, an Englishman called Ch.K. Boycott.

2. the termination of relations with someone as a protest.

As we can see, the proper name *Boycott* was transformed into a common noun and then into a verb – to boycott. It is worth pointing out that the meaning of this term, particularly the figurative one, was fixed in general English usage:

boycott – *the organised shunning of an individual, event, or business in protest at the politics they represent* (McLean & McMillan, 2009).

In its figurative meaning, the term boycott is widely used in general English usage:

boycott – (v) – *to refuse to buy something, or to take part in something as a way of protesting: We will boycott all products tested on animals.*

boycott – (n) – *an act of boycotting something, or a period of time when it is boycotted: e.g. the boycott of South African fruit in the 1970s* (LDCE, 2015).

However, there are a number of terms borrowed from general English usage, which, over time, have acquired a completely new meaning and become 'fully-edged' terms that are included in professional discourse. However, most borrowings are semantically specified and detailed, while some are either used metaphorically or undergo changes in meaning. The change in the term's meaning (in comparison with the general literary meaning of the word) is very productive in the Humanities.

Examples in political terminology are:

hawk – *supporter of an interventionist*

foreign policy, maybe through armed intervention. (The opposite is *dove*.);

spin doctor – *a political aide interpreting events and communication to support a particular point of view;*

fat cat – *'a moneybag'. A wealthy and privileged person;*

coattails – *to rise on the coattails of someone is to gain power by following an influential person;*

orchestration – *the harmonious organisation of a political or social movement, project or event;*

slush fund – *fund for bribing officials or other illicit purposes;*

zip gun – *a homemade single shot weapon;*

to work the system – *to interpret rules and regulations to secure a personal advantage* (LDCE, 2015).

The above examples show that although most terms preserve their original literary meaning, some political terms used politically may undergo a full change in meaning.

Is a reverse transition possible? With an increase in the degree of terminologisation, can a common literary word become a term with different meaning and usage? Will the inverse proposition be true, i.e. the fact that with a decrease in the degree of terminologisation, the definition of a term eventually becomes almost equivalent to the definition of a general English-usage word?

Keeping in mind that terminological systems in the Humanities are examined from the point of view of diachrony, in accordance with the general laws of development, it is possible to consider the manifestation of semantic derivation using the example of a single terminological system, for example, politics. The basis of politics is, supposedly, the mutual engagement of participating sides directed at finding common ground or at least an acceptable solution to a particular issue, usually through a negotiating process. Consequently, an indispensable condition for its success is mutual understanding of the parties of terms used in the negotiating process. This depends on adequate translation of terminology.

Political terminology may give us an endless number of examples of determinologisation, probably because political terms are most frequently used by the media and picked up by non-professionals.

'Political terminology may give us an endless number of examples of determinologisation, probably because political terms are most often used by the media and picked up by non-professionals'

Determinologisation is one of the semantic derivation processes, a kind of phraseological unit formation process, since the popularisation of certain terminological concepts leads to the adoption of these terms by a wide range of communities.

Take, for example, the legal term law, which makes up part of a number of phraseological units, such as these examples from *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*:

to sit in judgement – *to criticise;*

to make one's case – *to present one's case;*

special pleading – *arguments that avoid aspects of a situation unfavourable to your case*

to settle out of court – *come to an*

agreement without appeal to an official or legal body (LDCE, 2015).

Apparently, this phenomenon can be accounted for by the fact that political science and jurisprudence and accordingly the terms that they use, are part of everyone's life. Hence, their widespread use by society at large, and established collocations are numerous in general English usage. For example:

to lay down the law – *to dictate one's will;*

to go into the law – *to become a lawyer;*

to lay down the law – *to dogmatise* (LDCE, 2015).

It is becoming common that among many terminology systems in the Humanities, legal and political terminology is among the main 'supplier' of established

phraseological units. It is worth mentioning that the polysemantic nature of the term greatly influences phraseology that is often accompanied by semantic correlation, which itself is embodied in definitions, as in some examples from the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (LDCE, 2015) and the *English-Russian Dictionary of Politics* (Kramarevski, 2008):

- meaning expansion of the main seme:
lady-killer – *a man with a reputation for charming women;*

- preservation of connotation and associative chain:
dead man – *a dead person, an empty bottle;*
to do justice to – *to administer justice; to show appreciation and respect;*

- addition of a new seme:
to be in at the kill – *to witness the most exciting moment;*
dressed to kill – *dressed to impress people;*

- fixing the main seme of the terminological element in the semantics of the phraseological unit:
to lay down the law – *to dictate one's will.*

The following phraseological units are coined from the English term *knight*,

using the honourable title bestowed by the English crown:

knight of the road – *a highwayman;*
knight of fortune – *an adventurer.*

The highest degree of determinologisation is the coinage of proverbs and sayings based on legal terms, as in *rough justice; not treated fairly; friends are thieves of time; lawmakers should not be lawbreakers, etc.*

Thus, determinologisation, the process of transition of a term or terminological combination into general English usage is often accompanied by a change of the terminological seme (elimination or generalisation), the development of new meanings or a change in the connotative shade of meaning. From the point of view of diachrony, the process of determinologisation covers terms that express basic concepts constituting the core of the terminological system and, therefore, function in the language much longer than the peripheral ones, which increases the degree of their penetration into general English usage. Another approach to the study of terms is to consider them from the viewpoint of their functioning. Thus, terms can be divided into three categories: universal, unique and authorial (Anisimova, 2010).

'We are clearly witnessing the beginning of the process of the term's transition from the unique to universal category'

Universal terms emphasise the general linguistic nature of the phenomena behind them. Moreover, international variants are convenient for the coinage of various derivatives.

Unique terms include names or items that can be found in one or more languages. This group comprises terms that have developed within the scientific traditions of a particular country or region and are not used outside them. Thus, the definitions of universal and unique terms refer to settled terms which have become widely used although they sometimes have specific differences in different contexts. It is these terms that should be included in professional terminological dictionaries.

Authorial terms are those devised and introduced by an individual author for a particular work with the aim of defining a specific concept or describing a specific situation. Authorial terms are frequently reflected in political writing. Consider, for example, the term *long hot summer* which originated in the black

ghettos of large American cities in the mid 19th century. It meant *'the climate in which inner city tensions boil over into riots'*. Around 100 years later (in the 1960s), this term, figuratively speaking, crossed the Atlantic Ocean to be used in Britain in almost the same sense to describe *'violence on summer nights in Britain's inner cities and run-down housing estates'* (Roeder, 2006, p. 319). We are clearly witnessing the beginning of the process of the term's transition from the unique to universal category.

Another example of a term's complete transition from the category of unique to universal, is the term *lynching* - taking hold of a person thought to be guilty of a crime and killing him, especially by hanging, without a legal trial (LDCE, 2015). The term first appeared in the unique category at the end of the 18th century in the USA after the infamous captain William Lynch (1742-1820), a Virginia magistrate who on 22nd September 1780 formed a band to clear *'Pittsylvania County of unlawful and abandoned wretches'* (Roeder, 2006, p. 202). Two hundred years later, Martin

Luther King wrote: *'It may be true that the law cannot make a man love me, but it can keep him from lynching me, and I think that's pretty important'* (Roeder, 2006, p. 274). The term *lynching* turned from a unique term (used in a certain region) into a universal term (in our case, an international and interlinguistic term).

The process of the development of a term is also observed in the third group of terms, called authorial terms. The special role of these terms consists in their becoming distinctive features of a particular concept, research or creative work or a public speech.

For example, a widely used political term genocide entered the English language after the Second World War. *Genocide* – from *genos*, 'race' (Greek) and Latin *caedere*, 'to kill' – was invented by Professor Raphael Lemkin of Duke University for official documents of War Criminals in 1945 (Raymond, 1992, p. 214). It took less than 50 years for the term to become universal, which is not surprising in this case considering the global influence of the Nuremberg Trials all over the world.

In addition, universal criteria can be considered comprehensive if their selection is made by combining the deductive approach to linguistic analysis, i.e. an analysis of the characteristic features of human thought, with an empirical approach aimed at analysing language units with a lower level of abstraction (e.g. terms).

According to many researchers, the main reasons leading to mistakes in translation come from the inability to find an appropriate Russian language equivalent for the translation of an English word or a lexical combination (Anisimova & Arkhipova, 2014; Malakhova, 2017; Malyuga & Orlova, 2016).

As already mentioned, one of the specific features of translating ESP terminology is the need to build equivalents of foreign terms that cannot be found in the native language. It is quite natural that the translator can create a term only when he or she knows for sure that there is no corresponding equivalent, or in case the existing term does not meet the basic requirements and should be replaced.

The coinage of equivalents should be approached with caution since a term created by the translator and used in the translation text in the native language becomes a phenomenon of this language and continues to exist independently, which in its turn, increases the responsibility of translators to get it right first time.

When creating a term, the translator should pay special attention to both the precision of conveying the meaning of a foreign term

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'A 'good' translation of a term implies that each term in the text is equivalent in meaning to a translated term'

and the relationship between the term being created and other elements of the native language terminological system (Bowker, 2014; Kageura, 2002; Manik, 2015). One cannot create a term that coincides in form with a term already used in the language that has a different meaning. Also, one cannot use terms and expressions that allow for different interpretations. Making up a term, one should aim to ensure that it naturally enters the existing terminological system of the specific knowledge field and is not seen as something foreign. Therefore, it is desirable to coin new terms according to the pattern of the already existing ones. This approach should be studied and analysed in great detail.

A 'good' translation of a term implies that each term in the text is equivalent in meaning to a translated term. It is extremely important, therefore, to take into account the diachronic aspect of the translation problem. It often happens that terms belonging to a certain terminological system were not transferred into one language from another but were created in several languages (either simultaneously or not) with one and the same external form being used to express different concepts. For instance, in English there is the term *integral* with the meaning of *whole, monolithic, Integral structure – monolithic construction, monolithic panel* (LDCE, 2015). Thus, in the sentence *'there is no sign in the Britannia* (a civil aircraft) *of any turning towards the 'integral' method of construction'*, the words *'integral method'* should be interpreted as *'a construction which requires the use of monolithic panels'*.

There are two reasons for the discrepancy of the meanings of terms in different languages. Often, the discrepancy arises because the same basic original meaning expressed by a term can be associated with similar (or even identical) signs of different objects of definition. For example, the semantic structure of the English term *synchronism* and the same Russian term (from the

Greek *syn* = together and *chronos* = time) conveys the idea of the coincidence of several phenomena or processes in time. However, in English, this key feature characterises the coincidence in time of both frequencies and phases while in the Russian language – just frequencies. Thus, terms, the semantic structure of which reflect the same feature, may express different concepts in different languages. Another reason for the incongruity in translation can be that different languages take into account different aspects of semantic structure. Various features reflected by the same semantic structure of such terms relate to different concepts. For instance, the semantic structure of the term cycle (Greek *Kyklos - wheel, circle, circuit*) includes two main original meanings: one associated with the geometric concept of a circle and the other developed on the basis of the first, associated with the notion of a complex of some phenomena or process. The Russian term does not include the first meaning while in English there is a term *cycle* (noun) short for a *bicycle* that developed from the first of the main original meanings. *Cycle* can also be used as a verb.

Unfortunately, it is quite common for dictionaries not to register the most frequent case of a term's usage. For example, the political and legal term *authority* is polysemic. In the English legal dictionary, three meanings of this

term are registered (1) while the English-Russian dictionary offers as many as seven (2).

(1) *authority* - 1. *The legal power of a public official or body to act in an official capacity;* 2. *The power to act on behalf of another and bind the other by such actions;* 3. *A source of information or insight into how to interpret and apply the law in a particular situation* (Gifis, 2010, p. 43).

(2) *authority* - 1. *power, absoluteness, sphere of competence;* 2. *regulatory body, administrative board;* 3. *source of law, legislation, precedent, court judgement, document;* 4. *competent specialist, authoritative statement;* 5. *credibility;* 6. *proof, grounding;* 7. *letter of authorization, mandate, permit* (Ozhegov, 2012).

However, the analysis of the functioning of this term has shown that in most cases it is translated by the Russian term *компетентный орган* meaning *authoritative* body – an equivalent that is not registered in any English-Russian dictionary. For example, a translation from English into Russian might go like this:

If no appointing authority has been agreed upon by the parties, the name or names of one or more institutions or persons, one of whom would serve as appointing authority -

Если стороны ранее не договорились о компетентном органе, наименования одного или нескольких учреждений либо лиц, одно из которых могло бы выступать в качестве компетентного органа.

CONCLUSION

In the Humanities, a lexical-semantic method of coining new terms is common, which makes the majority of terms consubstantial. Mistakes in the translation of terms more often than not can be accounted for by the fact that while in one language a particular term is polysemantic, in another language the corresponding term has only one meaning. A translator can make a mistake attributing all the meanings of a polysemantic Russian term to a monosemantic English term or, vice versa, can reduce the semantic content of a polysemantic English term to the only meaning of a Russian term.

Despite the fact that in one meaning such terms can be equivalent to each other, they can still turn out to be 'translator's false friends'. Terms should be analysed during the translation process from the point of view of both synchrony and diachrony. If the translator did not use the systemic approach, i.e. he or she did not consider the existing terminological system as a whole and did not determine the place for the new term in the hierarchical conceptual system with all the historical and linguistic characteristics of the terminological system development, the outcome will prove a fiasco.

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Poetry and diplomacy: Telling it slant

Biljana Scott

This article looks at some defining similarities and differences between poetry and diplomacy. It shows that both pursuits make extensive use of underspecification and illustrates how each deploys a variety of shared tropes, from ambiguity to metaphor, neologisms and parataxis. Despite these similarities in language, the reasons for resorting to implicit communication differ significantly, with only one exception – redress. Redress, which is the attempt to find a counterbalance to anomalies and injustices, requires the ability to keep two or more potentially conflicting views in mind. The article concludes that ambivalence is a necessary attribute of both a poet and a diplomat and that well-judged ambiguity is an essential vehicle for redress.

KEYWORDS: *diplomacy, poetry, ambiguity, language and thought, redress, communication*

1. INTRODUCTION

The first issue of TLC cites these words of Dr Johnson on its front cover: *'Language is the dress of thought'* (TLC, 2017). In this article, I consider whether there are any significant similarities in the language and thinking of two seemingly very different pursuits, poetry and diplomacy. I start by asking whether poets and diplomats make use of the same linguistic resources. I then consider how similarities in dress may obscure differences in thought and conclude that the most significant commonality between poetry and diplomacy lies as much in their power of redress as in their dress.

2. LANGUAGE

Poetry is often considered difficult, and diplomacy duplicitous, because the language they use is so inscrutable. In an age of KISS (Keep it Simple, Stupid), clear writing and a popular distrust of experts, complexity and ambiguity are viewed with distrust. Yet multiplicity of meaning can be an advantage, not least in being less binary and binding than the black and white of literal language – assuming, that is, that literal language is itself transparent (Empson, 1930; Bernstein, 1976; Scott, 2001). This section looks at examples of the intentional use of underspecification – those areas of language that most readily give rise to multiple interpretations – in both poetry and diplomacy.

2.1 Ambiguity

Poets and Diplomats seem to make a virtue of 'telling it slant'. As Emily Dickinson puts it (Dickinson, 1998):

Tell all the truth but tell it slant -
Success in Circuit lies
…
The Truth must dazzle gradually
Or every man be blind -

In poetry, multiple meanings give rise to richer readings, all of which can potentially co-exist. This is evident in the Dickinson extract where all the substantive words are open to interpretation: how does one tell the truth slant and at what point does a slant truth stop being a truth and become something else, such as a white lie or fake news? What constitutes a *Circuit*, and does one (should one) always come back to the point of departure, as the word suggests? Might there even be a connotation of *running circles round others or of winding someone round one's little finger?* What justifies the presupposition that truth is blinding, and how should we understand the divergent connotations of the verbs to *blind* and to *dazzle*? Questions such as these, and many others like them, give rise to valuable reflections.

In diplomacy, so-called *constructive ambiguity* similarly allows one and the same piece of language to accommodate two or more divergent positions.

A canonical example is to be found in the wording of the 1972 Shanghai Communiqué jointly signed by the United States and the People's Republic of China, which affirms that there is only *'One China'*, despite there being two governments with claims to that status: the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China. The wording of the communiqué, in not specifying the political status of the Republic of China, leaves it to the Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Strait to resolve their dispute among themselves while also leaving the choice open for other countries to make, with the result that some countries have diplomatic ties with the People's Republic of China and others with the Republic of China, but never both (Shanghai Communiqué, 1972):

The United States acknowledges that all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Strait maintain there is but one China and that Taiwan is a part of China. The United States Government does not challenge that position. It reaffirms its interest in a peaceful settlement of the Taiwan question by the Chinese themselves.

Ambiguity of referent is also evident in the phrase *socialism with Chinese characteristics*, which has acted as an umbrella term for very diverse principles, policies and priorities over the last half century, while implying that a common

'One line in particular has provoked controversy, namely taoguang yanghui, which literally means hide brightness, nourish obscurity but has been translated as hide our capacities and bide our time'

identity and nationalism nevertheless underlies these characteristics (Li, 1995, p. 586).

Although the discussion so far has suggested that ambiguity is an asset in enriching possibilities and providing room for manoeuvre, not all ambiguity is necessarily constructive to all parties at all times. This final example of ambiguity combines poetry and foreign policy in the form of Deng Xiaoping's 24-character strategy, a series of guidelines for the Party following his death (Keith, 2018). Deng's recommendations read like a poem, written in regular four-character phrases which echo both a traditional style of Chinese poetry as well as the *chengyu*, or proverb (Yip, 1997):

'Observe calmly; secure our position; cope with affairs deeply; hide our capacities and bide our time; be good at maintaining a low profile; and never claim leadership'.

One line in particular has provoked controversy, namely *taoguang yanghui*, which literally means *hide brightness, nourish obscurity* but has been translated as *hide our capacities and bide our time* (Huang, 2011; Chen & Wang, 2011).

The importance of this expression to the Chinese government is reflected in the fact that it became the official title for Chinese foreign policy, and several speeches and articles promoting *taoguang yanghui* indicate the pride and determination that drives this policy. The American reaction to this phrase, in contrast, was one of deep suspicion. Informed by a history of mutual distrust, Americans inferred that those prospective actions would most likely be detrimental to the interests of the U.S. The Chinese public were roused to anger by those self-same words, reading in them an appeal to hold back and lie low rather than stand up and be counted among the leading nations of the world. China's *'century of humiliation'* at the hands of Western powers was the determining frame of reference for the Chinese man in the street. For the casual observer,

however, nothing much makes sense in either the form or content of this policy guideline. Thus, a single four-character expression managed to elicit at least four distinct reactions: pride, distrust, anger and, where the general foreign public is concerned, perplexity. In ambiguity, as in metaphor – discussed next – frames of reference are instrumental in priming particular interpretations.

2.2 Metaphor and connotations

In the *taoguang yanghui* example, ambiguity arises from the use of a metaphor that can be characterised as LIGHT is VISIBILITY, and is exemplified in English by such expressions as *to be in the spotlight, to seek the limelight, to hide one's light under a bushel,* and to be *a shining example*. Since all these connotations are positive, we might indeed ask why Deng Xiaoping would have advised against seeking the light. It is highly unlikely that Deng was advocating backwardness, and since enhanced visibility is ambiguous in that it can reveal flaws and draw potentially negative attention, we must conclude that he was advocating caution.

Metaphors are always difficult to translate, not least because they do not carry the same values and cultural significance across different languages. In this case, the sense of waiting until one is ready was translated into an expression with more negative connotations than the original Chinese would warrant. Over two millennia ago

Cicero was wise to warn us that *'Care should also be taken not to transfer tropes from one language into another'* (Curtis, 1940, p. 291).

Underspecification is present in metaphors and connotations because they pack a whole story into a very few words. As just illustrated, these stories-in-a-capsule usually include a value-judgement. In Emily Dickinson's poem cited above, we find several interconnected metaphors involving light; the already encountered LIGHT is VISIBILITY, an additional TRUTH is LIGHT and its spin-off KNOWLEDGE is ILLUMINATION. Dickinson, like Deng, decides to overturn the conventional judgment that being able to see (or be seen) is good, and that gaining knowledge is invariably advantageous, suggesting instead that excessive light may be blinding. Hence her call for the poet to tell the truth indirectly. It is worth noting however that whereas our first reading of the term *blinding* may be that it is *too much of a good thing*, perhaps eliciting the implication that the human frame is too fragile to withstand epiphany, an alternative reading is that the full truth may be so *blindingly obvious* that it leaves nothing to the imagination, and therefore fails to engage us meaningfully. Once again, the inherent underspecification of metaphors generates ambiguity.

Since metaphors have the power to frame

'Metaphors are always difficult to translate, not least because they do not carry the same values and cultural significance across different languages'

events, they also have the power to make us judge those events, and that power seems to be enhanced for being implicit and suggestive, rather that explicit and didactic. Even seemingly dead metaphors, as in the *roadmap* to peace, may conceal a still active component encapsulated in the associated belief that *where there is a will, there is a way*. If no way forward has been found, it is because there has been insufficient will – a perception which has led to the adoption of the alternative term *peace process* in relation to the Israel-Palestine conflict.

Metaphors turn out to be double-edged swords. Their ability to frame and explain events convincingly can make it difficult for people to conceptualise those same events differently. And because subliminal persuasion works by appealing directly to our gut and bypasses our critical scrutiny, we tend to become partisan to certain metaphors and their associated values. This is an advantage to those whose metaphors dominate a particular discourse, but a

disadvantage – and therefore a challenge – to those who want to contest and replace that dominant frame (Lakoff, 2002). I discuss further examples in the pre-emptive compounds cited in *2.4 Neologisms*.

2.3 Gaps

Ambiguity and metaphors are not the only form of underspecification. Parataxis, the juxtapositions of phrases and sentences with no indication of the link between them, is a rhetorical device that invites us to jump over the gap by inferring plausible connections. Imagists' poems and haiku are poetic forms which capitalise on parataxis, as illustrated by Ezra Pound's *In a station of the metro* (Pound, 1913):

'The apparition of these faces in the crowd; Petals on a wet, black bough'.

In this example, the gap will most likely be filled by a comparison. In other cases, it may be filled by a contrast, for example, *two's company, three's a crowd*, by sequence, *Veni Vidi Vici,* by causality, *waste*

not; want not, by conditionality, *never venture; never gain*, and in the case of this implied concessive *have children, will travel*, by bloody-minded determination!

Sometimes, one and the same sentence may convey all these different meanings and more, irony included. This is the case with some poetic refrains where the wording of the preceding stanza (or one might say the gap between text and refrain) primes the reader for an altered interpretation (see, for example, Bishop, 1980).

Poems, proverbs, mottos and in many cases, captions, are just a few examples of juxtapositions being used in order to invest the resulting gaps with multiple possible meanings for readers to fill as is their wont. We combine contextual clues with our knowledge of the world to infer the most likely intended meaning. Context can thus be manipulated both to suggest a link where none exists or to suggest a misleading link. Parataxis was used repeatedly by President George W. Bush in the countdown to the invasion of Iraq, as illustrated by this example (Bush, 2004).

'We knew Saddam Hussein's record of aggression and support for terror. We knew his long history of pursuing, even using, weapons of mass destruction. And we know that September the 11th requires our country to think differently.'

The tricolon of *'we knew ... we knew'* and *'we know'* pastes over the disconnect between Saddam Hussein and September 11, inviting many people to surmise that Saddam Hussein was responsible for the 9/11 terrorist attacks.

The use of parataxis in non-sequiturs in dodging the question and in reframing the issue, brings this rhetorical device to the attention of the media and feeds a popular distrust of those who use it. Yet the device itself is not unique to a particular profession, nor is it only ever used in order to manipulate or mislead. Gaps, pauses, silences and other pregnant intervals between utterances, as the playwright Harold Pinter has illustrated, are there to be filled, whether we are invited to or not, because we seem to be cognitively wired to do so (Billington, 2007).

2.4 Neologisms
Our drive to make sense of silence and slippages in any given context is further illustrated by the way in which we interpret – and create – novel expressions. When the poet Dylan Thomas coined the collocation *'a grief ago',* he bent conventions of usage by inserting a term of emotion into a construction that normally holds a measure of time (*a moment ago, a decade ago*). Rather than dismiss the coinage, we invest it with a heightened meaning.

The term *soft power* similarly benefits from surprising us into a novel awareness. For some, *soft power* is a contradiction in terms which makes so little sense that it cannot even be translated into other languages without eliciting a risible oxymoron of impotency coupled with potency. However, as Shakespeare illustrated in *Romeo and Juliet*, oxymora can be very meaningful and evocative, and this is especially the case where the resulting compound fits into a paradigm of similarly constructed terms. In the case of s*oft drink, soft porn, soft subject, soft rules* and other compounds involving the modifier *soft*, they have all come to acquire the connotations of a non-harmful variant of the term being modified. The term to *sex up* similarly fits into an already existing paradigm of phrasal verbs in English with the structure to VERB-*up*, such as to *beef up, dress up,* and *man up*. In the context of the Iraq Dossier, a document produced by the Blair administration justifying invasion in the run-up to the Iraq war in 2003, the ambiguity inherent in this neologism became the object of an enquiry; had the government sexed up the contents in the sense of putting a positive spin on fact or in the sense of implanting false facts? (Scott, 2004).

Our knowledge of language and our inferences about intended meaning allow us to make sense of novel collocations, and maybe even to adopt a coinage as a new catch phrase, whether its source was poetry or diplomacy. What is important is not so much how novel accoutrements in language (Dr Johnson's *dress of thought*) become fashionable, but how these may in turn fashion our thoughts. For instance, the use of the modifier *smart in compounds* such as *smart power, smartphone, smart remote, smart housing,* and *smart city*, would have us believe that the relevant product is the smartest option, since the alternative is by contrast probably *stupid*. The same holds for any compound term in which the modifier carries positive connotations, for example *constructive ambiguity, a just war, enlightened self-interest, the worthy poor, good cholesterol*. These compounds are word-level pre-emptive arguments which tacitly defuse the negative connotations associated with the head noun by means of the positive connotations associated with the modifier. There is no argument involved here, just assertion, and depending on the authority making the assertion, newly minted compounds may be more or less persuasive. Thus, the *new normal*, a current term used to describe President Trump's unprecedented style of government may (mis)lead us to believe that what is normal is natural and acceptable (Flake, 2017).

The examples provided so far illustrate how ambiguity, metaphors, connotations, gaps and neologisms may all give rise to multiple interpretations. They also demonstrate that the linguistic devices in question are equally

available to both poetry and diplomacy. Our focus therefore shifts, in the next section, to *why* each profession uses them: are there significant differences in the images of poetry and diplomacy?

3. THOUGHT

The driving objective of diplomacy is security; securing peace (or in case of war, terms of engagement), securing territorial integrity, securing agreements, securing information (both in the sense of obtaining and defending), and ultimately, securing a country's best interests. Where conflicts arise between interests, or where concerns transcend national boundaries, diplomats are tasked with seeking compromise and counterbalance, where possible though inclusive (win-win) solutions.

Among the many objectives ascribed to poetry are wooing, eulogising, commemorating, serving as a collective repertoire (especially where song is concerned), and promoting social bonding through the reinforcement of communal values and beliefs. In addition to these community-building aims, poetry is also seen as a private musing, as an expression of idiolect, of idiosyncrasy, and as an individual's recalibration of the dominant order. In all these cases, poetry manifests a delight in language and serves as an instrument of thought, but in none of them does it have as its primary objective to secure or even to change anything.

As the poet W.H. Auden said, *'Poetry makes nothing happen'* (Auden, 1940), and as President Kennedy urged, *'Society must set the artist free to follow his vision wherever it takes him'* (Kennedy, 1963).

These differences in aims have implications for accountability. Whereas the poet's calling is to remain true to himself and creatively free, the diplomat's primary responsibility is to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and home government.

For the poet, being socially engaged, negotiating and renegotiating meaning, values and allegiances are all options, but responsibilities are not. Indeed, the poet can best *speak truth* to power when speaking from a non-partisan position. Diplomats speak for their country at all times regardless of their own inclinations or reservations. However, although they are spokespeople, they nevertheless have the freedom to choose how best to express themselves.

Beyond this fundamental difference lie others. Regarding target audience, contemporary poetry is increasingly private whereas diplomacy is increasingly public. This has consequences for their relative sphere of influence, with poetry exerting leverage over a self-selected few, and diplomacy affecting the lives of all. Diplomacy is discussed in the news daily, poetry rarely. We even find differences

'Regarding target audience, contemporary poetry is increasingly private whereas diplomacy is increasingly public'

in the area of commonality established above, namely underspecification.

The remainder of this section considers possible reasons for *'telling it slant'* and evaluates their relevance to poetry and diplomacy.

Among the many reasons for resorting to implicit communication are tact and politeness. We often avoid telling the whole truth in order not to cause offence, or we justify white lies in order to protect feelings. The language of diplomats epitomises these concerns for face: no professional diplomat would consider breaking with codes of politeness or conventions of interaction, unless it were for the purpose of signalling. The very term to be diplomatic as applied to the man in the street refers to those self-same attributes of soft-spoken non-committal consideration that characterise the profession. By contrast, poets often challenge social conventions and are rarely shy of causing offence or breaking taboos. The truth they speak is

intended to be unsettling. Even Dickinson's injunction not to tell the whole truth is unsettling in its contravention of accepted belief.

Another reason for not saying things explicitly is plausible deniability: we can deny having communicated a message. if we 'never said' the words themselves. Thus, President George W. Bush may legitimately claim that he never said Saddam Hussein was responsible for 9/11, just as the Chinese government can honestly refute accusations of biding their time to overthrow the U.S. as global superpower. For the poet, in contrast, implicit messaging is all about inviting multiple interpretations and encouraging diverse readings, none of which need to be denied. Indeed, much of the power of literature resides in the life a work takes on beyond the author's initial creation.

A third reason for not speaking openly is a desire to keep one's options open, to buy time and secure room for manoeuvre. Ambiguity in diplomacy is said to be

constructive precisely when it achieves these goals, and the One China policy cited above is a case in point, though it should be noted that unresolved geopolitical conflicts may fester rather than disappear over time, no matter how much leeway ambiguous language affords in the present. Since poets tend to work within the temporal confines of a single poem, they have no need for buying time. In so far as they want to keep their options open at all, it is in order to create suspense in any given poem.

A related reason for not divulging one's position is to find out more about the other party without giving too much away about oneself. This kind of behaviour presupposes a win-lose dynamic, something which may arise in diplomacy but never in poetry. The American reaction to China's *taoguang yanghui* policy was typical of this win-lose mentality. Given this run of divergent reasons for resorting to implicit communication, we might justifiably wonder whether there are any common motives for poets and diplomats to use the unsaid. Three come to mind, involving persuasion, community building, and values.

One of the great strengths of understated communication is that it helps to elicit insights and conclusions rather than dictate them, thus enabling interlocutors to take ownership of the positions they have been nudged towards. Both poetry and diplomacy make an art of leading the other party to desired conclusions. The Latin adage *'Ars poetica est non omnia dicere'*, which translates as 'the art of poetry is not to say everything' echoes a witty definition of diplomacy as *'the art of letting others have things your way'*.

The examples analysed in the preceding section all demonstrate how persuasion depends on attraction rather than coercion, and how attraction works best when it engages both heart and mind through the imagination. This shared tendency to persuade through attraction does not mean, however, that the same audiences are in question, nor that they are being persuaded for the same reasons. As mentioned above, diplomats are tasked with persuading their counterparts of what is often a prescribed message, whereas poets are not spokesmen and have no predetermined audience.

Secondly, the unsaid is central to creating a feeling of community through shared conventions. The expression *to speak the same language* refers in large part to that sense of solidarity that comes from understanding each other without having to explain ourselves, and that includes being in on all those allusions, connotations, implications, presuppositions, assumptions, frames of reference, value systems and other markers of culture that constitute tacit

'The fact that both poets and diplomats depend on the artful deployment of language for their living may explain why implicit communication plays such a central role in both these professional communities'

understanding. Diplomats and poets each represent their own communities, allowing for possible sub-communities, and each community builds up a sense of belonging and self-worth through speaking the same language (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

The fact that both poets and diplomats depend on the artful deployment of language for their living may explain why implicit communication plays such a central role in both these professional communities. Being a wordsmith entails a mastery not only of what is said explicitly, but also an understanding of what has been implied, of the meaning that has been *folded into* the layers of language, as the etymology of *imply* explains (Latin *implicare* meaning to *fold in, entwine*). Yet this shared linguistic proficiency does not mean that its practitioners necessarily belong to the same community, with shared values, beliefs or objectives.

A final reason for resorting to underspecification has to do with what I

refer to as *value-speak*. This is the appeal to often hidden values in order to influence people. We saw several examples involving metaphors and connotations. Both poets and diplomats see values as potential game changers, but whereas poets often question values by challenging received wisdom, diplomats tend to embody and enact the values of the country they represent. In this respect, poetry and diplomacy differ with regard to function, flexibility and creativity.

However, these same attributes come back into play when the diplomat is faced with a negotiation impasse. Where agreement cannot be reached in the here and now because the gulf between positions is too great, shared values may offer a bridge. This is because values, in being both aspirational and abstract, can give players something to agree on (we all want a better world for our children), while avoiding the charge of having compromised their cause by reaching a compromise. Recasting the narrative of deadlocked negotiations in order to find common values is an art that

resembles poetry both in its questioning of the dominant order and in its ability to imagine an alternative one. Here, finally, we find a convincing common denominator between poetry and diplomacy.

To summarise the argument so far, we find ourselves with something of a paradox with regard to Dr Johnson's claim that *'Language is the dress of thought'*. The first section on *Language* concluded that both poets and diplomats demonstrate a mastery of a distinctive and demanding area of language: implicit communication. Their *'dress'*, therefore, is similarly recherché. Yet in the second section on *'Thought'* we showed that each profession resorts to the unsaid for significantly different reasons. If we are to retain the terms of Dr Johnson's metaphor, then we might say that there is a coincidence of dress involved: one and the same attire is being worn by two very different professions. Since coincidence and ambiguity are naturally occurring phenomena, we could leave it at that. However, as I hope to demonstrate in the final section, if we look beyond differences in professional aims and practice, we find that there are indeed commonalities in outlook that justify drawing a very close connection between poetry and diplomacy. The key to this connection involves values, ambivalence and the power of redress.

4. DRESS AND REDRESS
Dr Johnson's adage about language being the dress of thought is a variant of Cicero's original claim (Curtis, 1940, p. 291):

'. . .as garments were first invented from necessity, to secure us from the injuries of the weather, but improved afterwards for ornament and distinction; so the poverty of language first introduced tropes, which were afterwards increased for delight.'

Ambiguity, parataxis, neologisms, metaphor and many other rhetorical devices used in implicit communication all qualify as tropes, or figures of speech. The word *trope* itself means *turn, manner* or *style*. Cicero clearly believes that tropes exist for delight, claiming that *'a moderate use of tropes, justly applied, beautifies and enlivens a discourse'* but warns that *'an excess of them causes obscurity'*. This description provides us with an explanation for the observation made at the outset of this article that poetry is often considered difficult, and diplomacy duplicitous, because the language they use is so ambiguous. Cicero accounts for our reaction of distrust by explaining that tropes *'are not the ordinary dress of our thoughts, but a foreign habit; and therefore he who fills his discourse with a continued series of them, acts like one who appears in public in a strange dress'* (Curtis, 1940, p. 291).

Dr Johnson's preoccupation is less with strangeness of dress than with ill- fitting

'Ambiguity, parataxis, neologisms, metaphor and many other rhetorical devices used in implicit communication all qualify as tropes, or figures of speech'

and inappropriate dress, propriety being determined primarily by class concerns (Curtis, 1940, p. 291):

'Language is the dress of thought; and as the noblest mien or most graceful action would be degraded and obscured by a garb appropriated to the gross employments of rusticks or mechanics, so the most heroic sentiments will lose their efficacy, and the most splendid ideas drop their magnificence, if they are conveyed by words used commonly upon low and trivial occasions, debased by vulgar mouths, and contaminated by inelegant applications'.

Both these elaborations on the analogy *'language is to thought what dress is to the body/occupation'* are helpful in that they show, first, how any given trope may elicit a number of different interpretations, and second, how each interpretation is informed by the concerns of its proponent, a concern often expressed through an implicit value judgment. I would like to propose my own

interpretation of the LANGUAGE is DRESS metaphor, informed by my preoccupation with telling it slant. The reason that the language of poets and diplomats is so similar despite their aims being so different is, I suggest, because ambivalence is central to both pursuits. By this I mean that ambivalence does not only characterise the way of thinking of both these professions, but it is also of central importance to each of them because it is the catalyst for redress.

Ambivalence is the state of experiencing two opposing thoughts or feelings simultaneously with equal force. The connotations of the term ambivalence are largely negative, suggesting indecision, vacillation, contradiction, inner conflict and by extension, unreliability. Yet the ability to encompass two (*ambi*) strengths (*valence*) is not necessarily a setback, quite the contrary. As Scott Fitzgerald explains (Fitzgerald, 2017):

'The test of a first-rate intelligence is the

ability to hold two opposed ideas in mind at the same time and still retain the ability to function. One should, for example, be able to see that things are hopeless and yet be determined to make them otherwise'.

Poets retain the ability to write while holding in mind all the strands of meaning they want to develop. Poetry lovers similarly retain the ability to read and understand multiple meanings as these evolve simultaneously. Many poets retain the ability to continue writing while nevertheless questioning whether their doing so serves any purpose. An equivalent ambivalence characterises sundry other human endeavours, diplomacy included, or perhaps diplomacy above all, for it is diplomats who most often find themselves in situations that seem hopeless but who nevertheless retain their resolve to redress them. Thus, to dismiss our ability to hold opposing forces in mind as a weakness rather than a strength is to be misled by the connotations of the term *ambivalence*. We may change the term and replace it with *constructive ambivalence* or *equanimity* for instance, but we should not throw out the baby with the bathwater.

Where does redress come into this discussion of ambivalence? The verb to *redress* means to set right something that has gone awry, such as to make good a wrong, or remedy an injustice. Diplomacy, it could be argued, is all about retaining

the ability to function while entertaining opposing ideas, where those opposing ideas represent the contradictory positions and conflicting demands of parties set on protecting or redressing their interests. The diplomat can best negotiate impasses by holding multiple possibilities in mind, not by taking sides, ignoring requests or excluding concerns. This balancing act, in turn, involves using a form of language that is inclusive and that accommodates shades of meaning, perhaps even opposing meanings. Hence the central role of underspecification in diplomatic discourse. However, the diplomat cannot only ever be ambiguous or vague. Ambivalence ultimately has to resolve itself into effective action and to achieve this the diplomat must develop acumen – diplomatic acumen regarding what to say, when and how, and political acumen regarding whether to act (or react) at all.

Although the poet does not require political acumen, and is not required to act in any way other than to write, redress is also central to poetic endeavour. In his book *The Redress of Poetry* (Heaney, 2002), and in his Nobel acceptance-speech *Crediting Poetry* (Heaney, 1995), the Irish poet Seamus Heaney defines redress as the creative process of imagining a counterbalance to anomalies and potential injustices in the status quo. Redress, for Heaney, has a restorative power that works through words and imagination, rather than actions. These life-changing words are most powerful

'Many poets retain the ability to continue writing while nevertheless questioning whether their doing so serves any purpose'

not when we polarise and take sides or, in Heaney's words, when we *'get hurt and get hard'*, but when we manage to encompass potentially conflicting realities; when we achieve the improbable feat of making *'hope and history rhyme'* (Heaney, 1991).

Human beings suffer,
They torture one another,
They get hurt and get hard.
…
History says. Don't hope
On this side of the grave.
But then, once in a lifetime
The longed-for tidal wave
Of justice can rise up.
And hope and history rhyme.

So hope for a great sea-change
On the far side of revenge.
Believe that a further shore
Is reachable from here.

To reach a further shore from here is to negotiate the gap that lies between these two seemingly incommensurate positions. For this to be possible, we have to assign equal force to both sides (*ambivalence*), and give them equal heed or animus (*equanimity*). And the best way to do that is not to adopt a final vocabulary, or to insist on clear writing, but where appropriate to resort to underspecification, with all the potential for multiple and inclusive meanings that come with it. Thus, if hope and history are ever to rhyme, when they so clearly do not according to the narrow definition of rhyme as a correspondence between sounds, we have to mine all the other possible meanings of the word, from its etymological connections to rhythm and flow, to its metaphorical extension from a harmony of sounds to a harmony of meaning, and finally to its complementary pairing with reason in the expression *rhyme or reason*.

The poet W. H. Auden comes to a similar conclusion regarding the relationship between ambivalence and ambiguity when he says *'To be useful to an artist a general idea must be capable of including the most contradictory experiences, and of the subtlest variation and ironic interpretations'*

(Mendelson, 2002, p. 421). Auden goes on to argue that *'subtlety and irony are drawbacks'* in political discourse because politics seeks to *'secure unanimity in action'*.

5. CONCLUSION

We are not short of examples of populist politicians and extreme ideologies (whether on the right or left) dismissing debate the better to polarise positions and delegitimise dissent. But diplomats are not politicians. Despite my earlier characterisation of diplomats as spokesmen who all sing from the same sheet, a diplomat has to deliver on many different tasks, some of which require a skill set which resembles that of a poet in both turn of mind and turn of phrase. This is particularly the case when diplomats are engaged in negotiation – perhaps not in multilateral fora where the demands of unanimity tend to erode language, but definitely so in mediation and other subtler forms of persuasion. At the height of their game, both poets and diplomats are able to envisage alternative configurations that have the power to redress existing injustices and impasses.

More often than not, these alternatives are best expressed by *'telling it slant'*.

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TLC

Free indirect speech as a means to introduce archaic style into the author's narration: A Russian linguistics perspective

Gayane Petrosyan

Following multiple theories regarding the definition of free indirect speech, this linguistic phenomenon was intensively studied in the 20th century from two fundamentally different directions. Some scholars considered free indirect speech to be a special syntactic or stylistic-syntactic structure in comparison with direct and reported speech. Others considered it more as a poetic-stylistic technique of characters' speech reproduction in artistic works. The main aim of this research is to reveal the specific functions of free indirect speech in the genre of the historical novel and to show their determining influence on the use of stylistic forms of the phenomenon being studied. The result of our research shows that in the genre of historical novels, the use of free indirect speech is represented in its small forms, in particular lexical, phraseological, phonetic and grammatical microforms, bearing the imprint of the living and documentary language of the epoch described.

KEYWORDS: *historical novel, free indirect speech, reported speech, direct speech, archaism, poetic-stylistic device*

INTRODUCTION

The term *archaism* refers to words that are no longer in everyday use or have lost their particular meaning in current usage, but are sometimes used to impart an old-fashioned flavour to historical novels, for example in standard conversation, or writing just for humorous effect. In this article we consider archaisms in the author's narration as a form of free indirect speech which helps us feel the historical period in which the main characters are situated. Free indirect speech is a linguistic and stylistic term used to indicate thoughts and feelings using a third person narrative rather than direct speech. For example, instead of saying, *Why am I feeling so tired?* (direct speech) the author might write, *He put down his book and put his head in his hands. Why was he feeling so tired?* (free indirect speech).

The main aim of the research is to reveal the specific functions of free indirect speech in the genre of the historical novel and to show their determining influence on the use of stylistic forms of the phenomenon being studied. The practical

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value of the article is determined by the fact that its theoretical speculations and the material studied can be used in university and school teaching of the Russian language, in stylistics, in the linguistic analysis of literary texts, in special courses and special seminars on the language of literary texts and journalism.

2. MATERIAL AND METHODS

2.1. Free indirect speech as a linguistic problem: theoretical grounding

The aesthetic-stylistic approach to free indirect speech in Russian linguistics was significantly influenced by Academician V.V. Vinogradov's monographs. Following V.V. Vinogradov, many other scientists, including N.Yu. Shvedova, I.I. Kovtunova, V.K. Favorin, A.I. Efimov, considered free indirect speech as a poetic-stylistic method of artistic speech in their publications. From the artistic and aesthetic point of view, free indirect speech was considered much broader, and its lexical, phraseological, and phonetic microforms were distinguished as its particular varieties. Although scholars did not deny the grammatical features of free indirect speech and the existence of its particular syntactic structure, they tended to focus on the combination of various forms of free indirect speech and the author's objectified narrative aspect with the appraisal of the characteristic expressiveness of characters in the text. Scholars identified large blocks of free indirect speech, which are syntactically pronounced and are clearly distinguished

against the background of the author's objective text due to their personalised semantics and typical expression, representing the *character's voice*. The scholars paid less attention to the lexical and phraseological microforms of free indirect speech, but rather focused on individual words representing the expression of someone else's utterances, reflecting the point of view of a particular character, and attributed to free indirect speech.

To understand the essence of free indirect speech, scholars studying the syntactic and poetic-stylistic fields investigated this phenomenon and focused mainly on fiction. This was largely due to the growing conviction that free indirect speech is a specific phenomenon of artistic speech (Leskiv, 2009). However, free indirect speech is a popular device not only in fiction and journalism, but also in other styles of language, including various non-fiction genres, though its forms are different. Most vividly, it is represented in fiction and journalism and embraces large fragments and independent syntactic structures. However, its small forms, especially lexical-phraseological microforms are present in all styles of Russian language usage, business, scientific and colloquial. Obviously, free indirect speech should be studied both as a poetic-stylistic device of artistic speech, since it is widely used in fiction to reproduce the characters' speech in the author's text, and as a syntactic

structure, since its most vivid, large-block forms have a definite syntactic design that distinguishes it from reported and direct speech (McHale, 1978). However, from the standpoint of these traditional approaches, researchers do not treat it as a general language category or study its use in other speech aspects, outside the language of fiction. Free indirect speech as a general language category is a widespread way of conveying someone else's utterances in different communications. But unlike direct and reported speech, free indirect speech is characterised by its syntactic non-standard nature, structural dynamism, multifacetedness, the ability to reproduce not only the syntactic structures of someone else's utterance, but also individual words and expressions containing the semantics and expression of someone else's utterance, in the speech of the speaker or writer (Banfield, 1973).

Studies of free indirect speech in foreign research in the late 19th and 20th centuries included two main points. The first of these is that free indirect speech is an intermediate phenomenon between direct and indirect speech, and free indirect speech is viewed mainly from the formal side as a specific syntactic construction in the language. This position is mainly supported by researchers of the Geneva School (F. de Saussure, Sh. Bally, M. Lips and others). The second position is that free indirect speech is a poetic-stylistic device. In free indirect speech both the author and

the character speak simultaneously, and in doing so appear to cross voices. This point of view is supported by researchers of the Vossler School (E. Lerch, E. Lorke, T. Kalepki, L. Spitzer, and others). In modern research, free indirect speech is divided according to McArthur into four types of represented discourse: direct speech, indirect speech, free direct speech and free indirect speech. His research indicates that the major markers of direct speech (DS) are the exact words in the report and the quotation marks in writing and print. Indirect speech (IS) conveys the report in the words of the reporter, with verbs generally 'backshifted' in tense and changes in pronouns and adverbials of time and place made to align with the time of reporting. Free direct speech lacks a reporting clause to show the shift from narration to reporting; it is often used in fiction to represent the mental reactions of characters to what they see or experience (Blakemore, 2013). Free indirect speech (FIS) resembles indirect speech in terms of tense shifts and other aspects, but there is generally no reporting clause and it retains some features of direct speech (such as direct questions and the use of the vocative).

The main attribute of free indirect speech, which is inherent in all its various forms, is the semantics and expression of someone else's utterance, contrasted with the speech of the reproducing person. According to the established tradition, scientific research

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'As a non-standardised, dynamic way of conveying someone else's speech, free indirect speech is used in different styles of the language and in different speech genres'

usually refers in free indirect speech to the interaction of the author's and the character's voices. But the author and character exist only in works of art. As such, in relation to other verbal communication fields (cultural, everyday, business, scientific communication), it is more appropriate and correct to refer to the speech of the reproducing person and someone else's utterance. Taking these comments into account, free indirect speech can be defined as a special, non-standardised syntactically, dynamic way of conveying certain fragments of someone else's utterance directly in the speech of the reproducing person. At the same time, fragments of someone else's utterance are clearly distinguished in the speech of the reproducing person due to their exogenous personalised semantics and expression (Dillon & Kirchhoff, 1976).

As a non-standardised, dynamic way of conveying someone else's speech, free indirect speech is used in different styles of the language and in different speech genres. The above naturally raises the problem of broader, more varied research into its forms and functions as a general language

category, studying features of its use in various verbal communications, various verbal situations, and various verbal acts.

2.2. Free indirect speech in fictional historical narrative

Free indirect speech in a historical novel as a genre form of artistic speech performs both the general and specific genre functions. General style functions in the historical novel genre consist in using free indirect speech as a way of revealing the character's inner world in the author's narrative, his/her vision of events, reflections, evaluations, as a way of conveying fragments of the inner speech of the characters. The use of free indirect speech allows the writer to portray a distant historical epoch from the point of view of contemporaries, as characters living in that epoch could see it. Personalised description of past events through the perception of contemporaries of the epoch brings the historical narrator closer to such a remote epoch and its characters, helping evoke a distant epoch from within, and making the author's narrative multidimensional, reflecting the

characters' different subjective points of view (Booth, 2010).

A specific genre function of free indirect speech is its use as a way of documenting a historical narrative. In works of the genre in question, free indirect speech allows documenting the storyteller's narrative speech, as well. Free indirect speech allows writers to include words, word combinations, and integral statements, consisting of one or two or more sentences, sometimes taken from historical documents, into the author's narrative. This has the effect of making the entire linguistic basis of historical novels more authentic (Fludernik, 1995).

A specific function of the use of free indirect speech in historical novels is as a way of introducing an archaic style into the author's narrative, which might otherwise look out of date and out of sync with literary norms. Archaic vocabulary is particularly common in free indirect speech in A.N. Tolstoy and Yu.N. Tynyanov's texts in its various forms: lexical, lexical-phonetic, lexical-word-formative, lexical-morphological, and lexical-semantic archaisms. Outdated phraseology, obsolete syntactic microforms are also often used. This allows the author to recreate the verbal charm of the epoch in which the plot is set, not only in the characters' dialogues, but also in the author's narrative.

Free indirect speech also has its own place in historical novels as a device to reproduce in the author's narrative the verbal characteristics of specific historical figures in particular social environments. Each historical figure has its own specific verbal features; each epoch has its own social-speech features. Their reproduction in an author's text is a special genre function of free indirect speech. Depending on the individual speech characteristics of a historical character and their social environment, Tolstoy and Tynyanov each reproduce in their own way through the author's narrative the colloquial and idiomatic language tools peculiar to their characters such as a bookish style, formal style, expression through a foreign-language and so on. The use of such devices makes the historical narrative stylistically dynamic and diverse.

Naturally, all those functions of free indirect speech in a historical novel as an integral work are organically interconnected. Using free indirect speech, authors can document the historical narrative and its general style in accordance with the verbal characteristics of the epoch described (Pascal, 1977). As a result, instead of the speech synchronism inherent in non-historical genres, one can observe a diachronic-synchronic speech picture, in which the author's narrative combines both modern speech and the aspects of speech of the epoch described. These two aspects of speech are combined most frequently by

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writers through the inclusion in the author's text of colourful microforms of ancient speech: individual words, phraseological units and grammatical features.

While large-block fragments of free indirect speech, designed as independent syntactic structures, commonly perform the universal artistic function of revealing the inner world, the psychology of characters, their thinking and vision, and convey their internal monologues, the use of small forms or microforms of free indirect speech is conditioned by specific functions in the historical genre that are organically interconnected with general artistic functions, but at the same time are more specifically targeted and reflect the genre specificity of the language of a historical novel (Schlenker, 2004).

A new approach to the study of free indirect speech as a general language category can open up opportunities for researchers for the detailed study of colloquial-speech styles used in journalism, business, and science. It also has certain

specific features in different genres of fiction. In this connection, a multifaceted study of this phenomenon in different styles and genres of speech is relevant. In the next section of this article, we dwell in more detail on the function of free indirect speech as a stylistic method of adding archaic style to the author's narrative and consider the language forms used to implement this function in a historical novel.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The historical vocabulary and phraseology perform not only a stylistic but also an identification function in an artistic work about the past (Shen, 1991). Its use in the author's text is due to the need to name objects and phenomena as they were called in the past. The use of archaic language performs a purely stylistic function in the historical genre, and this stylistic function gives greater historical depth to the characters using the terms, for example, in a narrative, if it is composed in the form of a story or is conducted on behalf of a contemporary of the epoch described, as in *The Captain's Daughter* by A.S. Pushkin (Andrew & Reid, 2003).

However, stylised narration was not popular in the historical novel genre, and neither was the personalised narrative by the person who takes part in the events. In this respect, many works of the historical genre novels of the 19th and 20th centuries feature a stylistic gap between the archaised dialogues of the characters and the impersonal contemporary language of the narrator. To overcome this disharmony, Tynyanov and Tolstoy widely used forms of free indirect speech.

In a number of cases, the author's remarks indicate words and expressions associated with historical figures. For example, in the novel by Tynyanov:

'Теперь, после крестин, он (Сергей Львович) собирался устроить 'куртаг', как говорили гвардейцы, – скромную встречу с милыми сердцу, как сказал бы он сейчас' ('Now, after the christening, he (Sergei Lvovich) was going to arrange 'kurtag,' as the guardsmen used to say, or a modest meeting with those he is fond of, as he would say now');

'Будучи донельзя чувствительными, или, как говорили, 'сенсибельными', Пушкины через две минуты вполне осваивались с положением' ('Being utterly sensitive, or, as they say, 'sensible,' the Pushkins fully mastered the situation in two minutes');

'По реляции государь бил французов, а вестовщики говорили, что французы *'утюжат нас'* ('According to the report, the sovereign was defeating the French, and newsmen said that the French 'are belabouring us').

In this case, the writer confronts different styles of speech.
'Заседания вражеской 'Беседы' происходили на дому у престарелого Державина, который отдал для них большую залу в своем доме. Члены 'Беседы' называли это жертвою на алтарь российского слова, противники говорили, что старик рехнулся' ('Meetings of the hostile 'Conversation' took place at the house of elderly Derzhavin, who gave them a large hall in his house. Members of the 'Conversation' called it a sacrifice on the altar of the Russian word. Opponents said that the old man had gone crazy');

'Государство со всеми пространствами, которое в беседах со Сперанским было громоздкою частью Европы, в разговоре с Аракчеевым становилось его большой вотчиной, где были верные и неверные слуги' ('The state with all the spaces, which in conversations with Speranski was referred to as a cumbersome part of Europe, in a conversation with Arakcheev became his great patrimony, where there were faithful and unfaithful servants').

In most cases, the vocabulary and phraseology characteristic of Pushkin's epoch is reproduced without the author's

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remarks and is a veiled component of the character's speech characteristic:

'Отрывки принадлежали ... парижскому богохулу... Француа Вильону' ('The excerpts belonged to ... the Parisian blasphemer ... François Villon');

'Все увидели на опыте ее бренность' ('Everyone has seen from experience its frailty');

'Он противуборствует' ('He antagonises');

'Матюшкин внемлет дисциплине' ('Matyushkin observes discipline');

'Он написал на ту же стать 'Певца в кремле' ('He wrote in the same manner 'The Singer in the Kremlin').

Naturally, all the words and expressions, like богохул (blaspheme), бренность (frailty), противуборствует (antagonises), внемлет (observes), стать (manner), наперсник (confidant), светскость (secularity), are reproduced by the writer as the characteristic speech signs of the epoch, its characters, and are the elementary components of free indirect speech. Archaic words reproduced by Yu.N. Tynyanov in the form of indirect speech often differ from their modern equivalents only by their suffixes:

устроение instead of устройство (meaning structure)

'Зависит от устроения тела человеческого' ('Depends on the structure of the human body');

австрияк instead of австриец (meaning Austrian)
'... Австрияк, едва говорящий по-русски' ('... an Austrian who hardly speaks Russian');

правительствующий instead of правительственный (meaning governing)
'...Правительствующий сенат' ('... governing Senate');

особливо instead of особенно (meaning especially)
'...Как делают жители островов... особливо Японии' ('...How the inhabitants of the islands do ... especially in Japan').

Contemporary readers distinguish the speech of the Pushkin epoch by nouns with a suffix -ность, such as будущность instead of будущее (meaning the future, as in 'Будущность была темна для Карамзина' ('The future was dark for Karamzin').

In the author's speech, Tynyanov often reproduces nouns ending with -тель, typical of the late 18th – early 19th centuries, meaning the doer, producer, as in '...Делатели фальшивой монеты ('... The producers of counterfeit coins').

In Tynyanov's works, the author's

narrative features elementary components of free indirect speech of characters that are adjectives with a suffix -енн, widely used in Pushkin's time and formed from nouns ending in –ство, as well as adjectives ending in –ческий:

соседственный (meaning *neighbouring*)
'Соседственный замок' ('Neighbouring castle');

гражданственный (meaning *civil*)
'... Деятельность гражданственная' ('... Civil activity');

семейственный (meaning *family*)
'...Семейственная жизнь' ('...Family life');

философический (meaning *philosophical*)
'...философические оды Державина' ('...philosophical odes by Derzhavin'). Modern readers perceive the archaised words used by Tynyanov in the author's narrative, which differ from their contemporary equivalents by the composition of the prefix only, as signs of speech:

дозволение instead of *позволение* (meaning *permission*)
'... Прошение о дозволении воспитанникам сочинять' ('...requesting permission for students to compose').

Tynyanov often used free indirect speech in his narratives to reproduce lexical-

phonetic archaisms characteristic of Pushkin's epoch:

гошпиталь (meaning *hospital*)
'...Он болен в гошпитале' ('... He is ill in hospital');
'... Долго лежал в гошпитале' ('...He stayed at the hospital for a long time');

шпектакль (meaning *performance*)
'...Приватный шпектакль' ('...Private performance');

нумер (meaning *room; issue*)
'...На Мойке у Демута сняли для него удобные нумера' ('... They booked comfy rooms for him at Moika with Demut');
'...Первый нумер газеты' ('... The first issue of the newspaper).

In modern Russian, there are synonyms among lexical archaisms, reproduced in the novel by Tynyanov, that correspond to the norms of the word usage contemporary to the author. But Tynyanov preferred to use archaic words, which imprinted the manner of speech of the depicted epoch in the novel's style. For example, when depicting the older generation of the epoch, he widely used the word *стихотворец* instead of *поэт* in the meaning of *poet* or *словесность* instead of *художественная литература* (meaning *fiction*):

'Приятная репутация стихотворца' ('Pleasant reputation of a poet');
'...Там был стихотворец Пушкин'

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('...The poet Pushkin was there');
'...Отечественная словесность'
('Domestic Fiction').

All of these words in the context of the author's style are clearly perceived components of the character's free indirect speech.

Tynyanov often uses the form of free indirect speech to reproduce obsolete grammatical forms:

*дерев instead of деревьев (*meaning *trees)*
'... В тени померанцевых дерев' ('...In the shadow of orange trees');

*пособиев instead of пособий (*meaning *benefits)*
('...Не нужно ли каких пособиев' ('...Any need for benefits');
*кофею instead of кофе (*meaning *coffee)*
'...Выпив чёрного кофею' ('... Having had some black coffee');

*краи instead of края (*meaning *farness)*
'...Дальние краи' ('...Farness').

Such deviations from modern standards are also observed in the use of the plural rather than the singular form of certain nouns (Maier, 2014). For example, instead of the modern singular form of мебель (meaning *furniture*), we encounter its plural form *мебели:* '... Мебели переставлять' ('... to rearrange the furniture'); '...Лишил мебелей' ('...

Deprived of furniture'). Instead of кресло (meaning *armchair*), he uses кресла: '... Сидел в креслах' ('...He was sitting in the armchair'), '... Его усадили в кресла' ('... He was seated in the armchair'), etc.

Lexical-semantic archaisms are perceived as the explicit elements of the speech of the past in the author's text, for example, *производство* (meaning *production*; obs.: *promotion*) in the sense of promoting in rank or title: '...Он любил просматривать известия о производствах его былых товарищей', etc.

Free indirect speech is also used by Tynyanov in the author's narration to reproduce phraseological units characteristic of the Pushkin epoch (Bayley, 1971):

*попасть в милость (*meaning *to fall into mercy)*
'... Чуть не попал в милость к императору' ('... I almost fell into the mercy of the emperor');

*ходить в должность (*meaning *to go to work)*
'...Он...стал ходить в должность' ('... he ... started going to work');
'... Сергей Львович прекратил хождение в должность' ('... Sergei Lvovich stopped going to work');

*взять силу (*meaning *become a powerful figure)*

'...Большую силу в театре взял' (*'...He became a powerful figure in the theatre'*); *'...Арапки большую силу взяли'* (*'... Arapki became very powerful'*);

быть в опале (meaning *to be in disgrace*) *'...Самый лицей был в опале'* (*'...The liceum was in disgrace'*);

просить руки (meaning *to ask for the hand*) *'...Просил руки, все еще не думая, что женится'* (*'...Asked for the hand without planning to marry'*).

He also uses literary and paraphrastic expressions of the Karamzin school: *любимцы муз (favorites of muses), апостол чести (apostle of honour), раны любви (wounds of love), поцелуй души (a hearty kiss), друзья сердца (intimate friends), милые дамы (sweet ladies)*, etc.:

'Он (Каразмин) спросил Сергея Львовича о здоровье милой жены его' (*'He (Karazmin) asked Sergei Lvovich about the health of his sweet wife'*);

'Он попросил передать поклон милой жене его' (*'He asked to pass a bow to his sweet wife'*);

'...как только заводились деньги, он (Сергей Львович) шил себе у портного модный фрак и покупал жене перстень, память сердца' (*'...as soon as he made some money, he (Sergei Lvovich)*

ordered from the tailor a fashionable tailcoat for himself and bought a ring for his wife, a memory for the heart');

'Потом он (Василий Львович) тут же...прочел новую басню Крылова, грубую, по его мнению, и отверженную гармонией' (*'Then he (Vasily Lvovich) immediately ... read a new fable by Krylov, rude, in his opinion, and rejected by harmony'*);

'По дороге он дал еще один совет Александру: не пускать петуха' (*'On the way, he gave another piece of advice to Alexander: do not hit the wrong note'*).

Tynyanov often used the form of free indirect speech to express the forms of verb control typical of Pushkin's time, such as *жертвовать чему-то* (sacrifice + Instrumental case noun) instead of *жертвовать ради чего-то* (sacrifice + for the sake of + Genitive case noun), or *относиться до чего- то* (be related to + Genitive case noun) instead of *относиться к чему-то* (be related to + Dative case noun):

'... Готов всем жертвовать спокойствию' (*'...Ready to sacrifice everything for the sake of calmness'*),

Thus, one of the most important functions of free indirect speech in a historical novel is to archaise the author's narrative, reproducing the linguistic tinges of

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antiquity in the author's text, which recreate the verbal charm typical of the epoch (Hernadi, 1972).

Free indirect speech allowed Tolstoy to reproduce 'obsolete' language widely in his novels. In general, obsolete words and forms comprise 10% of the text in the novels by Tolstoy. According to our approximate estimates, they account for about 20,740 of 210,300 words of the entire text of the novel. Among obsolete words and words that are becoming obsolete, the largest group in the novel is represented by historisms and vocabulary derived from them, which characterises the historical character of the epoch. Comprising 645 lexemes in absolute terms, i.e. 3.9%, the historical vocabulary covers about 7% of the entire text of the novel; it accounts for 14,720 word uses. The most commonly used are words, representative in social terms (more rarely, everyday terms describing everyday life), such as: *царь (tsar, 375), царица (tsarina; 112), царевна (princess; 137), государь (sovereign; 67), князь (prince; 283), князь-кесарь (prince-caesar; 54), (grand prince; 39), боярин (boyar; 193), боярский (of boyar; 86), боярыня (boyarynia; 23), вотчина (estate; 31), воевода (governor; 91), дворянин (noble; 65), дворянский (of noble; 35), купец (merchant; 109), купечество (merchantry; 48), дьяк (secretary; 110), мужик (peasant; 208), дворовый (house serf; 34), челядь*

(menials; 27), челобитная (petition; 26), дыба (rack; 21), мушкет (musket; 35), шпага (court sword; 112); ботфорты (boots; 42), драгуны (dragoons; 39), as well as religious and moral words, which in the past were used much more widely than in modern language: патриарх (patriarch; 59), монах (monk; 43), обедня (mass; 31), икона (icon; 28), раскольник (schismatic; 30), бог (god; 173), черт (heck, hell; 35), дьявол (devil; 24), антихрист (antichrist; 25), etc.

Socio-political vocabulary and phraseology characterising the social structure of Russia in the late 17th to early 18th centuries and the inner estate's hierarchy is widely represented, as well. To characterise the higher estates, the royal environment, the writer used flamboyant names characteristic of the epoch, such as *верхние бояре (upper boyars), ближние бояре (proximal boyars), думный дворянин (a nobleman of the Duma), палатные люди (the palace people), думные люди (the Duma people), начальные люди (the senior people), окольничий (okolnichy – an advisor to the Russian ruler), кравчий (kravchy – an court official at the time of Ivan the Terrible), стольники (dapifers - stewards), постельничий (chamberlain), ясельничий (master of the forage), сокольничий (falconer), рында (royal squire), жилец (tenant),* etc.

In characterising the merchant class, writer uses words, such as *торговые*

люди (commercial people), купец гостиной сотни (the merchant hundreds of living), интересант (interested parties), негоциант (patrician), гостинодворец (shopkeeper), купец суконной сотни (a merchant of the cloth hundred), купец черной сотни (a merchant of the black hundred), целовальник (tax-collector; the seller and duty collector in a tavern), сиделец (salesman in a shop), лавочник (shopkeeper), кабатчик (tavern keeper), сбитенщик (saloop hot drink vendor), пирожник (pieman), зипунщик (tailor), лесоторговец (forest merchant), прибыльщик (profit-seeker), приказчик (clerk), трактирщик (innkeeper), корчмарь (tavern keeper), as well as обжорный ряд (refreshment stand), бурмистерская палата (burmister's chamber), кумпания (company), кумпанство (kumpanstvo - shipbuilding company), кружало (the tsar's tavern), мясницкая (meet shop - a place to meet), etc.

The characteristics of class and status are closely related to the use of local vocabulary and phraseology, such as место (seat), сидеть выше (sit higher), сидеть ниже (sit lower), сидеть на великих столах (sit by the great tables), старшие по месту (the senior by the seat), невместно (inappropriately), etc.:

'Буйносовы от века сидели выше Лыковых' ('The Buinosovs for ages had sat above the Lykovs)'.

In order to characterise the lower classes, the writer uses the following words: холоп (servant), лакей (footman), челядь (menials), страдник (farm hand; or farm labourer), смерд (peasant farmer), мужик (muzhik - a boor, unpleasant person), дворовый (house serf), дворня (menials), дворовая девка (peasant girl), чернь (the mob), крепостной (serf), гулящие люди (funseekers), гультяи (hellbenders), юродивый (holy fool), шпыни (jesters), разбойные люди (robbers), колодники (convicts), покрученник (working in the fields, kept boy), крестьянин (peasant), and others. At the same time, peasants are differentiated as follows: кабальные (enslaved serfs), барщинные (corvée serfs), оброчные (peasants on quitrent), пашенные (field peasants), государевы (state serfs), монастырские (monastery serfs), помещичьи (landlord's serfs), задворные (serfs belonging to the yard), черносошные (black soil serfs), etc.

The lexical microsystem, connected with the social obligations of the lower class and their taxation, is diversely reflected by Tolstoy: барщина (corvee), кабала (tribute), дань (tribute), оброк (render), пошлина (duty), тягло (tax), подать (impost; from plough, from smoke), стрелецкая подать (Streltsy tax), окладные подати (cover tax), кормовые деньги (fodder money), мостовые деньги (bridge money), повытошные деньги (service money), ямские деньги (parish money), казацкие деньги (Cossack money), откуп (ransom),

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подводы (podvody), поборы (informal fees), кормление (foddering), etc.

The vocabulary and phraseology characterising the system of punishment typical of the epoch is also widely represented: кнут (whip), батоги (batogs- beating sticks), ковать в цепи (chain up), кандалы (cuffs), застенок (confine), доставить на правеж (deliver to the law), кинуть в тюрьму (imprison), на царскую казну животы (submit one's life for the tsar's treasury), казнь (execution), отсечение головы (beheading), четвертование (quartering), колесование (wheeling), посадить на кол (staking), вздернуть на виселицу (hanging)), зарыть живую в землю (bury alive), лобное место (place of execution), плаха (block: кинуть на плаху (throw on the block), положить голову на плаху (put one's head on the block), дыба (rack), пытка (torture), etc.

The service class is represented by the following historicisms: дьяк (secretary), приказной дьяк (secretary of prikaz-a government administrative office), подьячие (scribes), писцы (penmen), добытчик (getter or breadwinner), пристав (bailiffs), урядник (sergeant), кат (headman), заплечных дел мастер (hangman), бирюч (public herald), скороходы (footmen), губные старосты (labial headman), земской (zemskoy), ярыжка (yaryzhka), etc.

In accordance with the social and bureaucratic differentiation of the society in the time of Peter the Great, the word люди (people) was used by Tolstoy in different ways: государевы (state serfs), палатные (palace people), служилые (service men), посадские (Posad people), торговые (merchants), тяглые (serfs), промышленные (industry workers), дворовые (menials), рабочие (workers). However, workers and industrial employees are defined differently: as in a later, not characteristic epoch. In the late 17th to 18th centuries, промышленник (industrialist), промышленные люди (industrial people) meant people engaged in hunting furry animals, fishing and the like (Balzer, 2015). Tolstoy used the word in his later work to mean rich merchants. And instead of рабочие (workers) in Peter's epoch, the words работные люди (working people) and мастеровые люди (craftsmen) were used.

The social and official stratification of Russian society during the late 18th century (see Bonnel, 1983) is shown by such vocabulary as высокородный (high-born), худородный (low-born), знатный (noble), вельможа (nobleman), ясновельможный (yasnovelmozhny, in the territory of Poland), шляхетство (nobility, in the territory of Poland), подлого рода (despicable kind), подлый (vile), чернь (mob), холопство (serfdom), etc.

Objects in domestic life, clothing, and, accordingly, their names are numerously mentioned in the pages of the novel. When characterising clothing, the typical for the era objective-visual way of conveying its colour is used: *кафтан крапивного цвета (caftan of nettle color), табачный кафтан (tobacco caftan), клюквенный армяк (cranberry mackerel), кафтан мышиный (mouse caftan), персикового цвета летник (summer dress of the colour peach), желудевое бархатное платье (acorn velvet dress), орехового шелка платье (walnut silk dress),* etc. However, the list of clothing items, as well as household items, is generally short. Tolstoy often limited himself to abstract names when describing clothing:

'Одевалась она пышно, все по-девичьи' ('She used to dress wonderfully, all girlish');

'...Оглянулся на пышно одетых бояр' ('...Looked back at the magnificently dressed boyars');

'...Подъехали верхоконные, богато одетые' ('...The richly dressed horsemen came up');

'Царь был в царском для малого выхода платье' ('The Tsar was wearing the royal dress for minor official occasions').

This is due to the writer's desire not to complicate the description with obscure words. For example, instead of the old and currently obscure word *накапки (nakapki; a cloak)*, Tolstoy used a descriptive word phrase *просторные, до полу, рукава летника ('spacious sleeves of the summer dress reaching the floor')*; instead of the word *обнизь (obniz) – шитый жемчугом ворот ('pearl-studded collar')*, etc. But at the same time, apparently, the perfectionist artist demonstrates his caution, the desire to prevent any inaccuracies, which are rather common in this respect even among major novelists (Tolstoy, 2008).

4. CONCLUSIONS

Thus, thanks to free indirect speech, Tynyanov and Tolstoy widely reproduced in the pages of their novels – in particular in narrative texts – a variety of linguistic words and phrases characteristic of the epochs described. Of course, the function of archaising historical narratives is often combined with the function of its documentation. However, this is not always the case. When documenting historical narratives, the authors often borrow from written sources in the past, many not out of date, but still used in contemporary language. In particular, they reproduce the documented vocabulary, phraseology, and phrases which are still used. And on the other hand, obsolete linguistic styles used to add an archaic flavour to the historical narrative are also not necessarily the

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same as those documented. Many archaic words and expressions are used by writers based on general ideas about the language of the past, i.e. they are not taken from any particular documentary sources used by the writers. Therefore, the function of archaising a historical narrative is relatively independent, although it is closely connected with documentation. There is a noticeable difference between them in the forms of free indirect speech that have been used. The range of syntactic terms, especially undocumented archaisation, is further narrowed and limited mainly to word combinations with obsolete word agreement forms. Lexical and phraseological microforms of free indirect speech prevail in this case. At the same time, not only lexical archaisms, but also lexical-phonetic, lexical-word-formative, lexical-morphological, and lexical-semantic ones are widely used. Due to their semantic transparency, they do not impede the perception of the author's text and at the same time provide a vivid flavour of the ancient language.

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Made in Greece: PALSO Federation and foreign language education in Greece

Nicolaos Maras and Karen Lee

For over 50 years the private language school system in Greece, commonly known by the Greek name 'frontisterion', has pioneered the development of language studies making Greece one of the publishing market leaders in continental Europe in books and documents published in English. Stimulated by the demand for international trade, the 'frontisteria' arose to meet the need of families wishing to take advantage of the international trade opportunities in English speaking countries following the end of World War II. This paper explores the origins and history of private language tutoring schools in Greece and explains the pedagogic and examination principles behind them. It also addresses the development and importance of the testing system adopted in the private tutorial schools and the development of an association to ensure quality teaching and testing of language proficiency, particularly for English language. In dong so it examines the process of development of a teaching syllabus, teacher training and examination system which has influenced both Greek state and private language education.

1. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND
1.1 Why private tutorial schools evolved

Privately owned language tutoring schools have answered a perceived need in Greece for foreign language education for over 50 years. Middle-class parents looked at the elites of the country, educated in pricey private schools and sent abroad for university degrees. They see that if their children can speak two or more languages, they, likewise, can navigate the international waters, attend foreign universities, and establish the friendships and contacts that lead to jobs and trade.

The outward gaze is not new to Greece, a trading country since antiquity, with outposts across the Mediterranean basin and excursions as far as India in the days

of Alexander the Great. The Byzantine Empire at one time stretched from Rome to eastern Anatolia. When the Ottoman Turks invaded the region, the Hellenes' glorious history was subsumed in the Sultan's bureaucracy. The Aghia Sofia church was turned into a mosque. Greeks adapted and survived 400 years of Ottoman rule. What remnants of their language and culture were intact were largely preserved in 'secret schools' taught by Orthodox priests. It's tempting to suggest that the seed of the modern tutoring school sprang from those clandestine classrooms, a solution to a problem, a 'work-around'.

The Ottoman Empire began to unravel as Enlightenment thought rose elsewhere. In the coincidence of outside weakness and internal democratic fervour, Greeks rose up in revolt in hopes of carving out a modern Greek state. They succeeded in 1820-21, putting in place the then popular parliamentary monarchy form of government and a line of Bavarian royalty. Foreshadowing later events, the new state was in debt from the start. Leaders of the revolution chose sides, aligning with one or another of four 'Great Powers' (England, France, Germany, and Russia), intrigues which ended at least once in assassination (Kapodistrias). Private fortunes were amassed. Malarial swamps went undrained. And then there was another war. And another.

Impoverished by 150 years of wars and civil war, Greece emerged from WWII with

a largely uneducated peasant populace to whom large estates were distributed as small holdings. Increasing numbers of heirs to these original homesteads meant the land couldn't support all. Second sons and daughters moved into urban centres for education and work. A girl's dowry now changed from a hope-chest and a couple of fields to her lifetime ability to use her education to help build family income. Education was seen as a valuable commodity.

Following WWII, Greece was one of many countries that received the benefits of the Marshall Plan (USA). However, a disproportionate amount of aid went to private education, on the premise that the country needed to rebuild its leadership class. These new leaders would then, in turn, enable rest of the people to prosper. Or so it was hoped.

1.2 The rise of tutoring schools – answering a specific need
Until now, the Greek Constitution has specified that education would be in the hands of the Greek people. Free public schools (1-12) were the route for most children. Private schools existed, but were only recognised for public service jobs or entry to Greek universities, if they were headquartered in Greece and licensed by the Greek Ministry of Education. The method of education was heavily influenced by the Germanic model, a result of the Bavarian royalty and, so, depended heavily on rote learning and memorisation.

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'The limited seats at Greek universities were concentrated in classical studies and those professions seen as needed in the modern state'

All universities were state run and, likewise, were free, but seats were limited and attained by passing entrance tests with the highest scores. Sufficient scores were calculated to fill the seats available in each school. To assure one's place in the field of one's choice at university, students became increasingly competitive. This in turn led to the rise of outside, private tutoring schools for the three desmes (tracks) that led to pure sciences, health and human sciences or humanities. These pre-university tutoring schools presaged the concept of foreign language specialty tutoring.

The limited seats at Greek universities were concentrated on classical studies and those professions seen as needed in the modern state. Foreign languages did not, in the early years, receive great attention. Yet as European integration took hold and parents saw what their children would need to succeed in life, language certification began to increase in demand.

The universities, however, could not turn out teachers fast enough. Compounding the sheer limitation of places available was the situation that many graduates had never travelled outside the country and had not had the opportunity to use in native speaker environments the language they were teaching. Foreign language proficiency depended on 'book learning.' So, state-certified, university-educated teachers were too few and foreign language teaching in Greek public schools was qualitatively deficient. For several decades, the shortfall in degree-holding teachers was made up by those holding proficiency certificates from a foreign language certification body, notably the Cambridge Language Examinations Syndicate.

While the majority of Greek parents could not afford to send their children to a full-day private school, most could afford a couple of hours a week in a language centre. Demand, then, created the original market for private language school education. Member centres of what would become the PALSO organisation encouraged every child in their catchment area to join, keeping their prices at reasonable levels for their neighbourhood. The owner of a tutoring school was not required to be a

certified teacher, as long as those who did the teaching were certified. Small schools opened; a few larger chains and franchise operations came onto the market. The march forward began, with enrolment growing to a million students in Greece at its peak and currently numbering some 800,000 enrolled in over 4000 member and non-member tutoring schools.

1.3 The development of language school associations

In 1957, a group of tutoring school owners in Athens formed an association, the Pan-Athenian Language School Organisation (PALSO). Their initial goal was to promote the concept and, of course, enrolment in their schools, to share information on best practices and to influence legislation that might affect their business.

One of the early challenges was meeting the need for qualified foreign language teachers. The Ministry of Education sought an interim solution, namely awarding teaching certificates to Greek high school graduates who had also passed a recognised foreign language proficiency test. The University of Cambridge Language Examinations Syndicate (UCLES) was the premier test salon in the UK and an obvious first choice. However, there were also, at that time, English tests put out by the University of Oxford, as well as a few other creditable tests of British or American English. With the backing of tutoring school owners, the Ministry decided to award tutoring licences to holders of the University of Cambridge or University of Michigan proficiency certificates. These certificate holders, however, could not teach in the public schools. That position was still reserved for university graduates.

1.4 Foreign language proficiency certificates as a market force

The extension of teaching permission was meant to cover the need until Greek universities could ramp up their foreign language teaching programmes. The unintended result of the decision was the rise in demand for these two foreign-source examinations (and the progress tests that led up to them) to the detriment of other tests in the market. Teaching in a tutoring school, in those early years, became a very decent 'entry-level job with prospects' for those who either did not get into university or who wanted to enter the work force as soon as possible after high school. Tutoring schools now began to advertise their test success rates and to shift toward course books and other materials geared to success in Cambridge or Michigan tests.

Teaching permits were also granted to graduates of foreign, English-speaking universities. From 1976 to 2006, 'teaching English in Greece' was an attractive way for British, American, Canadian, Australian, and South African native speakers to work abroad and see a bit of the world. In that pre-Internet era, several recruiting organisations sprang up, advertising in

'Today, the PALSO Federation represents over 3000 member schools in Greece, organized into 41 local associations'

those source countries and assisting prospective teachers in making the move and getting their 'paperwork' together. At the same time, Greek students who had gone to universities abroad could receive a language teaching permit.

A fair number of Greek young people did go abroad to study. For some, it was an alternative to not scoring high enough to enter a field of their choice at a Greek university. This should not be construed to mean those who studied abroad were less intelligent or qualified. Many were, in fact, high achievers, just not good memorisers or test takers. Others did their bachelor-degree work in Greece and went abroad for graduate studies. These foreign-educated graduates could supplement their work in their field by offering foreign language lessons (Papaefthymiou-Lytra, 2012).

2. FROM ASSOCIATION TO FEDERATION
2.1 The growth of syndicalisation
As tutoring schools sprang up across the

country, syndicalisation blossomed. A lot of local associations had been founded by 1980 and had banded together into the Pan-Hellenic Federation of Foreign Language School Owners, a non-profit association under Greek law. (NB – *School* was changed to *Centre* in 1999 as horizons widened to include adult education). The original impetus was extended to include more quality assurance support as well as a retirement fund for member owners in 1989. At the time, many professional groups maintained retirement funds separate from the state fund.

2.2 Federation today
Today, the PALSO Federation represents over 3000 member schools in Greece, organised into 41 local associations. The Federation is governed by a 15-member board, with 114 representatives arising from the associations. The Federation maintains a central headquarters in Athens for administration and support to regional associations. In addition, there is a legal advisor and a tax advisor, as well as other educational support as needed by members.

The PALSO LAAS examinations are currently set in more than 100 Examination Centres in Greece and Cyprus, holding and applying the ELOT EN ISO 9001:2008 of EQA HELLAS A.E.

3. THE DEVELOPMENT OF EXAMINATIONS

3.1 The PALSO Examinations

To mount such an ambitious plan meant maintenance of an office for each regional association and the Federation as well. There were rent, utilities, supplies and staff to pay. An income source had to be developed, and one obvious solution was to mount a test of English and collect registration fees from students who would be encouraged to sit for it. The PALSO Examinations were first presented in 1981 and with regard given to their suitability for the young Greek candidate population.

The PALSO Examinations comprised four levels A1 to B2. The aim was to ensure the calibration of language ability and the validity of exams to verify that abilities were being tested in the academic arena, although they had had not yet involved all testing bodies.

Printed in a write-in booklet of some 4 to 6 pages, on colour-coded paper, the PALSO Elementary (pink), Basic (blue), Standard (yellow) and Higher (white) were administered in state school premises, rented for the occasion on Saturdays and Sundays across the country.

The weekend test was a norm in Greece for other testing organisations as well. Growing participation – at one time, the highest among Cambridge test takers – meant public schools had to be used for the written papers and these were only free at the weekend. In other countries, with smaller enrolments, other smaller facilities could be used on weekdays.

As most tests had two sittings, PALSO did, too. First was Winter, initially in late January or early February and second was in spring, in late May or early June. Taken at centres around the country, the tests were sent back to Athens, where they were processed and hand-marked over three four-hour shifts by 20 teacher-examiners. Initially, examiners were all native speakers; in 1989, the first highly proficient native Greek speaker was hired (ABD American English for 'All But Dissertation', i.e. a student who has attained the MA or MS degree and completed additional coursework and research required for the doctoral but whose dissertation in applied linguistics has not yet been submitted and approved).

Discrete multiple-choice questions were scored by marking correct choices through holes punched in transparent plastic templates, one template for each page. Multiple-matching and gap-filling responses were compared to a print-out key. Short essays were less rigidly rated, based on fulfilment of expected content and production of correct usage.

'Listening and speaking skills in the mid-1980s were just beginning to receive more attention from educators and publishers'

To standardise the approach among examiners, a few at a time were called in to meetings with the supervisor to discuss and rate samples, at least once during the marking process.

Listening and speaking skills in the mid-1980s were just beginning to receive more attention from educators and publishers. The early PALSO tests had no speaking component. Listening scripts, eliciting multiple-choice or short answers, were read aloud by native speakers, simultaneously, a different one in each test room. Naturally, the range of accents and acting talent lowered reliability, which was, in any case, not being measured at the time.

3.2 The new PALSO format

As the 1980s closed, the Council of Europe *Threshold* document was nearing the release of its second edition. The COE *Waystage* document was being finalised, and the idea of scientific calibration of language ability was in the air. These were precursors to the Council of Europe Framework of Reference (CEFR) now in use.

The English-Speaking Union (ESU) Nine-Level Scale had been developed by Richard West and Brendan Carroll, comparing English examinations from major testing boards. The comparison was aimed at schools, employers and even candidates/consumers, who needed to know exactly what a descriptive name such as Standard or Lower meant in terms of true language ability. Carroll, looking for a subject to further test the instrument, agreed to act as consultant to the PALSO Federation as Chief Examiner in English and to design a new PALSO exam. West went on to UCLES to design their new Advanced (C1) test.

A PALSO board decision in late 1988 set the process in motion. Teachers and examiners were surveyed, sample tests were based on the results and tested in member tutoring schools over the following year. PALSO had also recently adopted computer scoring for everything except essays, which meant results could easily be collected and analysed. As Carroll wrote in his introduction to the 1991 Teacher's Book, *'In all, the new tests*

have undergone four revisions, have been commented on by some 200 teachers, tried out on over 600 students, and analyses of over 30,000 pieces of data have been carried out' (Carroll, 1991, p. 1).

The responses were positive. Many were enthusiastically so. In June, 1990, the new format examination was rolled out. Still printed in black on colour-coded paper, the exercise types and expected responses were more defined. Listening tests were introduced at all four levels, which prompted at least one course book publisher (Heinemann) to produce a listening series beginning at what is now termed A1 level. The listening tests were now written by Carroll and one or two assistants and recorded in the UK with professional voice actors, for increased interest and reliability.

3.3 Speaking component
A Speaking component was added to the Standard and Higher (B1 and B2) levels, with the then-innovative 'two-plus-two' arrangement. Two examiners sat with two candidates, so, first off, candidates had a fair shake and could encourage each other. The table arrangement, with candidate opposite candidate, facilitated interaction for pair exercises. One examiner played the interlocutor, while the other observed and applied the score. However, unlike other recent exams, the examiner responsible for rating results was encouraged to engage as needed in the conversation. They might draw out more from a candidate to confirm their

assessment or shore up a flagging interlocutor. The emphasis was on a natural exchange -- as much as natural is possible in the hyper-nervous exam setting – to put the candidates at ease and to work as a team to elicit the best possible performance from each candidate.

3.4 The importance of visual appeal
It was not long until new printing methods made three-colour printing economical enough to try. Again, PALSO was at the front of the wave, producing tests that were as visually appealing as the newer course books. Colour printing also allowed testing of colour words, a vocabulary item at the beginner levels.

4. TEACHER TRAINING AND PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT
4.1 The Enimerosi newsletter
While the exams were developing, teacher training also rose to the forefront. More language teachers were now available for the public school system, and the quality of teaching was rising. The private language centres kept pace. Professional seminars as well as informative commercial presentations became a standard part of regional gatherings and book fairs. Articles on pedagogy appeared in *Enimerosi*, the monthly newsletter. Teachers were encouraged to continue their professional development.

4.2 Pedagogic guides
During this period, PALSO published a number of explanatory guides for the new

'Professional seminars as well as informative commercial presentations became a standard part of regional gatherings and book fairs'

test and for each skill (see e.g. Georgouli, et al., 1995). The theoretical overview was written by Carroll, with the academics editing and supplementing. The new-format exams began being published and distributed to member schools as practice test books.

4.3 *The PALSO Guide* - A Collaborative Work

From 1990 to 1994, the parts became the whole. Carroll, working with professors from Greek universities and school owner-educators, began compiling a syllabus (see Zarhoulakou-Nelson, 1990) that would reflect the new format and move it forward. As most tutoring schools taught more than one language, professors in Italian, French and German as well as English contributed: Antonis Tsopanoglou in Italian and Vassilike Tokatlidou in French, Elisabeth Kotsia in German, Sophia Lytra and Stathis Efstathiadis in English. By design, Greece's two largest universities were involved. Tsopanoglou, Tokatlidou and Efstathiadis represented the Aristotelian University of Thessaloniki, while Kotsia and Lytra were on faculty at

the University of Athens. In addition to their language specialty, the professors brought expertise in applied linguistics and testing theory to the project. They also wrote or supervised writing tests in this period (Carroll, et al., 1997; Carroll, 1999), giving them, and their students, a controlled sample on which to base further research and prepared instructions for distribution to school owners, teachers and examiners.

The academic heft delivered by this university involvement continues to ripple outwards. Graduates are now teaching in both public and private schools, working in Ministry of Education departments, research and publishing and, now as academics in their own right, training new teachers. The effort enhanced foreign language education as a desirable career and stamped the PALSO organisation with a seal of seriousness it aspired to.

4.4 The PALSO languages syllabus

All four languages eventually produced a syllabus. These publications were not uniform in style or content, but covered

the same ground: the language needed to communicate and a description of how it would be tested. Differences reflected different approaches to language learning in the 'hearth' country as well as norms already established in exams by native boards.

English, being the language with highest enrolment, engaged more participants in its syllabus development. Owner-educator teams from around the country set to work collecting the materials to be included in the new English syllabus. PALSO had used a quite thorough structural Syllabus, developed by the late Peta Nelson, an owner-educator in Athens. Nelson also served for several seminal years as supervisor of English marking. However, language-in-use was the buzzword of the day, and the PALSO teams wanted more. Nelson's syllabus was applied to a functional index from COE (Council of Europe). It fit, needing only a few additions. For lexical items, another owner-educator, Dimitra Stathokopoulou from Aigio, mined the Cambridge Lexicon. Yet another team added, edited, deliberated, sliced and diced. A typist entered it into computer; one of the new digital-design firms was hired to lay it out.

The PALSO Guide was published in 1994. It opened with *What we teach*. This first and lengthier section included a forward and overall theoretical framework by Carroll. Its unique Functional-Structural Syllabus (Carroll, 1995) was laid out across facing pages, in columns using the familiar colour coding. A teacher or student could look for a function and follow its increasing complexity across the four levels of the test. Or, someone interested in what they needed to teach or learn at a given level could follow it down the coloured column, page to page. Likewise, the vocabulary needed for any task at any level could be found in the Topical section, colour coded and sorted by topic area.

The second section of the Guide had a detailed description of the exams, including item types, score ranges, marking scales and sample exercises from actual tests. The first edition of the Guide was printed in A4 size, lightly glued on the spine and hole-punched for a ring-binder, in the hope that subsequent updates could be inserted into the main work. They were not. Time and economics intervened.

5. POLITICS AND ECONOMICS, THE EU AND NEW CHALLENGES
5.1 CEFR and its influence
The 1990s saw the introduction of the CEFR and new efforts to assign its levels to language teaching, course materials and testing. Books were no longer rated as 'suitable for' a given level. Teachers could choose a book assigned a CEFR code, e.g. B2, to prepare students for a B2 test, from any testing board. As the new millennium dawned and market forces gained influence, the EU also pressed member states to allow the 'free flow' of language

'On the heels of business changes came the Greek economic crisis of 2009-ad infin, another calamity for language schools'

schools and exams. The once-restricted Greek educational system would see foreign universities competing with local colleges and the Greek state system, and new tests and language institutes, chains and joint-operations entered the market.

5.2 PALSO and international exam boards

UCLES, meanwhile, had been developing and promoting tests and materials at levels below B1. In 2002-3, the UK-based Edexcel organisation, soon to be acquired by the rapidly growing Pearson empire, entered Greece. Its exams from A1 to C2 levels would compete both with the near-monopoly that Cambridge and Michigan tests had enjoyed and with the lower levels PALSO provided. The local company that was set up to run the Edexcel tests, wisely, contracted with the organisation most experienced in test administration, the PALSO Federation. The contract stipulated that PALSO would discontinue its tests at the B1 and B2 levels, while Edexcel/Pearson would not present their A1-A2 or pre-A1 levels in Greece. The PALSO Federation renamed its A1, A2, Pre-A1

and Beginners tests *Language Attainment Assessment System* (LAAS) and carried on. The contract allowed PALSO to share in the revenue diverted by the UK testing giant.

5.3 Impact of Greek economic crisis on language schools

On the heels of business changes came the Greek economic crisis of 2009-ad infinitum, another calamity for language schools. The much-maligned Greek public service sector had been, yes, possibly bloated, but it was also a main support for the middle-class Greek economy. Suddenly and severely cut back, its support for language tutoring likewise shrank. The shock hit some neighbourhoods harder than others. The overall scene saw tutoring enrolment and test participation drop steadily each year as the crisis wore on (Zmas, 2015). Parents who, before the crisis, might have sent a marginal student to 'give it a try' and gain experience, now waited to be sure their child would succeed with the one test fee they could put down. Other families simply could afford no extra tuition expenses.

Still, most language centres held on. Those who could gave extra margin to parents who fell behind in tuition payments; some even gave pro bono lessons to needy students. Teacher wages were cut to the bone. Expenses were otherwise pared. Accounting advice on tax matters, long a standard column in the monthly newsletter, became crucial.

PALSO also held on. The LAAS tests were cut back to once a year. The marking crews, once the most experienced in Europe, were reduced. The handful of teacher-examiners remaining have added to their impressive 180 cumulative years of experience and continued to hone their insights on the essay marking scales. Examiners are paid per paper, as they have been since the beginning. Thus, the number needed is in sync with the number of candidates, another factor in keeping the exams affordable. When the Pearson contract passed to another provider, who opted to self-administer the test, PALSO Federation took up administration of the NOCN. (It appears to go only by its acronym now, previously the National Open College Network exams).

5.4 Development of the European Language Passport in Greece
In 2011, PALSO published the second edition of *The PALSO Guide* (Stathakopoulou, et al., 2011; Davenellos, et al., 2011), updated. It now incorporated an index for the Functional-Structural Syllabus (Carroll et al., 2011) as well as for parts of speech and collocations and phrasal verbs, and additional vocabulary that had entered the language in the intervening 17 years. Both the first and second editions eschew 'teach to the test' and unequivocally place the emphasis on *This is what we teach. Therefore, this is what we test*. And here's how we do it! The test section has full transparency regarding item types, score weight among skills within the test, essay marking scales, and rationale for the result. It also has sample exercises from past tests to illustrate and map the points made.

More recently, one far-seeing board member pressed for development of a PALSO version of the *European Language Passport*. The *PALSO ELP* model received certification by Council of Europe. It will be delivered to member tutoring schools in 2018: a student-owned, student-centred document in a colourful binder, designed to keep a record of the student's progress in English or any other language they might acquire.

6 PALSO TODAY
6.1 High ideals that spread
There is little argument among PALSO Federation members that the organisation has done a credible job in promoting quality foreign language education. The seminars, guidebooks, practice test books and the tests themselves have contributed to this goal. As all schools sending candidates to the tests are members, there

is no preferential treatment. Complaints about particular results are rare, but always checked by a supervisor. While amelioration of test scores is equally rare, teachers and owners do have a direct feedback mechanism via the testing committee. They can and do critique exercises, comment on appropriateness of content for students in Greece, and suggest changes. They also have considerable influence with course book publishers, who listen closely to suggestions in this highly competitive market.

6.2 Relationship between private and state schools

PALSO is a form of public-private partnership, not by design so much as a solution to a need that was answered by the private sector when the state was not yet able to meet it. Still, there has never been an attempt to replace state schools, but rather to supplement them. If the enterprise seems insular and self-serving, teaching, testing, pointing to successes – it also has a wider spin-off effect. Language centre owners, whether trained teachers or not, are dedicated to the ideals of good education. Most also live in their communities and interact with parents outside the school. They are businessmen and women with well-developed ethics.

Likewise, teachers and examiners, over the years, have moved up and out. Like the owner-members, the teachers and examiners form social and professional bonds. They are a source of job referral as well as pedagogical information exchange among colleagues. Although statistics are not available, anecdotal evidence suggests a high number of those associated with the PALSO organisation are now directors of studies, inspectors for testing boards, materials writers and producers, statistics analysts and programme designers, and more, working in the state, NGO and private sectors.

Emphasis on excellence, innovation and focus on the student lies at the heart of the PALSO model.

CONCLUSION

The PALSO 'experience' spans over 50 years. It has not always been harmonious; personalities and political affiliations as well as competitive interests sometimes made for 'colourful' exchanges. As philosophies came and went along with changing governments, tutoring school owners enjoyed fat times alternating with nagging uncertainty and reversal. It is a testimony to determined leadership that the nationwide federation has stayed together, weathered the hard times, and come though as a gathering of colleagues.

The experience may not fit all other teaching and testing organisations. Some

may be set up for strictly business interest and others for strictly professional growth. The PALSO federation has combined both in its quest for success. To this end – the proverbial 'better mousetrap' – member school owners stay abreast of good management practices, explore research and new materials to motivate their students, seek dedicated teachers who desire to develop their skills, and demand a test that reliably measures their achievements or points to improvements.

If a lesson is to be taken by other teaching/examining associations, it may be simply that high standards, collegiality and the will to forge a mutually beneficial path win the day.

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Reviews

How Language Began

by Daniel Everett
Profile Books (2017)
Reviewed by Rob Williams

Chomsky was wrong. So was Pinker. So was anyone else who believed that our ability to use language is the result of a genetic mutation. Those who have read the studies on aphasia – Broca's aphasia and Wernicke's aphasia – and who believe that these are evidence for a specific location in the brain that deals with language are also wrong. There is no language gene. There is no part of the brain, nor any part of our physiognomy that was specifically created to serve the purposes of language. If language can be described as instinctive at all, it is second nature, it is learned. For this alone *How Language Began* is worth reading. It is a provocative and well-argued case for an alternative view, and this view is that the origins of language are cultural – born out of (among other things) the need to collaborate and the need to report information (and in consequence interpretations) of things that others have not seen. Language is not the province of Homo Sapiens either. This is not what sets us apart from previous incarnations *Homo Erectus* and *Homo Neandertalis*. Neither is there a hierarchy of languages. The notion of a protolanguage is also wrong – communication has always been a complex mixture of symbolic representation. Language should not be viewed as structure, but rather as process that is situated in contexts, that changes with contexts.

How Language Began is both chronological and thematic, covering a range of disciplines from anthropology, neuroscience and biology to linguistics and cultural communication. Beginning with the advent of mankind on the planet, it then looks at how we have evolved to accommodate language – how has our brain developed – before moving to consider how grammar came to be and finally arriving at how culture shapes and is shaped by language. In doing so, Everett builds a persuasive case.

Any book dealing with the origins of something will have to take the reader back in time. Part one starts in prehistory, leads the reader through the rise of our ancestors and, more importantly, what they did and how this necessitated complex communication. It draws on natural selection, theories of evolution and on archaeology. It shows how the fossil record (through the study of tools) is both an indicator of the complexity of social groups and is yet incomplete. Given that even today, tribal communities make and use artefacts that are biodegradable, we can assume that this also took place

in the past. So the fossil record gives us a glimpse of the potential complexity of our ancestors. The location of artefacts tells us how far they travelled and of the possible technology needed to get there. The section ends with a consideration of the semiotics of Peirce, a discussion on the nature of language and the assertion that we all communicate through signs, whatever form these may take. The section establishes two key points: that *Homo Erectus* is quite possibly the species wherein complex communication started to evolve (*Homo Sapiens* is a refinement) and that *'language, whatever its biological basis, is shaped by psychology, history and culture'* (Everett, 2017, p. 69). It also establishes an underlying theme that established wisdoms should be questioned and that the siloed study of language by discipline (structural linguistics, ethnography, etc.) will always be insufficient and incomplete. We are bound to miss something if we go down that route.

Having looked at how we evolved, part two moves to look at how our bodies evolved. It is the turn of neuroscience and biology – specifically the development of the vocal tract. How did the evolution of the brain interface with cultural development, and what does this mean for the production of language? Does size matter? What stimulates a brain to grow and gain in neurodensity? How have organs used for breathing and eating become adapted into sophisticated tools of communication? The underlying theme of challenging a

series of established ideas and criticising what is seen as narrowly focused research laced with potential confirmation bias persists. The desire to find a locus in the brain for language has its roots in how a brain is conceptualised. This is an example of cultural constraint at work. Everett uses a range of studiesto argue that the biological evolution to language is one of adaptation of existing biology and that the construction of ever more complex communities and cultures - and the communication needs inherent in this - may have had a leading role to play.

Human evolution and biological development provide the context to move to consider language itself in part three. Everett draws on linguistics to consider the evolution of grammar, returns to the concept of signs from part one to consider the totality of a communicative act (use of nonverbal communication, sign language, etc.) Language is portrayed as a tool that balances complexity with expedience (Chapter 11 – *'Just Good Enough'*). Ambiguities require an understanding of context and culture to be resolved.

The final part charts the cultural evolution of language. It is the shortest and draws threads from the previous three sections. How has one community come to speak one language as opposed to another? What might be the reasons for misunderstandings between communities? Not surprisingly, the causes are attributed to culture. The values and habits we

establish by living in a community form an integral part of how we communicate and how we use language. *'[...] studies of culture and human social behaviour can be summed up in the slogan that 'you talk like who you talk with' or 'you grow like who you grow with'* (Everett, 2017, p. 281).

This book does not go in great depth into any one of the fields presented. Rather it makes connections between them to build up an overall argument. Specialists in any one of these fields will recognise the information given and possibly not find particular assertions insightful. However, they may well find information from outside their own domains revelatory and the links made between them thought-provoking, if not compelling.

For the language teacher, the chapters on different kinds of grammar, phonetics and morphemics will probably not hold much that is new. However, the process of deducing the complexity of communication from artefacts and from evidence clearly demonstrates not only a fascinating line of argument but also how contextually situated language is. Similarly the chapters on how the brain developed, the lack of locus for language, the difference between grey matter and white matter and the possibility that cultural stimulae alter the composition of the brain itself, provide food for thought.

There are, of course, elements that can be criticised. There is much speculation about how *Homo Erectus* might have lived, might have communicated, without this being supported by evidence. Everett provides his own definition of culture (Everett, 2017, p. 67) and does not devote a lot of space to discussing other possible definitions. Given the wealth of interdisciplinary sources brought to bear in constructing his argument, this seems to be an omission. As this work seems to pride itself on being multidisciplinary, readers will always find connections to other areas of study. The discussions of culture as a gestalt resonates with social constructivism. Discussions of culture and discourse could happily mention Scollon, Tannen, Kramsch among others. However, the very fact that the book provokes this kind of reflection could be seen as an indicator of its success.

In the world of language education, there is general recognition that language cannot exist outside culture. The revisions of the Common European Framework of Reference illustrate this well. Discussions on how to include a cultural component in language teaching feature heavily in conferences and publications. *How Language Began* shows us the vital role culture has played in our entire evolution. It also shows that a blinkered form of study can only lead to a narrow-minded view. This book is passionate, accessible and provocative on many levels. Anyone at all interested in how we communicate with one another should read it.

Diplomatic Protocol: Etiquette, Statecraft and Trust

by Rosalie Rivett
Whittles Publishing Ltd (2018)
Reviewed by Barry Tomalin

The training of diplomats and the use of diplomatic language and protocol are specialist, but vital skills. Why? Because diplomats are representatives of their countries around the world and are the keys to successful negotiation of agreements and defusing political tensions at the highest levels. As Rosalie Rivett, author, teacher and Chief Executive of the Women in Diplomacy organisation in London says, *'Protocol is the etiquette of diplomacy. It does so by following certain rules of behaviour. Protocol indicates an acceptable standard in diplomatic discourse, dialogue and negotiation'* (all citations henceforward refer to Rivett, 2017).

Language and the way it is used in diplomatic documents is an essential part of protocol. As Rivett explains in the introduction, diplomacy is *'a highly nuanced role played out in language – the Diplomatic lexicon – which is carefully chosen and in a manner which enhances the standing of their countries among host nations'*. Language therefore is crucial to diplomatic success and the word protocol itself is derived from ancient Greek Protokollon meaning 'first glue'.

Diplomatic Protocol is a manual aimed at young diplomats in training and in simple language explains how protocol works. The 13 chapters, each with a bullet point summary of key points at the end, examine the roles of diplomats in overseas missions. A considerable advantage of the book is that it contains many examples, some even as recent as 2017. For students of diplomatic language and culture the key chapters are those on Modern Diplomacy, Internet Diplomacy and Media Communications, and Crisis Management. The author makes the key point that the information age and the use of ICT (Information and Communications Technology) have increasingly robbed diplomats of a key asset in communicating information, that of time. Rivett explains: *'The world has become so small, thanks to instant communications and even faster forms of travel, that an event on one side of the world can spark an immediate reaction on the other, and all of it instantly recorded and shared online. There is no longer time to pause and ponder while a letter or telegram wends its way from an embassy to the home nation. Reaction has to be almost instantaneous, appropriate and at the very least designed not to exacerbate what might be an already volatile situation. It has to be diplomatic and governed by established protocol – the rules of diplomatic exchange and last but not least, it has to be media friendly'*.

As Michael Cole, PR advisor and former BBC Royal Correspondent notes in the book, how a diplomat reacts to a crisis is key to how it will be reported and as a result how the diplomat, the mission and the country he/she represents will be perceived. The important thing is to take control of the crisis, talk to the relevant people, be available for interviews and answering questions, keeping it simple (avoid jargon), listen, apologise if you get things wrong (everyone makes mistakes), if you can't answer, explain why (legal constraints, family, etc.) and above all, advises Cole, never say 'No comment'.

In an interesting and rather amusing illustration of how media can influence diplomatic etiquette, Rivett describes how the body language of the diplomatic handshake for the TV cameras can itself be a power play: '*You may notice some people jockeying for position prior to a photograph being taken of them shaking hands; this is because they know that the person whose hand is closer to the camera and thus more visible will be perceived as dominant over the one whose hand is concealed'.*

Rivett points out that diplomatic language is a formal and specific use of language. It is not the same as polite business language. *'Even in our modern world the very language of diplomacy is more formalised than general conversation or written exchanges'.* Even in protests or criticism of another state's attitudes or actions, she explains that however harsh or critical the message, *'it is traditionally understood that*

the ambassador is merely conveying the wishes, comments, even criticisms of his/her home state ... whatever language or tone is used, the aim is always to keep the channels of communication open'.

This is why it is important to maintain the protocol of third person singular or plural in *Notes* or *Notes Verbales*, as they are called in the UN, and use standard phrases, such as *'has the honour to', 'avails himself/herself of the opportunity to'* and *'expresses concern regarding'*. Letters between Heads of State may be more personal, using 'I' and 'we', but will still be more formal in general style. The increasingly informal style of business correspondence is not the trend in diplomatic correspondence. *'Dear Ambassador Smith or Dear Bill are not acceptable as diplomatic greetings, although you can get away with the equivalents in business correspondence where formality in some environments may be seen as a disadvantage'.*

There is greater convergence between business and diplomacy in the area of recognising and adapting to cultural sensitivities. In November 2010 British Prime Minister, David Cameron, turned up for an official visit to China wearing a red poppy to commemorate Remembrance Day which honours military personnel who died in World Wars I and II. The Chinese objected. For them the red poppy was a reminder of the opium wars of the late 19th century. The Chinese asked David Cameron to remove the poppy. Cameron's advisers refused. Note to protocol officer,

'Don't send senior British politicians to China during Remembrance Week'.
On a visit to the G20 meeting in Hanzhou in China in 2016, President Obama had no red carpet laid out for him when he arrived whereas all other Heads of State did.

Was this a snub by the Chinese or simply due to the fact that President Obama descended the steps of the presidential plane directly and didn't wait for the red carpeted steps provided by the Chinese authorities? Rivett notes that etiquette sets the tone for all linguistic and cultural negotiations. What is said and done and what is unsaid are equally important, and the use of constructive ambiguity is an important linguistic and cultural skill in diplomatic communication. English, Rivett believes, is full of ambiguity, an average of six synonyms for every word. In Arabic, family terms are very important. English has only one word for 'cousin', but Arabic has eight words to denote first cousins and sixteen for second cousins, distinguishing who is being referred to and the degree of kinship.

The last 20 years have seen major changes in how we communicate through the emergence of the Internet and social media. Does this mean that language and cultural protocol in the Diplomatic Service and international organisations like the UN are out of date? Part of the diplomat's job, says Rivett, is to *'evaluate and interpret information and advise the home nation on what is important and what is mere rumour and speculation'*. The Internet and social media have dramatically increased the amount of information to be processed. In addition, *cyberpolitik* and cyber warfare has added a new dimension to political and diplomatic security and *mediapolitik* is the new reality. Rivett quotes former US Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright, who asserted that CNN international news and current affairs TV station had become the de facto 16th member of the UN Security Council, influencing views worldwide. How long before Facebook applies for admission?

All in all, this is a useful, straightforward and reasonably concise primer for young diplomats and future members of international organisations with insights into and examples of both good and questionable observations of protocol. A future edition would benefit from an index and also a summary of references (currently footnotes) and further reading suggestions at the end. However, the question remains that in order to connect with a media savvy generation does diplomatic language and culture need to change? Many would argue that it must. Rivett is more cautious. *'The purpose of diplomats is dialogue, keeping lines of communication open, and understanding the protocols, traditions and the history and culture of the countries and faith groups they deal with'*. In doing so, the observance of a commonly recognised language and cultural protocol is essential to civilised discourse.

TLC

Making Sense: The Glamorous History of English Grammar

by David Crystal
Profile Books (2017)
Reviewed by Barry Tomalin

Books by David Crystal are always a pleasure to read. One of the world's leading scholars, writers and broadcasters on language and linguistics, he manages to be informative and entertaining at the same time. He is able to make complicated concepts appear relatively simple by writing about them in a natural and uncomplicated way, and when he writes, you feel that he is talking to you personally.

That's the gift of *Making Sense*, grammatical concepts genuinely made simple and yes, at times, maybe even glamorous. It is part of a series which includes *The Story of English in 100 Words, Spell It Out: The Singular Story of English Spelling and Making a Point: The Pernickety Story of English Punctuation* (you can see Crystal's way of having fun with words in these titles).

I can't think of anyone who wouldn't learn from this, but it is especially useful for language and linguistics students, researchers and teachers. Engagingly and expertly written, it is excellent for readers learning about grammar and getting up to date on trends in analysis and usage.

Grammar is how we link words to express meaning. And we do that by forming sentences. Many people associate meaning with vocabulary, but in fact the sentence provides the context as Crystal demonstrates using the verb 'charge'. A word like 'charge' is polysemous. It has more than one meaning. In the examples below, it can refer to money, energy and military. It is the grammatical formation of the sentence which sets the context to allow us to determine which meaning of 'charge' is being used.

The theatre charged for the tickets. (money)

The cavalry charged along the valley. (military)

I charged the battery in my phone. (energy)

'That's what sentences are for', writes Crystal, *'to make sense of words. And that is what every grammatical construction is for – from the largest sentence patterns to the smallest word inflections: they are there to help us, literally, to make-construct-create-sense'* (Crystal, 2017, p. 118). As he goes on to say, using the fictional creation of novelist Edgar Rice Burroughs, Tarzan, *'If all we ever wanted to say was at the level*

*of 'Me', 'Jane', 'you', Tarzan' grammar
would be easy'* (Crystal, ibid.).

Making Sense follows three broad themes.
The first is the child's acquisition of grammar
from its first words to putting words
together to introducing word order. The
second is the explanation of grammatical
terms; their origin, history and usage
and how they have changed throughout
history. The third is an explanation of the
history of grammar and grammarians
from the Greeks to Chomsky and beyond.
These are not presented as solid chunks
of information at one go but introduced
gradually as appropriate over twenty-eight
short chapters. The twenty- ninth chapter
contains an epilogue, an appendix for
teaching and testing and references for
further reading.

Crystal's earliest academic interests and
research were in child language acquisition
and development, and he uses a young
child's first steps in speaking, moving from
sounds, to single words, then to words
with verbs and adjectives and then to the
recognition and gradual mastery of word
order and then to tense recognition. By the
time he or she gets to five and starts going
to 'big school' (primary school), it's *'grammar
game over'* as Crystal puts it (Crystal, 2017,
p. 75). However, he goes on to say, that
isn't quite the case as by the time they get
to school, children may still have problems

with word formation (for example, irregular
verbs) and have not yet encountered more
complicated constructions to do with things
like passives and conditionals and adverbial
phrases. Also, as Crystal points out, there is a
big difference between speaking and reading
and writing. Up till the time they reach
primary school (age 5 in the UK), they have
mainly spoken, listened or been read to. They
haven't on the whole had to read lengths of
text on their own or write sentences. So, a
whole new world of grammatical learning is
now in front of them.

The second feature running through the
book is the explanation of grammatical
terms. These are highlighted under the title
KEYWORD. Each keyword or key phrase has
a definition, a history and a sense of how it
is used in the teaching of language. What is
obvious is that different grammatical terms
have made their appearance at different
times in history and that there have been
significant changes in attitudes to grammar,
its analysis and teaching, especially in
the 20th century. Up until that time a
prescriptive approach to grammar prevailed
with the Latin tradition as the leading
approach. Grammar started with the Greeks
and was developed by the Romans, and
the Latin prescriptive approach dominated
the writing about and teaching of grammar
until the twentieth century when it was
replaced by what is known as the descriptive
approach, pioneered among others by

the Danish linguist Otto Jespersen. The prescriptive approach, learning and applying strict rules of language, made the difference between correct and incorrect language, although usage may have been very different. Crystal cites the position of the preposition NEVER to be placed at the end of the sentence and apparently introduced into English by the poet John Dryden in the 18th century. Instead of saying *'the man I was talking to'* he insisted we should say *'the man to whom I was talking'*, and the rule stuck no matter how clumsy it often sounded. Popular usage remained different, however, leading to the immortal remark by Sir Winston Churchill that is was *'The sort of English up with which I will not put!'* (Crystal, 2017, p. 95).

By the 1970s, the study of grammatical form was increasingly replaced by the study of usage and expression, and formal grammar was less and less taught in schools, at the cost of correct language communication, as some complained. However, other factors have also affected the use of languages, particularly English, especially American English, and global Englishes as well as the emerging language of the Internet, as Crystal points out, devoting a chapter to each. One example of grammar change is the move from stative verbs, e.g. *'I love it'* to a more immediate sense using the continuous form, e.g. the McDonald's slogan, *'I'm loving it'*.

The third broad theme of *Making Sense* is the codifiers, the scholars who made grammar happen, coined the terms and parsed the sentences. This is done largely through 'Interludes' – stories, often illustrated, which offer one or two page vignettes of changing attitudes to grammar over the ages and brief lives of key grammarians, such as John Wallis (1616-1703), the first English grammarian, who saw the need for English to be studied independently of the Latin grammatical tradition. Although he wrote his *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae (Grammar of the English Language)* in Latin, he was clear that, *'English in common with nearly all modern languages differs enormously in syntax from Greek and Latin (the main reason that in English we do not distinguish different cases). Few people recognise this when describing our language and other modern languages and consequently, the task is usually made more complicated than it need be'* (Wallis, 1972). As Crystal observes, *'This could have been written by any twentieth-century linguist, but for over 300 years his linguistic insight was ignored'* (Crystal, 2017, p. 57).

Lighter-hearted interludes deal with grammatical confusions, one of which in English is known as the dangling participle, a phrase added to the beginning or end of a sentence, unintentionally leaving the reader amused and probably confused as

well. See what you make of these examples from *A Grammar of Modern English* by W.H. Mittins (1962).

'We saw the Eiffel Tower flying from London to Paris'.

And a memorial inscription:

'Erected to the Memory of George Baker Drowned in the Thames by his Fellow Directors' (Crystal, 2017, pp.124-125).

Crystal concludes *Making Sense* with what he describes as *'a kind of manifesto for the linguistic approach to grammar'*. In summary, his ten key principles are:

1. Grammatical change is normal and unstoppable.

2. Grammatical variation is normal and universal.

3. A highly diversified society needs a standard grammar to facilitate intelligent supra-national communication.

4. A highly diversified society needs non-standard grammar to enable expression of regional or cultural identity.

5. Neither standard nor non-standard grammar is homogeneous. Both change according to the medium of communication.

6. There is an intimate relationship between standard and non-standard grammar.

7. Everyone who receives a school education needs to learn to read and write standard grammar.

8. Everyone who receives a school education needs to learn about varieties of non-standard grammar.

9. As English becomes an increasingly global language, we need to reappraise the concept of a single standard grammar and recognise 'regional standards'.

10. Grammar is a system of systems and must never be studied apart from other properties of language, such as semantics and pragmatics, that contribute to meaningful communication. *'In a word',* concludes Crystal, '*they give grammar its glamour'* (Crystal, 2017, pp. 237-238).

One Kiss or Two?
In Search of the Perfect Greeting

by Andy Scott
Duckworth Overlook (2017)
Reviewed by Barry Tomalin

This book is about far more than its title suggests. Andy Scott is a historian, diplomat and government advisor who has greeted people in 60 countries. In his nine chapters, he examines the history and psychology of etiquette in a lively and entertaining fashion enriched with stories from his own and others' experiences. In doing so, he uses the study of evolutionary biology, ethology, history, anthropology and futurism to explore the origins and development of culture and etiquette and where it might be going in the future.

The Oxford English Dictionary defines a greeting as *'a polite word or sign of welcome or recognition; the act of giving a sign of welcome; a formal expression of goodwill, said on meeting or in a written message'*. Examining the origins of kissing and hand greeting in mammals, Scott cites Edward Wilson's *Sociobiology* (1975), in which he states that culture and social organisation in humans are responses to the same primate urges in animals for social bonding and security.

This was in direct contrast to the work of social scientist, Franz Boas, who believed that social context and culture determine how we behave. And yet, says Scott, our habits of greeting are to some extent evolutionary and can be observed in various forms in primates, as Jane Goodall observed in her studies of apes in Kenya. In terms of social anthropology, says Scott, whatever evolutionary impulse might have stimulated it, handshaking was used in Mesopotamia and Greece and was taken up by the Romans and spread throughout the Roman empire. Handshaking and other forms of greeting, including kissing, are ways of matching your partner or showing respect to or asserting authority.

Scott uses history and natural sciences and psychology to study why people greet each other in the way they do and why different societies use different types and degrees of greetings. Of particular interest is his chapter on the seductive science of body language, where he reviews the research on judging character by first impressions, particularly the work of Albert Mehrabian at the University of California. Working with a small team of researchers in the 1960s, Mehrabian came up with the famous 7%-38%-55% rule that non-verbal communication makes up 93% of our communication. In other words, people judge us before we even open our mouths. According to Mehrabian's research, 55% of

our communication comes from the way we make gestures and from our facial expressions, 38% from the way we speak and only 7% from the words themselves. Many experts, including trainers and teachers, have assumed that therefore body language speaks louder than words and that the most important element in communication is non-verbal. In fact, as Scott demonstrates, Mehrabian's research was much more limited. He sought merely to examine the influence of verbal and non-verbal communication in expressing feelings and attitudes, especially when what is said and what is felt do not match. Our body language may support what we are saying or it may not. As Michael Argyle, a researcher at Oxford University, working at the same time as Mehrabian, found, body language is a better indicator of attitude, and that when body language supports what we are saying it reinforces what is said by as much as 4.3%.

To give examples of how our body language betrays our real emotions, Scott cites the example of Joe Navarro, a former FBI agent who trains and writes on how to spot what people really mean or feel through their body language. '*The feet*', Navarro says, *'are the most honest part of your body',* followed by arms and hands (Scott, 2017, p. 82). Scott goes on to show how this can influence politics and public affairs as in the victory of J.F. Kennedy over his opponent Richard Nixon in the American presidential election in 1960. The turning point was the first televised presidential election debate.

Kennedy looked smart, fresh and tanned. Nixon, who hadn't been very well, looked unshaven and badly dressed in comparison to Kennedy. Athough Nixon did better in subsequent debates, that night is considered to have given Kennedy the small number of votes he needed to win. Scott cites the New York Times journalist, Russell Baker, who wrote: *'That night image replaced the printed word as the natural language of politics'* (Scott, 2017, p. 87).

Another interesting theme of the book concerns the influence of culture and in his chapter *'Forget about Chimpanzees'* he explores a sociological argument about how cultures develop and therefore how etiquette and greetings differ. Citing professor Robert Foley, co-founder of the Leverhulme Centre for human evolutionary studies at Cambridge University, Scott notes that the human race is marked by relatively low biological diversity, but high cultural diversity. As the first human groups spread out from East Africa, where human life is believed to have first evolved, so they developed different forms of 'socially transmissible behaviour', which is how human evolution scholars like Foley define culture. By 15,000 years ago mankind had spread to every continent, but it was only around 4,000 BC that the first settled communities grew up in Iraq (Mesopotamia) and Syria. As settled agriculture and cities developed, communities began to trade. People who didn't know each other but worked with other developed a common culture – a way of building links within and between

groups. As Sir Keith Thomas of Oxford University put it, the last two thousand years or so has been the age of culture – when culture consciously overrode nature (Scott, 2017, p. 236) and greetings are '*an expression of our social relations'* (Scott, 2017, p. 239).

And what of the future? How will a wired world with international connections through the Internet and unparalleled advances in electronics and robotics affect human communication? First, the language we use will consolidate into a few large volume languages. Scott cites English, Spanish and Arabic as examples and quotes the statistic that between 1970 and 2005 the number of living languages declined by about 20%. Statisticians have estimated that a language dies every two weeks or so. Secondly, the trend towards informality, which has increased since merit and money began to replace traditional hierarchy and status, will accelerate as we become 'one international tribe'. However, biologically, our brains are wired to deal with smaller groups of about 150 and that we may have an inner circle of as few as five people. Since greetings are primarily concerned with affirming and reinforcing relationships, they will continue within the different micro-cultures we create of family, personal friendship, work, social activities and so on, and greetings will still play a role in acknowledging relationships, showing respect and deference and demonstrating affection.

As Scott himself acknowledges, etiquette isn't easy, and for outsiders is shrouded in uncertainty. Any foreigner who has tried the one kiss or two, or three or four and which cheek to kiss first in France, for example, will know that. So, Scott concludes with six guidelines on using greetings and observing etiquette.

1. Greetings are important. They are an excellent way of recognising people.

2. Be wary of your judgements. It is easy to jump to conclusions too fast.

3. Don't try too hard. Go with the flow, but don't try to be something you are not.

4. Keep it open. Keep your posture open and your intentions clear.

5. Reciprocation rules. Try and reciprocate greetings in kind. If you fail to do so, it may suggest a breakdown in etiquette or a difference in social status.

6. Don't worry if it goes wrong. Remember that people are less focused on us than we think. If you get it wrong, say you are uncertain and acknowledge your mistakes.

The book will be of value to students and teachers of culture, especially as it introduces research that most teachers of language and culture don't normally get involved with, and does so in a lively and entertaining fashion.

Correspondence

Many thanks for your interesting and helpful article on the classification and use of phrasal verbs *(Litvinov et al., Training Language and Culture, Vol.1, Issue 4)*. For me, they are definitely the most frustrating and difficult area of the English language to master, because they are so easy to get wrong and to misinterpret. Where to put the preposition and which preposition to put is a constant source of concern. Phrasal verbs remind me of the famous misuse, attributed, I think, to Winston Churchill, who is alleged to have said on one occasion, *'up with which I will not put'*. It should of course be, and as he undoubtedly knew, *'which I will not put up with'*. But who is to tell the difference between *put up* (accommodate), *put up with* (tolerate), *put up for* (promote as a candidate for office), *put up* (a proposal), not to mention *put up a cupboard* (erect a cupboard), *put up a picture* (place it in position). I think we need a new simplified English for phrasal verbs. Professor Crystal, are you interested?

Y A Yukov, London

With all due respect I do not agree that 'Txtg' should be used as a way of motivating students to learn languages *(Svetlana Popova, Training Language and Culture, Vol.1, Issue 4).* The difference teachers need to consider is appropriacy and register. Although I agree with a lot of her descriptions of Generation Z students, I think we are

there precisely to encourage critical thinking, drafting, redrafting and accuracy and to instil these skills in our learners as it will help them in their future career. In my own classes with mainly English as a second language students I am prepared to use a degree of slang and 'down with the kids' language to build rapport and confidence, but I see my job as being to teach reading, writing and speaking and listening skills which will help my students in more formal environments. It doesn't mean we can't use humour and indeed practise a variety of registers, but students of all languages have to learn to recognise and use the more formal register of academic discourse. Otherwise, they may register at university, college or for apprenticeship and training courses and find themselves at a disadvantage when it comes to following up the references and completing assignments. Anyway, thanks to Svetlana for raising an interesting issue in language teaching and learning. It made me think.

Sarah B, Teacher of Spanish, London

I had never heard of August von Platen until I read about him in Radchenko et al's article in your last issue *(Training Language and Culture, Vol.1, Issue 4)*. He had a fascinating life and he was a very good poet. However, I still ask the question, shouldn't a poem be considered on its own merits and is it really important to know about the

poet's life and background? Do we need to know, for example, Dylan Thomas's drinking habits or August von Platen's sexual orientation in order to enjoy their poems? And indeed, if we do need to know that, what do we need to understand about Heinrich Heine, along with Goethe and Schiller, one of the giants of German literature who, as Radchenko reports, had a long running feud with Von Platen? I'm sure it's interesting to know about an author's private life to some extent and it certainly can increase interest in a poet's output, but if I didn't like the poet's lifestyle, would it affect my attitude to his or her poetry? Or my ability to understand, analyse and appreciate it? I hope not.

'Old fashioned', Berlin

RUDN University News

This already feels like 'Conference Year' with a range of international conferences already finished and more to come. The Department of Foreign Languages of the Faculty of Economics is preparing for its VIII International Research Conference 'Topical Issues in Linguistics and Teaching Methods in Business and Professional Communication' (www. lspconference.ru), which will be held on April 19-20, 2018 in Moscow.

The conference will be devoted to topical problems in modern applied linguistics, including:
• Practical problems of teaching a foreign language for business communication
• Current trends in professionally oriented foreign language teaching
• Integration of new information technologies into the practice of teaching foreign languages in a non-linguistic university
• A strategy for organising the teaching of translation in a non-linguistic university
• Intercultural communication in the language of business communication
• Practical problems of modern applied linguistics: Germanic (English, German), Romance (French, Spanish, Italian), and Asian languages (Chinese)

Among the plenary speakers are well-known specialists in the methods of teaching foreign languages from Great Britain, Spain, Germany and Russia: Elena N. Malyuga, Barry Tomalin, Robert O'Dowd, Wayne Rimmer, Alex Krouglov, David Krašovec, Anna Renate Schönhagen, Guido Tejerina, Evgenia V. Ponomarenko, Tamara B. Nazarova and Tatyana A. Dmitrenko.

The main goal of the conference is to provide an opportunity for the exchange of ideas between researchers, teachers and professionals to discuss the results of their scientific activity.

From 12 to 17 February, students of RUDN University Master's programme 'Professional communication and specialised translation in foreign languages' attended a series of lectures by Alex Krouglov, Emeritus Professor at London Metropolitan University. Classes were devoted to theoretical and practical issues of specialised translation, as well as the practical analysis of students' works, translation analysis of texts.

Round table 'Financial innovations in the digital economy'

On February 27, RUDN Faculty of Economics held a Round Table on 'Financial Innovations in the Digital Economy'. On the agenda was a discussion and search for effective solutions to the most pressing problems affecting all areas of modern life, and in particular financial affairs.

The round table discussed a wide range of issues on the following topics:
• National payment systems: problems and solutions
• Cryptological approaches to financial relations: the role of finance in the digital economy
• Banking of things: retail financial products in the digital economy
• Technological and legal security in the global digitalisation of financial markets;
• Competence and financial literacy in an innovative digital financial environment

Modernisation of Russian education and science was the subject discussed at the first Professors' Forum on February 1 at RUDN, hosted by the Peoples' Friendship University of Russia. More than a thousand representatives of science and higher education from most of the Russian regions participated in a professional dialogue on the problems of development of the university environment and the knowledge economy as the main resource for developing the country on innovative lines. The forum gathered together more than 70 rectors of leading universities and the largest educational centres of Russia. Within the framework of the Forum, several cooperation agreements have been signed.

On February 9, 2018, Russia's most international university celebrated its 58th anniversary. The year before, 2017, was marked by landmark events and international recognition. RUDN University – the most 'green' university in Russia – rose to the 44th position of the international rating UI Green Metric and won first place among Russian universities.

RUDN University continues to be a leading research institution. In December, the Institute of Applied Mathematics and Telecommunications opened the first Russian laboratory for advanced research into fifth-generation (5G) networks and the Internet of Things, which will become the main centre for comprehensive research of 5G networks and their applications. On the basis of the laboratory, joint research will be possible between mathematicians and engineers from Russia, the United States, Switzerland, Finland, Portugal, Italy and the Czech Republic.

Another important event was the opening of the Science Centre 'Molecular Design and Synthesis of Innovative Compounds for Medicine', which will become the main platform for the work of chemists in search for simpler, cheaper and more efficient methods of producing known drugs and for discovering ways to synthesise new active substances

On the international scene, RUDN University creates and develops a cluster approach. It includes interaction with foreign partners – state authorities, universities, employers, graduates – in order to train highly qualified personnel in demand at home. So, in 2017, the 'Africa-South' cluster in Zambia approved a comprehensive development programme covering academic exchanges, joint research and projects involving employers.

Today, representatives from 155 countries are trained at RUDN University. In April 2017, our students presented a unique gala concert in Paris on the stage of UNESCO headquarters.

RUDN University graduates work in more than 170 countries worldwide. In June 2017, Vladimir Filippov awarded a degree to its 100,00th graduate. The commemorative title was given to Battaray Hari from Nepal, who graduated from the Medical Institute with a degree in Medicine. Many congratulations to Battaray Hari and to all his colleagues who were awarded degrees.

ICC News

By Michael Carrier
ICC board member

New Members

ICC is delighted to welcome new members during 2017 including:
• Euroexam, London and Budapest
• International Language Association, Hong Kong
• Accademia Studioitalia, Rome

We are always interested in hearing from schools and associations who would like to join ICC or partner with us in teacher training and accreditation work. Please get in touch via *info@icc-languages.eu*

Accreditation

One of the roles and services of ICC is to use its professional expertise to benchmark and accredit the language education services of its member organisations. In the past, ICC inspectors have evaluated and accredited language examinations, teacher training programmes, project plans and more.

A recent new accreditation is the Euroexam range of examinations. Euroexams offers language exams for English and German at different levels and covering all skills. In partnership with ICC, these examinations have now been carefully evaluated and accredited by ICC, and will now carry the quality mark 'Accredited by ICC'. Further information is available at *http://www.euroexam.com*

ICC Conference 2018: The Great Migration Debate

This year's ICC 2018 Conference will be hosted by Ifigenia Georgiadou of the Hellenic Cultural Centre, and will take place in Santorini, one of the most beautiful and fascinating of the Greek islands. Language and cultural policy and best practice are the questions we will address in our Annual Conference on 'Migration, Communication and Culture'.

Time and Place

ICC 2018 Conference dates are May 4-6, 2018.

Delegates will be able to stay in local hotels at low cost, and take advantage of the beaches and taverns of this beautiful Greek island in a warm and welcoming climate. We recommend also that delegates arrive early or stay later to take advantage of Santorini and its neighbouring islands.

Conference Themes

The core theme of the ICC 2018 Conference will be 'Migration, Communication and Culture'.

One of greatest challenges that Europe faces is dealing with the huge increase in economic and refugee migration with the heart-rending dramas of migrants crossing the Mediterranean from North Africa and the Middle East to find security and a new life. The numbers of migrants have caused problems at political, economic, housing and security levels, and in some countries fuelled internal political unrest.

Our concern as Europe's International Language Association is language learning and cultural integration. Our role as educators is to assist with the design and planning of language training and cultural engagement that this migration development makes necessary. What are the most successful projects for migrant culture and language integration? The conference presentations will share case studies, issues and potential solutions.

Speakers

There will be a number of well-known speakers at the conference as well as educators from Greece and around Europe. Find details at *http://www.icc-languages.eu/conferences/25th-icc-annual-conference-2018-santorini*

Questions

Please visit *http://www.icc-languages.eu/conferences/25th-icc-annual-conference-2018-santorini* to find more information, and please contact Ozlem Yuges with any questions at *http://www.ozlem.yuges@icc-languages.eu*

Eurolta News

EUROLTA and Intercultural Communication

By Myriam Fischer Callus, EUROLTA Co-ordinator

Intercultural training has currently become a popular topic in foreign language circles, with interest from teachers and students.

Intercultural training has currently become a popular topic in foreign language circles, with interest from teachers and students. In the EUROLTA teacher training programme, intercultural communication plays a dominant role. The training aims to develop the awareness, knowledge and skills needed by the language teacher dealing with people from different cultures. On the one hand, it includes a theoretical approach and highlights different cultural models (for example, Edward Hall's Cultural 'iceberg' model and Geert Hofstede's 'onion' model). On the other hand, it includes many practical hands-on activities for the foreign language classroom. The activities are intended to stimulate discussion of the cultural differences between the students themselves and to build tolerance, respect and understanding.

Some of these practical activities deal for example, with the role of women in different societies, eating and drinking in different cultural contexts, the meaning of time, taboos, non-verbal communication, dealing with stereotypes, greetings, giving presents, distance between speakers, etc.

An example of a cross-cultural activity: a story of your na

Names can reveal a huge amount of cultural information. In pairs, students explain what their name means (if anything) and who gave it to them and why. The participants can be asked to reveal whether they ever had a nickname, whether they like their name and which name they gave (or would give) to their children. The participants then introduce their partner to the rest of the group. In our experience, most participants reveal a surprising amount of interesting 'cultural' information about their names. The greater the cultural diversity in the group, the better this activity works.

The main goal, therefore, of intercultural learning as seen in EUROLTA is the development of intercultural competence – the ability to act and relate appropriately and effectively in various cultural contexts. In times of globalisation and hope for peace, it is vital to use this understanding to communicate with people from other cultures successfully. The teacher develops a new understanding, moving from giving information and communicating knowledge to being a mediator between cultures. He or she has to be educated accordingly. Teaching a language is not only teaching vocabulary or grammar, but it is also helping students develop sensitivity towards cultural differences. Language is culture and culture is language. We cannot understand a culture without having direct access to its language and vice versa. The relationship between language and culture is vital. As Rita Mae Brown, American novelist and mystery writer (her best known novel is *Rubyfruit Jungle*) says in our cover quotation, *'Language is the road map of a culture. It tells you where its people come from and where they are going' (Rita Mae Brown).*

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