

Languages for Specific Purposes in History



Edited by Nolwena Monnier

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PREFACE

The present publication finds its origin in intensive discussions within the LAIRDIL¹ centred on the epistemology of Language for Special Purposes, English for Specialists and Anglais de Spécialité, the French version of English for Specialists.² The discussions eventually concluded that one of the reasons for unremitting terminological disputes among specialists of the field partly stemmed from the fact that little attention had been brought to its historical roots, to its genesis. This need for clarification is now supported by GERAS,³ the French research association on ESP as shown by Whyte in a recent paper which provides a seminal description of epistemological intersections:

In some ways describing the relations between these three different perspectives on language education is like a children's playground hand game where each player aims to place their own hand on top, dominating the others. MFL specialists view their approach to language and culture as the high road of language study, compared to which LSP and SLA perspectives are lacking an essential cultural component (Whyte, 2016).⁴

For her part, Nolwena Monnier – both a researcher in medieval history and in English for Specific Purposes – was investigating the potential origin of LsSPs in the manuscripts of the twelfth Century and found it a stimulating and necessary endeavour to bridge the gap between researchers of both field and it was natural for her to have taken on the task of organising a conference focussed on LsSPS in history.

¹ LAIRDIL: Inter-University Research Laboratory in Foreign Language Teaching and Learning

² I shall broadly refer to the field under the acronym LsSPs: Languages for Specialists/Special Purposes

³ GERAS: Groupe d'Etudes et de Recherches en Anglais de Spécialité

⁴ WHYTE S., "Who are the Specialists? Teaching and Learning Specialised Language in French Educational Contexts", *Recherche et pratiques pédagogiques en langues de spécialité* [Online], Vol. 35 N° spécial 1 | 2016, Online since 29 November 2016, connection on 19 December 2017. URL:

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In the wake of that effervescence, it was thus decided to bring together scholars sharing the same concern for a historical or diachronic approach to LsSPs in a conference entitled *LsSPs in history: from antiquity to present ... and future times*. Owing to the number of received proposals, the one day seminar became a two days' one and brought together people in all walks of academic life with a diversity of countries, languages and specialities...For my part, I was slightly sceptical in front of such a diversity: to what extent would these highly specialised scholars be able to actually understand each other and discuss? But my doubts were immediately proved unfounded and the conference will remain in most participants' memory as a cornerstone of scientific encounters in LsSPs history.

The present volume is a tentative testimony of those historical and epistemological reflections. In this initial attempt, authors could not anticipate other author's descriptions and analysis, neither the fruitful discussions which followed each contribution. Therefore, through chapters, it remains the task of the readers to decipher unwritten links – similitudes, oppositions, evidence and to track the genesis of LsSPs by themselves. My own journey was guided by Foucault's foreword to the English edition of *The order of Things* when he writes:

This book must be read as a comparative, and not a symptomato-logical, study. It was not my intention, on the basis of a particular type of knowledge or body of ideas, to draw up a picture of a period, or to reconstitute the spirit of a century. What I wished to do was to present, side by side, a definite number of elements: the knowledge of living beings, the knowledge of the laws of language, and the knowledge of economic facts, and to relate them to the philosophical discourse that was contemporary with them during a period extending from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century and to relate them to the philosophical discourse that was contemporary with them during a period extending from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century (Foucault, 1970: X).⁵

Indeed "LsSPs in History" presents the reader with a "definite number of elements": the different disciplines, countries, historical periods, related through specific discourses which made it possible for academics and professionals to communicate and act within and across different countries and tongues. Each contribution calls our attention to specific questions related to a specific country, discipline and language, but also to the modernity of the questions at stake. It is this link with present epistemological preoccupations that I would like to briefly outline in the continuation of this presentation.

⁵ FOUCAULT M. (1970), *The order of Things*, New York: Pantheon books.

The first leg of the journey will greatly help the readers. In his seminal introduction to the conference *Charting the diachronic dimension of specialised languages: epistemological challenges and pedagogical relevance*, Michel Van Der Yeught, a recognised specialist of ESP epistemology, explains why specialists languages have largely been ignored up to this point, and finds a potential epistemological foundation in Searle's theory of collective intentionality before insisting on the pedagogical relevance of such reflections to enlarge and support SL teachers "specialised encyclopaedic knowledge". Michel Van Der Yeught calls our attention to the fact that as early as 4,000 B.C. Sumerian clay tablets might have contained a sort of medical "lexicon" used to prepare pharmacopeia and that Greek and Roman discourses in the area of knowledge included architecture, geometry, law... a diversity of specialised languages. The present volume will provide numerous other examples. Michel Van Der Yeught highlights the present debate on LsSPs in two essential ways. First of all, he examines the ancient and long lasting "disregard for practical and specialised activities" which pervaded the writings of many western philosophers' writings until recent times giving some evidence of such writings and putting forward a well-known explanation: LsSPs discourses being related to practical activities are seen by many scholars as debased - not sophisticated, and local - not universal which limits their scope and nobility. Then, John Searle's intentionality theory (1995: 23-26) is proposed as a framework for establishing LsSPs epistemological foundations. This framework seems particularly appropriate on two accounts. First, it bridges the gap between individual and social realities; second, it stresses the symbolic aspect of constitutive institutional rules in specialised activities.

Following this seminal introduction, the book content follows a chronological order ranging from antiquity and the middle-ages up to the present times. Through the chapters, a polyphonic dialogue (Ducrot, 1988) emerges around three questions: LsSPs as instruments of power, LsSPs and the free movement of knowledge, the didactic dimension of LsSPs.

1. LsSPs as instruments of power

In *The use of Greek in Judaea: new linguistic habits for individuals and the roman administration* M. Girardin opens the discussion on how a foreign specialised language could be used as an instrument of power. Using the example of early manuscripts he analyses how the Greek lexicon used by the Byzantine imperial power gradually invaded Hebrew and Aramaic in ancient Judaea in the fields of administration, finance and

tax collection showing that LsSPs may serve as symbolic instruments of power. The argument further unfolds in the writing of C. Simoncini in *Italian Legal Language from literature to society*, who invites us to reflect on the function of the legal discourse by virtue of its strangeness and difficulty. Faced with cryptic law discourses laymen and women find themselves at a disadvantage and the understanding of legal rules, procedures and decisions is clearly compromised putting them in a position of inferiority.

2. LsSPs and the free movement of knowledge

In modern times, reaching a wider public became an essential LsSPs goal. The still crucial question of how to translate, transfer or communicate a specialised content without undermining the clarity and exactness of a specific content is illuminated by several authors emphasizing the importance of procedures, instruments and techniques. This is highlighted by V. Di Clemente in *Linguistic interference and vocabulary for special purposes in twelfth century German medical text* and C. Benati in *Foreign language for specific purposes in the early 16th century*. The decision of maintaining Latin, Greek or High German terminology for lack of a lexicon in the target language echoes the current issue of lexicon translations in contemporary specialised texts. In *Latin as a language for specific purposes in medieval and renaissance Britain*, L. Carruthers goes further than this in his analysis of publishing policies from English to Latin and Latin in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. The paper clearly illustrates the debate on how a specialised content best reaches the scientific community and potentially a non-specialised community, a debate which still remains the object of many heated discussions as pointed out by C. Chaplier (2017) or J. Napoli (2017).⁶ The cultural dimension of the debate best figures in I. Lord's *Aleut for Specific Purposes: An ethnographic and linguistic study of the discourse of the Christian orthodox mission in the nineteenth century Alaska*. The Gospels were seen as a specialised language by Veniaminov, a Russian missionary, who gradually found out that to translate them did not make sense since and what was needed by the Aleut was not a transfer of knowledge but the actual construction of a new world in their own language.

⁶ CHAPLIER C. (2017), *L'anglais des sciences: un objet didactique hybride*, Paris: L'Harmattan, coll Langue et Parole; NAPOLI J. (2017), *Vers une formation efficiente en langue anglaise appliquée aux secteurs du transport aérien et du tourisme*, Saint Denis: Connaissance et Savoirs.

3. The didactic dimension of LsSPs

The didactic dimension of LsSPs in foreign languages history is brought to the forefront by V. M. Gianninoto in *Learning Chinese for specific purposes in the late Qing period*. From early sixteenth century through the nineteenth century, a number of specialized courses in the scientific or technical fields are produced on behalf of foreign diplomats, missionaries, militaries, while in parallel many western treaties are translated in Chinese integrating their terminology in less than a century. Concerning the current period, K. Millon-Fauré et C. Mendonça-Dias in *French as an additional language for mathematics' purposes* investigate the pedagogical relations between language and mathematical contents while M. Stasilo in *Communicative project based activities: Teaching Russian and French to the military and customs officers in Lithuania* questions the professional training in a foreign language of would-be custom officers. We are lastly taken on a modern route in the literal meaning of the term by L. Perez Ruiz in *Always take the scenic route: Designing activities for teaching English for Heritage Purpose*. The author explains how foreign students are enabled to come to grip with the Spanish culture and heritage thanks to the modern instruments attached to folk culture transmitted by museums, festivals or historical recreations.

To conclude the journey, let us go back to the middle-ages with N. Monnier's *Gerald of Wales' books: first ethnological dictionaries?* This paper occupies a unique place in the volume since it doesn't fall in any of the three categories mentioned above. However it clearly participates in the dialogue since it implicitly shows the paramount role of the researcher *versus* that of the "researched". Revisiting Gerald of Wales, she explains that he freely drew from history, geography, sociology, myths, and reports... even from ecclesiastical miracles. This is in no way "science" in the modern science of the term and yet one might think that in that dictionary lurked the modern tenets of triangulation or emergence. Indeed, the current question of pluri, inter, cross-disciplinary methods emerges in an embryonic, proto-manner.

At the term of this brief introduction, I hope to have shown the readers that *LsSPs in history* successfully achieves an ambitious undertaking which ought to be prolonged in future scientific conferences.

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INTRODUCTION

CHARTING THE DIACHRONIC DIMENSION OF SPECIALISED LANGUAGES: EPISTEMOLOGICAL CHALLENGES AND PEDAGOGICAL RELEVANCE

MICHEL VAN DER YEUGHT

The study of specialised languages (SLs) – e.g. financial English, medical German or legal Spanish – as they develop in time is still in its infancy and faces numerous and considerable obstacles. One of the main challenges in the diachronic approach to SLs lies in the fact that the research community is deeply divided on the subject. Indeed, many proponents of English for Specific Purposes (ESP) share Hutchinson and Waters' view that:

ESP is *not* a matter of teaching 'specialised varieties' of English. The fact that language is used for a specific purpose does *not* imply that it is a special form of the language different in kind from other forms. (1987: 18)

This position means that specialised varieties of English (SVEs) do not exist, which implies that their temporal dimension is a moot point for ESP authors. Furthermore, ESP's insistence on teaching purposes and learners' needs focuses attention on present or near-future pedagogical interests, and rules out extending teaching or investigating ventures into the past of SLs.

In this paper, I take a differing view by starting from the European approach to SLs as it develops on the Continent and especially in France. The French notion of "*anglais de spécialité*" (ASP), as distinct from ESP, suggests that SLs stem from underlying specialised domains. This diverges neatly from ESP because specialised domains are very different from specific purposes. Purposes are fleeting realities that depend on learners' circumstantial needs whereas specialties – such as law or medicine – are more stable institutional realities that have existed for a long time. As a result, there is a widely shared consensus in the French

ASP community that language and domain culture should not be considered separately and that studying one SL also comprises taking into account the related culture of the domain and of its community. In the ASP view, "specialised languages" exist as distinct objects and the idea that they develop in time, and especially that their past is worth exploring, is gradually gaining ground among French scholars.

However, this position is recent and still lacks firm theoretical grounding. This paper may be one of the first endeavours to open and chart the new diachronic territory of SLs and its main purpose is to outline a rationale and establish epistemological foundations for the study of SLs in time. To that effect, I propose to proceed in three stages. First, I think it necessary to survey the diachronic landscape of SLs in an extensive and comprehensive way covering past centuries. My aim here is to show empirically that specialised languages exist in time and that some of them are very old. I also intend to highlight that studying their temporality has attracted little or no interest from linguists so far although a diachronic posture is justified on scientific grounds. The second section is devoted to providing this line of research with robust epistemological foundations by resorting to John Searle's theory of collective intentionality. Third, I discuss the pedagogical relevance of engaging in this type of research. I try to show that it contributes to a more holistic approach to SLs and that it meets the specific needs of future SL teachers. The paper concludes that taking the diachronic dimension into account in SL descriptions helps to build the specialised encyclopaedic knowledge SL teachers need to meet the needs of learners.

1. The temporal dimension of specialised languages and the indifference of linguists on the subject

1.1. Exploring the temporality of specialised languages

It is generally believed that specialised languages are the offspring of recent modernity. To a certain extent, that is a valid assertion since our modern times increasingly generate new professional activities and disciplinary studies that require linguistic specialisation. However, anecdotal evidence and historical observation indicate that language specialisation is presumably as old as human civilisation. For example, one of Oscar Wilde's tutors at Oxford once wanted to teach his arrogant student a lesson and gave him an obscure passage of the Acts of Apostles to translate. The text he chose was full of complex nautical terms which no one could be expected to know unless they had studied them before. Wilde

translated it perfectly and when the disgruntled examiner told him to stop, Wilde replied: "Please may I go on? I want to see what happened..." (Morris, 1987 [1978]: 278). The anecdote illustrates Wilde's brilliant erudition, but it also shows that a religious text as venerable as the Bible contains forms of language specialisation.

In 1997, John Swales, a renowned ESP scholar, identified even earlier evidence of linguistic specialisation in a brief note on reproductions of Sumerian clay tablets dating back some 4,000 B.C. They contain descriptions of how to prepare medicines following the pharmacopoeia of that time and they feature specific abbreviations that were presumably only understood by the community's insiders. Swales concludes that these descriptions may well be the world's earliest-known technical texts that have come to our knowledge (Swales, 1997). Similarly, we know that the ancient Greeks and Romans developed sophisticated discourse for areas of knowledge such as architecture (cf. Vitruvius), medicine (cf. Hippocrates and Galenus), astronomy (cf. Eratosthenes), geometry (cf. Thales and Euclides) or law (especially Roman Law), and many of our modern terms have Greek and Latin origins.

1.2. The long-lasting indifference of linguists towards specialised languages

Yet, these cases of linguistic specialisation have not aroused much interest among language thinkers in past centuries. Although some forms of specialised glossaries existed in their days, classical authors, such as Aristotle and Cicero who devoted much attention to linguistic expression, are mute on the subject. The reason for the Ancients' indifference to SLs may be offered by Hannah Arendt in her seminal book *The Human Condition*. She explains that most practical occupations in antique times were carried out by slaves (1998 [1958]: 81–82). So, all the strenuous labour required to satisfy the bare necessities of life was considered servile and unworthy of free men, especially of the citizens of the *polis*. As a consequence, linguistic interests then focused on the logos dimension of the language, i.e. on the general forms that could be understood by all free citizens, for example eloquence, rhetoric and poetics. Conversely, no interest developed in the forms of language that served common praxis for they could only be shared by small groups of despised labourers.

This tradition of disregard for practical and specialised activities was to last a very long time. In the seventeenth century, Blaise Pascal, a French philosopher and scientist, disliked people who posed as specialists. Only "universal men" appealed to him and he professed that it was more

beautiful to know something about everything than to know everything about something (1954: 1098–99). Two centuries later, Charles Baudelaire, a French poet, thought the same: "Which is the superior man?", he asked, and his answer was: "It is not the specialist. It is the man of leisure and of general education" (1986 [1980]: 413). I argue that this tradition is far from dead today, even in our very academic circles. Some colleagues feel that they belong to branches of English studies that are more dignified than others. They tend to regard ESP or ASP as ancillary practices compared to the nobler and more speculative domains of literature, linguistics or cultural studies. This could be called the "Berlitz stigma" since we sometimes hear that teaching SLs is not that different from what is offered in the Berlitz schools of languages. In many countries, ESP/ASP practitioners still strive to inspire the type of recognition from their peers that scholars in literature or cultural studies take for granted.

In my research, I only found one historical exception to the widespread contempt for practical activities and their languages. Joachim du Bellay, a French Renaissance poet, wrote a "Defence and Illustration of the French Language" in 1549 in which he clearly understood that specialised languages serve the purpose of practical activities. He also encouraged his fellow men of letters to use the words of labourers, craftsmen and tradesmen to enrich and embellish the French language. Here is my rendering of his advice in English:

Workers and even labourers, and all sorts of mechanical people could not pursue their trades if they did not resort to words which are usual to them and unknown to us. [...] And I want to advise you to mix not only with people of knowledge, but also with all sorts of workers and mechanical people such as mariners, painters, engravers and others to know their inventions, the names of the materials and of the tools and such terms as are used in their arts and trades, in order to draw from this fine comparisons and vivid descriptions of all things (2003 [1549]).

The openness of Du Bellay is remarkable and typical of the enthusiasm of Renaissance men for all discoveries whether generated in ancient or modern times. In the subsequent age of reason in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, thinkers were more obsessed with the "purity" of the language and they proved less eager adopters of any technical jargon likely to debase good language as used by people of quality, members of the royal courts, ladies and gentlemen. The famous eighteenth-century English lexicographer, Samuel Johnson, explained in the preface of his dictionary why he chose not to include terms generated by trade, crafts and other practical activities. One reason was the sheer practical impossibility

of collecting innumerable and elusive data, but another was that these words belonged to the oral tongue and could not be defined in a very stable way (Johnson, 1755: §78, §80).

Modern interest for specialised languages emerged much later, after the Second World War, when the United States stood as the leading nation of the developed world and gave English its predominance as the *lingua franca* of science, technology and business. These combined factors account for the international development of ESP from the 1960s and of ASP from the 1970s. Yet, the proponents of these functional approaches to language teaching strove to distinguish themselves from traditional philology and literature which are mainly based on historical grammar and criticism. Instead, they chose to focus on learners' current pressing needs and they ignored past temporality as irrelevant and cumbersome for their new pedagogical ventures. *The Handbook of English for Specific Purposes*, a standard reference book in ESP published in 2013, clearly illustrates this position: its index contains no entry for diachrony and the "history" entry only concerns the history of ESP and not the past of SLs.

1.3. The emerging awareness of the diachronic dimension in SLs

At the turn of the millennium, French ASP scholars – especially Michel Petit (2002: 2-3) – started to approach SLs as combinations of language, discourse and culture and this new perception paved the way for interest in the culture and history of specialised domains and communities. For example, authors studied SLs in relation to the culture of British engineers (Laffont, 2006), American mountain guides (Wozniak, 2011), Wall Street and City financiers (Van der Yeught, 2012), economists (Resche, 2013). Then, papers were published containing explicit assertions that SLs have a diachronic dimension that is worth studying (Van der Yeught, 2012: 17–19; 2016: 54). However, in spite of these advances, exploring the diachronic dimension of SLs has never been theorised and even the proposition that SLs exist as language objects and develop in time has not been given basic epistemological grounding. These are the issues I propose to address in the following section.

2. Two proposals to establish epistemological foundations for the diachronic study of specialised languages

Simply put, the question is: how can we give evidence that SLs exist in time? To answer the question, I put forward two distinct yet complementary

proposals. The first one is based on historical evidence and the other stems from theoretical arguments related to the nature of SLs.

2.1. Historical epistemological foundations

As has been shown in Section 1, it is possible to establish as facts that language specialisation has existed over centuries in major specialised domains such as law, medicine, science or business. Swales's note on Sumerian tablets suggests as much and Du Bellay's quotation testifies that, in Renaissance France, workers, labourer, tradesmen and "mechanical people" used specialised language ("...words which are usual to them and unknown to us"). At the same period, throughout Europe, domains like law, medicine, science, etc., started to produce increasingly specialised varieties of English, French, Spanish, German... to serve their domains' purposes: these were the ancestors of our modern SLs. Following common historical observation, it comes as obvious that SLs, as all human productions, exist in time and that ignoring their diachronic nature would lead to unscientific positions.

Still, this approach contains further questions that need to be addressed. For example, historical data may well indicate that SLs develop in time, but how can we identify when they begin? As far as I know, the question was first asked and a tentative answer proposed in 2009 (Van der Yeught, 2009: 29–36). My suggestion was, and still is, to select one criterion that is easy to identify and to date in history, the process of specialised dictionarisation, because it signals the emergence of specialised languages. My argument unfolds as follows. When a language specialises, it gradually develops lexical and phraseological characteristics that are only accessible to the related community's insiders. When the gap between the general language and the specialised variety widens, it may thwart the desirable insertion of outsiders in the community. Bridging solutions are then deployed and generally take the form of same-language wordbooks, glossaries, lexicons and dictionaries that enable outsiders to access the language, the milieu and the domain. Specialised dictionaries do not generate SLs, because the latter generally precede the former, but they clearly indicate that an SL is in the making since it has sufficiently branched out of the general language to justify a bridging tool between the two. Because explicit publication dates have come as standard in most European countries since the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries, specialised dictionaries offer robust historical evidence of the emergence of SLs. Conversely, before declaring that an SL exists, it may be worth examining if a related specialised dictionary attests that the variety has branched out

of the general language. Additionally, specialised dictionaries also help SLs to gain in structure, accuracy and richness thanks to the lexicographic efforts of the authors in research, spelling and semantics. Thus, they contribute to their development.

To date, studies on specialised dictionarisation in the French ASP context have been carried out in two domains: medicine and finance. Charpy (2011) shows how medical dictionaries appeared in England in the seventeenth century, first following French models, then developing fully fledged English compilations. Van der Yeught (2012: 42–44) explains how financial dictionarisation took nearly two hundred years of trial and error to reach the publication of the first English language financial dictionaries in the early twentieth century: in 1902 in the City of London and in 1908 in Wall Street.

The publication of specialised dictionaries is also historically meaningful. They generally multiply in times of large-scale social, economic and intellectual disruptions. In these changeful periods, professional and disciplinary groups are deeply reshuffled by innovation and paradigmatic shifts; they have to welcome newcomers who are to master new SLs. The Renaissance, the seventeenth century and the Industrial Revolution were cases in point. All these phases of fast-paced historical evolutions spawned specialised dictionaries. Our modern marketing-driven and digital consumer society is also witness to the emergence of countless new SLs and related dictionaries. Within their historical contexts, specialised dictionaries offer valuable insights about the evolutions shaping specialised domains and communities and they provide illuminating snapshots of SLs at given periods of time.

Thus, historical observation offers sound evidence that SLs have a diachronic dimension. Still, demonstrations of this type rely on social and historical data that largely lie outside linguistic reality: they do not derive from the SLs themselves. As such, they do not provide satisfactory answers to Hutchinson and Waters' objection mentioned in the introduction. Assuming that SLs have a diachronic dimension presupposes that they exist as distinct enduring language phenomena, which Hutchinson and Waters and many other ESP authors deny. That is why the diachronic issue poses also, and above all, an epistemological problem that concerns the very existence of SLs. In other words, the historical approach is crucial for our argument, but it has to be complemented by a theoretical approach bearing on the nature of SLs and offering evidence that their diachronic character necessarily derives from what they are. This is the subject I propose to deal with in the following section.

2.2. Theoretical epistemological foundations

In a previous paper (Van der Yeught, 2016), I tried to analyse the nature of SLs by resorting to the theory of intentionality developed by John Searle, an American philosopher. For Searle, "intentionality" is individual and collective (1995: 23–26), but social reality mainly stems from collective intentionality because it has the power of "making the social world" (Searle, 2010) through constitutive rules of the form "X counts as Y in C" (1995: 43–51; 2010: 96–97). The role of these constitutive rules is to assign a symbolic function Y to an object X in a context C so that X may be accepted by a given community's members as an "institution" that generates their collective reality. For example, a piece of paper marked \$10 (X) counts as money (Y) in the United States (C), which means that U.S. citizens accept to use notes that meet certain specific standards as institutional money in their national context (Searle, 1995: 45–46). Searle explains that countless human institutional realities are created by such constitutive rules in government (e.g. legislature, executive, police...), sports (teams, clubs...), civil life (marriage, divorce...), economic activity (money, corporations, real estate agencies...). His list also includes specialised and professional activities such as science, law medicine, academia... that contain institutions (2010: 91–92).

Indeed, specialised domains generate many types of institutional realities thanks to constitutive rules. Examples include specialised communities such as colleges of physician and surgeons, the bar, university committees, accounting professional bodies, etc., which are formed by virtue of "X-counts-as-Y-in-C" rules. For example, the Bar Council of England and Wales typically generate its social reality by such rule:


The General Council of the Bar, known as the Bar Council [X], is the Approved Regulator of the Bar [Y] of England and Wales [C]. (barcouncil.org.uk)

The expression "is the approved" is a variation of "counts as" and clearly indicates the underlying constitutive rule accepted by the members of the Bar Council that makes it an "institution" in Searle's acceptance. Similarly, the qualifier "accepted" in U.S. GAAP (Generally Accepted Accounting Principles) shows that American accountants agree to use the "institution" of these principles in their professional missions.

By the same token, SLs may be regarded as social "institutions" since many of their terms, symbols, phraseology and genres derive from similar constitutive rules that make their use accepted in the related communities.

Table 1 below presents how constitutive rules assign symbolic or semantic functions on a sample of specialised terms, sign and genre in given contexts.

Table 1: How constitutive rule "X counts as Y in C" generates language specialisation

X term/sign	counts as Y	in C
Cloud computing	Outsourcing data to third party entities	Anglo-American computing (from 1997)
Bear/Bull	Pessimistic/Optimistic investor	Anglo-American stockmarket finance (from early eighteenth century)
(Rod of Asclepius) 	Professional symbol	Medical communities
Felis sylvestris catus	Cat	Zoology (since 1755)
Big Four	Four largest British banks	Finance (UK banking, since 1970s)
Big Four	Four largest global accounting firms	Finance (accounting, since 2002)
Big Five	Five largest global accounting firms	Finance (accounting, 1998-2002)
GAAP	Accounting regulations	United States
IMRAD	Standard formatting genre for scientific publication	(originally) United States

The "in C" column clearly shows that geographical or historical contexts can change the accepted meaning of strictly similar terms. Depending on context, "Big Four" may refer to UK banks or global accounting firms. The largest global accounting firms were referred to as the "Big Five" before 2002 and as the "Big Four" since the demise of Arthur Andersen in

2002. SLs number countless instances of that kind where context determines meaning.

In that perspective, SLs may be regarded as the results of a very large number of constitutive rules that turn linguistic specialisation into institutional forms of social reality that are collectively accepted by specialised communities. Specialised dictionaries are implicit compilations of these rules as they simply spell out the final lexical output of the X-Y equivalences expressed by the rules. On top of that, dictionaries situate these rules in dated historical contexts. When terms become obsolete or when new terms appear, new rules make the language evolve. Then, new dictionaries appear or amended versions are published.

Obviously, in the context of this paper, the crucial part of the "X-counts-as-Y-in-C" rule is the C component. Searle's constitutive rules only operate in given contexts and contexts modify the output of the rules. The notion of context is extremely diverse and extensive and may include an infinite number of criteria such as social, geographic and political elements (countries, societies, communities, areas...). Yet, in human environments, they necessarily also involve temporal dimensions. We may conclude this section by stating that SLs indeed have a diachronic dimension, not only because they may be observed as existing in history, but also because it is part of their very structure since a contextual component is an indispensable part of the constitutive rules that give them their social reality. It also follows that, contrary to Hutchinson and Waters' view, SLs exist as enduring language objects as long as their constitutive rules operate effectively. Because common scientific procedures call for the methodical descriptions of objects of study, SLs have to be methodically described, including their historical origins and evolution.

At this stage of the argument, we have to address a new question: what is the relevance of studying the diachronic dimension of SLs for pedagogical purposes?

3. Discussing the pedagogical relevance of the diachronic dimension of specialised languages

3.1. The diverging needs of SL students and future teachers

Establishing the diachronic dimension of SLs does not make it necessarily useful for teaching purposes. Needs analysis generally reveals that the language requirements of learners concern the present or the very near future and that SL students have little time to consider the past. So even if the history of SLs is culturally interesting, teaching purposes and

constrained learning conditions may make it appear as a form of irrelevant and time-wasting erudition. Nevertheless, the issue will be seen as slightly more complex if we take into consideration that in non-anglophone contexts SL teaching and learning is second-language acquisition and that SL teachers are in very short supply. In France as in most European countries, thousands of new SL academics are needed every year to teach students in law, engineering, medical and business schools. So, future SL teachers are learners too and the question may be asked whether *they* need training in the diachronic dimension of SLs.

My position is that they do indeed. The specific competence of SL teachers is to understand and to interpret specialised discourse and to distinguish it clearly from general language. To carry out their teaching mission properly, their knowledge of SLs cannot be diachronically shallow and limited to contemporary discourse. They need what Vijay Bhatia calls "pre-knowledge", "existing knowledge", "specific disciplinary cultures", "prior knowledge of disciplinary or institutional conventions" (Bhatia, 2004: 186-188). Bhatia's reference to "institutional conventions" is surprisingly close to Searle's constitutive rules. As I see it, his descriptions of specialised "pre-knowledge" intuitively point to the knowledge of the underlying constitutive rules that generate language specialisation. These rules, or Bhatia's culture and conventions, all require an acute awareness of language diachronic contexts which should therefore be part of the training curricula of future SL educators. I now intend to further the argument by showing that this form of knowledge even plays a central role in the training of future teachers.

3.2. Specialised interpretive capacity as "encyclopaedic knowledge"

In a previous paper (Van der Yeught, 2016: 56-57), I proposed that the capacity to interpret specialised discourse in relevant contexts is akin to the notion of "encyclopaedic knowledge" as defined by Umberto Eco:

In the interpretive process, encyclopaedic knowledge operates as a set of instructions that properly insert textual elements in their relevant contexts and achieve the correct disambiguation of terms. (1986: 68)

Referring to Eco's definition at this stage of the argument makes sense because its "set of instructions that properly insert textual elements in their relevant contexts" is strikingly reminiscent of Searle's constitutive rules. Actually, rules are "sets of instructions" and Searle's "X-counts-as-Y-in-C" rule can be put in place of "set of instructions" in Eco's definition

without changing its meaning. As a result, although Eco uses the notion of "encyclopaedic knowledge" in general philosophical contexts, it may be applied to specialised contexts with similar effectiveness. For example, competent teachers in financial English will understand that in a text on the Subprime crisis, a "bear sale" is not an auction where plantigrades are sold, but a speculative move to make money on a depressed stockmarket. Similarly, they will disambiguate "Big Four" as banks or accounting firms depending on context. Their correct interpretation of specialised discourse shows that they master the constitutive rules that generate the domain's language specialisation, i.e. its "specialised encyclopaedic knowledge".

To conclude on the relevance of diachrony for pedagogical purposes, I do not advocate teaching SL history to students, for that would be needless erudition. However, I think that studying the diachronic dimension of SLs is a vital line of research for future SL teachers. The robust specialised encyclopaedic knowledge they need to interpret specialised discourse requires contextual awareness, and a large part of it is temporal in nature. In the following section, I will suggest that this result may also provide a valuable answer to a long-standing issue in ESP/ASP.

3.3. Addressing the question of the specialised knowledge of SL teachers

For years, the members of the ESP and ASP communities have been debating on the desirable degree of specialisation in SL teachers' knowledge. Should teachers mainly be language practitioners with little specialised knowledge; or should they invest time and effort in domain content? In the former option, they run the risk of limiting their professional competence; in the latter, they may appear as pretending to be engineers, lawyers or doctors which they are not. In 2004, Bhatia summarised this uncomfortable position as follows: "ESP practitioners still get nervous about having to deal with disciplinary knowledge as part of linguistic training" (*ibid.*: 204). In 2013, in *The Handbook of English for Specific Purposes*, Diane Belcher also remarked that "[o]ne of the most vexing issues for ESP praxis is the need for at least some specialist knowledge" (Belcher, 2013: 545). Basically, the debate pits linguistic knowledge against specialised knowledge as if no other choice existed outside this narrow alternative. The approach developed in this paper may suggest a third option.

My proposal is that beyond the opposition between linguistic and specialised knowledge, "specialised encyclopaedic knowledge" is *par excellence* the specific domain of competence of SL teachers. Our

professional mission is neither to teach general language, nor pass judgement, design bridges or establish diagnoses as magistrates, civil engineers and doctors do. In between, our task is to acquire our domains' encyclopaedic knowledge, i.e. the capacity to understand and interpret correctly specialised discourse and to convey that competence to our learners. To that effect, we need to understand the constitutive rules that generate language specialisation and that includes a good grasp of their determining contexts. SL teachers are not plain language teachers, nor do they have to mimick expert knowledge. The specialised encyclopaedic knowledge of their pedagogical mission is their specific area of competence.

Conclusion: studying diachrony as a contribution to holistic descriptions of SLs

This paper shows that SLs have accompanied human history for centuries. Historical observation attests that they exist and evolve in time as enduring language object and that their origins can be identified thanks to the process of specialised dictionarisation. Furthermore, by resorting to Searle's theory of collective intentionality, the paper shows that language specialisation is a social institution that is generated by "X-counts-as-Y-in-C" constitutive rules. "Context" is factored in these rules and appears to be a structural component of specialisation. The context component may incorporate countless criteria, but temporal ones are necessarily inherent in all human affairs and cannot be ignored if SL are to be approached in a holistic way.

When academic disciplines identify, define and/or construct their objects of research, scientific investigation invariably starts with descriptive studies of these objects. Similarly, SLs are enduring language objects and have to be methodically described not only to further knowledge and to improve student training, but above all to provide future teachers with the encyclopaedic knowledge they need. Encyclopaedic knowledge requires a holistic approach to SLs, and this cannot be achieved without studying their diachronic dimension.

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Webography

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PART I:
ANTIQUITY AND MEDIEVAL TIMES

THE USE OF GREEK IN JUDAEA: NEW LINGUISTIC HABITS FOR INDIVIDUALS AND THE ROMAN ADMINISTRATION

MICHAËL GIRARDIN

This paper tackles a brand new approach to languages. First, the idea to comprehend ancient languages as "speciality languages" instead of vernacular ones has rarely been suggested.¹ Historians and philologists usually prefer to question what the spoken language in Judaea was in the first century and to mention the grammatical, orthographical, syntactical, and typographical errors.² This approach is interesting and it would have been

¹ This project has already been considered. See, for example, FINKIELSZTEJN G rald, "L' conomie et le roi au Levant Sud d'apr s les sources arch ologiques et textuelles", in CHANKOWSKI V. & DUYRAT F. ( ds), *Le roi et l' conomie*, 2004 (Topoi, suppl. 6), pp. 241-265 (pp. 252-253), about the uses of Phoenician and Greek in Tyre.

² SPOLSKY Bernard, "Jewish Multilingualism in the First Century: An Essay in Historical Sociolinguistics", in FISHMAN J.A. (ed.), *Readings in the Sociology of Jewish Languages*, Leiden: Brill, 1985, pp. 35-50; HADAS-LEBEL Mireille, *L'h breu : 3000 ans d'histoire*, Paris: Albin Michel, 1992, pp. 60-62; SCHWARTZ Seth, "Language, Power and Identity in Ancient Palestine", in *Past and Present* 148, 1995, pp. 3-47 (pp. 12-15). Recently, WISE Michael O., *Language and Literacy in Roman Judaea. A Study of the Bar Kokhba Documents*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015. On p. 296, he estimates that, according to these documents, 65% to 80% of the population spoke Hebrew, which was thus "plainly still alive and well". On the contrary, GZELLA Holger, *A Cultural History of Aramaic*, Leiden - Boston: Brill, 2015, pp. 193 and 226-227, thinks that Aramaic replaced Hebrew as the vernacular language much earlier, perhaps as soon as the eighth century BCE. This was contested by BALTES Guido, "The Use of Hebrew and Aramaic in Epigraphic Sources of the New Testament Era", in BUTH R. & NOTLEY R.S. (eds), *The Language Environment of First Century Judaea*, Leiden - Boston: Brill, 2014, pp. 35-65 (p. 53) following the analysis of 3819 texts from the Roman period found in the Judean desert. Finally, ONG Hughson T., *The Multilingual Jesus and the Sociolinguistic World of the New Testament*, Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2016, pp. 36-37 and 256-257, thinks that Hebrew disappeared after

tempting to enter the debate. But actually, knowing what the spoken language was – Hebrew, Greek or Aramaic – is not that significant in order to study the administrative language of the Roman province of Judaea. Secondly, such a subject is innovative since I will present documents unearthed from the desert and belonging to those colossal libraries known as the "Dead Sea Scrolls". Spectacularly discovered in the middle of the last century, their scope required decades of work to decipher, translate and then publish them.

Incidentally, the first scrolls were discovered at Qumrân in 1947 by a Bedouin who entered a cave in order to find a lost sheep. The creation of the Israeli State the following year and the consecutive war explain the delay in excavations that were begun only in 1950. Almost sixty years were necessary to fully publish the scrolls in the series *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*: the fortieth volume was published in 2009. But there is more to it. In 1951, following new findings by the Bedouins, systematic excavations were conducted in the desert; the *Wadi Murabba'at* scrolls were published in 1961. Other sites were also found, especially two caves next to the *Nahal Hever*. The publication of these documents took place in 2002. These three sites are the richest ones regarding the amount of documents excavated and most of them shed light on Judaea of the Roman period.

Judaea was one of the vassals of Rome from the Pompeian conquest of the old Seleucid kingdom in 64/3 BCE. Abandoned to the Hasmonean high priests, the heirs of the Maccabees, it was given to Herod in 40 BCE and then, after his death in 4 BCE, shared between his three sons. Speaking of "Roman Judaea" places the beginning of our investigation in the year 6 CE, when Ethnarch Archelaos was deposed and his share of the Herodian kingdom united to the Roman province of Syria. In 44 CE, vassals tried to recapture the territory but the entire ancient kingdom was annexed and became the new province of Judaea. It became a praetorian province after the rebellion of 66-70 CE and the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem, and then obtained consular rank at the beginning of the second century CE. In the end of the second revolt led by Bar Kokhba in 132-136, the province was annihilated and became Syria Palestine. Our chronology is thus fixed between 6 and 136 CE.

From the scrolls found in the Judean Desert, I wish to demonstrate that Greek was the administrative language of Roman Judaea. It was neither the language of power, nor that of the language of the Romans, nor even

the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE and that the choice of Bar Kokhba to use it in his administration is only a nationalist survival.

the language of the state officials in their daily life, but actually the means of communication between individuals and power representatives: a foreign language used exclusively by the administration.

1. Greek as an administrative language

It is wholly admitted that the Roman Empire was bilingual.³ In the East, the *lingua franca* was the highly widespread Greek. Native languages had not disappeared but the relation between Ancient Judaism and Hellenism is fundamental for understanding the uprising of the Maccabees in 168 BCE⁴ Aramaic and Hebrew were still spoken, as Greek was, even if one cannot determine by which part of the population and in which proportions. Greek was thus attested as a Judean vernacular language only since the beginning of the second century CE but there is evidence it was in earlier use in specific situations.⁵ Roman governors, however, came from Italy and spoke and thought in Latin. The army was made up of local people and, as it seems, of a majority of Syrians in Judaea, but received orders in Latin and their pay records were written in Latin as well (Masada, *ostrakon* n° 722). On the trilingual inscription on the cross of Jesus, one finds Hebrew (Ἑβραϊστί), Greek (Ἑλληνιστί) and Ῥωμαϊστί (John, 19.20), the language of the Romans, that which they spoke among themselves. When the Prefect Piscus approved the document

³ ROCHETTE Bruno, *Le latin dans le monde grec: recherches sur la diffusion de la langue et des lettres latines dans les provinces hellénophones de l'Empire romain*, Bruxelles: Latomus, 1997, pp. 48-63.

⁴ For an introduction to the question, see HADAS-LEBEL Mireille, "La rencontre entre hellénisme et judaïsme des conquêtes d'Alexandre aux débuts de la présence romaine dans l'Orient méditerranéen", in LE DINAHET M.-Th. (ed.), *L'Orient méditerranéen de la mort d'Alexandre au Ier siècle de notre ère*, Nantes: Ed. du Temps, 2003, pp. 213-231. For more complete analysis, see BIKERMAN Elie, *Der Gott der Makkabäer. Untersuchungen über Sinn und Ursprung der makkabäischen Erhebung*, Berlin: Schocken Verlag, 1937; TCHERIKOVER Victor A., *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*, Philadelphia: Magnes Press, 1959; HENGEL Martin, *Judentum und Hellenismus. Studien zu ihrer Begegnung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Palästinas bis zur Mitte des 2. Jh. v. Ch.*, Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1969; WILL Edouard & ORRIEUX Claude, *Ioudaïsmos – hellénismos. Essai sur le judaïsme judéen à l'époque hellénistique*, Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy, 1986.

⁵ COTTON Hannah, "Jewish Jurisdiction under Roman Rule", in LABAHN M. et ZANGENBERG J. (éds), *Zwischen den Reichen. Neues Testament und Römische Herrschaft*, Tübingen: Francke Verlag, 2002, pp. 13-28 (pp. 15-16).

XHev/Se 61 found in the Nahal Hever,⁶ he did it through an inscription in Latin, translated into Greek on the act⁷. The scarce documents of Murabba'at in Latin only serve to Roman citizens (Mur. 158-163).

The celebration of the victory on Bak Kokhba was made in Latin, since this language was the medium of public space and the language of power.⁸ We can see this in the innumerable neologisms, especially in the Judean sources.⁹ According to Jonathan from *Bet Gubrin*, in the *Talmud*, each of the four languages has its own specific use: Greek for poetry, Latin for War, Aramaic for funeral lamentations, and Hebrew for daily life.¹⁰ The expression "Latin for War" is interesting according to what I stated above. However Latin was quite rare in the province. This *Baraita* does not mention the language of the government. It is only by deduction that one can be sure that it was Greek. Indeed, if one tries to list all the Greek words adopted by simple transcription in the rabbinic literature (approximately 2500), it is clear that almost all refer to administrative and governmental realities,¹¹ and within the sites where documents were found, between 82% and 100% of the Greek texts are administrative

⁶ This document is a declaration established for a census in the Arabian province in 127 CE.

⁷ COTTON Hannah, "Another fragment of the Declaration of Landed Property from the Province of Arabia", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 99, 1993, pp. 115-121.

⁸ ECK Werner, "Die Inschriften Iudäas im 1. und frühen 2. Jh. n. Chr. als Zeugnisse der römischen Herrschaft", in LABAHN M. & ZANGENBERG J. (eds), *Zwischen den Reichen. Neues Testament und Römische Herrschaft*, Tübingen: Francke Verlag, 2002, pp. 29-50 enumerates the occurrences of Latin in Judean inscriptions, for the imperial cult, the army and the triumphal ark of Tel Shalem celebrating the victory of 135 or 136 CE His ideas were reformulated in English in ECK Werner, "The Language of Power: Latin in the Inscriptions of Iudaea/Syria Palaestina", in SCHIFFMAN L.H. (éd.), *Semitic Papyrology in Context*, Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2003, pp. 123-144.

⁹ For a general approach, see especially MASON Hugh J., *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions*, Toronto: Hakkert, 1974, especially pp. 3-8, in which the author demonstrates that these are above all terms of government and military affairs. For the New Testament in particular, see ONG, *The Multilingual Jesus, op. cit.*, 2016., pp. 207-209, and the synoptic table pp. 225-227. For example, in Luke 8.30, demons tell their name is *λαγίων*; in Matthew 5.15, Jesus speaks about a *μύδιον*, etc.

¹⁰ Babylonian Talmud, *Megillah*, 71b; Yerushalaim Talmud, *Sotah*, VII.

¹¹ See SPERBER Daniel, *A Dictionary of Greek and Latin Legal Terms in Rabbinic Literature*, Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University, 1984; HADAS-LEBEL, *L'hébreu: 3000 ans d'histoire, op. cit.*, 1992, pp. 69-70 adds that words of Latin origin are ten times less numerous and mostly concern the army.

ones.¹² In the Talmud, it can be read that Sages "permitted to the house of Rabban Gamaliel to study Greek wisdom because he had close associations with the Government" (Babylonian Talmud, *Sotah*, 49b). These many clues lead to such a conclusion.

Since the publication of Murabba'at, there is no longer any doubt that the fiscal administration wrote in Greek. Indeed, seventeen fiscal documents have been found. Mur. 8-10 was written in Aramaic, Mur. 89-107 in Greek. Some differences show that the first ones probably date from the revolt of Bak Kokhba and allow readers to enter into the rebels' administration. On the other hand, the Greek parchments mirrored the Roman bureaucracy. The same phenomenon – moving from a native language to Greek when annexed – is visible in Arabia too when conquered by Rome in 106 CE, in the archives of the *Nahal Hever*.¹³ The rebels' choice to revive a Roman Aramaic administrative model, especially relying on legal aspects, is deeply relevant. First, the symbolic importance of the language can be deduced: the administrative Greek was swept away by a Semitic language often coupled with Hebrew in letters and other documents. One can easily understand the "nationalist" or "ethnic" motivations in such a choice.¹⁴

¹² TOV Emanuel, "The Nature of the Greek Texts from the Judaean Desert", In *Novum Testamentum* 43-1, 2001, pp. 1-11 (pp. 4-5). With a notable exception in Qumrân, where they only represent 3% of the rare documents in Greek (which make up only 27 out of 900 in the entire texts). This is not illogical. About Qumrân, see STÖKL BEN EZRA Daniel, "Bücherlesen in Jachad Qumrans. Himmlische Bücher zwischen Katechese, kollektivem Studium und esoterischer Geheimschrift", in FOCKEN F.-E. & OTT M.R. (eds), *Metatexte*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016, pp. 75-95.

¹³ COTTON Hannah, "The Languages of the Legal and Administrative Documents from the Judaean Desert", In *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 125, 1999, pp. 219-231 (p. 227). See also BÉRENGER-BADEL Agnès, "Formation et compétences des gouverneurs de province dans l'Empire romain", in *Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne* 30-2, 2004, pp. 35-56 (p. 50), who states that Greek was imposed on scribes whose native language was Aramaic; other languages were not abolished but were simply not acknowledged as official languages.

¹⁴ YADIN Yigael, *Bar-Kokhba. The Rediscovery of the Legendary Hero of the Last Jewish Revolt Against Imperial Rome*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971, p. 181; SCHWARTZ, "Language, Power and Identity in Ancient Palestine", *art. cit.*, 1995, pp. 27-28; ONG, *The Multilingual Jesus*, *op. cit.*, 2016, pp. 60-61. On the notion of ethnicity in Ancient History, see SCHWENTZEL Christian-Georges, *Juifs et Nabatéens. Les monarchies ethniques du Proche-Orient hellénistique et romain*, Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2013, pp. 10-11. An examination of the ethnic propaganda during the two revolts of the Roman period of Judaea has yet to be performed. I dealt with this aspect through the coins of the first revolt in GIRARDIN Michaël, "Propaganda of the Jewish Rebels of 66-70 CE according to

Therefore, the very fact of imitating the Roman chancellery proves that they sought to get the better of the enemy. It reveals perhaps that certain scribes kept their position while their superiors changed. In addition, such a brutal change certainly shows that civil servants who wrote in Greek were not illiterate in Aramaic. In fact, the Roman administration used Greek while the Rebel one used Aramaic but the scribes were literate in both scripts.

This very point would be nuanced if looking at P Yadin 52, dated from autumn 135. This letter written in Greek by Soumaios to the Bar Kokhba's administrators in Ein-Gedi, Yehonathan ben Ba'yan and Mesabala ben Sime'on, orders to rapidly send citrus fruits and rods for the festival of Sukkot. One can read the following sentence:

ἐφράφη / δ[ἐ] Ἑλληνεῖτι διὰ / τ[ὸ] [ἡ]μᾶς μὴ εὐρη/κ[έ]ναι Ἑβραεῖτι /
ἐ[γγρ]άψασθαι

This passage means: "[this letter] was written in Greek because we do not know Hebraic letters". My purpose is not to ask whether "Hebraic letters" meant Hebrew or Aramaic¹⁵ or to know if the author and his entourage knew one of these two languages, since it only mentions the script, the alphabet. The author might actually have known a Semitic language without knowing how to write the Semitic script if he had only learnt the Greek alphabet.¹⁶ One can be bilingual, indeed, without knowing

their Coins", In *Scripta Judaica Cracoviensia* 14, 2016, pp. 23-40, but my purpose was limited to aspects of self-representation of the diverse rebel authorities: opposed forms of theocracies and centrality of the Temple, "paradoxical forms of Romanization" by the adoption of Roman designs and legends on coins, only dissimulated under an ethnic appearance, etc.

¹⁵ On the meaning of ἑβραϊστί in literary sources, see BUTH Randall et PIERCE Chad, "Hebraisti in Ancient Texts: Does ἑβραϊστί Ever Mean 'Aramaic'?", in BUTH R. & NOTLEY R.S. (eds), *The Language Environment of First Century Judaea*, Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2014, pp. 66-109, who think that the term only refers to Hebrew, since Aramaic was always named Συριστί. This principle could be true for lettered men but cannot be applied to the common people. For an opposite opinion, see RABIN Chaim, "Hebrew and Aramaic in the First Century", in SAFRAI S. & STERN M. (eds), *The Jewish People in the First Century, vol. II*, Assen: Van Gorcum, 1976, pp. 1007-1039 (p. 1009).

¹⁶ See COTTON Hannah in YADIN Yigael, GREENFIELD J.C., YARDENI A. & al., *The documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters. Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabatean-Aramaic Papyri*, Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2002, p. 359.

one of the alphabets and even while being totally illiterate.¹⁷ This letter indicates that one could only write in the Hellenic language. Does this parchment prove that all Judean scribes were not literate in Aramaic? Perhaps, at first glance. However, these people may have been Nabateans engaged in the rebels' contingents, according to Hannah Cotton.¹⁸ So, the fact that a Nabatean did not write in Aramaic script is not a serious objection to the idea that the Jewish agents who wrote Greek knew Aramean.

Other evidence points to this fact. Indeed, Semitism appears frequently in Greek documents from the Judean Desert. Michael Wise wrote of local literature "clothed in Greek dress".¹⁹ For example, the direct discourse is introduced by the present participle λέγων or λέγουσα in many documents of the *Nahal Hever*. The omission of articles or, more often, of one of the two articles required by the genitive is frequent. The nominative absolute can also, sometimes, be found. All these mistakes make us think of the New Testament, Flavius Josephus²⁰ or some passages of the Septuagint. Even more interesting, some evidence leads to the conclusion that these documents written in Greek were partially oral ones thanks to the iotacism

¹⁷ PRICE Jonathan J., "On the Margins of Culture: the Practice of Transcription in the Ancient World", In COTTON H.M., HOYLAND R.G., PRICE J.J. & al. (éds), *From Hellenism to Islam*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, pp. 257-288 (p. 260). If one reads XHev/Se 13 for example, written in Aramaic in 134 or 135 CE, the quantity of errors suggests that some scribes were not more trained to write Aramaic than Greek. See COTTON Hannah & YARDENI Ana (eds), *Discoveries in the Judean Desert, XXVII: Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek Documentary Texts from Nahal Hever and other Sites*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997, p. 66.

¹⁸ This opinion is shared by WISE Michael O., "Papyrus Hever 30 and the Bar Kokhba Revolt", In DAVIS K. & al. (eds), *The War Scroll, Violence, War, and Peace in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature*, Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2016, pp. 364-389 (pp. 385-389).

¹⁹ WISE, *Language and Literacy in Roman Judaea, op. cit.*, 2015, p. 95.

²⁰ For semiticisms in Josephus' works, see BERNARDI Jean, "De quelques sémitismes de Flavius Josèphe", In *Revue des Études Grecques* 100, 1987, pp. 18-29. The ancient historian affirms, indeed, that he helped in translating his works (*Against Apio*, I, 50), which he beforehand wrote in his mother tongue (*Jewish War*, I, 3). He clearly says that the only aim of this translation was to make the record accessible to the whole Roman Empire, but that he nonetheless did not master Greek enough. BERNARDI demonstrates that the corrections, rather than the quality of language, concerned the substance, the work being above all an official historiography of the Flavian dynasty. This could explain the number of uncorrected faults.

of certain vowels and diphthongs.²¹ This is sometimes visible in fiscal documents, especially regarding names. The ει replaces the long ι, so there is a Νει[---] which can be a Nicanor, a Nicodeme, a Nicandros, etc.²² One can find an Ανεινᾶς too, a Σολειμᾶς, an Ἀνουνει, a Μαλχείων, a Πανδείων, a Φαρεισας; and in a more visible way, an Ἐλειέζρο[ς], etc.²³ In the letter of Soumaïos, the occurrence of Ἐβραεϛτι instead of Ἐβραῖστι proves that the ε was iotacised.

Some words are simple transcriptions in the Greek alphabet of Aramean words. For example, φαλωνει ("a certain" people, another iotacism) is the transcription of *plny*, whereas the Greek δεινα²⁴ should have been used. Among the taxpayers, we find "a certain Juda", "a certain Simon", or "a certain Saul".²⁵ Further, a "Joseph the scribe" is named Ἰώσηπος ασωφηρ, transcription of *swpr* with the article *ha*. Interestingly, the scribe wrote π in "Joseph" instead of φ, since the letter is the same in Aramaic. It is difficult to know whether Joseph named himself in his native language²⁶ and if the author phonetically transcribed under dictation, which is known to have been common,²⁷ or if this was simply the way the author named Joseph. What is surprising is that he did not use the word commonly found in the gospels,²⁸ γραμματεῦς. That was frequent in the whole Roman East. All these facts enable us to guess that the authors of these fiscal documents were not ignorant of Aramean. Actually,

²¹ On all these errors, see LEWIS Naphtali, *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters. Greek Papyri*, Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1989, pp. 13-16.

²² Mur. 89, l. 12. See BENOIT P., MILIK J.T. & DE VAUX R. (eds), *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, II: Les grottes de Murabba'ât*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961, p. 217. The name Νικάνδορος is attested by the *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae*, vol. I, n° 222.

²³ In the order of the references: Mur. 89, l. 20; Mur. 91, col. I, l. 3; col. II, l. 1; col. II, l. 3; col. II, l. 4; Mur. 92, col. I, l. 4; Mur. 95, l. 8. Other examples can be found.

²⁴ WISE, *Language and Literacy in Roman Judaea, op. cit.*, 2015, pp. 115-116.

²⁵ Mur. 92, col. I, l. 3; Mur. 94, frag. A, l. 8 and l. 9.

²⁶ For *hswpr*, see especially the *ostrakon* 667 from Masada in YADIN Yigael & NAVEH Joseph, *Masada I. The Aramaic and Hebrew Ostraca and Jar Inscriptions*, Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1989: 'l'zr / br *hswpr* (Eleazar son of the scribe) or again in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae*, vol. I, n° 244, ossuary of *Yhwdh br 'l'zr hswpr* et de *Yhwdh hswpr*. The function seems to have been important enough to be registered sometimes on the ossuary.

²⁷ Cf. *infra*.

²⁸ Sixty-four references in the synoptic gospels and the book of the Acts of the Apostles.

their native tongue seems to be a form of Semitic, and frequently they only knew Greek as a written language. Greek was, for them, just an administrative instrument, not their everyday language.

2. A Greek specific to the administration

One can go further thanks to Mur. 97. This book of in-kind fiscal incomes was very poorly preserved thus making it difficult to read as the author was ignorant of Greek.²⁹ The author was a scribe who found it necessary, for whatever reason, to write in Greek but who probably used another language in his daily life. His position as a fiscal agent certainly made him use Greek. Similarly, XHev/Se 60 was written in Greek but closed by an Aramean inscription: "Reisha wrote this". What Reisha wrote was probably only the inscription itself and not the entire document.³⁰ He was perhaps the head of this office and either did not know Greek script or did not see the point of writing this particular inscription in Greek. He merely approved the act; only the core text had to be written in Greek. Reisha probably knew this script but found it easier and quicker to write in Aramaic. Both the scribe and Reisha were probably more accustomed to the Semitic script and language than to Greek which clearly remained a foreign language.

But instead of simply speaking about Greek, it is convenient to ask what type of Greek is concerned here. In the following lines, one finds a document listing the due total and the diverse instalments, if one does not try to suggest any abbreviations (1), after restitution (2) and then translation (3):

- 1) Γ κε Ἀαζάηλος Φελείου γ γ β δ κ α γ κ δ
- 2) Γ [σάτα] κε Ἀαζάηλος Φελείου [σάτα] γ [σάτα] γ [σάτα] β [σάτα] δ κ[άβοσ] α (ἤμισυς) [σάτα] γ κ[άβοι] δ (ἤμισυς)
- 3) (Total paid): 25 [seahs]: Aazaelos son of Pheleios: 3 [seahs], 3 [seahs], 2 [seahs], 4 [seahs] 1 *k(ab)* (½), 3 [seahs] 4 *k(abs)* (½). (Mur. 94, frag. A, l. 12)

²⁹ BENOIT, MILIK & DE VAUX (eds), *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, II: Les grottes de Murabba'at*, op. cit., 1961, p. 229: "the writing is gross, traced by a clumsy hand with a thick calamus. [...] The difficulty is even increased by the incompetence of the scribe who clearly did not master Greek."

³⁰ COTTON Hannah & YARDENI Ada (eds), *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, XXVII: Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek Documentary Texts from Nahal Hever and other Sites*, op. cit., 1997, pp. 172-173.

This is obviously not literary Greek, but still a form of Greek. Letters are symbols, either numbers or abbreviations of measures among which the most common, the *seah*, is not even indicated except by the sub-alignment of the corresponding number. Such documents certainly prove that scribes were not literate in Greek. They mastered the script and knew alphanumerical signs. One cannot properly say that Greek, as a whole, was the language of the administration; more exactly this type of Greek was. It was a form of Greek, an administrative Greek that could only be found in the tax offices.

Documents could be classified in quite an alphabetical order: one can for example remark a predominance of names beginning with the Aramean letter *yod* in Mur. 8 (two Yeshua are listed, ranked in alphabetical order according to the names of their fathers), equivalent to the Greek *iota* that is massively represented in Mur. 89 (ten Jesus, two Josephs, one Jacob), and perhaps in Mur. 95. Mur. 10 counts one name in *yod* (Jeanne), five which cannot be deciphered and seven names beginning in *mem*, of which the first four are obviously in alphabetical order (Mariam, Mariamme, Mattathiah, Menahem). Mur. 103 states three names in alphabetical order: Joseph, Kairas, Matthew. Mur. 107 lists two names only, Eleazaros and Elias. However, in a total of almost a hundred and seventy entries that I catalogued, one must concede that the few cases mentioned are very slight. The largest parts of the documents might only have been provisory acts, produced not in alphabetical order, but logically in the chronological order of the payments. In addition, one could have expected that Mur. 94, which is a meticulous summary, would present a specific disposition, but this is not the case in this document. Similarly, 34Se 5, a list of forty-nine men found in the *Nahal Se'elim* and probably established for a census, is not alphabetically ordered.

Scribes were expected to have but a restricted number of competences. Benoit regrets the many important grammatical errors in Mur. 97.³¹ His opinion is probably excessive and some mistakes can be easily explained when reading the document thoroughly but many of them cannot be corrected. A proof of the meagre competence of the scribe is his inability to use abbreviations certainly because they were not meaningful to him. He did not fluently master the form. In any case, this little knowledge placed the collectors above the majority of their compatriots, since writing

³¹ BENOIT, MILIK & DE VAUX (eds), *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, II: Les grottes de Murabba'ât*, *op. cit.*, 1961, pp. 229-230.

was a form of power in Antiquity.³² Thanks to their script, they were able to increase or decrease taxes, to impose fines and penalties and to condemn people to jail for arrears. As suggested by Jérôme France in the case of the collectors of the *portoria* in the Roman Empire, they could be useful to their communities in other functions than their actual professions.³³

At this stage, one can assume that the use of Greek was due to the Roman presence in the administration but the level of knowledge required from agents was not very important. Some scribes could be very good ones and various editors praise their "natural and elegant" handwriting in Mur. 90 and 94, "elegant" in Mur. 92 and "meticulous" in Mur. 93. Mur. 89 even contains a certain number of ligatures and was certainly hastily written:³⁴ that points to the fact that some scribes mastered the Greek alphabet and saw no problem in producing such a form.³⁵ In fact, one can assume that a number of these fiscal documents were established in Greek so they could then be admissible in a law court.³⁶ Greek is thus a foreign language as much for Latin authorities as for Jewish individuals. It was imposed on them in their official charge. No matter what the literary

³² GOODMAN Martin, "Texts, Scribes and Power in Roman Judaea", In BOWMAN A.K. & WOOLF G. (eds), *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp. 99-108 (p. 99).

³³ FRANCE Jérôme & NELIS-CLEMENT Jocelyne, "Tout en bas de l'empire. Les stations militaires et douanières, lieux de contrôle et de représentation du pouvoir", In *La statio. Archéologie d'un lieu de pouvoir dans l'empire romain*, Bordeaux, Ausonius, 2014, pp. 117-245 (p. 244).

³⁴ BENOIT, MILIK & DE VAUX (eds), *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, II: Les grottes de Murabba'ât*, *op. cit.*, 1961, p. 217 (Mur. 90); p. 220 (Mur. 91); p. 222 (Mur. 92); p. 224 (Mur. 93 and Mur. 94) and p. 216 (Mur. 89).

³⁵ LEWIS Naphtali, KATZOFF Ranon & GREENFIELD Jonas, "Papyrus Yadin 18", In *Israel Exploration Journal* 37-4, 1987, pp. 229-250 (p. 231 and 248); CROSS Frank Moore & ESHEL Esther, "Ostraca from Khirbet Qumrân", In *Israel Exploration Journal* 47-1/2, 1997, pp. 17-28 (p. 17); COTTON Hannah, "Land Tenure in the Documents from the Nabataean Kingdom and the Roman Province of Arabia", In *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 119, 1997, pp. 255-265 (p. 260 about XHev/Se 64); COTTON Hannah, "The Languages of the Legal and Administrative Documents from the Judaean Desert", *art. cit.*, 1999, (p. 227 about Mur. 64).

³⁶ COTTON Hannah, "The Languages of the Legal and Administrative Documents from the Judaean Desert", *art. cit.*, 1999, pp. 229-230; COTTON Hannah, "Jewish Jurisdiction under Roman Rule", *art. cit.*, 2002, pp. 15-16. This opinion is commonly adopted, see for example GZELLA, *A Cultural History of Aramaic*, *op. cit.*, 2015, pp. 229-230.

quality may have been,³⁷ the document needed to be used as a potential proof in court.³⁸

3. From the speciality language to the specialised use of languages

Greek is thus only a composite administrative language. It was a mix of orality, Aramean, Hebrew and sometimes even Latin vocabulary. A document, XHev/Se 64, for example, can be understood only thanks to its doublet in Aramean.³⁹ This administrative Greek, not used in Greek literary texts composed by Jews, like *Sirach*, *Maccabees* or the works of Flavius Josephus, is thus a specific language born from forced contacts. One can mention the remark of Guido Baltes: all this implies "language contact rather than bilingualism".⁴⁰ As stated, speaking Greek was not a proof that one could write it; it may be added that writing in Greek did not necessarily mean an ability to speak the language fluently.⁴¹

The use of this administrative Greek as a speciality language is also attested in rabbinic literature. According to the *Mishna*, whoever transports a paper large enough to write thereon a tax gatherer's receipt

³⁷ WISE, *Language and Literacy in Roman Judaea*, *op. cit.*, 2015, p. 115.

³⁸ One can perhaps touch on the more specific question of the relationships between Jews and writing, since, according to COLLINS John J., *Scriptures and Sectarianism*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014, p. 40, the authority of the biblical text was conferred on a book rather than on the textual form of such and such translation of the book. This could explain the multiple versions found in particular at Qumrân. What matters was not the writing itself but its use.

³⁹ COTTON Hannah & YARDENI Ada (eds), *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, XXVII: Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek Documentary Texts from Nahal Hever and other Sites*, *op. cit.*, 1997, p. 206.

⁴⁰ BALTES Guido, "The Use of Hebrew and Aramaic in Epigraphic Sources of the New Testament Era", *art. cit.*, 2014, p. 55. See also PRICE Jonathan, "On the Margins of Culture: the Practice of Transcription in the Ancient World", *art. cit.*, 2009, p. 271: writing in another script is not a proof of bilingualism.

⁴¹ This is comparable to the use of paleo-Hebrew script during the first Jewish revolt (66-70). Its use on coins does not mean that the script was still read; it could prove a motivation to create a set of archaistic signs dissimulating a cryptic message. Sharing a secret and having to explain to novices the meanings of inscriptions could have played a role at least as important as explicit propaganda. See HENDIN David, "Jewish Coinage of the Two Wars, Aims and Meaning", In JACOBSON D.M. & KOKKINOS N. (eds), *Judaea and Rome in Coins, 65 BCE-135 CE*, London, Spink, 2012, pp. 123-144 (p. 132); GIRARDIN Michaël, "Propaganda of the 66-70 CE Jewish Rebels based on their Coins", *art. cit.*, 2016, pp. 32-33.

(*qšr mwksyn*) is guilty of violating the Sabbath. The Talmud comments on these words.⁴² Indeed, the following paragraph of the *Mishna* stipulates that whoever takes as much ink as to write two letters is guilty. The commentators thought these two prohibitions were linked and that a receipt could contain two letters only. They wondered then whether the prohibition related to Greek or Hebrew letters, carefully distinguishing "letters from a tax gatherer's receipt" ('*wtywt šl qšr mwksyn*) and "ours" ('*wtywt dydn*). Such a distinction is interesting indeed for demonstrating that Greek was the script of the taxes, even when it was not necessarily the language of the collectors outside their functions.

The word used, *qšr*, is Hebrew; in Aramaic one would have found *qtr*.⁴³ The first word appears twice in the *Nahal Hever*.⁴⁴ The second is used in a fiscal receipt established by Horon bar Yshmael, administrator of *Bar Kokhba*, probably in the first year of the revolt (132/3 CE).⁴⁵ But the receipt measures much more than two letters: except for those illegible and the missed lines, I have counted a hundred and forty-five letters. Must one suppose that Bar Kokhba's administrators were more fastidious than Roman ones? It is deeply improbable. The receipt indicates the date, the taxpayer, the collector's name, the sum due, and the motive. It confirms its validity and closes with the collector's signature, precise and indispensable data, known from the Roman archives and from another document of the *Nahal Hever*, the latter in Greek, XHev/Se 60.

Thus, *qšr* could name not only the receipt, but also a tablet or any shard attached to the merchandise on which a simple symbol would confirm payment.⁴⁶ This system was known in other Roman provinces, for example in Lyon where some leaden seals were found with such inscription as *R(ationibus) C(astrensibus)*. They were perhaps made to identify products for the army and thereby free from tolls.⁴⁷ One can find once more the two letters but it is wholly improbable that everyone could use army merchandises. Above all, it is much more likely that, in the East,

⁴² *Mishna, Shabbat*, 8.2; *Babylonian Talmud, Shabbat*, 78b.

⁴³ YADIN & al., *The documents, op. cit.*, 2002, p. 373.

⁴⁴ YADIN 45, l. 25; YADIN din 46, l. 9, mentions the gift of a *qšr* in exchange for money.

⁴⁵ YADIN 43, l. 7. Regarding dates, see YADIN & al., *The documents, op. cit.*, 2002, p. 150.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 374-375.

⁴⁷ FRANCE Jérôme, *Quadragesima Galliarum. L'organisation douanière des provinces alpestres, gauloises et germaniques de l'Empire romain (Ier siècle avant J.-C.-IIIe siècle après J.-C.)*, Rome: École Française de Rome, 2001, p. 63 and commentary, p. 351.

the two letters were Greek ones. In any case, it is obviously an abbreviation that demonstrates once more that this administrative Greek in use in fiscal documents was a set of identifiable symbols that carry a technical meaning, rather than a proper language. These symbols were borrowed from a foreign alphabet for a specific use.

Moreover, the opposition between tax collectors' letters and "ours" is interesting since those who expressed themselves in such a way in Hebrew were rabbis. One knows Hebrew remained the language of the Jerusalem Temple. While Jews underwent not only the Roman taxes, but also a series of more or less compulsory levies linked to the sanctuary, such a distinction in the fiscal language is probably meaningful. I am quite sure that a fundamental opposition is built by literary sources between the Roman tribute and what one could name "offering", a generic term that appears only in Philo of Alexandria. I will use it to name the entire tax system of the Temple.⁴⁸ The authors pretended that the tribute was paid with reluctance, while the "offering" was gladly made. But this is not what may be deduced from a thorough review of evidence. This is only a representation, a literary construction.

Since the administration used Greek whereas the Temple used Hebrew, one can observe here the opposition between two languages reserved to very distinct uses. Jews writing literary Greek, when they touched on cultic affairs, often forged newly technical terms by transcribing the only one they thought relevant for the concept.⁴⁹ In fact, as the Greek translator of *Sirach* explains in his prologue (v. 15-22), there was no strict equivalence between what was originally expressed in Hebrew and its translation in another language. So in the Septuagint, the New Testament, or in Flavius Josephus, many terms are not translated but only transcribed,⁵⁰ especially as regards the sacred levies and sacrifices.⁵¹ In the

⁴⁸ For the moment, see GIRARDIN Michaël, "À l'origine d'une dialectique nouvelle: l'offrande et le tribut dans la pensée de Judas le Galiléen", In *Res Antiquae* 12, 2015, pp. 67-76 (pp. 70-74). I recently corrected the date of the beginning of this dialectic, largely anterior to the census of Quirinius and linked to the legitimation discourse of the Maccabees. It had been updated by Judas the Galilean at the time of the census.

⁴⁹ AITKEN James K., "Jewish Worship amid Greeks: The Lexical Context of the Old Greek Psalter", In MACLAY R. T. (éd.), *The Temple in Text and Tradition*, London: Bloomsbury, 2015, pp. 48-70 (p. 50-51).

⁵⁰ See DANIEL Suzanne, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire du culte dans la Septante*, Paris: Klincksieck, 1966; LEE John A.L., *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint version of the Pentateuch*, Chico: Scholars Press, 1983, especially pp. 41-43 and pp. 50-52 for the neologisms in the Septuagint. For instance, ἐπιούσις for *ephod*, σάββατα for Sabbath, χοῦν for *cohen*, σαλωμ for *shalom*, etc. There are 450 words in the

passage of the Talmud quoted above, Rabbi Shesheth asks what is meant by "two letters" and wants to know whether sabbatical prohibition also concerns the two letters of the "language of holiness".⁵² Hebrew does not seem to be concerned thus further stressing the distinction between the two languages. One, attached to the sanctuary, is linked to the "offering"; the other, linked to the Roman administration, is associated with the tribute. During the Sabbath, it is permitted to carry ink to write in Hebrew, but not to write more than two letters in Greek. The administrative script of the Romans is prohibited during the Sabbath.

Administrative Greek is thus, in Roman Judaea, a specialty language, according to the definition established by Jean Dubois & *alii*: "A linguistic subset such that it gathers the linguistic specificities of a particular domain".⁵³ The linguist considers the language as "a system of signs whose functioning rests on a certain number of rules, of constraints". It is a

Septuagint that are not attested outside biblical literature. According to RAJAK Tessa, "Surviving by the Book: the Language of the Greek Bible and Jewish Identity", In GRUEN E.S. (ed.), *Cultural Identity in the Ancient Mediterranean*, Los Angeles: Gatty Publications, 2011, pp.273-287, it is not incompetence or ignorance but a conscious choice born from the conclusion that Greek did not cover the realities of the Jewish world.

⁵¹ The lexicographical examination is part of a PhD dissertation, notably in the significant choices of translation. See DANIEL Suzanne, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire du culte dans la Septante*, *op. cit.*, 1966, pp.119-130 for the *qrbn*, sometimes transcribed κορβάν, and pp.201-223 for the *mn̄h*, transcribed sometimes μναα but with some variations.

⁵² The expression *lšwn hqwdš* can often be found at Qumrân, for example 4Q464, 3i8, or in the rabbinic literature, as for instance Babylonian Talmud, *Sotah*, 49b: "For Rabbi said: Why use the Syrian language in the land of Israel? Use the language of holiness or Greek! And R. Joseph said: Why use the Syrian language in Babylon? Use the language of holiness or Persian!" On the meaning of this expression as a language of the cult, of the revelation and even of the creation, but not as a "holy tongue", see RABIN Chaim, "Hebrew and Aramaic in the First Century", *art. cit.*, 1976, p. 1036; SCHWARTZ Seth, "Language, Power and Identity in Ancient Palestine", *art. cit.*, 1995, pp. 30-33; GOODBLATT David, *Elements of Ancient Jewish Nationalism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, p. 60 and p. 69; POIRIER John C., *The Tongues of Angels*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010, pp. 9-46; SHERMAN Phillip Michael, *Babel's Tower Translated. Genesis 11 and Ancient Jewish Interpretation*, Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2013, pp. 113-117; GZELLA Holger, *A Cultural History of Aramaic*, *op. cit.*, 2015, pp. 226-227.

⁵³ DUBOIS Jean, *Dictionnaire de linguistique et des sciences du langage*, Paris: Larousse 1999, p. 440: "[...] un sous-ensemble linguistique tel qu'il rassemble les spécificités linguistiques d'un domaine particulier".

"code" which permits communication among people.⁵⁴ He prefers to speak of a "specialized vocabulary" when the language only contains some notions and terms specific to a particular domain, while he reserves "specialty language" to a situation where the specialisation is sharper. Clearly, the type of Greek found in the documents of the Judean desert, especially those established in the tax offices, was an artificial language, composed of disparate data which can only be found in this specific context. This bureaucratic language probably played a role of self-representation,⁵⁵ in order to legitimate capable elites and to influence the taxes of their coreligionists. This script is a form of power. One is indeed facing a speciality language.

One last question: although this form of Greek was indeed written, was it spoken or read? While the collector read his notes, did he read in Greek or did he translate this set of signs into his own language? Was there a more sophisticated Greek in use in the same tax offices? Considering the writing of certain scribes, this is not obvious. One knows that "professional" scribes were able to write in another language than the one dictated, or to read in one language a text written in another.⁵⁶ It is likely that the same was true in the administration, and that this fiscal Greek was only a script, comparable to the specific Greek of the Septuagint.⁵⁷ In the court of justice, it was probably spoken, but still remained a foreign language for all speakers.⁵⁸ There were then probably two subsets of

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 270: "[...] un système de signes dont le fonctionnement repose sur un certain nombre de règles, de contraintes."

⁵⁵ For a methodological approach of the relation between writing and power in Antiquity, see BOWMAN Alan K. & WOOLF Greg, "Literacy and Power in the Ancient World" In *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp. 1-16.

⁵⁶ RABIN Chaim, "Hebrew and Aramaic in the First Century", *art. cit.*, 1976, pp. 1030-1031; SHERWIN-WHITE Susan, "Seleucid Babylonia: A Case-study for the Installation and Development of Greek Rule", in KUHRT A. & SHERWIN-WHITE S. (eds), *Hellenism in the East*, London: Duckworth, 1987, pp. 1-31 (p. 25); GELSTON Anthony, "The Boundaries of Translation" in MACLAY R. T. (ed.), *The Temple in Text and Tradition*, London: Bloomsbury, 2015, pp. 1-12 (p. 6).

⁵⁷ RAJAK, "Surviving by the Book: the Language of the Greek Bible and Jewish Identity", *art. cit.*, 2011, pp. 279-280, tells us that the Greek of the Septuagint was artificial and that no one spoke it as written.

⁵⁸ BERENGER-BADEL Agnès, "Formation et compétences des gouverneurs de province dans l'Empire romain", *art. cit.*, 2004, p. 52: "le grec est très bien maîtrisé, mais reste une langue étrangère." See also BERENGER Agnès, *Le métier de gouverneur dans l'empire romain (de César à Dioclétien)*, Paris: De Boccard, 2014, pp. 327-332.

administrative Greek in Roman Judaea: that of the courts, juridical Greek, visibly more elaborate, and fiscal Greek, probably only written.

According to Pierre Lerat, it is common for specialty languages to be essentially recognizable in writing.⁵⁹ They carry then a set of symbols, abbreviations, non-linguistic signs that make the reading opaque for whoever is ignorant of the code.⁶⁰ In the case of these fiscal administrative documents, it is obvious that these principles can be entirely identified. This fiscal Greek was therefore a language that is originally foreign but recomposed on the spot by ignorance, semantic enrichment and the need to refer to a conceptualization different from that of the original language. It was also a specialised script that seems to have been deeply associated in people's minds with the tribute and thus opposed to Hebrew, the language of the "offering", the "language of holiness" (*lšwn hqwdš*) of the Jerusalem Temple.

⁵⁹ LERAT Pierre, *Les langues spécialisées*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1995, p. 27.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29; 42; 57-58; 135.

LATIN AS A LANGUAGE FOR SPECIAL PURPOSES IN MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE BRITAIN

LEO CARRUTHERS

1. An age of transition: Newton, from *Principia* to *Opticks*

Just over three centuries ago, the year 1704 marks a turning point in the emergence of English as a scientific language, one which could be used for special purposes, at least within its geographical frontiers. Outside its natural homeland, it would take longer for English to establish itself as an international scientific medium, but at home, English-speaking scientists could now publish the fruits of research in their native tongue. The event which signals this changeover is the publication of Sir Isaac Newton's *Opticks*, in which he demonstrated the principles of light. Newton (1642-1727) was professor of mathematics at Cambridge University, a genius whose work has remained valid down to the present day. The subtitle of his *Opticks* is *A Treatise of the Reflexions, Refractions, Inflexions and Colours of Light*. It is noteworthy that the *Opticks* was published in English; two years later, in 1706, Newton produced a Latin version of the book, no doubt to ensure its reaching a more international audience.

Today Newton is a household name, but most people would probably not associate him with the subject of light; what makes him famous is the law of gravity, a major step forward in scientific theory, which he had expounded much earlier, in 1687.¹ The legend of the apple falling on Newton's head, inspiring a Eureka moment – he suddenly realised that the earth exercised a magnetic pull on all objects – still remains a telling image. Newton published his theory of gravity in *Principia*, or more

¹ Although Einstein's theory of relativity (published in stages, 1905 and 1911) has enabled modern scientists to move beyond the law of gravity, it would not have been possible for Einstein to formulate it without using Newton's work as a stepping stone.

precisely, *Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica* ('Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy'). Significantly, it was in Latin, not English, because Latin was then the international language of science and philosophy. That is why the publication of the *Opticks* seventeen years later, firstly in English, and only later in Latin, is an important turning point in the history of the language. Other scholars had, of course, published books in English long before then – one thinks of Sir Francis Bacon's *Advancement of Learning* (1605) – but they were literary and philosophical rather than scientific in the modern, technical sense.² One of the first scientific texts to be written in English, Newton's *Opticks* thus heralds the end of Latin, which had held sway as an LSP for a thousand years.

2. Latin in the Roman Empire: an international medium

Latin was the only medieval language that could be compared to modern English as an international medium. On a smaller scale, of course, since Latin, when it was a living tongue, was necessarily restricted to those territories invaded by the Roman armies, only a small portion of the surface of the globe. Both during the time of the Roman Empire and for centuries after its fall, Latin remained Europe's main literary and educational medium, gradually moving from the status of a native idiom to that of an LSP. Latin was at first the ordinary language of the inhabitants of Rome. It would become an LSP through the extension of the Roman Empire, since many conquered peoples, for whom Latin was a foreign language, found themselves obliged to learn it for the administration of military and legal affairs, not to mention trade and commerce. Clearly, in the ancient world, all those who spoke Latin were not Italians, or even Romans, though many could call themselves Roman citizens; they came from all over Europe, North Africa and the Middle East.

By the time the Empire collapsed in the West, in the late fifth century, Latin was firmly rooted in many of the provinces, having in some cases, though not all, replaced the previous native languages which had been spoken there. But then, no longer united by a central imperial power, and further affected by the influx of Germanic tribes, Latin began to develop local variants and dialects, leading to the gradual emergence of Italian, French, Spanish and other languages. In Gaul, in the Frankish kingdoms,

² Bacon's own *Novum Organum* (1620), an influential treatise on the scientific method (the use of experimental results to arrive at general conclusions), was, unsurprisingly, in Latin.

the appearance of Old French can be identified in documents of the ninth century, during the reign of Charlemagne's sons, most notably in the famous Strasbourg Oaths (842).³ By then, we may say that Classical Latin, or Imperial Latin, was no longer the ordinary idiom of Gaul, but had become erudite, a school language – an LSP, in fact. One of the great representatives of this school Latin in the Frankish kingdom is an Englishman, Alcuin of York, whom Charlemagne had asked for help in reforming the educational system; having first set up a school in Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), in 782, Alcuin later moved to Tours, where he died in 804. From that year to 1704, when Newton's *Opticks* was published, is exactly nine centuries, during which Latin was essentially an LSP, the language of education, science and philosophy.

In the schools and universities of medieval Europe, Latin was used as a language for special purposes, that of an educated elite. It was the medium in which professors gave their lectures, and in which students took notes. It was necessary for the study of Roman history, of philosophy and theology, of law and science. For Christians, it was also the language of the *Holy Scriptures*, at least in the Catholic West, though not in the Orthodox East where Greek was spoken. In Rome, St Jerome's Latin translation of the *Bible* (made between 383 and 405)⁴ gradually gained canonical status, being promoted by scholars such as Alcuin of York; called the Vulgate (Latin *vulgata*, 'common' or 'usual') text in the thirteenth century, it was the only version officially recognised by the Western Church down to the end of the Middle Ages.⁵ It would be wrong to think of Latin as primarily the language of religion; more accurately, it was the medium of education. Latin was indeed the language of religion in Rome, but that was a secondary effect of its position in the former Roman Empire, some of whose administrative structures were inherited by the papal system. It is true that Latin, as time went on and education fell under Church control, became closely associated with religion; but in the Middle

³ In 842, Louis the German (East Francia) and his half-brother, Charles the Bald (West Francia), swore oral pledges of mutual allegiance against their elder brother Lothair, Holy Roman Emperor. Each of them spoke in the other's language, Romance (Old French) and Old High German, in front of their armies. Copies were later written in these languages as well as in Latin.

⁴ Born in Dalmatia, Jerome studied Latin in Rome, under Aelius Donatus (c. 320-c. 380), author of an *Ars grammatica* which was so popular in medieval France and England that the word *Donat* or *Donet*, meaning at first a Latin manual, was eventually applied to any elementary schoolbook.

⁵ See MCKENZIE John L., *Dictionary of the Bible*, London & New York: Geoffrey Chapman, 1976, repr. SIMON & SCHUSTER, 1995, s.v. Vulgate, pp. 916-8.

Ages and the Renaissance period, it should be thought of essentially as the language of education, culture and science. In England, proof of this lies in the fact that despite the Protestant Reformation and the creation of liturgical texts in the vernacular – the *Book of Common Prayer* was published in 1549 (revised, 1552), and several English translations of the *Bible* (beginning with Miles Coverdale, 1535) were made, long before the famous Authorised Version of 1611⁶ – Latin still remained the language of the universities and of scientific works right through the seventeenth century. That is, until Newton broke away from a millennial tradition by writing his *Opticks* in English.

3. Ancient Britain and Gaul: from the Roman Empire to the Germanic invasions

We may wonder if the British population, even under the Roman Empire, ever spoke Latin as a native language. If we look at the influence of the Roman Empire in Gaul and Britain, and the spread of Latin, there is a marked difference in terms of cultural assimilation. Both provinces were integral parts of the Empire for several centuries, yet the linguistic influence was only tenuous in Britain, while it became deep and permanent in Gaul. In both provinces, Latin was the language of public life, of administration, of education and also, from the fourth century onwards, of the Church. Although the Romans withdrew from Britain in 409, social life at first remained unchanged, as testified by St Germanus of Auxerre, who visited British bishops in 429 in order to combat the Pelagian heresy. In Constantius of Lyon's account, Germanus (who may have returned to Britain a few years later, in 447) encountered a typical late Roman Christian society, apparently still quite similar to that of his native Gaul.⁷ Yet Britain was poised on the edge of a radical metamorphosis, through the invasion of the Germanic tribes who brought about the end of the old order. Latin survived in schools and churches, but it was clearly in no position to threaten the older, native Celtic language.

The existence of modern Welsh, which is directly descended from the tongue of the ancient Britons, is proof enough of this. There are some

⁶ See CROSS F.L. & LIVINGSTONE E.A., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957, 3rd ed. 1997, s.v. Bible (English versions), pp. 200-2; Common Prayer, pp. 384-5.

⁷ See CROSS & LIVINGSTONE, *op. cit.*, s.v. St Germanus of Auxerre, p. 668; MORGAN Kenneth, *The Oxford Illustrated History of Britain*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984, rev. 1993, p. 51.

early Latin loan-words in Old Welsh, showing that the native population borrowed certain technical items from Roman culture: words like *castell* (L *castellum*, castle), *eglwys* (L *ecclesia*, church), *pont* (L *pontus*, bridge). But they are not as extensive as one might expect, granted the prestige of Latin at that time. There was no chance of Latin developing into a local language in the way it would do in Italy, France and Spain. The evidence indicates that Latin in Roman Britain was mostly an LSP. It must have been the native language of a minority, whose numbers are difficult to evaluate: those coming directly from Rome, and some members of the British upper class who had received a Roman education. But it never became the language of the majority, and was consequently doomed to die out with the end of the Roman Empire. The Celtic inhabitants of the island spoke Old Welsh, in spite of the fact that they must have been obliged to use Latin for their dealings with the Roman rulers. And once this administration had broken down, which took place early in the fifth century, the Britons went on speaking their native language, which never died out, and remained vigorous even when it would run into opposition from the speakers of Old English.

When St Patrick began his mission to Ireland in 432, the principal difference between his homeland and his adopted country turned on the question of Roman culture and the Latin language – quite simply because Ireland, unlike Britain, had never been part of the Roman Empire. Ireland thus began to come into the Roman sphere of influence precisely at a time when the Empire was on the brink of collapse. In Ireland, therefore, Latin was from the beginning an LSP, used for preaching and teaching, religion and education – not for administration and public life, as had been the case in Roman Britain up to Patrick's time.

In ancient Gaul, the situation is the reverse of Britain's: the Gaulish tribes, whose culture was very close to the British Celts, gave up speaking their mother tongue and adopted Latin, the language of the conquerors. If this had not happened, the people of France today would not speak French (descended from Latin), but a Celtic tongue like Welsh or Breton. This was a cultural metamorphosis, not simply the result of colonisation in the sense of population displacement. In other words, both the Celts of Gaul and the Celts of Britain were thrown into contact with Latin-speakers who were their masters and rulers, but the native people were not massacred or eliminated. In the first case they fully adopted the language of Rome and made it their own, so that it eventually displaced Gaulish completely, whereas in the second case they kept it at a distance and somehow avoided being overwhelmed by it. It is therefore easy to conclude that Gaul became more Roman than Britain ever did, though it does not follow that this was

due to more extensive migration from Italy.

Now if we look at the same two regions from another point of view, that of the Germanic peoples, we discover a different set of reactions. The late Roman period and the centuries following the end of the Empire were marked by barbarian invasions all over Europe, which involved a series of migrations of many Germanic tribes – not to mention other ethnolinguistic groups, such as the Huns, omitted here only for want of space. The Anglo-Saxon settlement of parts of Britain is only one aspect of a widespread upheaval which saw Italy occupied by Goths and Lombards, Gaul overrun by Franks, Burgundians and Visigoths, more Visigoths in control of Spain, and Africa conquered by the Vandals. In all of the Continental cases, the invaders set up kingdoms in the hands of a military aristocracy, a minority ruling over a Latin-speaking majority. Their numbers were small, with the result that within several generations they had become completely integrated, culturally and linguistically, into the populations they ruled. Thus Italy, France and Spain remained Latin-speaking, though occasionally borrowing words from the Germanic invaders. France, indeed, takes its very name from the kingdom of the Franks: *Francia*, *Frankreich*, a proof of how deeply Gaul was affected by the Frankish rulers, though not sufficiently to adopt their language.

Charlemagne himself spoke Frankish (a Germanic dialect) as his mother-tongue, and he also knew Latin and some Greek; a wise reformer, he called in scholars from England (Alcuin) and Ireland (Clement) to be the first rectors of his schools.⁸ It was not until the mid-ninth century that the rustic Latin spoken in Gaul would reach a point where it could be called 'Proto-French'. And this is crucial to the birth of a French sense of identity: with the emergence of a distinct dialect, no longer identical with the Roman tongue but still related to Latin, the inhabitants of the Frankish kingdom would forget both their Celtic and Germanic origins and begin to see themselves as a 'Latin' people. Similar developments were taking place in other parts of the former Roman Empire, such as the Visigothic kingdoms of Spain and Italy. At this point the word 'Latin' takes on a new cultural meaning, independent of the ethnic group to which the speakers of various Romance languages actually belonged. This closely parallels the way the word 'Celtic' refers, not to a particular ethnic group, but to a language family and a non-Roman culture.

⁸ See NEWMAN John Henry, "The Tradition of Civilization: the Isles of the North", In *Historical Sketches*, vol. III (1872), repr. London: Longman Green, 1909, pp. 116-29: 129. This is chapter X of a series of twenty in a longer essay entitled "Rise and Progress of Universities" (pp. 1-251), originally published as a single volume in 1856.

On the Continent, after the Roman Empire broke up, in some places Latin disappeared completely, or became very restricted in use. Even in Italy and other provinces close to home, such as Gaul and Spain, new forms of Latin came into being, variously referred to as low Latin, vulgar Latin or dialectal Latin, which slowly grew into the modern Romance languages spoken in those regions. But the older kind of Latin, preserved in manuscripts, did not disappear: it simply remained static, unchanging, unlike the daily language of the people; and as the generations passed, and people found the old, written texts hard to understand without special study, knowledge of Latin became specialized, restricted. Ancient texts remained in Classical Latin and were still read, but only by scholars, some of whom imitated the old rules of grammar, while others adapted the language to their own circumstances, more or less in accordance with their vernacular patterns. As a result, medieval Latin as used by later scribes is not always 'pure', for want of a better term; it shows the evolution of written Latin, but not an evolution to the same degree that would lead to the emergence of new languages.

4. Latin, Old English and Old Welsh

In Britain Latin survived in religious circles, where it had a particular function. It never died out, in a sense, but its use became even more restricted; the ordinary people had no need for it in their daily lives. Christianity had been freely practiced ever since the days of the Emperor Constantine, who promulgated the Edict of Milan (313 AD), and it had been the official religion of the Empire since 386. Britain was therefore a Christian province at the time of the withdrawal of Roman troops in 409, one in which Latin was maintained for special purposes, in the field of religion, liturgy and the Sacred Scriptures. The pagan Angles and Saxons settled in Britain only thirty or forty years later; according to Bede, writing nearly three centuries after the event, it was in 449 that they were first invited in as military auxiliaries. But their conversion to Christianity did not begin until the very end of the next century: St Augustine's mission arrived in 597, and the process was not completed until 686.⁹ During that time the Britons, or Welsh as the English now called them (from *Wealas*, an Old English word meaning 'foreigners' and 'servants'), had remained Christian, but had not been involved in attempts to convert the English.

⁹ Bede gives this year for the final, and permanent, conversion of all of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms: *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, COLGRAVE Bertram & MYNORS R.A.B. (ed. & trans.), Oxford: Clarendon, 1969, Book IV, ch. 14.

Building on the *Ars grammatica* of the fourth century Roman Donatus, English churchmen, such as Tatwine (c. 700), later Archbishop of Canterbury (731-4), and St Boniface (before 716) now began to produce more expansive grammar books for the teaching of Latin.¹⁰

In the island of Britain, says Bede in the opening chapter of his *History*, there are four nations speaking five languages: the English, the Britons, the Scots, and the Picts, each group using its native tongue but united by Latin – an international language, at least for specific purposes related to a common ideology. Writing in the year 731, Bede was mainly concerned, as the full title implies – *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* – with the religious progress of his own people, the English. His work remains the major written source for the period, the dark days following the withdrawal of Roman troops from Britain, a precursor of the rapid downfall of the Empire in Europe. Bede refers frequently to 'the English' and their language as distinct from that of the Britons, Picts, Scots and Romans. For example, when the Irish monk St Aidan came to preach in Northumbria in 635, King Oswald himself, who had been educated in Iona and spoke 'the Scottish tongue' (Gaelic), acted as interpreter because the missionary was 'not fluent in the English language'. Bede tells us about the career of St Theodore of Tarsus, the Greek monk who became Archbishop of Canterbury (667-690), during whose reign the first Latin-Greek-Old English glossaries make their appearance, texts which give us some idea of the attempts of English monks to understand both Latin and Greek.¹¹

By the time we see the emergence of Old English literature, in the early eighth century, Latin had clearly become, for the English, a sacred language, for use in the liturgy, for reading the Bible and for studying biblical commentaries and theology. Yet some scholars of the time were well aware that Latin was not restricted to religion, because it was also the language in which were preserved Roman history and Roman law, the latter of crucial importance in the development of Anglo-Saxon law codes. Two hundred years later, in the days of Alfred the Great, King of the West Saxons (871-99), the position of Latin had seriously declined. In his

¹⁰ See LAPIDGE Michael & al, *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1999, pp. 69-70 (Boniface), pp. 216-8 (Grammar, Latin), p. 440 (Tatwine).

¹¹ On this subject see HERREN Michael W. & SAUER Hans, "Towards a New Edition of the Épinal-Erfurt Glossary: a Sample", In *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 26, 2016, pp. 125-198. The text in question, a Latin-Greek-Old English glossary, is found in two French and German manuscripts, based on an earlier (lost) glossary produced in the late seventh century at the monastic school in Canterbury.

Preface to St Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, Alfred expressed alarm at how few scholars there were in his kingdom who could read and write in Latin, or in English for that matter.¹² He set about the revival of learning in both languages, by founding schools, in conscious imitation of Charlemagne who had done the same thing for the Frankish kingdom in the previous century. Alfred even took the trouble to translate Latin texts into English personally, such as the *Consolation of Philosophy* by Boethius. In the tenth century, the Benedictine monastic revival helped restore the balance in England, so that Latin maintained its position as the language of learning and scholarship. Still, Latin was not a mother tongue for monks and schoolboys, but a *taught* subject. In about the year 998 one of the most famous English intellectuals of the period, Ælfric (c. 950-1010), wrote a Latin Grammar in English, for use in schools.¹³ The position of Latin was not disputed, but all over Britain texts for the entertainment and instruction of the common people, who did not speak Latin, were written in the vernaculars – English, Welsh or Scots Gaelic, depending on the region.

5. Latin in preaching and teaching

In one area, the teaching of religious doctrine, and in particular preaching, we may sometimes note a contrast between literacy and orality in relation to Latin. It may seem obvious that a preacher addressing a congregation of lay people would speak in their native language if he had any hope of converting or instructing them in the faith. If he was not a native speaker, as in the case of the early Roman and Irish missionaries who worked among the English, he would either have to learn the local language or use an interpreter. In later historical periods too, such as that of the Viking invasions and settlements in many parts of the British Isles, differences in language could make communication difficult. English preachers who wanted to convert the Vikings would either have to learn Old Norse, or make use of interpreters. This began as early as 878, when King Alfred himself stood as godfather to the Danish leader, Guthrum,

¹² See SWANTON Michael (ed. & trans.), *Anglo-Saxon Prose*, London: Dent, 1975, pp. 30-32 (modern English translation of King Alfred's Preface to St Gregory's *Pastoral Care*).

¹³ ZUPITZA Julius (ed.), *Ælfrics Grammatik und Glossar* [1880], 4th ed., Helmut Gneuss: Hildesheim, 2003. THROOP Priscilla (trans.), *Ælfric's Grammar and Glossary*, Charlotte (VT): Medieval MS, 2008. In 998 Ælfric was still teaching in the Benedictine abbey of Cerne Abbas (Dorset); now commonly known as Ælfric of Eynsham, he did not in fact move to Eynsham until 1005, when he was elected abbot.

giving him the baptismal name Æthelstan, thereby associating him with the West Saxon royal family.¹⁴ More than a century later, Danes who were still coming to England from Denmark were able to make use of interpreters from among their long established kinsmen, inhabitants of the English Danelaw, who had been converted by then. It was taken for granted that Knut the Dane, who made himself king of England by conquest (1016-35), should rule as a pious Christian.

After the Norman Conquest of England in 1066, the Normans spoke French at the royal court, among the nobility and the bishops, which complicated the linguistic map of England and would eventually have a considerable influence on the English language. It is significant, for example, that in the title and subtitle of Newton's *Opticks: A Treatise of the Reflexions, Refractions, Inflexions and Colours of Light*, all the principal words, with the sole exception of the last (*Light*), are ultimately of French origin. Still, we know that the common people, who formed the majority of the population, went on speaking English, not French, down to the fourteenth century, when French, despite its lexical influence, died out as an oral medium. We cannot imagine the lower clergy, such as an ordinary parish priest, attempting to preach to his flock in French at any time during that period. On the contrary, it is recorded that Samson of Tottingham (1135-1211), Abbot of Bury St Edmunds (Suffolk) from 1182, preached to the people not only in English, but in the local dialect of East Anglia, which he knew well.¹⁵ There must have been many others who did likewise, but they remain anonymous.

During the Middle English period, when French was the prestige language of social exchange, and Latin was the language of the schools, there was a corresponding decline in the production of literary texts in English. Of surviving texts in Middle English, a high proportion are of a religious nature, more so than we should expect to find in the vernacular of continental countries; this is because of the importance of teaching the faith to people who did not speak French. Among the religious treatises we find collections of sermons, which may be preserved in English, French or Latin. It is reasonable to suppose that those which were written in English were meant for delivery to an English-speaking audience, and those in French were aimed at French-speakers. But what about those in Latin? It would be hasty to presume that the fact of being written in Latin, and only

¹⁴ See LAPIDGE Michael, *Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, *op. cit.*, p. 223. Æthelstan was the name of Alfred's eldest brother, who died young, and also the name of his grandson, who reigned as king from 924 to 939.

¹⁵ Jocelin of Brakelond, *Chronicle of the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds*, GREENWAY Diana & SAYERS Jane (trans.), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989, p. 41-2.

found in Latin in the manuscripts, meant that the sermons in question were to be orally delivered in front of people who could understand the learned language. In the universities this was the case, but elsewhere it was not always so, as scribal comments sometimes tell us.

There is a category of learned sermons which were certainly meant for a university audience; but these were for students, philosophers, theologians and jurists, who were in the habit of both listening to lectures and taking notes in Latin. There are more surprising examples of sermons being preserved in Latin, although the scribe says they were meant for delivery to the common people in church.¹⁶ Does this mean the preacher expected the lay audience to understand Latin? Or that he only cared to impress them with the superior knowledge of a specialist? That would be unlikely, if the preacher hoped to get his message across. The answer becomes clearer in certain manuscripts where the writer says not only that the content was meant for a lay public, but that the sermons, when spoken, were actually delivered in English.¹⁷ This could mean that the sermons were composed in Latin, in writing, but then spoken in English for the benefit of the congregation. It could also mean that they first existed orally, in English, for extempore preaching, with or without notes, before being written down more carefully in Latin. An example of this is found in the *Novum opus dominicale* ('New Work for Sunday'), a collection of model sermons by the English Augustinian, John Waldeby, known to have been first composed in English, though surviving only in Latin (c. 1365).¹⁸ Either way, it makes sense to speak to lay people in the vernacular, but it raises another question: why did the author take the trouble to write his text in Latin, which would oblige him, if speaking or reading in front of a lay audience, to translate into English as he went along?

We are touching here on the nature of Latin as a specialized language, having more authority than English, because of its use in the Bible, the liturgy, and in legal texts. But we are also invited to enter the mind-set of a trained writer, whether or not he was a university man, one who associated Latin with books, manuscripts and education. In the Middle Ages, nobody

¹⁶ On the difference between the language of record and that of delivery, see SPENCER Helen Leith, *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1993, pp. 9, 15-17, 22, 55-7, 64 and 111.

¹⁷ For examples of this in German and French preaching, but certainly applying to English as well, see LONGÈRE Jean, *La Prédication médiévale*, Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1983, p. 163.

¹⁸ AKAE Yuichi, *A Mendicant Sermon Collection from Composition to Reception. The Novum opus dominicale of John Waldeby*, OESA, Turnhout: Brepols, 2015, p. 296.

went to school to learn English or French. The vernaculars were picked up from the cradle and used in daily life and business; they were not subjects that anyone studied in school as we do today, where we take classes both in our native idiom and in one or two foreign languages. Medieval people who got an education studied Latin, in order to be able to read Classical literature and Roman law, philosophy and theology. The writers of sermons in Latin had been familiar with the language for years, were in the habit of hearing it used by their teachers, of reading it, of speaking it to fellow-students. Writing in Latin therefore came to them naturally and instinctively, out of habit, much more so than writing in English, which some of them probably had little or no occasion to do, English being mainly an oral medium. This explains why, even if they intended to preach to the people in English, they wrote down their texts in Latin.

6. Quoting from Scripture: the authority of Latin

In Middle English sermons and treatises, such as *Jacob's Well* (c. 1425),¹⁹ scriptural citations will always give the Latin text first – usually underlined in red – followed by a word-for-word English translation, most likely the writer's own version. There was already an Old English text of the Gospels in existence before the Norman Conquest, but not of the rest of the New Testament; and the whole Bible was not translated into English until the late fourteenth century, in the controversial Wycliffite version, which the bishops considered heretical and would not allow orthodox Catholics to read. Consequently, preachers who used a scriptural citation would translate it into English themselves; but they were always careful to give the Latin first, since this was the authoritative text, the only one recognized by the law of the Church. It is impossible to be sure if such a preacher, perhaps holding his book in his hand as he stood in front of the people, actually read out the Latin first and then the English, or only the English version which everyone would understand. It seems likely, however, that he would do both, giving the Latin first in order to show that it really was a Bible text. The medieval audience probably liked to hear a little Latin, whether they understood it or not, as this would inspire confidence in the preacher's knowledge and authority.

A little Latin indeed, but not too much, and this raises the issue of what has been called 'English Latin' – the excessive use of Latin words in

¹⁹ The only surviving manuscript dates from c. 1440, but the text was copied from an older, lost exemplar, probably early fifteenth century. See Arthur Brandeis, *Jacob's Well*, Early English Text Society, OS 103, London, Kegan Paul, 1900.

sermons.²⁰ A stage further is represented by the so-called 'macaronic' sermons, which often contain whole sentences and paragraphs in Latin, not always translated. Macaronic sermons form a special linguistic category, being composed in an odd mixture of English and Latin, in highly variable proportions. Scholarly opinion varies on whether such sermons were meant to be delivered as they stand, without translating the Latin parts, and to what extent this would imply knowledge of Latin on the part of the hearers.²¹

In conclusion, it seems that, at all stages of history, Latin in Britain was always an LSP. This was true when it was first introduced by the Roman conquerors, when Latin was necessary for dealing in military, economic and administrative business. It remained the case after the withdrawal from Britain of the Roman armies and the collapse of the Empire, for by then Latin had become the language of an educated elite, with the Catholic Church in the forefront of learning. All through the Middle Ages, Latin was the language of the cathedral and parish schools, and later of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, which were founded in the early thirteenth century. Even in Protestant England under the Tudors and the Stuarts (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), Latin, though no longer used in the public liturgy or as the official Bible translation, remained the prestige language of learning and science. That is why Newton's decision to publish his *Opticks* in English, in 1704, marks a turning point in the history of both Latin and English, leading the way for English itself to become an LSP.

²⁰ See the section on 'English Latin' in Helen Leith Spencer, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-33.

²¹ See Siegfried WENZEL, *Macaronic Sermons. Bilingualism and Preaching in Late-Medieval England*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994. Reviewed by Leo CARRUTHERS in *Medieval Sermon Studies* 39, Spring 1997, pp. 17-21. The sermons studied by WENZEL are Latin-based with many English words and phrases mixed in, often seamlessly so; in such cases, to remove the English words would be to alter the sense and syntax of the text, which could not stand alone in Latin.

GERALD OF WALES' BOOKS: FIRST ETHNOLOGICAL DICTIONARIES?

NOLWENA MONNIER

Gerald of Wales was born in 1145 at Manorbier Castle, in Pembrokeshire and died in 1223, probably in Lincoln. He had noble origins as he was the youngest son of the Norman William FitzOdo of Barry (or Barri). His mother, Angharad FitzGerald, was the daughter of Gerald FitzWalter of Windsor. His grandmother was Nest Ferch Rhys, daughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr, the last King of South Wales. This dual origin, Norman and Welsh, marked his whole life and work. Robert Bartlett perfectly defines who Gerald was when he says: "He was a child of a frontier society at the edge of feudal Europe, a Paris-trained master, humanist, royal servant, court *littérateur*, historian, and naturalist. A study of his thought throws light on many of the complex processes of twelfth-century society."¹ Peter the Chanter, a specialist of theology in Paris in the second half of the twelfth century, was one of Gerald's masters and no doubt influenced Gerald's approach to writing. Gerald of Wales was a very prolific writer as he wrote no fewer than twenty books which is a lot compared to his colleagues of the same period. Some of his books tackle history and more especially ecclesiastical history but some others are clearly ethnological books.²

In 1184, Gerald became Henry II Plantagenet's royal clerk. The English king chose him to escort Prince John (future king John Lackland) to

¹ BARTLETT R.C., *Gerald of Wales: A Voice of the Middle Ages*, Stroud: Tempus, 1982, p. 14.

² The term 'ethnologia' was used for the first time by Adam Franz KOLLÁR (1718-1783) in *Historiae ivrisque pvblici Regni Vngariae amoenitates*, Vienne, in 1783. Alexandre César CHAVANNES used it in 1787 in his essay on *Intellectual Education*. Some may think it is an anachronism to apply this word to a medieval book but when one considers the classifications related to ethnology, Gerald clearly covers most of these domains namely anthropology of religions, legal anthropology, anthropology of techniques, ethnomusicology, ethnobiology or ethnobotany.

Ireland in 1185. The chronicler knew the place as he had joined his elder brother Philip of Barry on the island a few years before (in 1183). The brothers helped their uncle Robert FitzStephen, one of the island's earliest conquerors, to master a rebellion.³ Taking the opportunity of these journeys, Gerald decided to write his first book: the *Topographia Hibernica* which was first published in 1188, and revised at least four times. A year later, in 1189, he wrote the *Expugnatio Hibernica*. Whereas he was sent by Henry to serve John, neither of these two books is dedicated to the king or his son. This peculiar relation, "*je t'aime, moi non plus*"⁴ between Gerald and the Plantagenet court lasted his whole life, made of hope and disappointment in his ecclesiastical expectations. In the same period, Gerald accompanied Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, to Wales. In 1188, Henry II decided it was high time for him to have his sins forgiven, especially the assassination of Thomas Becket in 1170, and that a good solution was no doubt to leave for the Holy Land. Baldwin was sent to Wales to preach the crusade. We know Henry never fulfilled his wish to take the cross. His son Richard eventually did in 1189. Once more, Gerald made the most of this trip and wrote two books on his journey: the *Itinerarium Cambriae* in 1191 and the *Descriptio Cambriae* in 1194. These four first-hand books are a huge source of information even if, of course, they reflect the thoughts of this time. We can clearly hear Gerald's voice in his books on Wales with anecdotes and stories about the relatives and places he knew from his young age. On the opposite side, in his books on Ireland, the chronicler is a lot more distant and stereotypes are real propagandist elements.

As Robert Bartlett states in one of his books: "(...) his [Gerald of Wales's] ethnographic writing was therefore highly innovative."⁵ Indeed, the *Itinerario Cambriae* recounts Gerald and Baldwin's journey day after day, where they were, who they met and what they did, mainly preaching the crusade to convince the nobles and crowd to join the King's army to free the Holy Land. But this book also contains numerous accounts on the history of these very places and people. Both books on Ireland also reflect Gerald's need to account the history and legends of the country. All these books are unique works mixing history, geography, sociology, journalistic reports, ecclesiastical miracles and Welsh/Irish traditions and myths. Under such circumstances, one can wonder if the reader could find any trace of language for specific purposes (LSPs) in relation to these subjects,

³ BOIVIN Jeanne-Marie, *L'Irlande au Moyen-Age, Giraud de Barri et la Topographia Hibernica (1188)*, Paris: Champion, 2000, p.17.

⁴ Love/hate relationship.

⁵ BARTLETT R. C., *op.cit.*, p. 13.

unusual in medieval books. I will first expose the different languages mentioned in the books as well as the presence of interpreters and then, will examine a specific linguistic passage. I will also examine the relation of Gerald to geography and finally I will pay a special attention to a specific recurrent word. I then try to draw a conclusion regarding Gerald's relations to LSPs.

1. Languages mentioned and interpreters

Observing the languages mentioned in these books is essential as they are clearly numerous, even if the books themselves were fully written in Latin. We can thus list Greek, Saxon, Latin, French, Danish, English and Welsh. We can sometimes find words and/or passages in these languages, at other times, just the mention of them. Gerald definitely seems interested in different languages and not only the ones he was able to speak. We know he could speak French thanks to more than ten year of studies in Paris (from about 1165 to 1174 and then again from 1176 to 1179). But as Bartlett reminds us: "His mother tongue was French, his occupational tongue Latin, and he had other languages to take into account too, particularly Welsh and English."⁶ As a clerk and an ecclesiastic, he could of course speak Latin. We can suppose he was familiar with Greek thanks to his studies. However, we cannot know if Gerald was at ease with Saxon or Danish. We have no proof of that. Regarding Welsh, we could suppose Gerald, as a descendant of a Welsh royal family, was literate in Welsh. Nevertheless, we have no proof of that either. Indeed, in none of his books does Gerald reveal he can speak Welsh. We can suspect he could understand it but hardly speak it or write it. As Serge Lusignan reminds us, vernacular languages were not taught as such, at least until the fifteenth century.⁷ We can therefore find poor quality translations of Latin or Greek books whereas translators mastered the original texts. Indeed, we have no trace of language teaching, apart from Latin and Greek, in medieval occidental universities. This teaching, if real, must have taken place in private, with specialized tutors. Verger's remark seems to confirm that aspect: "but the practice they had of them [vernacular languages] was coming from personal efforts or purely professional learning".⁸ Thus, adult learners could find English guides to learn Anglo-Norman in the XIIIth

⁶ BARTLETT, *op.cit.*, p. 19.

⁷ LUSIGNAN Serge, *Parler vulgairement. Les intellectuels et la langue française aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles*, Paris-Montréal: Jean Vrin et Presses universitaires de Montréal, 1986, p. 12.

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 24.

century.⁹

In fact, we can find in Gerald's books on Wales four passages in which he mentions the help of a translator to communicate with people. We read in the *Itinerarium Cambriae*, in Book I, Chapter 1:¹⁰ "In Radnor, Baldwin was met by Rhys ap Gruffydd, Prince of South Wales, and by other nobles from those parts. The Archbishop delivered a public sermon on the taking of the Cross, and this was explained to the Welsh by an interpreter". In the same way, in Book II, Chapter 1, we find: "This was explained to the king by an interpreter" (...). Was it the same person, we cannot know as he was an anonymous translator. We have other examples in which we perfectly know who the interpreter was. In Book I, Chapter 5, Gerald tells us about a sermon given at Usk Castle: "Alexander, Archdeacon of Bangor, acted as an interpreter for the Welsh". Similarly, in Book II, Chapter 7, we can find: "The Archbishop gave a sermon, and so did Alexander, the local archdeacon, who acted as our interpreter (...)". As Anne Mc Cants reminds us: "If the groups had relatively little contact, interpreters could have been used".¹¹ Could we say that twelfth century Wales and England had little contact, I doubt it but that is another story I will not question in this paper. My point is that an interpreter was obviously necessary and that this interpreter was not Gerald of Wales.

But indeed, some scholars even think Gerald did not know Welsh at all as he was bred in a Norman Family.¹² Whereas he was clearly sent to Wales with Baldwin because he knew the place and people, he mentions it several times in his books; Gerald never acts as a translator which may make us think he was not sufficiently fluent in Welsh. Nevertheless, another explanation is possible: as a court servant directly linked to the English crown, it was preferable that somebody more local than Gerald dealt with any translation, not to be accused of mistranslation and/or

⁹ ROTHWELL, W., "The Teaching of French in Medieval England", In *Modern Language View* 63 (1968): 3746. <https://ocw.mit.edu/courses/history/21h-411-history-of-western-thought-500-1300-fall-2004/assignments/medievalpaper.pdf>

¹⁰ Gerald of Wales, *The journey through Wales and the Description of Wales*, L. THORPE (trans), London: Penguin Books, 1978 and Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*, J. O'MEARA (trans), London: Penguin Books, 1982 for all translations.

¹¹ MCCANTS Anne, *Using Foreign Languages in the Middle Ages*, <https://ocw.mit.edu/courses/history/21h-411-history-of-western-thought-500-1300-fall-2004/assignments/medievalpaper.pdf>

¹² "Here is a man of Welsh extraction, but not of Welsh race, who does not know Welsh, and is at the same time supposed to be infected by Welsh national sympathies." POWICKE FM, "Gerald of Wales", In *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xii (1928), p. 399.

propaganda from/for the Plantagenet court. In fact, the *Public Records of England* tells us that: "In 1284 it was officially recommended to the English government that no Irishman should be appointed as an archbishop in Ireland since they always preach against the king (...) and always provide Irishmen in their churches (...) so that the election of bishops can be made by Irishmen to maintain their language."¹³ At the end of the twelfth century, concerning Wales, we can suspect this feeling was already present. Whatever the situation may have really been, as to whether or not Gerald could speak Welsh, he never mentions it in his books.

Gerald clearly mentions in his books the use of different languages, whether he could speak them or not. But the chronicler also uses/manipulates these languages in these books and this point also needs to be analysed.

2. A multilingual approach

In Book I, Chapter 8 of the *Itinerarium Cambriae*, Gerald offers us with a curious passage in which he accounts the story of a man who would have met a *little people* whose language was similar to Greek. The chronicler takes this opportunity to begin an etymological work. As you can see in the table below, he selects two words – water and salt – and gives their equivalent in different languages, three for water and seven for salt.

Table 1: Gerald of Wales' etymological explanation of some words

	Latin	Greek	Welsh	Irish	French	English	German
Water	Aquam	ὕδωρ	Dwfr				
Salt	Salem	ἅλς	Halen	halgein	sel	salt	sout

This long paragraph contains real etymological aspects. Gerald even justifies the fact that Greek and early Welsh were close thanks to the origin of its peoples. We know the legendary origin of Britain lies in Brutus. This Trojan prince is supposed to have fled from Greece to Britain according to

¹³ Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland, SWEETMAN H.S. (ed) (London, 1875-86), iii.10 quoted in WATT J.A., "Edward I and the Irish Church", In *Mediaeval Studies Presented to Aubrey Cwynn*, WATT J.A., MORRALL J.B., MARTIN F.X., (eds), Dublin: The Three Candles, 1961, p. 150, n.71.

Geoffrey of Monmouth's account in 1135-1138.¹⁴ Gerald does not clearly quote Geoffrey but takes this account for granted.¹⁵ He then justifies the link thanks to a "real source" as he quotes Priscian, a Latin grammarian, and his *De arte gramatica*, XIII.5.25. Gerald explains the shift in words. Nevertheless, he does not justify the choice of these two specific words, water and salt. We cannot note here any trace of a real will to develop a real multi-lingual dictionary, a linguistic guide for a trip to Ireland or Wales. But Gerald's books contain a lot more references to the native languages of these countries.

3. A dictionary of Geography

Gerald's references to places are numerous in his books and come from in their very nature, the description of journeys to foreign countries. They sometimes become real tourist guidebooks. Gerald often mentions a translation to a native name and we can find several examples of that aspect in the books. In the *Descriptio Cambriae*, in Book I, Chapter 5, Gerald tells us about rivers: "They take their source from two different mountain-ranges: Elenydd in South Wales, which the English call Moruge because of the marshlands on its summits, and Eryri in North Wales, called Snowdon in English, meaning the Snow Mountains." Thorpe, one of Gerald's translators, specifies that we cannot trace the origin of the word mentioned by Gerald. He also stipulates that the expression means 'the haunt of the eagles' in Welsh. We can note that Gerald could have been more precise and so that his aim was certainly not to be complete but to give some information, some elements according to what he knew and not to gather, on purpose, material about geography.

In the same way, in the *Itinerario Cambriae*, in Book I, Chapter 10, Gerald comments on the name of a town: "Pengwern means the head of the alder-grove". A bit further in this chapter, the chronicler tells us: "Not far to the North of Carmarthen lies Pencader, which means the head of a chair (...)". But these explanations are not systematic. For example, in the *Descriptio Cambriae*, in Book I, Chapter 1, Gerald mentions River

¹⁴ For more detail on this aspect, see MATHEY-MAILLE Laurence, "Mythe troyen et histoire romaine: de Geoffroy de Monmouth au Brut de Wace", in BAUMGÄRTNER Emmanuèle, HARF-LANCNER Laurence (dir.), *Entre fiction et histoire: Troie et Rome au Moyen Âge*, Paris: Presses de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, 1997 and BEAUNE Colette, *Naissance de la nation France*, Paris: Gallimard, 1985. Britain and France are supposed to share this Trojan origin.

¹⁵ Even if he refutes Geoffrey of Monmouth's account, Gerald of Wales often quotes him and his book.

Gwygir and Portwkwett in Gwent but does not give any translation whereas they are also called Horger and Yoiger in the *Ynes Priden*, a book Gerald knew about.¹⁶ All these elements tend to confirm that Gerald had no real strategy in his writing to write a geographical dictionary: nothing is really systematic and organized.

4. Gerald, the administrator

There is, in fact, a word to which Gerald pays particular attention in both his books on Ireland and Wales: *Cantref* or *Cantred*, as the word varies from one book to the other.¹⁷ The first mention of it appears in the *Topographia Hibernica*, in Chapter 89, in which we can read:

From the time of Slanius each of the five portions [of Ireland] contains thirty-two *cantreds*, but Meath contains only sixteen. There are, therefore, eighty plus sixteen *cantreds* in all. *Cantred* is a word used in the normal way in the Irish and British tongues for as much land as usually holds a hundred settlements.

Gerald offers no translation of this peculiar word, the word being similar in English and Irish – and Welsh in fact – but an explanation. This word reappears five times in the *Itinerarium Cambriae*¹⁸ and three times in the *Descriptio Cambriae*. In these two books, Gerald uses the word but does not explain what it means. Did Gerald consider that his books on Ireland were famous and widely spread enough so that he did not need to explain a second time in other books what a *Cantref* was?

In fact, far from explaining what a *Cantref* is, in the second passage in the *Itinerarium Cambriae*, he explains what a *commote* is:

In the days of Henry I, king of the English, Gruffydd, son of Rhys ap Tewdwr, was lord of a *commote*, that is the quarter of a *cantref*, in Cantref Mawr, called Cao, which he held in tenure from the king. It was considered equal in importance and repute to South Wales, which the Welsh call Deheubarth that is Right-Hand Wales.¹⁹

In this passage, we learn what a *commote* is – a quarter of a *cantref* – but still not what a *cantref* is. Gerald explains a word with another word he

¹⁶ BROMWICH Rachel, *Trioedd Ynys Prydein: The Welsh Triads*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1978 p. 228.

¹⁷ In fact, both spellings are equal.

¹⁸ Twice in Book I, Chapter 2

¹⁹ Book I, Chapter 2.

does not explain. We have nevertheless an interesting element in this passage as we learn that a *commote* can be held in tenure from the king. Another interesting aspect is the fact that a *Cantref* is an Irish/Welsh word whereas a *Commote* is an English one. Neither of them is translated in Latin in this passage. Gerald chooses to use the native language words. *Cantref* has in fact no equivalent in English but *commote* comes from the Welsh *cymydau*.²⁰ Gerald could have mentioned it but he does not. In fact, this may prove that the chronicler's wish was not to write an administrative guide to the province but just to give some elements, almost like anecdotes, when he knew about them, no more, no less. If Gerald had consciously wanted to write a LSP book or at least a Welsh dictionary/guide on ethnological words, he could have been, as he had on other subjects, a lot more precise, a lot more didactic.

In fact, in Book I, Chapter 10 of the *Itinerarium*, we can find the same linguistic phenomenon as we can read: "To the east lies Cantref Mawr, that is the Great Cantref (...) Near Dinevor, on the other side of the River Tywi, in *Cantref Bychan*, that is the Little Cantref (...)". This time, Gerald translates part of these proper names. We learn then that *bychan* means little what is still true nowadays in modern Welsh. We need to wait until in Book II, Chapter 7, to learn what a *cantref* is. But in fact, *cantref* is explained as such: "The island of Anglesey contains three hundred and sixty-three *vills*, and this is considered to be the equal of three *cantrefs*."²¹ The word *cantref* is the same in Welsh and Irish: it means about as much land as goes to make up a hundred *vills*." The term "*cantref*" is in fact derived from "*cant*" – a hundred – and "*tref*" – town in modern Welsh but formerly used for much smaller settlements. *Cantrefi* could vary considerably in size; most were divided into two or three *commotes* but the largest, the "Cantref Mawr" or "Great Cantref" in Ystrad Tywi (now in Carmarthenshire) was divided into seven *commotes*.²²

²⁰ WILLIAM Rees, *An Historical Atlas of Wales from Early to Modern Times*, London: Faber & Faber, 1951.

²¹ Namely Cemais, Aberffraw and Rhosyr.

²² For more details, see KOCH, John T., (ed.), *Celtic Culture: a historical encyclopedia*, Los Angeles: ABC-CLIO, 2006; LLOYD, John Edward, *A History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest*, (2nd ed.), London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1912; KOCOUREK, Albert; & WIGMORE, John H., (eds.), "Laws of Howel Dda", In *Sources of Ancient and Primitive Law*. ANEURIN Owen (trans.), Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1915; LEWIS, Hubert, LLOYD, John Edward, (ed.), *The Ancient Laws of Wales*, London: Elliot Stock, 1889; PROBERT, William, (ed.), *The Ancient Laws of Cambria*, London: E. Williams, 1823; MELVILLE G., *Welsh Administrative and Territorial Units, Medieval and Modern*,

Gerald first states that the word is the same in Welsh and Irish but in fact, Gerald defines one word with another, one he does not explain. We know that a *Cantref* is about 100 *vills*... but we do not know what a *vill* is! *Vill* is no doubt another sort of territorial division but Gerald provides us with no detail. In fact, *Vill* is a term used in English history to describe a land unit which might otherwise be described as parish, manor or tithing. *Vill* is a word we can find in the Domesday Book and it was used in the eleventh century until up the late medieval era: it is a geographical subdivision of a hundred settlements.²³ And of course, *vill* transformed into... village!

Other passages could be mentioned about *cantrefi*. In the *Descriptio Cambriae*, in Book I, Chapter 4, we read: "Wales now contains fifty-four *cantref*s in all. *Cantref* or *cantred*, a word made up from 'cant' meaning a hundred and 'tref' meaning a vill, is a term used in both Welsh and Irish for a stretch of land which contains a hundred *vills*." This passage is similar to the one in the *Itinerium Cambriae*. Gerald was used to this stratagem: quoting himself from one book to the other.²⁴ In the *Descriptio Cambriae*, in Book I, Chapter 2, Gerald mentions the three parts of Wales:

These are *Gwynedd*, or North Wales; South Wales, called in Welsh *Deheubarth*, which really means Right-Hand Wales, a sub-section of which, containing seven *cantref*s, has been given the name of *Demetia* or *Dyved*; and *Powys*, which is in the middle and stretches eastwards. The reason for this three-fold division is as follows. *Rhodri Mawr*, or Roderick the Great, who ruled over all Wales, had three sons, Merfyn, Anarawd and Cadell. Rhodri divided Wales between them. He gave the North Wales to Merfyn, Powys to Anarawd and South Wales to Cadell.

In this passage, Gerald is quite precise on the history of Wales but not that much on the linguistic aspect of all these elements. Once more, Gerald provides us with details but in a disordered way. We cannot feel that the chronicler intends to explain precise elements but just to tell a story. Finally, in the very same book, in Book I, Chapter 4, one can read: "(...) It [Llandaff] contains five *cantref*s and a quarter of another one, called *Senghennydd*." Once more, Gerald uses the word without explaining it.

Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1969; SEEBOHM Frederic, *The Tribal System in Wales*, (2nd ed.), London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1904.

²³ MAITLAND, Frederic William, *Domesday Book & Beyond*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1897, p. 10.

²⁴ MONNIER Nolwena, *Debts in Gerald of Wales' Itinerario Kambriae*, conference at the University of Nantes (France), Avril 2016.

Gerald is clearly confusing on this point as his explanations on *Cantrefs* are never complete. Indeed, it is a real riddle game he plays from one book to the other. He provides us with elements but not a complete and accurate demonstration. This confirms our first impression: Gerald did not use LSPs deliberately in his books.

As a general conclusion, we can say that we can find linguistic elements on geography, interpreters and legal disposition of lands in Gerald of Wales's ethnological books but nothing is systematic. Nothing allows us to say there was a real will from Gerald to write a LSP book. He gives us some clues but more than anything else feelings, personal testimonies, propaganda and not much rigour in his writing. His books show the choices of a unique chronicler but certainly not a systematic approach to LSP. We could have expected something more rigorous as Anne Mc Cants states: "Languages were learned and used for practical purposes or as tools of social power, and almost never for scholarly purposes or intellectual enrichment, as they would be from the Renaissance on."²⁵ Gerald could have decided to become a didactic writer but he was certainly more a storyteller than a political man in the end, especially when taking about his own land.

²⁵ MCCANTS Anne, *Using Foreign Languages in the Middle Ages*, <https://ocw.mit.edu/courses/history/21h-411-history-of-western-thought-500-1300-fall-2004/assignments/medievalpaper.pdf>.

FOREIGN LANGUAGE INFLUENCES AND VOCABULARY FOR SPECIAL PURPOSES: SOME EXAMPLES FROM TWELFTH-CENTURY GERMAN MEDICAL TEXTS

VALERIA DI CLEMENTE

1. From the *Basler Rezepte* to the eleventh century

The first medical text ever attested in early German written culture is represented by the so-called *Basler Rezepte* ("Basle recipes"). It is composed of three simple medical remedies copied on fol. 17r of the eighth/ninth-century manuscript Basle, Universitätsbibliothek, F III 15a, containing Isidore of Seville's *De natura rerum* and *Differentiae*. The first remedy is in Latin, the second and third ones are written in Old High German; the second shows East Frankish and Bavarian features, while the third one has graphemic and lexical English influences, which led to the hypothesis that the vernacular remedies were written down by an English monk who resided in Bavaria.¹

After the Basle recipes, there is hardly a trace of micro- or macro-texts on medicine or pharmacy in Old High German written culture for about three centuries. A set of medicine-related terms are however offered by glosses to Latin texts and alphabetical or thematically arranged glossaries and, between the tenth and the eleventh century, by single remedies where it is possible to find a mixed Latin-German language, in different proportions. Examples of the latter procedure are the so-called Würzburg recipes² and the Einsiedeln recipe *Contra acutam passionem*.³ Other texts,

¹ Text published in STEINMEYER (1963: 39-42); see also MERRILL's (1947) and NEDOMA's (1997) studies.

² RIECKE (2004) I: 117; STEINMEYER-SIEVERS III: 601-602 no. MLIII and IV: 667 no. 647; DI CLEMENTE (2009: 17-18).

³ STEINMEYER-SIEVERS IV: 370 no. MLXd and footnote 9 and 426 no. 123. Cf. also RIECKE (2004) I: 117-118ff and DI CLEMENTE (2009: 18-19).

such as the so-called *Contra paralyisin*⁴ and *Contra paralyisin id est vergiht*⁵ remedies, are written in Latin with insertions in German and also provided with interlinear German glosses to Latin lexemes.

2. Twelfth-century German medical literature

A production of texts written mainly in German started between the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century, although generally the manuscript tradition dates back to a slightly later period, from the middle to the end of the twelfth century.

A novelty of this period is the appearance of the first *arzenbüecher* or, collections of various and heterogeneous medical writings. The first example ever of *arzenbüoch* in German is the so-called *Bamberger Arzneibuch*, a two-folios fragment from the middle of the twelfth century preserved as protection of the cover inside of a later manuscript.⁶ Three fragmentary texts are handed down in the fragment: the first German translation of the so-called *Capsula eburnea*, a late antique prognostic text produced in Alexandria in the fourth or fifth century AD and attributed to Hippocrates;⁷ a translation of the beginning of the so-called *De dynamidiis*, a short text about names and qualities of medicines that was commonly attributed to Galen;⁸ and the so-called *Arzenbüoch Ypocratis*, a collection of remedies "against all the diseases that can arise in the whole human body", recipes for the making of electuaries, poultices, collyria, veterinary remedies and charms and benedictions against human and animal diseases. The *Arzenbüoch Ypocratis* is only partly preserved in the *Bamberger Fragment*; an extended version was found c. fifty years later in the so-called *Zürcher Arzneibuch*.⁹ Most of the *Arzenbüoch Ypocratis* represents a re-elaboration of Latin medical remedies.¹⁰

Other texts whose direct Latin sources cannot be fully established, but translate material that is attested also in Latin, are the *Prüller Kräuterbuch*, a short herbal describing the medical qualities of eighteen

⁴ BUTZMANN (1959); DI CLEMENTE (2009: 21-29).

⁵ STEINMEYER (1963): 385-386 n. LXXII.2; DI CLEMENTE (2009: 30-37).

⁶ LEITSCHUH & FISCHER (1897: 243); PRIEBSCHE (1915); WILHELM (1916: 244-247); DI CLEMENTE (2009: 63-80); PFÄNDTNER, WESTPHAL & SUCKALE-REDLEFSEN (2013).

⁷ KEIL (1983a), (2004d).

⁸ DI CLEMENTE (2016).

⁹ KEIL (1967a) and (1978).

¹⁰ WILHELM (1916: 137-153, 249-254).

herbs and spices;¹¹ the *Prüller Steinbuch*, a lapidary containing the description of the medical qualities of twelve precious and semi-precious stones, preceded by an extract of an Early Medieval hymn praising the twelve precious stones that decorate the heavenly Jerusalem;¹² and the *Innsbrucker Arzneibuch*, a collection of medical recipes listed according to the *a capite ad calcem* order and written in a singular mix of Latin and German.¹³

Single remedies such as *Contra paralysin teutonice* or *Gegen den stain* also occur, the first one in a parchment scroll containing medical and naturalistic writings in Latin and German,¹⁴ the other one in the *Traditionsbuch* belonging to count Siboto of Falkenstein's family.¹⁵

3. Linguistic interference and its mechanisms

In the following paragraphs, a few lexical items will be analysed which show how medical Latin must have influenced the creation or elaboration of a vocabulary relating to medicine and pharmacy in twelfth-century German. Following the systematisation offered by Werner Betz and its terminology, further developed and refined by Roberto Gusmani,¹⁶ we can distinguish two different macro-types of lexical interference:

- loanwords or borrowings, i.e. lexical units taken from the source language and implanted into the target language, with variable degrees, levels and strategies of adaptation and subsequent integration into the target system;
- calques, where the source language only offers a semantic and/or syntactical pattern which can be replicated using vocabulary resources, morphological tools and syntactical patterns of the target language.

Among the calques, it is possible to find:

¹¹ KEIL (1967c), (1983c), SCHNELL (1991).

¹² KEIL (1989a), (2004c); SCHNELL (2004).

¹³ KEIL (1967b), (1983b).

¹⁴ STEINMEYER (1963: n. LXXII.1), PINTO (1973), HENZEN (1969), DI CLEMENTE (2009: 38-42), KÖSSINGER (2015: 155-157).

¹⁵ NOICHL (1978: 164-165), SCHMIDT-WIEGAND (1978), DI CLEMENTE (2009: 147-150).

¹⁶ GUSMANI (1993).

- structural calques, which accurately reproduce both the lexical and the syntactical structure of the source word;
- imperfect structural calques, where the lexical and/or syntactical structure of the source word is reproduced in a more loose way;
- conceptual calques or loan creations, which assume a semantic aspect implied in a word and reproduce it by creating a new lexeme in the target language;
- semantic calques or semantic loans, where a correspondence is established between two words already existing in the source language and in the target language and an additional meaning is given to the target language word by influence of the source language word.

4. Influence of Latin on the first attempts to build a German medical vocabulary: some examples

4.1. Borrowings

postema strong feminine/neuter?, *postem(e)*? strong/weak? masculine/feminine/neuter?

Die postema zeheline nim zwei mez des honeges [...] Ad stomachum. Ze den magen zesterkene nim die gepuluerede nebetun ioch ire samen. unde des epphes samen. dillesamen. minzun samen. poleium. cuminū die wize minza. unde niv die zesamene. Unde du darzu honec. unde zedribez zelectuarium. unde nuzez wider geblaseda des magen. unde uor den damfedon. ioch wider **den postemon** (*Arzenībuoch Ypocratis, Bamberger Arzneibuch* version).¹⁷

Both forms derive from spoken Late Latin (*a*)*postema* 'abscess, tumour', itself from Greek.¹⁸ It is a neuter substantive in Greek and Latin, sometimes interpreted as a masculine one in Medieval Latin. The term occurs both in the accusative case (singular or plural?: *die postema zeheline* 'to heal the abscess(es)') and in a prepositional syntagm introduced by *wider* 'against', which can bear both the accusative and the dative. In *die postema*

¹⁷ WILHELM (1916: 247). "To heal the abscess(es), take two measures of honey [...] For the stomach. To strengthen the stomach, take powdered catmint and its seeds, celery seeds, dill seeds, mint seeds, pennyroyal seeds, cumin, white mint and grind them together; add honey to it and chop it into an electuary and use it against bloated stomach, asthma and abscesses".

¹⁸ LEWIS & SHORT s.v. *āpostēma*, LIDDELL & SCOTT s.v. *ἀπόστημα* (3).

the article might refer to a feminine singular or plural or to a neuter plural. The *on*-ending in *wider den postemon* might indicate both a Late Old High German/Early Middle High German accusative singular of a weak masculine or feminine substantive and a dative plural of strong and weak masculine, feminine or neuter substantive. The gender of the noun is therefore not fully clear: it can be morphologically aligned to German *diu geswulst* 'tumour', a strong feminine noun. It may be perceived as a Latin feminine noun of the first declension due to its *-a* ending but it can also be rendered in German according to its (Late)-Latin gender (neuter or masculine).

4.2. Re-interpreted borrowings

Vichswin(e)de (*fich suinede*) strong neuter

Ad ficum. Dv salt nemen ein gewith. cariofiles. daz andera cinamomi. Daz drita piper. daz uierda gingebernes. daz funfta cumini unde salt ez zedriben mit demo niven honege. unde gib ez wider **daz fich suinede** demo manne (*Arzenibuch Ypocratis, Bamberger Arzneibuch* version).¹⁹

Fich suinede represents a *hapax legomenon*. *Fich* is a loanword from Lat. *ficum, ficus* 'ulcer, wart', as shown in the *indicatio* of the recipe (*Ad ficum*). The lexeme is phonetically adapted to German (/k/ > /x/). Its meaning is explicated by *suinede*, a strong neuter substantive which represents a *hapax legomenon* in German, but is probably linked to an Early Modern German feminine substantive *schwinde* "name einer krankheit, ein entzündlicher und schnell um sich greifender hautausschlag, flechte der haut, auch schwindflechte",²⁰ or far less probably to the Middle High German *swinde* strong neuter 'consumption (tuberculosis)', perhaps influenced by the Middle High German adjective *swinde* 'quick, strong', but also 'bad, dangerous' (cf. the strong feminine substantive *swinde* 'strength, violence').²¹ *Suinede* shows here an accented <î> to distinguish it from the following <n>, and a peculiar epenthetic -e- inserted in the consonant cluster /nd/. It could represent a clarifying compound (the second element explains the first one, which is an opaque borrowing).

¹⁹ WILHELM (1916: 245). "Against ulcers. You must take a measure of cloves, a second of cinnamon, a third of pepper, a fourth of ginger, a fifth of cumin, and must grind it with new honey, and give it to the (sick) man against ulcers".

²⁰ DW s.v. *schwinde* f.

²¹ LEXER s.vv. *swinde* adj., *swinde* stf., *swinde* stn.

4.3. Structural calques

4.3.1. *Büezīne* (*bvzīna*) weak neuter

Gip im dar nach vber lanc ein rōrtranc. daz wir heizen **bvzina** (*Arzenībuoch Ypocratis, Zürcher Arzneibuch* version).²²

Büezīne is probably a structural calque of Late Lat. *catharticum* < Gr. *kathartikón* (*phármakon*),²³ which replicates the structure of the source lexeme: *kátharsis* 'cleansing from guilt and defilement, purification, clearing off of morbid humours, evacuation'²⁴ corresponds to Old High German *buoz(a)* 'penitence, compensation, improvement, price' and Middle High German *buoz* 'improvement, help' or *buoze* 'improvement, medicine, compensation', while the derivative suffix *-ik-* corresponds to the Old/Middle High German *-īn-* 'related to'). The correspondence between *kátharsis* and Early Middle High German *buoz(e)* may derive from the specific meaning *buoz* assumed in the Christian culture, where it signified 'spiritual purification through repentance'.²⁵

In this specific occurrence, it cannot be excluded that the Latin sentence underlying the German text might have read as **da ei [...] potionem purgativam quam nos dicimus catharticum* 'give him a purgative potion that we call catharticum'.

It is to be highlighted that the form *bvzina* has a remarkably archaic graphematic-phonetic appearance, for instance as far as the unweakened nominative/accusative neuter singular *a*-ending is concerned.

4.3.2. *Warmer nature sīn*

Daz gal(a)gan **ist warmer nature**; Nux muscat(a) **ist uwarmer/warmer nature** (*Prüller Kräuterbuch*).²⁶

Warmer nature sīn corresponds to Latin *calīdae naturae* (or *complexionis*) *esse*. It replicates a verbal syntagm forming a verb of state and composed by a genitive of quality and the verb *esse* 'to be'. The verbal

²² WILHELM (1914: 59). "Give him (i.e. the sick person) for some time a purgative potion that we call *bvzina*".

²³ LEWIS & SHORT s.v. *cāthārticum*, LIDDELL & SCOTT s.v. *καθαρτικόν* (*φάρμακον*).

²⁴ LIDDELL & SCOTT s.v. *κάθαρσις*.

²⁵ SCHÜTZEICHEL s.v. *buoz*, *buoza*.

²⁶ WILHELM (1914: 44-45). "Galangal is of warm complexion; Nutmeg is of warm complexion".

syntagm refers to the theory of the natural objects, each of which has a cold, warm, dry or wet *natura* or *complexio*.²⁷ The replica is very faithful both on a syntactical and lexical level.

Old High German *natūra* and Middle High German *natūre* 'strong feminine 'nature, innate way, conformation, instinct, sexual instinct, reproductive organs', is itself a borrowing which Old High German took from Latin, 'birth (very rare); nature, natural constitution, property or quality of a thing; natural disposition, inclination, bent, temper, character; the nature, course, or order of things; nature i.e. the world, the universe; nature, i.e. consistency with nature, possibility; an element, thing, substance; the natural parts (organs of generations)'.²⁸

4.4. Imperfect structural calques

Arzebuoch, *arzinbuoch* strong neuter

Hie beginnet daz arzebūch ypocratis (*Arzenībuoch Ypocratis*, *Bamberger Arzneibuch* version); Hie beginnet daz arzinböch ypocratis (*Arzenībuoch Ypocratis*, *Zürcher Arzneibuch* version).²⁹

Arzebuoch, *arzinbuoch* renders the Latin syntagm *liber medicinalis* 'medical book', which indicates a collection of medical and pharmaceutical texts as they were in use in the Middle Ages.³⁰ While the Latin lexical unity is formed by a substantive and an adjective, in Early Middle High German the syntactical structure is slightly different. Indeed, we have a determinative compound, whose second element is represented by Old High German *buoh*, Middle High German *buoch* strong neuter 'book',³¹ whereas the first element appears in slightly different forms in the Bamberg and the Zurich occurrences: *arze-* could be a shortened form of the strong substantive *arze(t)* 'physician' or the strong feminine *arze(nē)* 'medicine, remedy',³² a derivative formed on a basis **arzen-* and a suffix *-īe-*, while *arzin-* is most probably from *arzen(īe)*. The term could thus be interpreted as 'medicine book' or 'physician's book'. The semantic basis of the first element, whether deriving from a verb or from substantives, is

²⁷ LEWIS & SHORT s.v. *complexio, nātūrā*.

²⁸ SCHÜTZICHEL s.v. *natūra*; LEXER s.v. *natūre*; LEWIS & SHORT s.v. *nātūra*.

²⁹ WILHELM (1916: 245) and (1914: 53). "Here begins Hippocrates's book of medicines".

³⁰ KEIL (1980: cols. 1091-1092).

³¹ LEXER s.v. *buoch*.

³² Cf. LEXER s. vv. *arzāt, arzet, arzenīe*.

Latin *archiātrus* 'chief physician',³³ in turn a loanword from Greek *archiatrós* 'court or official physician'.³⁴

4.5. Semantic calques

Die zornegen liute

Ephih ist göt **den zornegen liuten/livten** (*Prüller Kräuterbuch*).³⁵

The nominal syntagm shows a plural substantive *liute* 'people, persons' to which the adjective *zornec* 'angry'³⁶ following the weak declension is added. The adjective normally refers to someone who is angry, but here the reference is specifically to people who tend to get angry quickly. This aspect of the human character is linked to the Hippocratic-Galenic humoral theory, according to which the human body is made of four humours whose balance must be perfect in order to warrant good health or *eukrasia*; when a humour prevails over the other three, the balance is lost and the body is exposed to *dyskrasia*, the condition that causes sickness and diseases to arise. A supposed superabundance of yellow bile in the organism, in particular, provokes the tendency to a quick temper. In this sense, it is possible that the German adjective *zornec* has widened its meaning due to the influence of Latin *irācundus* (in technical sense),³⁷ *irascibilis*³⁸ or *chōlēricus* < Greek *cholērikós*.³⁹

4.6. A loan creation? Der tobentege/tobentige

Der tobentege/tobentige weak masculine

Genciana unte diu hemere gesoteni mit eziche. ist göt **den tobentegen/tobentigen** (*Prüller Kräuterbuch*).⁴⁰

³³ LEWIS & SHORT s.v. *archiātrus*.

³⁴ LIDDELL & SCOTT s.v. ἀρχιατρός.

³⁵ WILHELM (1914: 44-45). "Celery is good for quick-tempered people".

³⁶ LEXER s.v.

³⁷ LEWIS & SHORT s.v. *irācundus*.

³⁸ LEWIS & SHORT s.v. *irascibilis*.

³⁹ LEWIS & SHORT s.v. *chōlēricus*, LIDDELL & SCOTT s.v. χοληρικός.

⁴⁰ WILHELM (1914: 42-43). "Gentian and hellebore, boiled with vinegar, are good for the phrenetic people".

Der tobentege indicates someone who suffers from a particular type of disease whose major symptoms are agitation and delirium. The word is first attested in a gloss dating back to the eleventh century, where it explains Latin *freneticus*⁴¹ < *phrēnēticus*, probably a hypercorrected form of *phrēnīticus*,⁴² from post-classical Greek *phrenitikós*, i.e. (related to) someone who suffers from *phrēnītis* 'brain illness'.⁴³ Both in German and in Greek/Latin the term represents the substantivation of an original adjective (*tobentec/tobentic*, *phrēnēticus/phrēnīticus*, *phrenitikós*). *Tobentic* itself derives from *tobent*, present participle of the weak verb *toben* 'to be furious, to be insane, to madden',⁴⁴ to which the adjectival derivative suffix is added. We cannot know whether the lexeme was created just to render the concept of "person suffering from a disease whose major symptom is represented by violent fits of agitation, delirium, etc." or a new medical meaning was attributed to a generic, already existing adjective, in which case we might have a semantic calque before us. In Middle High German and Early New High German *tobendec* may also refer to dogs affected by *rabies*.⁴⁵ In the so-called *Glossae Salomonis* the substantivated present participle *tobintir* is used to render *freneticus*;⁴⁶ another Middle High German synonym for *tobentic* is *tobic*, whereas furious madness is called *tobesuht* and *rabies* is *tobentcheit*.⁴⁷ However, we can see that in the case of *freneticus*, the source language term highlights the supposed part of the human body where the disease has its origin (*phrēn* 'brain'), whereas the German lexeme refers to the most evident symptom of the said disease.

4.7. Lexical constructions developing from borrowings

**Der gebostemote* weak masculine

⁴¹ STEINMEYER & SIEVERS IV: 214. The glosses are found in an alphabetical glossary preserved in the manuscripts Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex Vindobonensis 804, f. 170v, and Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Mp. th. 4° 60, f. 102v.

⁴² LEWIS & SHORT s. vvv. *phrēnēticus*, *phrēnīticus*;
<dicciomed.eusal.es/palabra/frenitis> (last accessed 2 August 2017).

⁴³ LIDDELL & SCOTT s.v. φρενιτικός, φρένιτις LEWIS & SHORT s. vv. *phrēnītis*.

⁴⁴ LEXER s.v. *toben*.

⁴⁵ LEXER s.v. *tobentic*.

⁴⁶ STEINMEYER & SIEVERS IV: 170.

⁴⁷ LEXER s.vv. *tobesuht*, *tobic*, *tobentic-heit*.

Die postema zeheline nim zwei mez des honeges. ein deil des chumeles. des wirnewines ein deil. marrubium ein deil. feniculi ein deil. siud si al zesamene in demo niwen habene zu demo mezlichen viure. biz ez werde zue mez. dar nach so sige ez durch ein duch. unde mische dar zu den peffer. unde gib ez **demo gebostemoten** so er uaste zuene leffele ze drinkene. so er slafen wolle gan after merede so gib imo dri zedrinkene (*Arzenībuoch Ypocratis, Bamberger Arzneibuch* version).⁴⁸

Der gebostemote represents a *hapax legomenon* in German, probably a substantivised form of the past participle of a non-attested weak (second class?) verb **(ge)bostemōn* 'to be sick with an apostema, to suffer from an apostema', using the root **bostem-* < late Latin *postema* as lexical basis, whence *der gebostemote* 'person who suffers from an apostema'.

It is to be pointed out that Latin [p] is rendered by German , perhaps because the Latin voiceless stop was articulated not as strongly as German plosives were, thus being perceived by German ears as more similar to [b].⁴⁹

4.8. Bilingual technicisms

Die inwartigin passionēs

Emplastrum solitorium [...] ist nvzze ze allen **den inwartigin passionibus** (*Zürcher Arzneibuch*).⁵⁰

Die kalten (calden) sudores

Dise passio habet vile dieche **die calden sudores** (*Bamberger Arzneibuch*).⁵¹

Die überflüzzigen (vberflvzzigin) humores (*Zürcher Arzneibuch*)

⁴⁸ WILHELM (1916: 247). "To heal an abscess take two measures of honey, a part of cumin, a part of old wine, a part of horehound, a part of fennel, boil all in a new oven at moderate heat until it becomes two measures; then filter through a piece of cloth, mix piper into it and give to drink two spoons of it to the man affected by an abscess when fasting; when they want go to sleep after having their afternoon/evening meal, give them three spoons of it".

⁴⁹ DI CLEMENTE (2009a: 32-33).

⁵⁰ WILHELM (1914: 61). "The emollient poultice is good against every internal disease".

⁵¹ WILHELM (1916: 244). "This disease very often presents the cold sweats".

Diz Ivtertranc ist vil göt .v. heilit .v. gehaltet .v. gedöbit die vberfluzzigin humores. die dir sint in den menneschin (*Zürcher Arzneibuch*).⁵²

Die inwartigin passiones 'the intimate diseases', *die calden sudores* 'the cold sweats' and *die vberfluzzigin humores* 'the superfluous humours' all refer to the fields of illness and illness symptoms and human physiology.

Strikingly enough, all three syntagms repeat the same structure: a Latin substantive, which is analogically inflected in the text (i.e. in the prepositional syntagm *ze allen inwartigin passionibus*, the preposition *ze*, which bears the dative case, has Latin dative/ablative plural *passionibus*), accompanied by a German adjective and determined by the definite article. The original Latin syntagms were *passiones intima*, *sudores frigidi* and *humores superflui*. All three indicated a specific pathological or physiopathological condition, under the appearance of diseases located in a specific part of the body (*passiones intima*), a specific symptomatology (*sudores frigidi*) and superabundance of the corporeal humours, which leads to *dyskrasia* and from *dyskrasia* to illness.

The reason for which the aforesaid syntagms were only half translated may be traced back: the adjectives *intimus*, *frigidus* and *superfluus* already had an equivalent in German: *inwertec* (*inwartic*), *kalt* and *überflüzzic* (*vberflvzic*), the latter itself probably a structural calque from Latin *superfluus* (Middle High German *über* corresponds to *super* and the Middle High German derivative adjective *vlüzzec*, *-ic*,⁵³ from the same root as the strong verb *vliezen* 'to flow, to run (water)', is paired with Latin *-fluus* < from the verb *flūō* 'to flow', both going back to a common Indoeuropean root). It was indeed not difficult to translate the adjectival forms. As far as the substantives are concerned, instead, the task revealed to be more difficult. *Sudores*⁵⁴ and *humores*,⁵⁵ in the plural, were part of a specific medical science and vocabulary, and were probably perceived as difficult or impossible to translate. *Passiones* could have been rendered by Middle High German *sühte*, *gesühte* 'illnesses, diseases', but perhaps a specific sort of diseases was intended or linguistic censorship may have operated, as the reference was among others to diseases of reproductive organs, such as erectile disfunctions and menstrual irregularities (*emplastrum solitorium [...] erwecket ez uile wola die lange slaphintin. mennscheit der manne. v. fyrbringit die menstrua* 'the *emplastrum*

⁵² WILHELM (1914: 59). "This potion is very good, keeps in good health and removes the superfluous humours that can be found in the (sick) person's body".

⁵³ LEXER s.v. *über*, *vlüzzec*, *übervlüzzec*, *vliezen*.

⁵⁴ LEWIS & SHORT s.v. *sūdor*.

⁵⁵ LEWIS & SHORT s.v. (*h*)*ūmor*.

solutorium wakes up well the manhood of the man that has been weak for long time, and promotes the female menstrual cycle': also *menstrua* appears untranslated).

The use of bilingual syntagms is not limited to early texts such as the *Bamberger* and the *Zürcher Arzneibücher*, but it is found also later, i.e. in the so-called *Deutscher Macer*. It proves thus to be a not unusual strategy for rendering complex lexical units of the Latin medical language.

5. Final remarks

As the above examples show, medical Latin influenced the first attempts of building up a German medical vocabulary through different ways (borrowings, various types of calques, reinterpretation of borrowings, new terms built on the basis of foreign words, bilingual syntagms). It is to be highlighted that the majority of these terms were short-lived in German language, i.e. they never underwent a process of integration into the language: it is the case for *bvzina*, *fich suinede*, *der gebostemote*, which appear to be *hapax legomena*. *Tobentiger*, which is attested in Early Modern High German as 'mad, insane, rabid', has disappeared in contemporary New High German.⁵⁶ Other lexical units have survived, although *warmer Natur sein* refers nowadays to the historical Hippocratic-Galenic theory of the natural qualities of objects, *zornig* only means 'angry',⁵⁷ and *Arzneibuch* is the term used to designate the pharmacopoeia, i.e. the book officially containing all recognised rules about quality, testing, storing and denominations of medicines and materials and methods used to prepare them.⁵⁸ However, all these lexical units witness the translation work done by the twelfth-century German scribes who rendered medical and pharmaceutical Latin literature into their vernacular, their good knowledge of Latin, their meta-linguistic awareness and the many strategies they displayed in first creating a Latin-influenced German medical vocabulary.

⁵⁶ Cf. DW s.v. *tobendiger*.

⁵⁷ *Duden online* s.v. *zornig*, but still in the Early Modern period the adjective meant 'quick-tempered', see DW s.v. *zornig* (II).

⁵⁸ *Duden online* s.v. *Arzneibuch*: "[amtliches] Verzeichnis für die Zubereitung, Beschaffenheit usw. von Arzneien", i.e. "official list for preparation, quality etc. of medicines".

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COPING WITH A FOREIGN LANGUAGE
FOR SPECIFIC PURPOSES IN THE EARLY
SIXTEENTH CENTURY:
THE LOW GERMAN TRANSLATION
OF HIERONYMUS BRUNSCHWIG'S
BUCH DER CIRURGIA

CHIARA BENATI

1. Hieronymus Brunschwig's *Buch der Cirurgia*

Published for the first time in Strasburg in 1497 by Johannes Grüninger, the *buch der Cirurgia, Hantwirckung der wundartzny von Hyeronimo brunschwig* is the first surgical handbook printed in German. The author of this surgical handbook, Hieronymus Brunschwig was, according to Choulant, one of the travelling surgeons active in the fifteenth century who, during his last years, settled down and worked in Strasburg, his hometown.¹ Since his name is also associated with two distillation books – *De simplicibus – Die eintzingen Ding* and *De compositis – Von den zusammengethonen Ding* – Wieger suggests that Brunschwig could have also been active as a chemist or pseudo chemist producing liquors.² More significantly, the description of the extraction of an arrow performed by Hans Meier of Strasburg during the Burgundian war (1474-1477) suggests that Brunschwig fought on the side of the anti-Burgundian league and was trained as a surgeon on battlefields.³

The *Buch der Cirurgia* is, as Brunschwig testifies, a compilation of authoritative sources, assembled for a didactic purpose: "diß aller cleinste buchlin dz ich Iheronimus brunschwiwg burtig von strassburgk des geslecktz von saulern mit fliß und erst zû samen bracht hab von vil

¹ CHOULANT (1858), p. 75.

² WIEGER (1885), p. 13.

³ Eighth chapter of the second treatise.

gelernten unnd gutten meistern und dz wort das die alten gesprochen unnd dar zů gelert hant."⁴ (I – Hieronymus Brunschwig, born in Straßburg and belonging to the line of the Sauler – have compiled this small booklet with diligence on the basis of the most cultivated and best masters, of the old tradition and teaching). According to Brunschwig the book should be useful to all those wishing to learn the art of surgery.⁵ In accordance with this didactic purpose, the first edition of the surgical manual contains 48 woodcuts which represent the surgeon as a teacher showing his students how to deal with the different pathologies.

The text is organised by means of division into seven treatises (*tractate*), which are further sub-divided into chapters. The first treatise is aimed at outlining the role and function of the surgeon, indicating which wounds can be healed and which are fatal. In the second and third treatises, the different kinds of wounds and their aetiology are described following the *a capite ad calcem* ('from head to heal') scheme. Accidental and wilful blows are dealt with in the fourth treatise, while the fifth treatise is dedicated to fractures and their reduction respectively. The handbook ends with the so-called *antidotarium*, a collection of all the remedies which can be useful to a surgeon. This original core is later expanded with the insertion of four new chapters and two woodcuts to complete the fourth treatise and of Brunschwig's anatomical compendium, *Von der Anathomi*, in addendum. These new insertions were combined by Grüninger with the original surgical handbook in all possible editions, so that at least eight different combinations have arisen, as stressed by Sudhoff.⁶

The popularity of Brunschwig's *der Chirurgia* in the sixteenth century both within and outside the High German language area becomes evident due to the existence of four High German editions following the first one (Augsburg, 1497, 1534, 1539 and Strasburg, 1513) and by a series of

⁴ KLEIN (1911), p. 4. All the High German quotations are from the *facsimile* edition of the Strasburg 1497 version of the text by Gustav Klein. For the transcription of the quoted words and phrases, I followed the indications of Besch, 1976. According to Besch, the Alemannic diphthongs' original spelling as well as that of umlaut vowels was maintained as was the original distribution of the graphemes <*i*>, <*j*> and <*u*>, <*v*>. In the same way, the original consonants remained unaltered. The different graphemes for the dental spirant /s/, <*s*>, <*z*> and <*ß*> are faithfully reproduced, while the opposition between <*f*> and <*s*> are eliminated. Capitalisation punctuation and united or separated spelling of compounds are kept the same as in the original. Abbreviations are expanded and highlighted in italics only when it is absolutely clear what they stand for.

⁵ See also KLEIN (1911), p. 4.

⁶ SUDHOFF (1908), p. 49.

translations into other languages, such as English (London, 1525) and Dutch (Utrecht, 1535).

2. The Low German *Boek der Wundenartzstedye*

In 1518, Brunshwig's handbook reached the Low German language area, where it was translated and printed in Rostock by Ludwig Dietz. The text, which came down to us in three copies preserved in Berlin (Staatsbibliothek, Jg 3484), Schwerin (Landesbibliothek von Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Rara HSt VII 745) and Copenhagen (Kunglige bibliotek, barcode 20002339), is entitled *Dat Boek der Wundenartzstedye. yn latin geheten Cirurgia*. This title appears on the print's first page together with a woodcut representing the so-called 'wound-man' (German *Wundenmann*).

Neither the text nor the preface, mentions the name of the Low German translator. However, it does include the name of the Strasburg surgeon ("Hieronimus Brunswyck bördich van Straßeborch").⁷ According to Lisch, the High German surgical manual could have reached Rostock through the court physician Dr. Rembertus Giltzheim,⁸ who in 1519 published with Ludwig Dietz the *Liber collectionum Aphorismorum Hypocratis*.⁹

The Middle Low German handbook preserves the structure – divided into seven treatises – of the High German original, but does not include the anatomical compendium, *Von der Anathomi*, inserted in addendum to the High German original:

1. wat eyneme yewelken wundenartzsten in steeden vnd wesen notrostich js (what is necessary to any surgeon).
2. van allen wunden yn eyner gemeynen lere/wo de gescheen to heelen vnd to cureren (on all wounds in general, where they take place and how to heal them).
3. van allen wunden yn eyneme yewelken besunderen gelede van deme hōuede beth to den vōten (on all wounds in a particular part, from the head to the foot).
4. van Vallen. Slân. Stōten/bynnen edder buten lyues: van em suluen gescheen edder dorch andere minschen (on blows, traumata and bruises inside or outside the body, how they appear spontaneously or are caused by other people).

⁷ BENATI (2012a), p. 15.

⁸ LISCH (1839), p. 154.

⁹ See also LISCH (1838), pp. 64 and following.

5. wo du de bröke der been *van deme hōuede* beth vp de vōte richten *vnd bynden* schalt (how to treat and bind fractures from the head to the foot).
6. van den lederen. Enkelen *vnd bōgen* yn to theen de dar sint vorrücket ynt ghemeyne *van deme hōuede* beth to den vōten (on the ankles and other articulations, which are dislocated, from the head to the feet).
7. vynden eyn yslick stücke des du yn desseme werke nottrofflich bist/ghescheeten *Anthidotarius sere* kort begrepen¹⁰ (how to find the remedies mentioned in this work, a short list of antidotes).

Apart from the woodcut of the 'wound-man' on the title page, the 1518 Low German print includes only one other large (fol. XIXr) and twelve smaller images (fol. LXXIIIr, LXXIIIv, LXXIIIr, LXIIIv, CXXIIr and CLr) representing surgical instruments and the procedure to reduce mandibular fractures,¹¹ while none of the original woodcuts of the surgeon teaching his students was reproduced.

3. High and Low German for Medical and Surgical Purposes in the Early Modern Age: A Case Study

From the linguist's point of view, Medieval and Early Modern scientific prose is particularly interesting because it witnesses the progressive emancipation from Latin of vernacular languages and the formation of a *Fachsprache*. This is also true of medical and surgical Early Modern German handbooks. Apart from a few exceptions such as the Thurgian *Bartholomäus*,¹² in fact, throughout the Middle Ages the large majority of medical literary production was in Latin or was translated from Latin and, consequently, Medieval and Early Modern German lack terminology in

¹⁰ See also BENATI (2012a).

¹¹ Some of these images are extremely similar to those included in the High German first edition of Brunswig's work. The large prospective of a table on which many surgical instruments are placed on fol. XIXr, for example, appears clearly indebted to its counterpart in the Strasburg edition, even though it can be ruled out that they were printed using the same woodblock. See also BENATI (2012a), p. 12.

¹² A twelfth century compilation of mainly Salernitan sources which can be considered as belonging to the oldest genre of the German medical literature: the collection of recipes. This text had an extraordinary circulation in the German speaking area, where it would be the main medical reference until the beginning of the fifteenth century. See also KEIL (1978), col. 609.

both medical and surgical fields, where Latin (or Greek) loanwords continued to play a fundamental role in identifying key concepts. This phenomenon was analyzed by Pörksen, who – on the basis of the language of Paracelsus' lectures – introduced the notion of "Fachwerksprache" ('grill-work language').¹³ In fact, the function of classical medical terminology in vernacular texts can be compared to that of the wooden scaffold constituting the structure of the *Fachwerkhäuser*: the universally recognized and crystallized medical vocabulary of classical origin represents a guarantee against those potentially lethal misunderstandings which could arise from the use of the still precarious and arbitrary German terminology.

Up to now, almost all studies on German medical and surgical historical *Fachsprache* have focused on the High German language area, while only very little attention has been paid to the – quantitatively not less relevant¹⁴ – literary production of the Northern part of Germany. This paper attempts to fill this research lacuna through the study of the language of the Low German translation of Brunschwig's surgical manual.¹⁵ In this respect the *Boek der Wundenartzstedye* represents the ideal basis for an examination of Middle Low German¹⁶ for medical and surgical purposes. Not only is the text long enough to be eligible for a close study of Low German specialized terminology *per se*, but the existence of its High German source allows drawing a direct comparison between High and Low German surgical terminology, thus highlighting the specificity of the task and challenge undertaken by the anonymous translator of the *Boek der Wundenartzstedye*. In fact, if Brunschwig had to struggle with the lack of vernacular specialised terminology on the one hand and with the ignorance of his readership on the other, for the Low German translator these difficulties were combined with a further one:

¹³ PÖRKSEN (1994), pp. 61-65.

¹⁴ For a short account of medical and surgical literary production both in High and in Low German see for example HAAGE & WEGNER (2007), pp. 196-207.

¹⁵ BENATI (2010, 2012a and 2012b).

¹⁶ High and Low Germans have two different systems of periodization. For this reason, while Brunschwig's High German original belongs to the period called Early Modern High German or Early New High German (*Frühneuhochdeutsch* 1350-1650), its Low German translation can be described as Middle Low German, a period extending from the reintroduction of the Low German written tradition at the beginning of the thirteenth century to the half of the seventeenth century, when the Low German *Schreibsprachen* were progressively replaced by Early Modern High German. As stressed by PETERS (2000, col. 1420), Middle Low German is both chronologically and sociolinguistically closer to Early Modern High German, rather than to Middle High German, since both periods include the late Middle Ages and the beginning of the Modern Age.

rendering the vernacular terminology of the original into a language, his own, which was genetically related, extremely similar, but not necessarily mutually intelligible with Brunschwig's.

My preliminary research on the surgical terminology of the High German *Buch der Chirurgia*¹⁷ showed that the handbook not only follows the pattern described by Pörksen, but also makes use of bilingual synonymic couples more frequently than necessary (e.g. *apostem* – *geschwulst* and *arteria* – *ader*),¹⁸ in order to make his readers familiar with those Latin and Greek terms which were taken for granted by the learned Medieval physician, but were almost completely unknown to the surgeons of the time, who lacked classic university education.

A systematic analysis of the terms belonging to the most significant surgical semantic fields of anatomy, pathology, technique and instruments employed in both the *Buch der Chirurgia* and the *Boek der Wundenartzstedye*¹⁹ reveal that the Middle Low German surgical terminology is very similar, though not identical to that of its High German source. In fact, one can argue that most of the vernacular surgical terms are genetically related to their High German counterparts, from which they can be distinguished almost exclusively on the basis of regular phonemic differences (e.g. the lack of the High German *Lautverschiebung* or the monophthongisation of the High German diphthongs). Thus, the comparative exploration of the two editions of the surgical manual, highlights a series of significant terminological disparities that can be ascribed to two types of reasons: 'linguistic' and 'pragmatic'.

Such terminological divergences between the two texts can be determined by the existence, in Middle Low German, of a consolidated term with the same meaning as the one employed by Brunschwig, which is, therefore, simply translated into Low German. This is, for example, the case with MLG *knake* 'bone' when it is used to render HG *bein* or the collective *gebein*, as in the second chapter of the first treatise:²⁰

¹⁷ BENATI (2006 and 2008).

¹⁸ See also BENATI (2008), p. 137.

¹⁹ See also BENATI (2012a), pp. 203 and following.

²⁰ In other occurrences MLG *knake* has been inserted in the text to make unambiguous the diction of the High German original and falls within the clarification strategies discussed below. See, for example, KLEIN (1911), p. 25: "ist sie aber durch das **bein**. oS ist es ein grosse wund." vs. BENATI, 2012a, p. 31: "Is he auer dorch dat **been (knaken)** So ysset eyne grote wunde." (If it is through the bone, then it is a great wound) and KLEIN (1911), p. 25: "vnd ist nit durch dz **bein** das ist ein cleine wund" vs. BENATI (2012a), p. 31: "vnd ys nicht dorch dat **been**

Sichstu dan vß dem riß etwz quellen/so ist der riß wol durch *gangen* durch das zerbrochenn **bein** vnd die hirschal ist zerbrochenn vnd zerrissen.²¹

Süstu denne vth deme rijß ychteswat quellen/so ys de rijß wol dorchghân dorch den tobraken **knaken** der bregen pannen/de ys denne tobraken vnd to reten.²²

(If you see something flow from the wound, then the wound has gone through the broken bone and the braincase is broken and torn.)

See also MLG *bregen* systematically replacing HG *hirn* 'brain', as in:

wann by dem rücken gond vil cleiner ding vnnd gedeer die noch der lenghe des rükkens nider gond von dem **hirn** biß zû *den* beinen.²³

Wente by deme rûggghen ghân vele kleyner dynghe vnde gheleedere de na der lenghe des rûggghens nedder ghaen van deme **breggen** both tho den beenen.²⁴

(Because many small things and vessels go down along the back from the brain to the legs.)

On the other hand, pragmatically determined terminological differences between the two editions of the surgical handbook are those which can be ascribed to the translator's need to render the source text as faithfully and clearly as possible. The inquiry of the strategies he adopted in order to convey a perfectly understandable message is essential to this paper. On the basis of these linguistic and pragmatic considerations, we can reconstruct the Low German translator's treatment of the specialized terminology used in the 1497 edition of the *Buch der Chirurgia* as follows:

1. If the Low German language had a consolidated alternative to the High German word or phrase, this was used – alone or in combination with a synonym²⁵ – to replace Brunschwig's original

eft **knaken**/dar ys eine kleyne wunde". (If it is not through the bone, it is a small wound).

²¹ KLEIN (1911), p. 18.

²² BENATI (2012a), p. 25.

²³ KLEIN (1911), p. 19.

²⁴ BENATI (2012a), p. 26.

²⁵ See, for example, KLEIN (1911), p. 26: "wann war vmb es ist gerad gegen dem **geleich** wan vor *dem* gleich hangt der schilt." vs. BENATI (2012a), p. 32: "Wente

- diction (translation, a circumstance usually occurring in the semantic field of anatomy);
2. If, on the other hand, the Low German language had no consolidated term to define a given concept (or if this coincided, at least etymologically, with the High German one), the High German diction had to be borrowed into Low German (High German loanword);
 - a. if the Low German translator was sure that the High German loanword was understood correctly by his readership, he borrowed and adapted it to the Low German phonology and to his own graphemic habits;
 - b. if, on the other hand, he could not be sure that the High German loanword could be understood univocally, he made use of various clarification strategies to make it unambiguous. These strategies include the juxtaposition with a synonym, the paraphrasing and/or exemplification, specification through the insertion of a dependent genitive, prepositional phrase or through the substitution of a simplex with a compound and the insertion of metalinguistic considerations.

Juxtaposition with a synonym

Potentially ambiguous or not completely clear High German terms are often paired with a vernacular synonym, which can be either prefixed in brackets by the phrase *dat is* or added as a suffix by the conjunctions *e(f)fte* and *edder* 'or'. See, for example, HG *stirn* – MLG *steern* 'forehead', which in the third chapter of the first treatise is combined with LG *vorhōuet*:

Würt *einer* in die **stirn** wunt biß vff die hirn schal das ist ein cleine blüt runß²⁶

Wert eyner gewunt zn de **steern** (**dat ys yn dat vorhōuet**) wente vd de bregenpame/dat ys eyn kleyn blotmål.²⁷

(If someone is wounded on the forehead up to the braincase, that is a small lesion).

yd ys gerade yegen deme **gebōge efte bucht**/wente vor *deme gebōge henget de schylt*" (If it is right against the articulation, from which the shield hangs).

²⁶ KLEIN (1911), p. 24.

²⁷ BENATI (2012a), p. 30.

Other examples of anatomical terms clarified in this way are HG *schleff* 'temple'²⁸ and *schulterbein* 'shoulder bone, scapula':

ist es aber bi den **schleffen** bis vf die hirn schal so ist es ein grose blüt runß gar nach ein cleine wund.²⁹

Is yd auer by deme **slape (dat js by der dunningen)** wente vp de bregenpanne/so ys yd eyn groet blotmål gar na eyne kleyne wunde.³⁰

(If it is near the temple up to the braincase, it is a great lesion and no small wound).

Das sybende capitel des funfften dractatz seit do eym das **schulter bein** zerbrochen ist.³¹

Dat .vij. Capittel des vesten Tractates wert seggen van brôken des **schulder knoken effte schulderbeens**.³²

(The seventh chapter of the fifth treatise deals with the fracture of the shoulder bone).

In the semantic fields of pathology and surgical technique and instruments this strategy is employed to clarify the meaning of HG *geschwulst* 'tumescence' and *vintuse* 'cupping glass':

schlecht er dan vnder die rippen der siten/So ist billichen das do werd ein **geschwulst**/Die in *den* latin geheissen ist. pleureris.³³

Sleyt de flôte denne vnder den rybben der syden/so ys bylick dat dar werde eyn **geswulst**/efte eyne **swellinghe (swyllent)** de yn deme latijne gheheten vnde ghenômet ys Pleuresis.³⁴

²⁸ In other occurrences LG *dunninge* simply replaces HG *schleff*. See, for example, KLEIN (1911), p. 131: "Ob er nit wol schlaffen mag/so werde im gemacht diß salb da mit zô bestrichen die **schlef**. die puls adem der hende vnd in die naß löcher" vs. BENATI (2012a), p. 109: "Mach de kranke nicht wol slapen/so werde em gemaket desse salue/vnde dar schal men mit saluen den kranken yn de **dunninghen**/oek de pulßaderen/de hende vnde de neze löcher." (If he cannot sleep, make this balm and rub it onto the temples, the wrist of the hand and in the nostrils).

²⁹ KLEIN (1911), p. 24.

³⁰ BENATI (2012a), p. 30.

³¹ KLEIN (1911), p. 199.

³² BENATI (2012a), p. 157.

³³ KLEIN (1911), p. 19.

³⁴ BENATI (2012a), p. 26.

(If one is injured under the ribs on the side, a swelling which is called *pleuresis* in Latin is likely to develop.)

vnd dar vff setzen **vintusen** die fille des plutz vß zu ziehenn da mit³⁵

vnde dar vp setten **vyntausen/edder stüyeköppen**/dar myt dat vele bloet dar vth to theende³⁶

(And place cupping glasses onto it to extract the excess of blood.)

Paraphrase and/or exemplification

In some cases, High German surgical terms are not paired with a synonym, but explained by means of a paraphrase or made explicit through the insertion of an example. In this respect, a particularly problematic term seems to have been HG *geleich* 'joint', which is paraphrased in various ways in the *Boek der Wundenartzstedye*. These paraphrases can be found both in combination with the Low-Germanised form *geleych* or alone, replacing it.³⁷

Das XVI. capitel disz dritten tractatz wurt sagen von allen wunden in den **geleichen**. achselen. elenbogen hüfft vnd knü³⁸

Dat .xvj. capittel des drudden Tractates secht van allen wunden yn den **gheleychen** dath ys yn allen **bôgheden ghelederen**/enkelen/axselen/ellenboghen/huffte/knee.³⁹

(The sixteenth chapter of this third treatise will deal with all wounds in the articulations, shoulder, elbow, hip and knee).

Dar vmb soltu wissen vß sölcher vor bestimpter wunden der **geleiche**⁴⁰

Dar vmme scalt du weten dath vth sodaner vorsechten wunden der **bôgheden geledere**⁴¹

³⁵ KLEIN (1911), p. 69.

³⁶ BENATI (2012a), p. 64.

³⁷ In some other occurrences HG *g(e)leich* is replaced by LG *enkel*. See, for example, BENATI, (2012a), p. 32: "Dat synt de ellenbagen vnde enkelen der hant/vyngere vnd vôte." vs. KLEIN (1911), p. 26: "das sint die elenbogen vnd die gleich der hant finger vnd füß vnd zehen." (These are the elbows and ankles of the hands, fingers and feet).

³⁸ KLEIN (1911), p. 128.

³⁹ BENATI (2012a), p. 107.

⁴⁰ KLEIN (1911), p. 129.

⁴¹ BENATI (2012a), p. 107.

(For this reason, you should know that certain wounds of the articulations...).

von den zû fallenden kranckheiten der wunden in den **gleichen**⁴²

van touallenden krankheyden *der wunden* yn den **bôgeden leeden**⁴³

(...on the complications occurring to the wound of the articulations.)

Das ander **gleich** ist aber der boltz des arms der hüfft die do ingont in ein hûle einer schüsseleenn/do mögent grosse wunden lemung vnd verliering der gelider werdenn.⁴⁴

Dat ander **gelijke ofte tohope vōgynge** ys de pulß des armes/der hüfft de dar gân yn eyn ander/hanget yn ein by den seenen/aderen in den **buchten der tohope hangenden lederen**⁴⁵

(The other articulations are the wrist of the arm or the hip, which go inside a cavity. These great wounds can result in the paralysis or the loss of a limb).

Another HG anatomical term requiring clarification is the collective *geeder* 'the complex of arteries, veins, nerves and tendons and their ramifications',⁴⁶ which is explained by the Low German translator listing the words *lyth* 'joint', *ledeken* 'cuticle', *aderken* 'capillary' and *seencken* 'nerve ending':

Vnd dar umb soltu alle zit den halß strecken. wan das **geeder** get aller mest dar zû. Das dir nit die fūchtikeit darin schlahe vnnnd im der nach nit wird krum.⁴⁷

Dar umme schaltu alle tyt den halß stricken/wente dat **lyth/ledeken/aderken/ seencken**/geyt aldermeyst dar to/dat dy nycht de vuchticheyt dat yn slâ/vnd enem dar na nicht krum werde⁴⁸

⁴² KLEIN (1911), p. 128 and following.

⁴³ BENATI (2012a), p. 107.

⁴⁴ KLEIN (1911), p. 26.

⁴⁵ BENATI (2012a), p. 32.

⁴⁶ See also GRIMM, 1854-1960, IV, 1, col. 1629 and following and BENATI (2012a), p. 206.

⁴⁷ KLEIN (1911), p. 19.

⁴⁸ BENATI (2012a), p. 26.

(And for this reason you should always stretch the neck, since the vessels are there, so that no humidity flows there and it does not become crooked).

Specification through the insertion of a dependent genitive or of a prepositional phrase

Sometimes, the Low German translator inserted into Brunshwig's original text a specification in the form of a dependent genitive in order to produce an unambiguous version. For this reason, he:

Ob die **füchtikeit** verseret würt so folget nach die zerstörung des ougen vnnnd sin wirckunge.⁴⁹

Wert de **vuchticheyt des oghen** vorserighet/so volget de vorstöringe des ogen vnde syne werkinge.⁵⁰

(If the humid part is damaged, this leads to the destruction of the eye and of its functionality).

ob aber er **fol** ist so folge nach Rogerius iamericus langfrancus⁵¹

Is he **ful van flesche** so volge na Rogerius. Iamericus. Lancfrancus⁵²

(If he is full of flesh, then follow Rogerius, Iamericus and Lanfrank).

Specification through the substitution of a simplex with a compound

Another specification strategy adopted by the Low German translator is represented by the substitution of a High German simplex with a Middle Low German compound. This is, for example, the case of the surgical technical verb *lassen* 'to puncture a vein',⁵³ which is rendered with MLG *aderlaten*:

⁴⁹ KLEIN (1911), p. 106.

⁵⁰ BENATI (2012a), p. 93.

⁵¹ KLEIN (1911), p. 210.

⁵² BENATI (2012a), p. 165.

⁵³ This specific meaning of the verb *lassen* derives from the idea of puncturing a vein in order to let blood out (*blut zu/an der ader lassen*). In medical sources, however, the direct object *blut* of this phrase is very often replaced with *ader* or left out completely. See also GRIMM, 1854-1960, XII, col. 218-219.

Wolt er aber nit **lassen** so werden im doch kôpff oder vintusen
gesetzt⁵⁴

Wyl he syck denne nicht **aderlaten**/so werde em doch geset kôppe.⁵⁵

(If he does not want to be punctured, then place cupping glasses onto him).

The same can be said for the cognate noun HG *leß*, which is rendered into Middle Low German as *aderlatinge*:

Wan nun daz plütt verstelt ist/vnd die **leß** geschehen ist dar gegen vber.
vnd die clistier *der* wunden volbracht ist.⁵⁶

Wen du dath bloet vorstillet ys/vnde de **aderlatinghe** ghescheen ys dar
yeghen ouer/vnde de clister der wunden vullenbrocht ys⁵⁷

(Once the blood has been staunched and the bloodletting and the cleaning
of the wound have taken place...).

Insertion of metalinguistic considerations

In one single case – when dealing with cupping glasses – the Low German translator did not simply replace the High German term with its Low German equivalent, but he also explicitly mentioned the terminological difference between the two languages:

Dar *vmb* gebüet lanckfrancus ouch die *andern* cirurgicus/dar vff zû setzen
ein grosse **vintusen**/daz vß gezogen wird die ville del plütz.⁵⁸

Dar vmme ghebûth Lankfrancus/oek de anderen Cirurgici dar vp to setten
eyn grote **vyntausen/dat ys/stûyekôppe**/dat vth ghetaghen werde de
veelheyt des bloddes/**wente stûyekôppe heeten jn deme hoch dûdeschen
Vintausen/oek heetent schreppen**⁵⁹

(For this reason, Lanfrank and other surgeons prescribe to place a large
cupping glass onto it, in order to extract the excess of blood).

⁵⁴ KLEIN (1911), p. 131.

⁵⁵ BENATI (2012a), p. 109.

⁵⁶ KLEIN (1911), p. 210.

⁵⁷ BENATI (2012a), p. 119.

⁵⁸ KLEIN (1911), p. 68.

⁵⁹ BENATI (2012a), p. 63.

As far as Latin (and Greek) specialized terms in the *Buch der Cirurgia* are concerned, the systematic comparison of the two texts has highlighted that they are usually reproduced faithfully or with minor orthographic differences in the *Boek der Wundenartzstedye*. See, for example, Lat. *dura mater* 'dura (mater)' and *pia mater* 'pia (mater)':

Nun fürbas von den wunden des hoptes so nit allein die hüt oder daz fleisch verwunt ist/sunder ouch durch die hirn schalenn/vnd etwan die **dura mater** oder **pia mater** verwunt ist.⁶⁰

So welk bedröuet mynsche nycht alleyne vorwundet ys dorch dat fleesch vnde huet/sunder oek dorch de bregenpan/vnd ychteswan de **dura mater** vnd **pia mater** vorwunt ys.⁶¹

(On the head wounds, in which not only the skin and the flesh are wounded, but also the brain case and the dura mater or pia mater).

In this respect, one can argue that the language of the 1518 Rostock edition of Brunshwig's *Buch der Cirurgia* – just as that of the High German original – is a *Fachwerksprache*: a language in which the crystallized and universally acknowledged medical and surgical terminology of classic origin, constitutes the scaffold of the text. The purpose of *Fachwerksprache* is to avoid misunderstanding caused by the use of still arbitrary vernacular, medical and surgical terms. Moreover, the Low German translator also adopted and took to the extreme Brunshwig's use of bilingual synonymic couples. In fact, not only are the bilingual couples of terms from the High German source systematically reproduced, but new vernacular synonyms have also been introduced in the Low German edition. See, for example, the repeated use of MLG *wundenartzste* 'surgeon' in combination with Greek *cirurgicus* in the first chapter of the first treatise, in which the skills necessary to become a surgeon are listed:

Hie vacht an das erst capitel das da vß wiset die ordnung der Cirurgia vnd die schicklicheit deß **zyrurgicus** wie sich der halten sol in der hantwircunk der wund Artzeny⁶²

⁶⁰ KLEIN (1911), p. 90.

⁶¹ BENATI (2012a), p. 80.

⁶² KLEIN (1911), p. 13.

Dat erste capittel is van der ordenynghe desser kunst Cyurgia. Vnde de schicklicheyt des **Cirurgicus** (des **wundenartzsten**) wo syk de holden schal yn *der* hantwerkynghe der wundenartzstedye⁶³

(Here begins the first chapter which shows the categorization of surgery and the skills of the surgeon, how he should behave when practicing surgery).

Der **cirurgicus** soll auch wissen vnd vffmerckung haben der anathamia das do ist ein zusammenfügunge/vnnd scheidung der gelider vnd des menschen libes⁶⁴

De **Cirurgicus** (de **wundenartzste**) schal ock weten vnd vpmerkynghe hebben der Anathomia/dat dar ys eyn tosamynggefögynghe vnde scheydinge der geleeder vnde des mynschen lijff⁶⁵

(The surgeon should also know and remember anatomy, which is the complex and distinction of all the parts of the human body).

All the above-listed clarification strategies can be defined as lexical, since they involve exclusively the Low German translator's terminological choices. Nevertheless, the comparative analysis of the two versions of Hieronymus Brunschwig's surgical manual has revealed that the author of the *Boek der Wundenartzstedye* used another clarification strategy, which can be described as syntactic rather than lexical. With the aim of conveying an absolutely unequivocal message, in fact, the Low German translator of Brunschwig's *Buch der Cirurgia* often replaced the anaphoric pronouns of the High German original, repeating its referent (and, in some cases, even inserting a synonym):

Och das **er** heb ein güt luter scharpf gesicht subtile glider wol geformiert⁶⁶

Eyn **Cirurgicus effte wundenartzste** scal ok hebben eyn ghud lutter scharp ghesychte/subtyle gheledere wol gheformeret.⁶⁷

(And he – the surgeon – should have a good and sharp sight and subtle well-formed limbs).

⁶³ BENATI (2012a), p. 22.

⁶⁴ KLEIN (1911), p. 15.

⁶⁵ BENATI (2012a), p. 23.

⁶⁶ KLEIN (1911), p. 14.

⁶⁷ BENATI (2012a), p. 22.

ob **sie** nit gantzlich *verwunt* würt⁶⁸

Wert **de nucha** nicht gantzlick vorwunt⁶⁹

(If it – the nucha – is not completely wounded...).

Ob aber dir zũ kumpt ein gewunter durch hut fleisch vnd das gebein/vnd **das** geschehen ist mit einem scharfen swert. messer. degen. oder ander instrument dem gelich.⁷⁰

Effe auer dy tokũmpt eyn vorwunder dorch huet/fleesch/vnd gebeente/vnd **de vorseringe** ghescheen ys myt eyneme scharpen wapen/swert/meste/degen edder der ghelijck.⁷¹

(If a wound through the skin, flesh and bone occurs and it – the lesion – is caused by a sharp sword, knife, dagger or other similar weapon).

4. Concluding remarks

This study outlines the initial development of the Low German medical and surgical language. The methodology applied into this study includes a comparative examination of Hieronymus Brunschwig's *Buch der Chirurgia* and of its 1518 Low German edition and the issues related the translation into Low German of a High German surgical manual. Given the nature of the text, in fact, it was imperative for the Low German translator to render beyond doubt the exact meaning of the original and to make sure that every specialized term was cohesive, comprehensible and unambiguous.

Keeping this in mind, the analysis of the semantic fields of anatomy, pathology, surgical technique and instruments in the two texts has permitted the reconstruction of the translator's *modus operandi* when dealing with High German for medical and surgical purposes: when possible he replaced the High German term with a consolidated Low German equivalent, otherwise he made use of phonologically adapted High German loanwords, which, if potentially ambiguous, had to be clarified. The most frequent lexical clarification strategy employed in the *Boek der Wundenartzstedye* is certainly juxtaposition with a synonym. In this respect, the Low German translator followed the example of Brunschwig's original, where classical terms are paired with vernacular

⁶⁸ KLEIN (1911), p. 139.

⁶⁹ BENATI (2012a), p. 116.

⁷⁰ KLEIN (1911), p. 61.

⁷¹ BENATI (2012a), p. 58.

synonyms, in order to make sure they were understood correctly, but also to make his readers, who lacked university education, familiar with Latin and Greek medical and surgical vocabulary. However, since the Low German author of the *Boek der Wundenartzstedye* had to clarify not only classical, but also High German loanwords, he took this strategy to the extreme, so that the number of synonymic denominations of the same concept increased significantly in comparison to the High German *Buch der Chirurgia*. Other lexical clarification strategies are represented by the paraphrase of the original diction, specification through the insertion of a dependent genitive or a prepositional phrase, substitution of a simplex with a compound and, in one single case, the insertion of metalinguistic considerations.

Furthermore, the need and wish to prevent any misunderstanding or uncertain interpretation of the message conveyed by the surgical handbook does not seem to have influenced just the Low German translator's lexical and terminological choices, but also his syntax, since the systematic comparison of the *Boek der Wundenartzstedye* with its source has shown a tendency to avoid anaphoric pronouns and to replace them with a repetition of their referent.

On the whole, the *Boek der Wundenartzstedye* demonstrates an early sixteenth century Low German medical and surgical language, which as its High German counterpart, is characterized by a high frequency of synonyms and bilingual couples aimed at twofold outcome. On the one hand, such technique guarantees the correct understanding of the specialized terminology of classical origin and, on the other it prevents any misunderstanding possibly arising from the use of still-precarious and arbitrary vernacular terms. Nevertheless, in this case, the Low German translator had to cope not only with the classical heritage, but also with another – cognate – vernacular language for specific purposes, which required making sure that every High German phonologically adapted loanword (i.e. also those explaining the meaning of Latin and Greek expressions) was unambiguous and clear beyond doubt and, consequently, facing a terminological challenge to the second power.

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PART II:
MODERN TIMES

LEARNING CHINESE FOR SPECIFIC PURPOSES IN THE LATE QING PERIOD

MARIAROSARIA GIANNINOTO

1. Introduction

The increase in contacts between Western countries and China in the late Qing period (1644-1911) resulted in a rising number of foreigners eager to learn Chinese languages.¹ This promoted the compilation of different kinds of language learning and teaching materials, such as pedagogical grammars, language textbooks, glossaries and dictionaries written in Western languages (e.g. English, Latin, French, and Portuguese). The first grammars and primers of the Chinese languages for Western learners had been compiled since the fourteenth century by missionaries, who had played a pivotal role in the development of this field (Zhāng, 2009; Klöter, 2007: 193; Klöter, 2011; Chappell & Peyraube, 2014).

During the nineteenth century, diplomats and civil servants working in China also wrote several language textbooks (McLelland, 2015). Moreover, the rise of sinological studies in Europe and the institution of university chairs promoted the production of works related to Chinese language teaching and learning, written by Western academics.²

¹ Part of late Qing didactic materials was devoted to local and regional varieties of Chinese. However, the analysis and the description of local languages learning tools go beyond the purpose of the present paper, which focuses on the nineteenth century materials devoted to Chinese for specific purposes.

² The first classes of Chinese in Europe were probably taught at the *Collegio dei Cinesi* in Naples, between the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries (CASTORINA 2014), the first sinological chair in Europe was established at the *Collège de France* in 1814, when Jean-Pierre ABEL-RÉMUSAT (1788–1832) was appointed Professor of *Langues et littératures chinoises et tartares-mandchoues* (Chinese and Manchu Tartar languages and literatures). Two decades later, the appointment of Samuel Kidd as Professor of Chinese Language

A significant part of this production was represented by pedagogical tools for teaching and learning Chinese for specific purposes. These works were intended for foreigners (diplomats, missionaries, civil servants, militaries) working in or with China. Thus, the specific working contexts and the professional needs of these intended readers were taken into account. In addition, the late Qing period saw the birth of several specialized languages and most of them rapidly evolved. Several dictionaries, glossaries and primers devoted to the specialized languages of newly introduced disciplines were published.

This paper gives an outlook of Chinese for specific purposes learning tools through the analysis of two works chosen as representative examples of the late Qing production of specialized dictionaries and manuals : J. Doolittle's *Vocabulary and Hand-book of the Chinese Language: Romanized in the Mandarin Dialect* (1872), whose third part "was a collection of [...] of specialized vocabularies of 85 fields" (Shen, 2001: 301), and Th. Fr. Wade's *Tzŭ-erh chi [Zi'ěrjǐ²] 自邇集* (1867), a multi-volume manual of both written and spoken Chinese, mainly devoted to the administrative and official language. In order to position this production of pedagogical tools in the changing historical and linguistic context of the late Qing China, a brief section on the birth and evolution of specialized languages in late Qing period will come first.

2. The birth of modern specialized languages

The nineteenth century saw an impressive renewal and modification process of the Chinese lexicon, with a massive introduction of new concepts and terms. This was in particular the case of specialized languages, as underlined by Lackner, Amelung & Kurtz (2001: 2):

Within less than one hundred years, the Chinese language absorbed, or indeed 'devoured', the nomenclatures of the most diverse branches of Western knowledge whose formation had taken millennia— including several periods of cross-cultural translation — in the Occident.

These "massive (unidirectional) interactions between Chinese, Japanese and modern European languages" (Liu, 1995: 17) occurred in the late Qing

and Literature at University College in London inaugurated British Chinese studies (McLELLAND, 2015:113).

³In the body of the text, the *pīnyīn* transcription, i.e. the official transcription system of Chinese characters adopted in the People's Republic of China, is used. In the quotations, the original transcriptions are maintained.

period, when China experienced a deep political, economic and social crisis. Defeated in the Opium Wars (1838-42; 1856-60), China was forced to accept the so-called "Unequal Treaties", conceding part of its territorial and sovereignty rights to Great Britain (1840; 1843), United States (1844), France (1844) and other foreign countries. Chinese élites started looking for answers to this political and intellectual crisis through the introduction of new disciplines and theories, regarded as tools to modernize and rescue the country (Hsü, 1970: 9-10).

Therefore, the second half of the nineteenth century saw the development of the *Yángwù yùndòng* 洋務運動 ("Western affairs movement", usually translated as "Westernization movement"), which first focused on technical and military knowledge (during the *zìqiáng* 自強 "Self-strengthening" phase) to reinforce and modernize the Chinese army after the defeats of the Opium Wars. The second phase of the Westernization movement (the *fùqiáng* 富強 "Wealth and power" phase) was an attempt to improve the economic situation of the country and Western economic theories were introduced. The middle of the nineteenth century also witnessed a strong interest for international law and Western legal systems, a knowledge that was crucial for China in the context of complex negotiations with Western countries. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Western political thought and social sciences were progressively introduced as tools for China's political and social modernization (Coccia, 1988: 491-494; Tsién, 1954: 327; Hsü, 1970: 342).

This massive introduction of new concepts and new terms took place through an impressive process of translation of Western works, the compilation of bilingual and multilingual dictionaries and the establishment of modern schools, where foreign languages and scientific disciplines were taught. Most Western works were translated jointly by foreigners (especially missionaries) and Chinese literati. They followed a two-step translation process (Tsién, 1954: 307): the *kǒuyì* 口譯 or *shòu* 授 which consisted in having a foreigner explain the subject in Chinese and then the *bǐshòu* 筆受 or *yǎn* 演 during which native scholars elaborated the subject in written Chinese. This process was similar to the one used for the translation of Buddhist works into Chinese (Zürcher, 1972: 31).

The compilation of an impressive number of specialized dictionaries also contributed to the diffusion of these new terminologies, as underlined by Yong and Peng (2008: 396): "in late period of the Qing dynasty, the focus was on the compilation of specialized bilingual dictionaries, which was a natural result of the transmission of Western learning and standardization of technical terms". Newly established schools, "based to a certain extent on Western models" (Masini, 1993:41), also played an

important role in this process of lexical renewal. Not only did they provide classes of foreign languages and new disciplines, but they also coordinated translation activities and lexicographic works which largely contributed to the development and circulation of new terminologies. Among the institutes created in the framework of the Westernization movement", the Beijing-based *Tóngwénguǎn* 同文館 "School of combined learning" deserves to be mentioned. This school provided classes of foreign languages⁴ (English, French, Japanese, Russian, and German), international law, political economy, geography, mathematics and chemistry (Pellin, 2009: 85). The school "worked very closely with the *Zongli yamen* (Ministry of Foreign Affairs),⁵ which entrusted it with the task of gaining more information on western political and legal systems" (Masini, 1993: 46). Consequently, most of the Western works translated at the *Tóngwénguǎn* were related to international and foreign laws.

Other "Schools of combined learning" were created in China in the framework of the modernization movement, such as the institutes of Canton (1864) and Shanghai (1863), two of the "treaty ports" opened to foreign trade. In 1869, the Shanghai *Tóngwénguǎn* was incorporated into the Shanghai Arsenal (*Jiāngnán jīqì zhìzào zǒngjú* 江南機器製造總局 "Jiangnan office for the construction of machinery"). The Shanghai Arsenal was renowned for its translation department which focused on technical and scientific works (Masini, 1993: 62) but also produced an intense lexicography (Yong & Peng, 2008: 396). These schools largely contributed to the birth and evolution of several specialized languages in the late Qing period. A large amount of dictionaries, glossaries and pedagogical tools was compiled to teach and learn these new specialized languages.

3. Glossaries of Chinese for Specific Purposes in Doolittle's *Vocabulary*

The *Vocabulary and Hand-book of the Chinese Language: Romanized in the Mandarin Dialect* (1872) by the American missionary Justus Doolittle (1880-1824), consisted of three parts: the first part was "the Vocabulary proper (...) it contains more than 175,000 Chinese Characters and over 66,000 Expressions" (Doolittle, 1872: i); the second part collects

⁴ The *Tóngwénguǎn* was "renowned for its interpreters and translators, who accompanied China's first mission to the West" (MASINI, 1993:41).

⁵ *Zōnglǐ gèguó shìwù yámén* 總理各國事務衙門 lit. "Office of the Affairs of All Countries", the "first Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs" (MASINI, 1993:41).

"Clauses and Phrases in English and Chinese" (Doolittle, 1872: ii) and the third part contains various multilingual glossaries of language for specific purposes compiled by foreign residents in China, as explained by the editor (Doolittle, 1872: ii):⁶

It consists largely of Tables and Lists of Terms and Phrases contributed to this work by various Gentlemen connected with the Consular and with the Custom services, by Missionaries belonging to American, English and German Societies, and by other residents in China. They were prepared chiefly in response to my invitation. The Topics of these Tables and Lists are very numerous and relate to subjects of general interest and importance.

Doolittle (1872: iii) also underlines that "one of the considerations which give special value to these papers, is that they embody many new terms and phrases in regard to the subjects which they treat". The glossaries included in the *Vocabulary* are representative of the most useful and important linguistic fields for foreign residents in late Qing China ("subjects of general interest and importance" in Doolittle's words), from international trade to the activities of the missions, from shipbuilding terminology to legal language. For instance, among the glossaries and documents collected in the third part, we can find: "Terms used in Mechanics with special reference to the Steam engine" (pp. 175-178) "Terms used in Diplomatic and Official Intercourse" (pp. 194-201), "Buddhist Words and Phrases" (pp. 211-221), "Taoist Words and Phrases" (pp. 221-229) "Custom House and Tariff Terms" (pp. 271-275), "List of Dishes" (pp. 275-277), "Commercial Words and Phrases"(pp.277-286), "Anatomical and Physiological Phrases" (pp. 295-300), "Religious, Theological and Ecclesiastical Terms" (pp. 383-388), "Regulations of the Canton Guild at Foochow" (pp. 399-402), "Proclamation relating to the Tea Business at Foochow" (pp. 437-438), "Shipping and Nautical Terms" (pp. 557-559), "Terms relating to Crime, Punishments, and Lawsuits" (pp. 591-593), "Terms concerning Tea and Tea Business" (pp. 632-634), "Mechanical and Nautical Terms in French, Chinese and English" (pp. 634-653).

⁶ In his preface, DOOLITTLE (1872: i) underlined that this work could be used not only "to advantage by foreign residents in all parts of China" and "by the students of the Chinese language in other lands", but also "by Chinese who desire to learn the English language". Its usage as a tool of English language learning is not taken into account in the present paper, focusing on the history of Chinese as foreign language learning.

Only some of these glossaries will be described in this paper. Whether their historical context in late Qing China was capital or they are representative examples of a mix between translation activities, professional experience and teaching practice. This was for instance the case of the American Presbyterian missionary William Alexander Parsons Martin (丁韪良, 1827 – 1916), who acted as an interpreter in the negotiation of the treaty of Tianjin (Cao, 2016) and was professor of English, international law and political economy at the *Tóngwénguǎn* 同文館, before becoming its director (Spence, 1869: 138). Important translations of international law were carried out under Martin's supervision: with the help of a group of Chinese scholars,⁷ Martin translated Henry Wheaton's *Elements of International Law* (1936), published under the title *Wànguó gōngfǎ* 萬國公法 (1864). He also translated Theodore D. Woolsey's *Introduction to the Study of International Law* (1871) in collaboration with Wāng Fēngzǎo 汪風藻 and other Chinese translators (Svaverurd, 2007: 272)⁸. Finally, he coordinated the translation of *Das moderne Völkerrecht der civilisierten Staaten als Rechtsbuch dargestellt*⁹ by Johann K. Bluntschli (1879).¹⁰ Martin was also the author of *The Analytical Reader*, one of the first primers of Chinese as a foreign language to take into account corpus-based character selection and arrangement (Martin, 1897: 2-5). Thus, Martin combined a professional skill in diplomatic and legal languages with a longstanding pedagogical experience. As a translator, interpreter and

⁷ Martin was "assisted by He Shimeng (何師孟), Li Dawen (李大文), Zhang Wei (張煒), and Cao Jingrong (曹景榮). The final manuscript was proofread by Chen Qin (陳欽), Li Changhua (李常華), Fang Junshi (方濬師), and Mao Hongtu (毛鴻圖) appointed by the Zongli Yamen" (SHEN Guowei, Uchida KEIICHI, Jochim KURTZ & Iwo AMELUNG, (eds), *Digital Library of Western Knowledge in Late Imperial China*, <http://www.wsc.uni-erlangen.de/etexts/int1864.htm>, accessed July 2017)

⁸ The Chinese translation was published in 1877 at the *Tóngwénguǎn* under the title *Gōngfǎ biànlǎn* 公法便覽.

⁹ SVARVERUD (2007: 273) points out that the translators "did not work on the German edition but translated from the French edition entitled *Le droit international codifié* (1870) and subsequently revised the Chinese text against the German edition".

¹⁰ Appeared in 1880 under the title *Gōngfǎ huìtōng* 公法會通. The first half of the text was translated at the French language section of the *Tóngwénguǎn*, while the latter half of the text was "orally translated by Martin and written down by Gui Rong (貴榮) and Gui Lin (桂林) (Svaverurd 2007:273).

teacher, he contributed to the creation of specialized languages in law and international relations.

Martin contributed to Doolittle's Vocabulary with a short glossary entitled "Terms used in Diplomatic and Official Intercourse". This glossary devoted to diplomatic and administrative language was thematically arranged, and consisted of the following twelve sections: Nations and Governments, Rulers and Nobles, National Officers and Tribunals, Provincial Officers, Civil and Military, International Agents, International Acts and Relations, Public and Official Acts, Public Documents, Public Places, Commerce and Navigation, Public and Municipal Law, Peace and War. Here are some entries from the first section:

1. Nations and government

Nation, Kingdom, Empire and State 國 kuo, 邦 pang; 邦 and 國 are nearly synonymous and often used interchangeably [...]

Friendly States 友邦 yu pang

Neighboring States 鄰邦 lin pang

Dependent 屬國 shu kuo 屏藩 ping fan

Independent 自主之國 tzü chu chih kuo

Tributary 進貢之國 chin kung chih kuo [...]

Treaty Powers 有約之國 yu yüe chih kuo

Names of the Treaty Powers (*mostly abbreviated*) 英 ying 法 fa 美 mei [...]

Celestial dynasty 天朝 tien chao [...]

Establish a government or set up a dynasty 開國 kai kuo, 立國 li kuo, 定鼎 ting ting

Rule a country 治國 chih kuo

(Martin 1872: 194)

In these passages, beside the Chinese equivalents of the words "nation, kingdom, empire, state" and a remark on the use of their Chinese equivalents, we can notice references to the Chinese geopolitical situation, i.e. the list of the Treaty Powers, as well as to Chinese institutions such as the Celestial dynasty and the Tributary States, and some collocations of the word *kuo* [guó] 國 "country, nation". The Latin letter transcriptions of Chinese characters added by the editor (Doolittle, 1872: 194) deserve to be stressed, because these transcriptions are considered as one of the main contributions of Western missionaries and sinologists to Chinese lexicography and didactics (Luó, 1930) and are still central in the pedagogy of Chinese as a foreign language.

The glossary "Terms used in Mechanics, with special reference to the steam engine" was written by a renowned 19th century scientific and

technical translator, the British Protestant missionary Alexander Wylie (1815-1887). Among his translations, we find: *Zhòngxué qiǎnshuō* 重學淺說 (1858), translation of the *Popular Treatise on Mechanics* in collaboration with the Chinese writer and translator Wáng Tāo 王韜 (1828-1879); *Xù jīhé yuánběn* 續幾何原本 "Supplementary Elements of Geometry" (1857) which is the translation of Euclid's Books vii–xv,¹¹ with the famous Chinese mathematician Lǐ Shànlán 李善蘭 (1810-1882); *Qìjī fāchè* 汽機發軔, translation of T. J. Main et T. Brow's *The Marine Steam Engine*, in collaboration with the Chinese scholar Xú Shòu 徐壽 (1818-1884). The glossary "Terms used in Mechanics, with special reference to the steam engine", included in Doolittle's dictionary, was probably based on this translation. In this brief glossary, the English entries are alphabetically arranged. For each entry, represented by a word or an expression, the equivalent in Chinese characters and transcriptions are provided. For instance:

Cohesion 膠固力 chiao ku li
 Collecting dishes for oil 受油器 shou yu 'chi
 combination of wheel and axles 聯輪軸 lian lun chou
 Combustion 燃 jan
 Composition of forces 并力 ping li
 (Wylie, 1872: 175)

The glossary "Mechanical and Nautical terms in French, Chinese and English" by Prosper Giquel (1835–1886) also deserves to be mentioned. This glossary consists in "a list of the principal Words and Phrases used at the Foochow Arsenal, relating to the Machinery employed and the general Business transacted there" (Doolittle, 1872: 634). The Foochow Arsenal was a famous shipyard and a naval College, established in the context of the Self-strengthening movement. The author of this glossary, Prosper M. Giquel, was a French navy officer, who collaborated to the creation of the Foochow dockyard and was associated to its educational program (Leibo, 1985:130). He was also the author, in collaboration with the French diplomat Gabriel Lemaire (1839-1907), of the *Dictionnaire de poche français-chinois, suivi d'un dictionnaire technique des mots usités à l'arsenal de Fou-Tcheou* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press,

¹¹ The books i–vi had been translated by the Italian Jesuit Matteo RICCI (1552-1610) and the Chinese scholar Xú GUĀNGQǐ 徐光啟 (1562-1633) under the title *Jīhé yuánběn* 幾何原本 in 1607.

1874), which was "a technical French-Chinese dictionary based on material prepared at the dockyard" (Leibo, 1985:114). Giquel's trilingual glossary "Mechanical and Nautical terms in French, Chinese and English" is alphabetically arranged, and provides the Chinese and English equivalents of the French entries, without collocations or illustrative examples. For instance:

B
 Babord 船左旁, Portside, Larboard
 Bac 渡船 Ferry boat [...]
 Bâche de machine à vapeur 輪機噴筒, Engine hot-well
 Bâche de meule 磨刀石水箱, Grindstone's case

As already underlined, the third part of Doolittle's Vocabulary was essentially composed of specialized glossaries. Nevertheless, some sections consisted of illustrative dialogues and texts devoted to specialized languages, accompanied by translation. The section "Custom House and Tariff Terms" was a representative example of these diverse pedagogical materials. This section was composed of three parts: "Custom House Officials" by T. B. Drew, a list of official titles; "General Terms and Tariff Rules" by F. H. Ewer, composed of a glossary, a repertory of illustrative sentences and extracts from customs laws and regulations; the "Dialogue between Custom House official and Merchant" by F. H. Ewer. In fact, this section can be regarded as a brief primer on Chinese for international trade, merging illustrative examples (mainly chosen from authentic materials) and model dialogues. For instance, we can quote some lines from the "Dialogue between Custom House official and Merchant":

先生我有貨要過關口 Sir, I have some goods I wish to pass to the
 Customs
 你的貨是出口是進口呢 Are they for Import or Export?
 是出口的 For Export
 是什麼貨呢 What goods have you?
 我的貨都是雜貨 Sundry articles
 有單沒有 Have you got an application?
 有略 Yes ! [...]
 這張單子你寫錯單子上要開明船名貨物多少連日子都要註明並要寫
 [...]海關查照的字樣
 But it is not written correctly. In it you should write the ship's name, the
 kinds of goods and quantity, date and also address it to the Commissioner
 of Customs
 (Ewer, 1872: 274)

Some lines from the section "General Terms and Tariff Rules":

凡貨物未載於進出口稅則亦不在免稅之列者必估價列每百兩抽稅五兩
 Goods not found in the Import or Export Tariffs, nor in the free lists, must
 pay 5 per cent ad valorem duty
 [...] 有船到中國埠四十八點鐘內報知該處領事館
 A Foreign vessel of any flag entering any open port of China must report to
 its Consul within 24 hours
 (Ewer, 1872: 272, 273)

Doolittle's *Vocabulary* thus provided a large spectrum of glossaries and documents to introduce learners to various specialized languages, compiled by specialists of these professional and disciplinary fields. From a linguistic point of view, it is important to stress that most of the specialized languages included in this work "had already completed the transition from paraphrases and explanations to compound words" (Shen, 2001: 304).

4. Wade's *Tzŭ-erh chi*

The *Tzŭ-erh chi* [Zi ər ji] 自邇集 can be considered a "landmark textbook of Chinese for English-speaking learners" (McLelland, 2015: 114). The author, Thomas Fr. Wade (1818-1895), was a British diplomat and sinologist. He served for years as a diplomat in China (e.g. as a vice-Consul in Shanghai and as a British Minister to China), before becoming the first Professor of Chinese at Cambridge. Wade also elaborated a Chinese Romanization system, which was modified by the sinologist and diplomat Herbert A. Giles (1845-1935) and is known as the Wade-Giles transcription system.

Wade's textbook manual is composed of two main parts: the *Yü-yen tzŭ-erh chi* [Yüyan zì ər jī] 語言自邇集 (with the English subtitle *A Progressive Course Designed to Assist the Student of Colloquial Chinese as Spoken in the Capital and the Metropolitan Department*) and the *Wên-Chien tzŭ-erh chi* [Wénjiàn zì ər jī] 文件自邇集 (subtitle *A Series of Papers Selected as Specimens of Documentary Chinese, Designed to Assist Students of the Language as Written by the Officials of China*), devoted respectively to colloquial and written Chinese, completed by volumes of exercises and keys. This detailed and well-structured manual was intended to meet "the requirements of the official student rather than those of any other class of readers" (Wade, 1867d: iii), and "to direct the studies of the gentlemen destined to recruit the ranks of Her Majesty's

Consular Service in China" (Wade, 1867b: xii). Hence, this work can be regarded as a manual of Chinese for specific purposes, destined to "a highly specialized kind of learners" (McLelland, 2015: 114). This was particularly the case of the *Wên-Chien tzü-erh chi*, devoted to written Chinese, collecting dispatches, semi-official notes, petitions, memorials, private letters, and commercial forms inter alia.

Wade's extensive use of authentic materials is worth stressing. As underlined by the English subtitle "A Series of Papers Selected as Specimens of Documentary Chinese, Designed to Assist Students of the Language as Written by the Officials of China", this rich selection of authentic materials (a large portion of which was accompanied by translations and explicative notes) was intended to help learners to master written administrative Chinese. The documents were arranged by text genres, and this content organization was intended to facilitate learning progression and to meet the professional requirements of the learners: according to Wade (1867d: iii), the first four sections (Dispatches, Petitions, Semi-official notes, Legal forms) could "suffice for a course in the kind of composition with which the translator will have most immediately to deal in a Consular Office".

The titles of some selected documents can give an outlook of the types of documents and the variety of themes analyzed in this work: among the "Dispatches" (Part I), the first one was entitled "Ch'iying (Keying), Imperial Commissioner, and Ilipu, Commandant of Chapu, proposing negotiations, 1842", the third one "Ch'ikung Governor General of the Two Kuang, to Sir H. Pottinger, regarding a deserter from a merchant vessel, 1843". Among the Semi-official notes (Part II), the document n. 21 was entitled "A Minister of the Yamên of Foreign Affairs will receive the foreign minister at the Yamên as he requests" and the n. 24 "Note congratulating a Chinese minister on his promotion". In Part three, we find some petitions presented at Hongkong, such as "The Lu I, builders, petition again for the recovery of 10, 812 dollars" (document n.31) and "Ou-yang I applies for a license to manufacture gunpowder in Hongkong". Among the Legal Forms (part IV), examples of "Advice of payment" (document n. 47), "Receipt" (n. 48) and "Letter of credit" (n. 57) can be found. The fifteenth section is devoted to the "Commercial Forms", the other consists of examples of correspondence of various Chinese officials. Therefore, a wide range of themes and textual genres were presented. Several examples of official, administrative and commercial documents were translated and commented, with the aim of helping "the future Consular Interpreter in grounding himself, with the least possible loss of time, in the written government language, as it is read in books, or in

official correspondence, or in documents generally of a public character" (Wade, 1867d: iii).

On the other hand, the volumes devoted to the spoken language, the *Yü-yen tzü-erh chi* (Wade, 1867b, 1867c), open with the description of the Chinese tonal system, writing system and radicals, followed by *The Forty Exercises* which consists of illustrative sentences in Chinese and English, with grammatical explanations or word use explanations, plus translation exercises. The *Ten Dialogues* presents the Chinese text in the first volume and the English text in the second one. *The Hundred Lessons* is made of dialogue-format illustrative examples in Chinese (in the first volume), with English translation (in the second volume), plus glossaries and grammatical explanations. The volumes devoted to the spoken language can thus be described as a textbook of Chinese for general purposes. However, several dialogues and illustrative sentences were tied to professional contexts and situations, as it is shown by the following dialogue concerning the advancement of an official (Wade, 1867c: 261):

1. 兄台, 恭喜咯 說放章京揀選上了。
2. 是啊, 昨爾揀選的, 把我擬了正了。
1. [Junior] I congratulate you, sir. They said you've been selected for a chang-ching-ship₁.
2. [Senior] Yes, the selection₂ yesterday they decided on proposing₃ me as the effective nominee. [...]

1. 章京 *chang-ching*: the words are supposed to give nearly the sound of the Manchu word *chanyin*, signifying assistant.
2. 選 *hsüan*³ to choose; 揀 *chien*³ to select: *chien-hsüan* colloquially used only of choosing officers, not in their turn, but by merit; *shang* is an auxiliary verb, but indicating at the same time the superior merit of the person chosen
3. 擬 *ni*³ commonly, to suggest; here, of submitting a name to the Throne

The *Tzü-erh chi* reflects Wade's long professional experience as an interpreter and diplomat, and can be considered the most important nineteenth century manual of administrative Chinese for foreign learners.

5. Concluding remarks

The end of the Qing dynasty saw a massive process of new Western concepts, theories and disciplines in China, which resulted in the birth or renewal of several specialized languages (Masini, 1993; Lackner, Kurtz & Amelung, 2001; Liu, 1995). A large amount of bilingual dictionaries as

well as pedagogical tools for teaching and learning Chinese for specific purposes appeared during the nineteenth century. The introduction of new disciplines through translation, the creation of specialized languages and the compilation of pedagogical tools for Chinese for specific purposes closely connect and deserve to be stressed. The translation of Western works, the compilation of multilingual glossaries and classes of Western languages and new disciplines not only were coordinated by the same institutions (like the *Tóngwénguǎn* and the Shanghai Arsenal) but also carried out by the same people. The authors of glossaries, dictionaries and pedagogical tools devoted to Chinese for specific purposes were often translators and teachers of the new disciplines, or had professional experiences in these fields.

The works devoted to Chinese for specific purposes were strictly connected with nineteenth century China historical context and to the professional needs of foreigners living and working there. These works, which shared a markedly practical approach, can be regarded as representative examples of nineteenth century "practical sinology" (*sinologie pratique*) as contrasted to European "scholarly sinology" (*sinologie savante*) (Galy, 1995: 131). The production of tools for teaching and learning Chinese for specific purposes was very diverse, from brief glossaries to multi-volume manuals of both written and spoken Chinese. These pedagogical tools had an important place in the history of Chinese foreign language learning and certainly deserve further investigation.

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ALEUT FOR SPECIFIC PURPOSES: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC AND LINGUISTIC STUDY OF THE DISCOURSE OF THE CHRISTIAN ORTHODOX MISSION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY ALASKA

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Research in applied linguistics, sociology and anthropology has shown that languages for specific purposes are naturally context-driven (Lerat, 1995; Galisson & Coste, 1976; Bloor T. & M. Bloor, 1986). Their evolution and functioning closely depend on the field within which they operate. Once such a language evolves under the influence of a specific context, it becomes part of a broader discourse in that field. It also feeds back into the source language that has offered its lexis and grammar for constructing new features serving the specific purposes which are required by the context. In order to observe this complex interaction between the context and the language, let's turn to history and take as an example a case of the native tongue of an indigenous Alaskan people, the Aleuts.

1. Historical context

The Aleut people (*allithuh*, aleut "coastal people") belong to the Inuit language family and are descendants of the Thule culture, which emerged after the people crossed Siberia and moved eastward across the Arctic. Their natural habitat includes Aleut and Pribilof islands as well as other islands around the Alaskan Peninsula. Local Alaskan populations had been in trading contact with island outsiders long before the first Russian Orthodox¹ missionaries arrived there in 1794.

¹ Orthodoxy is a system of Christian beliefs and practices which comes from Eastern, Caucasian and Mediterranean countries: Greece, Bulgaria, Romania, Serbia, Georgia, Russia, and the Middle East.

The Russian orthodox mission has often been seen by historians as part of the Russian colonisation policy with Catherine the Great annexing Alaska to Russia in 1766. However, the history of the Russian mission of the time offers some evidence, mainly through the life and field work of the Russian scholar, linguist and ethnologist, Ivan Veniaminov (1797-1879), that the term "colonisation" may be too much of a conceptual shortcut. As such, it is connotated with ideas of power, seizure and control. Yet, these connotations stand in the way of allowing grasping a more subtle dynamics generated by the two languages and world views coming into contact through prolonged natural human interaction.

This dynamics could be seen in the life of Ivan Veniaminov and his interaction with the Aleut populations. As an orthodox missionary, he lived alongside the Aleuts for most of his adult life, learned their language and shared their cultural ways. As a scholar, he left behind several volumes of detailed ethnographic and linguistic studies, letters and travel logs, elaborated an alphabet and grammar for the Aleut language and left a detailed study of the Aleut culture. He was particularly interested in finding traces of the old spiritual culture of the ancestors of the modern Aleuts. As both a missionary and a scholar, he produced various writings and translations from and into the Aleut language. However, despite Veniaminov's scholarly background and research interest in the local languages and cultures, the main effort that he had to provide during his mission was to efficiently communicate new meanings to the Aleut people in their own language and getting them accept and share a world view quite different from their own. This requirement set up a peculiar context of mediation between the remaining shamanic Aleut culture on the one hand and the Christian world view on the other. This context can be observed and studied using existing discourse analysis approaches, especially those that take into account the complexity of the interaction between language and its socio-cultural context features. The discourse analysis tools offered by the Systemic Functional linguistics are best suited for our research purposes because of its strong socio-cultural and ethnological rooting (*cf.* Halliday, 1972, 1973, 1977, 1978, 1987, 2004).

2. Research question

The missionary writings, such as sermons and a catechesis manual that Veniaminov left behind can be classed as belonging to the Christian religious discourse. This type of discourse is generally characterised by regulative and injunctive type of communication which conveys to its listeners the sense of authority. Among the main features of the Christian

discourse are found: "emotional appeal, personal involvement, explicitness, directness, clarity, unambiguity, gradation effect, semantic and lexical density, repetition, syntactic patterning" (Dynel, 2006: 57). These discourse features reflect a particular use of language for serving a particular purpose: "discourses are tools – they do things (...) and their functionality determines their character". (Martin, 1993: 240). Just as the discourse of geography in school geography books looks for order and meaning in the outside world by observing and describing, grouping and classifying, analyzing and explaining different landscapes and nature phenomena (Wignell, Martin & al, 1993), so would a missionary discourse try to persuade its readers or listeners of the veracity of the Christian doctrine (Dynel, 2006). Yet to hold the position of trustable authority is not an easy task to accomplish, especially in a community where one is not "one of the tribe". Moreover, examples in the history of religions abound only to prove that people do not give up their ancestral views and convictions easily unless forced to do so. This is why it would appear reasonable to suggest that, while carrying out his mission, Veniaminov adopted the approach of a geographer who observes, describes, classifies, analyzes and explains rather than exercises force or pressure in order to convince of the moral validity of the Christian texts. The research question that is going to be addressed in this study is as follows: in what way and to what extent did the Aleut language allow the re-contextualisation of the Christian message within the local context?

3. Aleut for Specific Purposes

3.1 Before analysing the features of the Aleut language that allowed it to serve the specific purpose determined by Veniaminov's missionary work, let us give a very brief description of the language. Aleut belongs to the so-called paleoasian group of languages, whose origins date back as far as 30 000 AD. It is a disparate group of linguistic isolates including a few small families of languages spoken in Greenland, Canadian Arctic, Alaska, the Far-East coast of Russia and the north-eastern Siberia. Aleut is related to Eskimo languages such as Inuit and Yupik but linguistically is treated separately. It is a polysynthetic language, the canonical world order being SOV. Here's an example of sentence formation in Aleut:

adágikuqing: I have a father
 adágikuxtšin: thou hast a father
 adágikúq: he or she has a father
 adágígúng: if I have a father
 adágígumin: if thou have a father
 adágígun: if he or she have a father

The main parts of speech include verbs, conjunctions, adverbs and their derivatives. Meanings conveyed by verbs and adverbs are abundant, varied and nuanced to express graduations of force, degree, intensity, scope, extent, location, etc. Adjectival and noun meanings are rendered through verb forms and some derivational suffixes. The number can be singular, double or plural. There are no gender markers for masculine or feminine. Aleut has two alphabets: Cyrillic and Latin. The Cyrillic orthography was elaborated by Veniaminov in 1826 and the Latin orthography appeared much later, during the second half of the twentieth century and was developed by a Norwegian linguist, Knut Bergsland.

3.2 After creating the alphabet for Aleut, Veniaminov set off introducing the Christian terminology into the language. Here is a table which gives some examples of the Christian terms and their literal translation into English.

Table 1: The Christian terminology in Aleut

Terminology in Aleut	Literal translation	Christian terminology
<i>aguRum angali</i>	"the light and the day of the God"	the Kingdom of Heaven
<i>kamgan tukku</i>	"the chief of the feast or the prayer"	the priest
<i>Tanadaquaalik</i>	"the one that has ceased to be a guest" or "has gone back to his place"	the dead
<i>Asxalik</i>	"the one that has been lost"	a non baptized person
<i>qal'agan al'an axsxa</i>	"the one that has been put to his own natural place"	a buried person
<i>adam al'l'uxtasanguangin</i>	"fatherly (paternal) writings"	The Holy Scripture
<i>Qankunyag</i>	"existing thrice"	The Holy Trinity
<i>AguRukuRunaq</i>	"the one who has given birth to God"	The Blessed Virgin
<i>kamgasigatas'adalik</i>	"he used to pray quite intensely with the utmost care in a perfect and sincere way, many times and very strongly"	The description of the Gethsemane prayer (St Luke 22:44)

As a missionary worker Veniaminov's primary task was to name new concepts coming from the Christian culture and explain their meaning to the Aleuts. Some traces of the older spiritual culture in Aleut language (eg. *aguRuq* 'God, Creator', *angiq* 'spirit') helped him on the way as they offered ready-made vocabulary from which he could start building the rest of his Christian glossary. The examples in the table above show that Veniaminov made the best of the inflectional character of the Aleut language to adapt the translation of the Christian terms to the Aleut mentality so that they reflected the original meaning as closely as possible without being worded in Aleut as something intrusive or unusual. The final example in Table 1 is extremely illustrative of this non-intrusive approach towards the language: by studying the semantic value of the Aleut particles *sigā*, *ta*, *sigas'ada*, *tas'ada* Veniaminov gave as much nuanced meaning as possible to describe the ultimate prayer in the garden of Gethsemane *kamgasigatas'adalik* mentioned in Luke (22: 4): "he used to pray quite intensely with the utmost care in a perfect and sincere way, many times and very strongly".

sigā: "completely, really, altogether"

ta: "many times, not at once"

sigas'ada: "very strongly"

tas'ada: "extraordinary way of doing something"

In addition to the possibility of expressing nuanced and rich meanings through inflexions, Veniaminov also noticed while attempting to systemize the Aleut grammar, that redundancy was part of the Aleut language. Some ideas could be expressed in a number of ways. For example, all of the following sentences could translate the commandment "Thou shall not kill":

askhasaganan

askhasaganakhtkhin

askhasalagadakagan

askhasalagada

askhasalafluk

3.3 The legacy of the European science for the western view of the world has been the assumption that the world can be described in terms of the notions designated by nouns (like atoms, molecules, particles, quarks, strings and superstrings). Such assumptions turn out to be less natural when one comes in contact with languages similar to Aleut (most of the native American languages, cf. Whorf, 1956; Firth, 1968) where the

boundary between nouns and verbs is far from being clearly defined. As is shown in the table above and as was pointed out by Veniaminov, Aleut nouns seemed to be used as verbs. In composition with verbs they could be varied for all the moods, tenses, numbers and persons, take the affirmative or negative aspects, exactly as verbs when used on their own. Here are some more examples from the old Aleut which show the indeterminacy of the noun as a word class:

the sea – *inyudaq* – "that which is bent or flexible"
 the sky – *k'quyudaq* from the verb *quyukuqing* – "I lie down to rest"
 the sun – *agadak* from the verb *arakuqing* – "I become visible, I'm appearing"

This feature of Aleut makes it difficult to create nominalisations as in English with the help of the suffixes *-tion, -ing* or in Russian with the help of the suffixes *-nie, -anie*. Thus a statement *Reading the Scriptures is useful* can only be expressed in Aleut as a subordinate sentence: *If one reads the Scriptures, he or she will benefit from it*. The nominalisation illustrated by the verb form *reading* is a very common way of word formation in Indo-European languages whether it be scientific or religious discourse: both make use of the so-called "grammatical metaphor". The table below shows how the grammatical metaphor operates.

Table 2: Congruent and metaphorical expression in language (adapted from Halliday 2004)

	In reality	In the language expressed as
Congruent (natural) way of expression	an action →	a verb
	an object →	a noun
	a quality →	an adjective
Metaphorical forms	an action →	a deverbial noun, a nominalisation
	an object →	
	a quality →	

The natural way for a language to encode an action, an object or a quality are a verb, a noun and an adjective, respectively. A metaphorical and a more abstract way of doing it is to encode the three as a noun. This allows verbs and adjectives function as if they were nouns and thus be modified, quantified and serve as the subject or an object in a clause as in the example above. The deverbial noun *reading* functions as the subject of

the clause and is attributed the quality of being *useful*. The nominalisation thus allows here to make the statement more general and somewhat universal in character. The congruent way of expressing the action of reading as a verb "If one reads..." has a more natural impact on the reader and makes the cause-effect link explicit and understandable whereas the attributive clause "Reading the Scriptures is useful" does not.

A more congruent way of expressing meanings in Aleut coupled with the lack of nominalisations may account for the absence of a more abstract or symbolic language stratum. For example, the sentence "**Bless** those who **curse** you" would translate into Aleut as "**Think** or **speak** well of those who **scold** you". Similarly, more congruent (natural) translations had to be found for such verbs as 'to sanctify', 'to reason'. In addition to the lack of abstractions, psychological notions are also absent from Aleut. For example, there are no such notions as 'to tolerate a difficulty' or 'to forgive' because life for the Aleut people had always been fraught with so many hardships and dangers that patience, humbleness and forgiving nature became part of their character.

3.4 If common nouns failed to establish themselves as a separate word class in Aleut, toponyms, on the contrary, did. Veniaminov noticed that the tiniest detail of the surrounding landscape of the Aleut Islands has its own name. This acute topographical awareness naturally reflected in the language came from the hunting and fishing habits of the indigenous populations. It will hardly then come as a surprise that Veniaminov drew on the geography semantics in order to explain symbolic meaning of one following 'the path of salvation'. Engaging believers along this symbolic journey is the ultimate goal of a missionary worker. Let us now analyze an extract taken from the English translation of the catechesis manual "Indication of the Pathway into the Kingdom of Heaven" (Veniaminov, 1844). As it has been mentioned earlier, the author relied extensively on the sensitivity for topography which was natural for the Aleuts.

A. To illustrate what was just said about the **path** into the Kingdom of Heaven, let's assume that unexpectedly you became the sole heir of a rich relative. This relative, before dying, willed his magnificent mansion **on the top of a picturesque mountain** to you. Loving solitude, he had not built **any roads** but reached his mansion by **a trail**. In order to help you take possession of the property, he left you **a map of the mountain, indicating the correct trail on it. The mountain has many other trails**, none of which reached the mansion; some **lead to a dead-end**, and others to a **steep cliff**. Therefore, in order **to reach your mansion**, you have **to take the trail** indicated by your loving relative. **Prudence** would suggest that, before undertaking such a trip, **you should carefully study the map of**

the mountain, obtaining **all the necessary supplies** for **the climb** and being prepared **to spend the night on the mountain**, if necessary. **It would be good to ask a ranger about landmarks on the mountain** and how best **to avoid losing your way or straying from the correct trail**. Certainly, **being a person with common sense**, you **would make all necessary preparations before setting off on this new trail**.

B. Similarly, **to reach the Kingdom of Heaven**, we should determine **which path leads to it, how not to falter, what we must beware of**, etc. **Our map** is the Holy Scriptures and other Orthodox books; **the rangers** are the pastors of the Church, whose duty it is to help the faithful on their way toward Paradise. **The provisions** are the Mysteries (Sacraments) of the Church, which reinforce our spiritual strength. Sometimes **the path leading to Paradise may become narrow, steep and overgrown with bushes**, whereas other paths may seem wider and easier to travel. It is very important **not to stray from the correct path**. The Lord Jesus Christ and His Apostles repeatedly warned **that there is but one path that leads to the Kingdom of Heaven, the one given in the Gospel**. All others, especially the wide and comfortable ones, **lead to perdition**.

In the original text, paragraphs A and B follow each other. Yet the semantic relationship between them is not linear ('one after another') but is similar to the one that hold a word and its meaning in a dictionary: A means B. Here are the examples of this attributive relation.

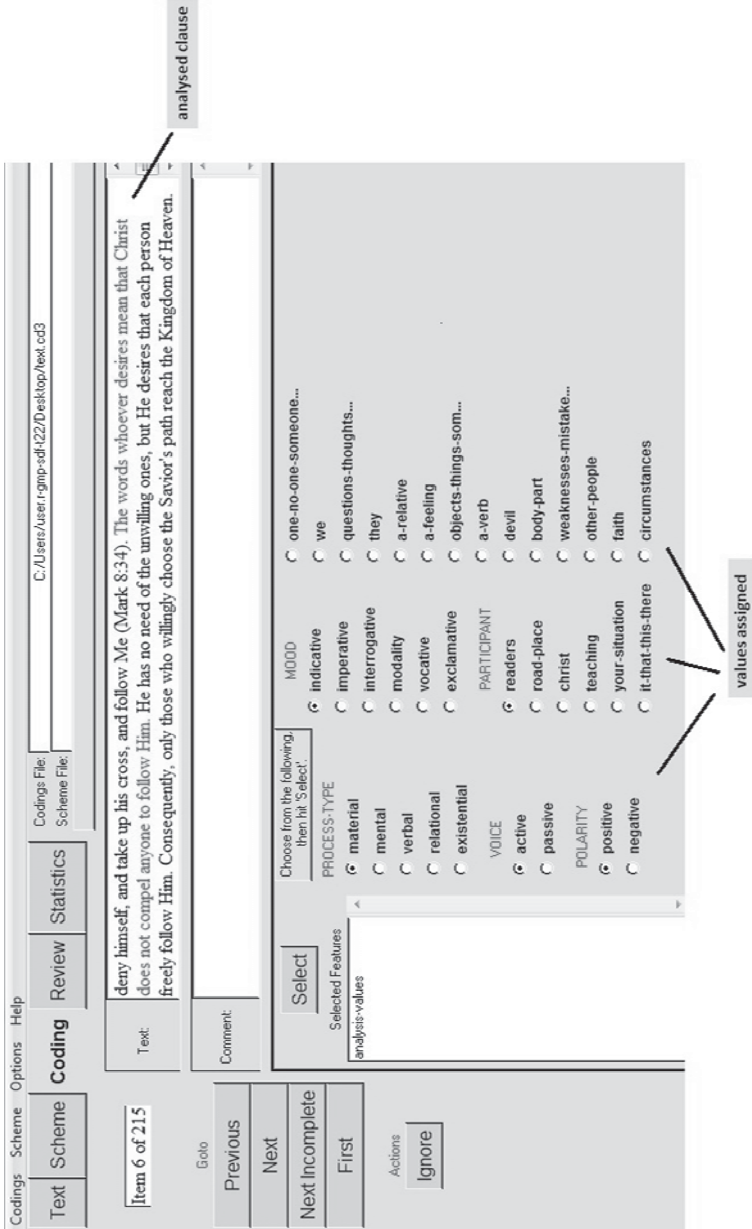
A	Means	B
to reach the mansion	→	to reach the Kingdom of Heaven
to choose the right path and stick to it	→	not to be discouraged by difficulties
the map	→	the Holy Scriptures
the rangers	→	the pastors
the provisions	→	the Sacraments

Thus the extract runs a straightforward parallel between reaching 'the magnificent mansion on the top of a picturesque mountain' (A) and the symbolic meaning of 'reaching the Kingdom of Heaven' (B). As one might notice, this parallel is marked by a sharp semantic contrast: on the one hand, there is a realistic, perilous and only too familiar to the Aleuts description of a mountain trail; on the other hand, there is a non-geographical path leading to an unknown non-geographical location. The contrast is both a safe and a risky maneuver to make if one looks from the discourse semantics point of view. It is safe in the sense that experientially

the Aleuts would have no difficulty understanding the meaning of the trail semantics: a map, a cliff, prudence, the climb, supplies, landmarks, preparations, dead-end, losing your way, etc. It is risky given that, for generations, the Aleuts had faced real life hardships and dangers of living on the islands in subzero temperatures so most likely they would have been very reluctant to take seriously some mythical road to heaven. Then what would make the Aleuts accept the parallel as being valid for them, their community's lifestyle and mentality? Generally speaking, the validity of a statement in discourse is the gauge for accepting something as relevant or rejecting it as being irrelevant. Validity is not the same as veracity, accuracy or truthfulness. To go back to the extracts A and B, the validity of the parallel would be about the terms on which one is ready to accept the symbolic meaning of the journey, manifest receptivity and willingness to follow it through. A feature of the Aleut language would seem to indicate that the down-to-earth and emotionally withdrawn nature of the local people would not make them automatically reject something abstract or symbolic. In this respect Veniaminov mentions a rich topographical taxonomy of Aleut demonstrative pronouns which can convey many nuances of location in space, including the case when an object is not visible, immediately present or experienced through the senses. For example, *qakun* means "that which is inside" (eg. "in the other room"), *aman* – "that which can be smelt, heard or felt but not seen", *uman* – "that which can not be seen". This feature of the Aleut language could have contributed to receiving the parallel as relevant.

3.5 Let us now analyse a longer text from the catechesis book in its English translation. The analysed chapter contains 215 sentences. *Wagsoft* coder was used to manually assign values to different elements of the highlighted sentence (see Figure 1 below). By choosing from the lists of the values for each feature shown in the central part of the coder window, one gets a grammatical and semantic coding for each clause. The coder then quantifies the results, shows an overall distribution of the values that interest us, their frequency and their association with other values in the text.

Figure 1: The systemic coder interface



This analysis method comes from a conventional methodology which has long been used in corpus discourse analysis (Dijk, 1985). The statistical data are interpreted in the light of the Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG henceforth, Halliday, 2004). Each sentence in the text was tagged for the following features:

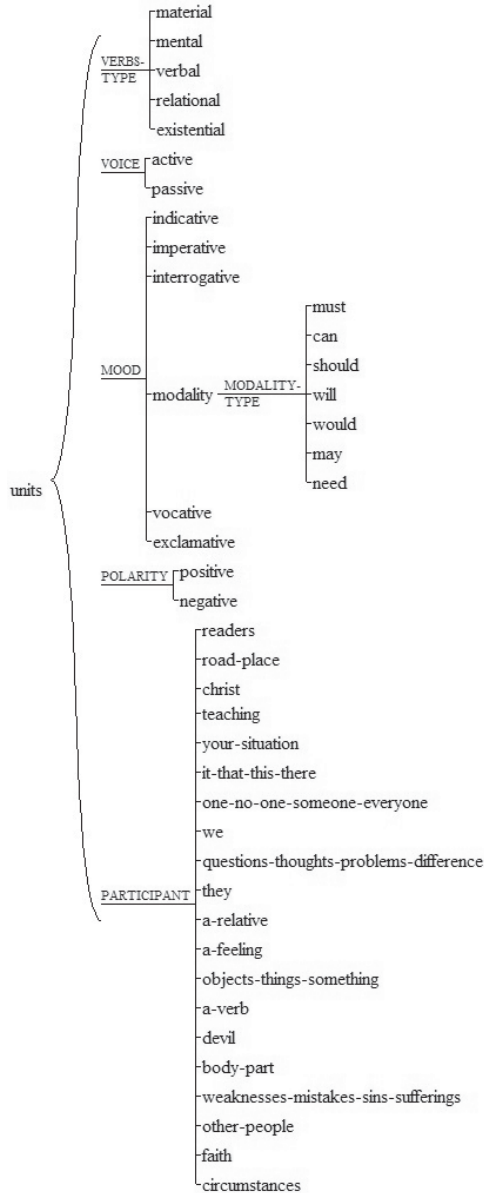
Table 3: Grammar features used for coding

1) Types of Participant in the role of the Subject
2) Types of Processes (Material, Mental, Verbal, Relational, Existential)
3) Voice (active/passive)
4) Mood (imperative, indicative, interrogative)
5) Polarity (affirmative/negative)
6) Modality (epistemic/deontic)

The coder software represents the values for these features in the form of a system network (see Figure 2 below). This network is not random but is constructed with the research goal in mind: to observe the process of specialisation of the Aleut language. Since SFG defines any language as a resource "Language is a resource for construing experience of the world" (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999) and considers it to be of *metafunctional* nature, this means that in any instance of language use in any context, the grammar and the lexis are organised in such a way as to accomplish the following functions simultaneously:

- 1) naming and classifying objects and phenomena and making them represent ongoing events, processes or descriptions through grammatical clauses ("**ideational**" meaning)
- 2) allowing interactions between members of a community and conveying subjectivity and modality to them ("**interpersonal**" meaning)
- 3) shaping the ideational and interpersonal meanings in 1 and 2 according to the language form, structure and tone required by the context: written/oral, formal/informal, language variations depending on genres, register *etc.* ("**textual**" meaning).

Figure 2: The systemic coder analysis network



To give a very quick example of the three metafunctions at work in the same clause, let's take a quote from Letters to Philippians 3:1: "Finally, my brethren, rejoice in the Lord" and analyse it along the lines of what has been said above:

- Ideationally speaking, the action here concerns human psychology, "being happy" and involves people considered by Paul as family members or brothers in faith.
- Interpersonally speaking, it is a lively and warm appeal for the action above, no authoritarian distance between Paul and his listeners is sought ("my brethren").
- Textually speaking, it is a letter but its content takes the form of an oral personal address as one would encounter during a family gathering so the sentence reads as a face-to-face communication; structurally it appears at the end of the letter, hence the discourse marker "finally".²

Our analysis of the extract will take us a few steps further from what has been given as a quick example of the metafunctional nature of the clause above and will deal with only two of the three metafunctions: the one that has a representative function and the one that is used for engaging interpersonally with the reader.

Let us now examine in what way the values chosen for the six features (Table 3) shape the discourse use of the Aleut language³ for specific purposes. Following the SFG descriptions, features 1-3 construe ideational meanings; features 4-6 encode interpersonal meanings. Tables 4, 5, 6 below show three series of statistical data yielded by the coder: types of Participants used as Subjects, types of Processes and the participants acting as Subjects with these Processes, voice/mood/polarity and modality as grammatical choice for engaging the readers' attention and involvement.

² For a more detailed description of language lexicogrammatical systems and metafunctions, see HALLIDAY (2004).

³ A question might arise here about the use of the English translation of the catechesis manual for studying Aleut. How can the analysis of an English text give insights into the use of Aleut for specific purposes? A possible answer to the question is as follows: the analysis takes into account metafunctional organisation of the catechetical discourse and reveals semantic patterning across the text. The semantic patterning encoded through grammatical choices is not language-bound. To find out more on this methodology, see ELSOUKOVA-LORD (2006).

Table 4: Types of Participants used as Subjects

Subjects	N (%)
You	52 (24.9%)
Christ	32 (15.3%)
We	30 (11.5%)
It-that-this	24 (11.5%)
Material objects – things – something (<i>provisions, crosses, rewards, benefits, comforts</i>)	13 (6.2%)
Road-place (<i>mountain, path, paradise, Kingdom of heaven, way, hearts</i>)	11 (5.3%)
One-no one- someone – people	11 (5.3%)
Semiotic objects (<i>questions – thoughts – problems- differences – Bible – words – books – essence</i>)	10 (4.8%)
Verbs (<i>to deny yourself, to bear your cross, etc</i>)	6 (2.9%)
Other (<i>weaknesses-mistakes-sins</i>)	4 (1.9%)

The Subject of a clause can be seen in two ways: 'from above', i.e. as a functional element which participates in the construction of the discourse or 'from below' as a formal obligatory clause member which determines grammatical markers for the Predicate and other clause elements. From the SFG perspective, the Subject specifies the element '*responsible*' for the validity of the information which is being negotiated through the meaning encoded in a clause.⁴ In English as well as in Aleut, the Subject is also the first element of a clause apart from the cases when a circumstance of space or time precedes it. This means that the Subject falls into the thematic area of the clausal Theme/Rheme structure. The thematic progression from the Theme (the starting point of the information) towards the Rheme (the information to be communicated) moves an idea forward from something known or familiar to the readers towards something new that is yet to be discovered or to be considered. Table 4 shows that over a half of the Subjects in the analysed chapter are:

- 'you' (readers) => 24.9%,
- 'Christ' => 15.3%,
- 'we' => 11.5%
- deictic markers => 11.5%.

⁴ SFG, p. 117.

This means that, from the discourse point of view, the author rests the validity and the foundation of his teaching on the elements he takes for being granted or familiar to the Aleuts. Other Subject choices in the text seem to point in the same direction of the interpretation of the results: 6.2% concern familiar objects or notions (provisions, crosses, rewards, benefits, and comforts) and 5.3% include words which denote a path or a location (mountain, path, way, hearts). What comes as a striking feature of the grammatical use of the Subject in this analysis is that the person of Christ is made part of the habitual set of objects or people: *readers – community – deictics – objects – locations – Christ*. A further analysis has shown that the main categories of the Subject are used with verbs in active voice (Table 5). Generally speaking, verbs used in the passive voice render the meaning of stativity and immobility if the Subjects of the clauses are material things. If the Subjects of the clauses are, on the contrary, human or other living beings, then the grammatical choice of the passive voice conveys the meaning of being acted upon, undergoing an action instead of taking it or even being incapable of taking an action.⁵

Table 5: Results for Subjects coupled with the active or passive voice choice

	Active voice	Passive voice
you (readers)	49 (94%)	3 (6%)
Christ	32 (100%)	--
We	30 (100%)	--
it-that-this-there	24 (100%)	--

Let us now look at the use of the Processes types in the analysed text: "Each Process type provides its own model or schema for construing a particular domain of experience".⁶ These domains can cover **material** doings or happenings, **mental** Processes of sensing, cognizing, perceiving, feeling, **verbal** Processes of direct or quoted speech and their behavioural variants (*whisper, shout, plead*), **relational** processes of attributing or identifying and finally **existential** Processes of something happening or existing, commonly found in narratives.⁷ The analysis of the catechesis chapter has shown an almost equal distribution between the material, mental and relational Processes (33%, 29.22% and 31.1% respectively).

⁵ See, for example, DIJK (1987) on the representation of refugees and asylum seekers.

⁶ SFG, p. 170.

⁷ SFG, Chapter 5.

Interestingly, verbal Processes represent only 3.8% and existential Processes, 1.4%.

Table 6: Types of Processes and the participants acting as Subjects with these Processes

Process types	N	Subjects
Material (physical actions, movements, doings)	69 (33%)	You (28%)
		Christ (25%)
Mental	31 (29.2%)	We (16%)
		You (44%)
Verbal	8 (3.8%)	We (26%)
		Christ (13%)
Relational	67 (32.1%)	---
		It-that-this (27%)
		Objects (12%)
		Verbs (9%)
		Road/place (7%)
Existential	3 (1.4%)	Christ (7%)
		You (6%)
		Questions/thoughts (6%)
		We (3%)
		there (1.4%)

Here are some examples of the three most recurrent types of Processes in the text: (1) material, (2) mental, (3) relational:

- (1)
 - a) Why did God not **make** the path to the Kingdom of Heaven light and pleasant?
 - b) But how can one **follow** Him?
 - c) Jesus Christ **knocks** for a long time at the door of your heart, waiting for your decision to save yourself.
 - d) Having access to the light, they **wander** in the dark.
 - e) For example, we must **do good** to others.
 - f) For instance, do you **help** your neighbours, do you **give** alms, do you **live** more piously than those around you.
 - g) God **created** you so that with all your works, life, and being.
 - h) He **heals** our spiritual ulcers.
 - i) Christ **walked** this path and calls us to follow Him.

- j) Christ **came down** to earth for you.
- k) But (...) **fall down** before the Saviour and with a sincere prayer.

(2)

- a) **Hear** what our Saviour says about this.
- b) But **take care** not to disdain the grace of God.
- c) Let's **assume** that unexpectedly you became the sole heir of a rich relative.
- d) Let us now **examine** more closely the path indicated to us by our Lord Jesus Christ.
- e) We should **consider** sorrows a gift from the Lord and a sign of His care for our salvation.
- f) **Bear** it all without anger or resentment.
- g) For instance, **reflect** on how you were created and what is the purpose of your life.
- h) **Meditate** about this in some depth, and soon you **will come to realize** that.
- i) Therefore, (...) you will begin to **comprehend** more clearly that your heart.
- j) You will begin to **understand** also.
- k) So should we **love** our neighbour?

(3)

- a) This **means** that a person cannot force the Holy Spirit to come to him.
- b) The words whoever desires **mean** that Christ does not compel anyone to follow Him.
- c) That **is** why it is extremely important to nourish in ourselves the desire.
- d) These questions **are** of such extreme importance.
- e) The provisions **are** the Mysteries (Sacraments) of the Church, which reinforce our spiritual strength.
- f) Sometimes the path leading to Paradise **may become** narrow, steep and overgrown with bushes.
- g) The cross **means** the various difficulties and sorrows associated with a Christian life.
- h) Crosses **may be** external as well as internal.
- i) No! He **is** always with you.
- j) He **is** the gentlest of fathers that could be wished for.
- k) All these **are** gifts of the Holy Spirit.

Through its selection of the Process types, the author gives a balanced representation of physical, cognitive and semiotic world views. There is as much *doing* going on in the text as there is *thinking/feeling* or *meaning*. If we look at the top two Subjects for each of these types of Processes, we will notice the following tendencies:

Table 7: Results for Subjects coupled with the types of Processes

	readers (<i>you,</i> <i>one,</i> <i>they</i>)	Christ	the community (<i>we</i>)	deictic markers	objects/actions
Material	28%	25%			
Mental	44%		26%		
Relational				27%	21%

The data reveal that the material Processes have the readers and Christ as "doers": the readers are involved in daily activities and routines while Christ operates the divine deed of salvation. Mental Processes position the readers ('you') and the community ('we') as thinkers and feelers. It is interesting to point out that the sense of togetherness and community emerges in this text through being involved in mental Processes such as thinking, feeling and understanding the Gospel texts together. And finally, the relational Processes involve deictic markers (it, that, this, all these) and material or semiotic objects (the path, provisions, crosses, questions, words) as elements to which different meanings are attributed through copula verbs to be, to have, to mean. This way of relating two discourse realms in one clause: 'Tokens'⁸ which are discourse-bound elements given their deictic function and 'Values'⁹ which contain interpretations and clues for understanding the 'tokens' is a feature of the educational or scientific discourse which names, classifies and explains.

⁸ SFG, p. 237.

⁹ *Ibid.*

Table 7 : Tokens and Values

'Token'	Relational Processes	'Values'
This	Means	that a person cannot force the Holy Spirit to come to him
The words <i>whoever desires</i>	Mean	that Christ does not compel anyone to follow Him
These questions	Are	of such extreme importance
Crosses	may be	external as well as internal

For more examples of the 'Tokens' and 'Values' in the relational Processes, see quotes *a-k* above.

Let us now examine the mood selections in the text. The mood element in English consists of a Subject and a Finite (an auxiliary verb) and has a clearly semantic function: "it carries the burden of the clause as an interactive event".¹⁰ The interaction in the 'interactive event' is encoded through the declarative, imperative, interrogative, exclamative mood choices or vocatives. Further options for mood include polarity (positive or negative) and modality with its variations along the lines of probability, usuality, obligation, inclination, readiness and ability.¹¹ The results below (Table 8) show that the text is highly marked by an interactive 'appeal': modalised and modulated¹² meanings, imperatives, interrogatives, exclamatives and vocatives represent together up to a half of the mood choices in the text (46.8%).

¹⁰ SFG, pp. 111-121.

¹¹ SFG, p. 620.

¹² Modalisation and modulation roughly correspond to what is commonly referred to as epistemic and deontic modality, SFG, pp. 147-148.

Table 8: Mood, polarity and modality as the readers' involvement choices

Features	Values	N (%)	
Mood	indicative	Declarative	110 (52.6%)
		Imperative	27 (12.9%)
		Interrogative	14 (6.7%)
		Exclamative	3 (1.4%)
		Vocative	1 (0.5%)
Modality semantics	Modalisation/modulation	54 (25.8%)	
	obligation 'must'	15 (7.2%)	
	ability 'can'	4 (1.9%)	
	obligation 'should'	10 (4.8%)	
	probability 'will'	16 (7.7%)	
	probability 'would'	5 (2.4%)	
	obligation 'may'	3 (1.4%)	
	obligation 'need'	1 (0.5%)	
Polarity	Positive	178 (85%)	
	Negative	30 (14%)	

Discussion and conclusions

It has been stressed earlier that no matter what the context of a language use is, the three metafunctional meanings (ideational, interpersonal and textual) are permanently in action weaving the discourses and their textures at any moment of the unfolding communication. In the case of Ivan Veniaminov's mission, the communication took the form of long-term mediation between the Aleut and the Christian cultures. This prolonged missionary work yielded an extremely rich field data for a linguistic study such as the one presented above. The way Veniaminov adopted and adapted the Aleut language and culture during his mission renders explicit the way the language metafunctions were deployed while serving the specific purpose determined by the context of the mission. The metafunctional perspective has been useful here as it allowed us to pin down the process of specialisation of the missionary discourse for the Aleuts through the analyses of Aleut language and the extracts in English presented above. Let us now consolidate the presented research findings.

As seen from the analyses results, Veniaminov's discourse stance and missionary enterprise can be difficultly described in terms of *a quest for the truth* or *an assertion of the truth* – the two being common dogmatic positions generally associated with holding religious views. His missionary linguistic fieldwork starts with contextualising the Aleut language within the graphic and grammatical systems thanks to creating an alphabet and a grammar for the Aleut language. It is this that triggers the specialisation process of the Aleut language. M.A.K. Halliday views grammar as semantically motivated and having the power of making information negotiable and exchangeable. This point of view is relevant to our discussion.

The Finite element (in English) has the function of making the proposition finite. That is to say, it circumscribes it; it brings the proposition down to earth, so that it is something that can be argued about. A good way to make something arguable is to give it **a point of reference in the here and now**; and this is what the Finite does. It relates the proposition to **its context in the speech event**.¹³

A similar process seems to have taken place in Aleut: once it was possible to say things about the person of Christ in Aleut and write down the Gospel, the prayers and the catechesis manual as texts, a point of reference was created in *the here and now* which made the Christian message relevant to its context and also negotiable within it. Negotiating the meaning in the text is well illustrated by analyses 4.2 to 4.5. The new terminology in Aleut, the topographic semantics and the Process types build their own domain of experience within which the understanding of the catechesis gradually emerges. This is done by:

- 1) Creating a sense of immediacy and solidity through material actions in the physical world where the participants are active 'doers'.
- 2) Building a sense of togetherness and a sense of community of thinking and feeling individuals.
- 3) Construing the symbolic plane of experience as the *locus* for the understanding of the new meanings and values.

This clearly shows that the missionary linguistic fieldwork done by Veniaminov was far from being a transfer of the world view from one language into another. It was a case of mapping out a new world for the Aleuts in their own language using the linguistic relativity principle

¹³ SFG, p. 115.

introduced into the European science much later following the work by Benjamin L. Whorf and Edward Sapir on native American languages. In this sense Veniaminov could be considered not only as their predecessor but also as a faithful follower putting to work the famous hypothesis.

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ITALIAN LEGAL LANGUAGE FROM LITERATURE TO SOCIETY

CAROLINA SIMONCINI

Among Languages for Specific Purposes, legal language has the specific role to *build* the rules one must respect. It is therefore a constituent element of law as *writing* the law means it *exists*.¹ It requires conciseness, syntheses and efficiency. In this paper, I will first examine the characteristics of Italian legal language and then, I will try to understand how this specific language was perceived by Italian literature which appears to be a kind of a mirror of the society.

Indeed, if we analyse the Italian legal techniques since the birth of the Italian Kingdom to 1861, we note that this specific language meets these criteria. For example, in contrast, during the liberal era, from the proclamation of the Unity of the Kingdom of Italie (1861) to World War I, we remark that laws were, in general, very short, even on very complex subjects. Sentences were in average 20 word-long maximum whereas nowadays, a sentence in a legal text is in average 160 word-long.² The structure of these very sentences was linear (subject-verb-complement, a few subordinate propositions only); articles were not composed of more than four paragraphs; verbs were at the indicative tense. This led to an immediate execution, with no expression of possibility or duty which would undergo to a difficulty in applying the law as personal appreciation was considerable.³

¹ PIZZORUSSO A., "Pluralismo delle fonti interne e formazione di un sistema di fonti sovranazionali", In R. ROMANO & PORTIER P. (dir.), *Storia d'Italia. Annali 14. Legge diritto giustizia*, Torino: Einaudi, 1998, p. 1153.

² DE MAURO T., "Linguaggio giuridico e profili storici, sociologici e scientifici", In G. GARZONE & F. SANTULLI (dir.), *Il linguaggio giuridico. Prospettive interdisciplinari*, Milano: Giuffrè, 1986, p. 19.

³ *Ibidem*.

Thus, article 30 of Appendix F concerned the road network and stated that "national roads are maintained by the State".⁴ This linear legal language can be explained by different factors. First, the Italian legal system was highly influenced by the French one as well on the structure as on the legal language. This "simplicity" of the French system reflects the model of the Enlightenment philosophy which underlined the natural spontaneity of human relations that the legislator should not be able to modify.⁵ The Italian legislator drew from the French system for the generalities of law. This was the expression of Bourgeoisie as a social class. It represented the needs of a whole community.⁶

The aim was to keep legal language general and abstract so that it could apply to anyone. This avoided it to focus on personal or faction interests. As it was clear and efficient, the law could guarantee its own equality.⁷ In addition, the liberal legislator was someone from the highest social classes, often from the upper bourgeoisie who could work for free, in a selfless way. Consequently, the writing of the law was meticulous and precise and aimed at offering a legal text which could reach any social class. The intelligibility is also clearly linked to the simplicity of the dynamics the law had to solve. Law had an even more elementary duty: it did not mean to promote the progress of society – it did not introduce new legal concepts – but it only solved what already existed while legally supervising it.⁸ Consequently, the legislator was simply eye-witnessing this economic and social phenomenon.

In the same way, the legislator of the fascist period seized these "descriptive" and "non-innovative" aspects in legal language. At first sight, this could seem antithesis: a violent dictatorship, which disrupted all the rules of civil society and violated the people's fundamental rights, used a descriptive language. This shows the legislator did not try to modify reality but only acted as a witness. However, when one takes a closer look, one understands how coherent this choice was. It reflects the legislator's will to relay the message to the population that nothing changed, that the disruptions of dictatorship represent in fact the norm and, consequently, that the legal norms reflected the current society.

⁴ Article 30 de l'Annexe F à la "legge sui lavori pubblici" du 20 mars 1865 n. 2248.

⁵ AINIS M., "La chiarezza delle leggi", In R. ROMANO & P. PORTIER (dir.), *Storia d'Italia. Annali 14. Legge diritto giustizia*, Torino: Einaudi, 1998, p. 913.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ivi.*, p. 908.

⁸ *Ibid.*

Even the most violent infringement of fundamental rights is expressed in a neutral language, synthetic but ambiguousless: Article 1 of the order of the Home Office from December 1st, 1943 states that "all Jews living in Italy must be sent to concentration camps and all their belongings, furniture and properties must be confiscated".

When the republican period began in 1948, the legal language evolved and became more obscure. From 1948 to the 1980's, the so-called "social state" was set up.⁹ It was no doubt a phase of social emancipation. A more mixed ruling class appeared; a class which does not represent only upper social classes' needs but political parties also embodied popular social classes' demands. This change was visible in legal language: for laws to be more understandable, the so-called "framework laws" were introduced.¹⁰ They are characterised by a preamble in which the objectives of the law are specified. A good example is the law on abortion (Law n°194, year 1978) which asserts that the State (in Article 1) "recognises the social value of maternity and protects human life from its very begin". Such an article does not convey an immediate prescriptive value but it no doubt expresses a real will to make the law more understandable for people.

On the other side, such an article is quite imprecise and can be understood in different ways: "recognise the social value of maternity" is ambiguous and can be understood in two different ways depending if one is pros or cons abortion. The pros would see supervision for women, the cons for embryos. Indeed, it encouraged ambiguous misinterpretation. With time, other elements were added what led to a legal language which became too difficult to deal with for people outside a legal profession. On one side, the advent of a social state favoured progress in society but on the other side, it no doubt complicated the structure of the Italian normative system. It imposed to the legislator to reconcile opposite requirements, sometimes incompatible, and to reach compromises.

In order to end up these complex social stratification and political dynamics, legislators took quite unsatisfactory decisions. They used a more and more complex vocabulary, an intricate syntax with too many subordinates. They also referred laws in chain and used too many hyper-technical expressions.¹¹ All this created ambiguity and encouraged contradictory interpretations depending on the interests to protect. In this way, the law lost its role of "message to and for the community" and became a tool for politics. The quality of legal language clearly worsened. A symbolic example is the declaration of the President of the Commission

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ "Leggi quadro" in Italian.

¹¹ DE MAURO T., *op. cit.*, p. 21.

of the Senate constitutional affairs who, in 1986, said: "Almost each month we approve laws that we cannot understand at all. The democratic control tools we have have given up and have been admitted powerless."¹²

Looking at this excursus, we remark that Italian legal language was simple and clear in the past whereas it is nowadays as incomprehensible as may be. However, even during the first liberal phase which corresponds to an understandable technical legal language, the population did not realise that this one was clear. On the opposite, the legal language was perceived, even at that period, as confusing, as a tool used by upper classes to mislead the more popular ones.¹³

To illustrate this aspect, we will consider two extracts of Italian literature from the nineteenth century which show simple citizens facing Italian legal language. The first text is an extract from one of the most famous piece of Italian literature: "The Betrothed" ("I promessi sposi" in Italian). This book is the first historical novel of Italian modern period and was written by Alessandro Manzoni. It was published first in 1827 and then a second time in 1840. The story takes place in Lombardy between 1628 and 1630 when the Spanish crown led Italy. Don Abbondio, vicar of a little village on the lake Como, cannot celebrate the wedding of Renzo Tramaglino and Lucia Mondella because Don Rodrigo, a violent and arrogant local lord, fell in love with Lucia. Forced by powerful villagers, Lucia and her mother Agnese leave their house, helped by brother Cristoforo, and shelter in the convent of Monza while Renzo goes to Milan where he hopes to win his case. Lucia is kidnapped by l'Innominato, another lord, one of Don Rodrigo's friends. But as he realizes that the young woman is unfairly tormented and when cardinal Borromeo arrives, he frees Lucia before Rodrigo can reach her. In the meantime, Renzo comes back from Milan to meet his fiancée. He can find Lucia in a dispensary with Brother Cristoforo who cares for disabled people, among whom Don Rodrigo, dying. When plague is over, after all these vicissitudes, Renzo and Lucia can get married at last.

This following extract is at the beginning of the novel, in Chapter 2. Don Abbondio is treathened to be killed by the *bravi*, two of Don Rodrigo's men, if he celebrates the wedding on the following day. He must also keep quiet the fact Don Rodrigo wants to prevent the wedding from happening. Don Abbondio must then find an excuse not to marry the two young people, excuse he finds in legal language. He uses it in this context as a tool to abuse young Renzo who never went to school.

¹² INGRAO P., "Il linguaggio della legge", In G. GARZONE & F. SANTULLI (dir.), *Il linguaggio giuridico. Prospettive interdisciplinari*, Milano: Giuffrè, 1986, p. 105.

¹³ AINIS M., *La chiarezza delle leggi*, op. cit., p. 912.

In this extract, Renzo goes to Don Abbondio's house to know at what time the wedding will be celebrated:

- What is the matter now? thought Renzo; but without waiting to answer his own question, Signor Curate, said he, I am come to know at what hour of the day it will be convenient for you that we should be at the church?
- Of what day do you speak?
- How! Of what day? Do you not remember that this is the day appointed?
- To-day?, replied Don Abbondio, as if he heard it for the first time, to-day? To-day? Be patient, I cannot to-day
- You cannot to-day? Why not?
- In the first place I am not well.
- I am sorry for it; but we shall not detain you long, and you will not be much fatigued.
- But then – but then
- But then, what, sir?
- There are difficulties.
- Difficulties! How can that be?
- People should be in our situation, to know how many obstacles there are to these matters; I am too yielding, I think only of removing impediments, of rendering all things easy, and promoting the happiness of others. To do this I neglect my duty, and am covered with reproaches for it.
- In the name of Heaven keep me not thus in suspense, but tell me at once what is the matter?
- Do you know how many formalities are required before the marriage can be celebrated?
- I must, indeed, know something of them, said Renzo, beginning to grow angry, since you have racked my brains with them abundantly these few days back. But are not all things now ready? Have you not done all there was to do?
- All, all, you expect; but be patient, I tell you. I have been a blockhead to neglect my duty, that I might not cause pain to others; - we poor curates - we are, as may be said, ever between a hawk and a buzzard. I pity you, poor young man! I perceive your impatience, but my superiors... Enough, I have reasons for what I say, but I cannot tell all - we, however, are sure to suffer.
- But tell me what this other formality is, and I will perform it immediately.
- Do you know how many obstacles stand in the way?
- How can I know any thing of obstacles?
- Error, conditio, votum, cognatis, crimen, cultus disparitas, vis, ordo Si sit affinis"
- Oh! For Heaven's sake — How should I understand all this Latin?¹⁴

¹⁴ MANZONI A. *The Betrothed*, Mrs. Andrew KELLOGG (ed. & trans.), London: Bell and Bradfute, 1846, chapter II:
https://archive.org/stream/betrothed00manzuoft/betrothed00manzuoft_djvu.txt.

This *latinorum*, as Renzo calls it, is how Don Abbondio protects himself. As soon as Don Abbondio is push against the wall by Renzo's insistent questions, he calls to law and even pronounces it in Latin. One can understand that this *latinorum* Don Abbondio uses is a cantilena intonation. This puts us in a sort of meaningless nursery rhyme. Renzo loses patience as he does not understand the words; he is sidelined by a legal culture he does not master. Renzo will be a victim of this language a second time in the novel. Indeed, as he insists, he succeeds in having Don Abbondio admit that Don Rodrigo is the one who wants to stop the wedding. Renzo decides then to see a lawyer to know if any legal action can be led to face intimidations. Manzoni chose a meaningful name as the lawyer is called *Azzecagarbugli*. This reflects a common opinion on jurists. These two words *azzecca* and *garbugli* mean "the one who succeeds in solving an incomprehensible situation". The lawyer is then described as the one who succeeds in understanding what his clients cannot. This mission is clear as soon as Renzo enters the lawyer's office to tell him about his own situation:

- I wish to speak a word to you in confidence.
- Well, say on, replied the doctor, as he seated himself in the arm-chair. Renzo stood before the table twirling his hat in his hand, and began, I wish to know from one as learned as yourself
- Tell me the affair just as it is, interrupted the doctor, in as few words as possible.
- You must pardon me, Signor Doctor; we poor people know not how to speak to such as you are. I wish then to know
- Bless the people! They are all alike; instead of relating facts, they ask questions; and that because their own opinions are already settled.¹⁵

In this passage, Renzo is the one who puts himself in the position of the "non-cultivated" one who comes and sees someone who studied to understand the law.

- Where can it be?, said he, plunging his hand amidst the chaos of papers; it must surely be here, as it is a decree of great importance. Ah! Here it is, here it is! He unfolded it, looked at the date, and with a serious face exclaimed, Fifteenth of October, 1627. Yes, yes, this is it; a new edict; these are those which cause terror
- Do you know how to read, my son?

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

Through this question, the lawyer marks a cultural difference between those who can read and understand the law and those who cannot. The lawyer takes advantage of his position to embody the role of an actor who wants to dazzle his client as if he was a member of the audience at a theatre.

Holding the proclamation extended before him, he began to read, stammering rapidly over some passages, and pausing distinctly with great expression on others, according to the necessity of the case. [...] Whilst the doctor was reading, Renzo had kept his eyes on the paper, seeking to ascertain for himself its real meaning. The doctor, perceiving his new client more attentive than dismayed, marvelled greatly. [...] Whilst the doctor poured forth this rhapsody, Renzo had been regarding him with mute astonishment, as the countryman latches the juggler, whom he sees cramming his mouth with handful after handful of tow; when lo! He beholds immediately drawn forth from the same mouth a never-ending hne of ribons.¹⁶

Renzo is in fact the victim of this show. He is fascinated by the art of the lawyer and pays special attention to the words: they are incomprehensible but sacred. Consequently, the lawyer positions himself as the one who knows how to manipulate the law, to make it more or less clear according to situations and his client's needs: "one needs to say things clearly to his lawyer. We are the one in charge of muddling them afterwards. If you want me to help you, you must tell me everything, from A to Z, hand on your heart; as if you were at confess."¹⁷

An interpreter can be necessary to clear things up and make the obscurity of the Italian legal language clear to citizens. This phenomenon was studied by different scholars. Rossi Danelzik observed that "regarding the construction of sentences in Italian legal language, we can evoke the labyrinthic use of the hypotaxe. In fact, the author tends to develop one concept by paragraph but also tends to make it only one single sentence. Indeed, he respects the fact that one paragraph should correspond to one argument, what should ease to organize and then understand the text. However, this trend leads to compose extremely complex sentences, rich in subordinate clauses. This text becomes less accessible and readable."¹⁸

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Elisa ROSSI DANEZLIK, *Le langage juridique italien*, p. 130. Phd dissertation, University Lyon 2 23 june 2000: http://theses.univ-lyon2.fr/documents/lyon2/2000/rossi-danelzik_e#p=0&a=top

She adds "the barriers are numerous and, with different degrees of difficulty, they concern vocabulary as well as syntax. The author favours [...] Latin terms and archaic formulas. But he does not consider the abilities of the client to understand and often choses the rarest expressions. Of course, the final recipient is assisted by his interpreter: the lawyer. This one has no difficulty to decipher this language and its style. Then, this may be the reason why the author does not bother about simplifying, when it is possible, his text".¹⁹

We can find this aspect of language used in verdicts. This appears in another famous Italian novel, Giovanni Verga's. This author wrote *Un processo*, in 1887, in the book *Vagabondaggio*. It is a short-story which describes the trial of a man accused of murder. The author describes the context of the tribunal room during a very hot day. Members of the jury are tired and are just expecting the trial to end so they could get out and have some fresh air. Nobody seems to be interested in what the defendant's fate is; he stays still on his bench until he is interviewed by the President of the Jury and confesses the crime.

Then he sat back on his bench [...] as the court retired to deliberate. He remained still, in darkness, waiting for the decision on this fate to be taken. The evening came. The crowd had parted and in the tribunal gas lamps were turned on. At last, the little bell rang again and the same people wearing black togas, with the same tired and pale faces who were watching the culprit, came back. The culprit could not understand the sentences they were whispering in the crowd, in the dark. Only the president of the jury understood them and sentenced to life.²⁰

In this context, the recipient does not understand the law and the sentence even if it directly influences his own destiny. It becomes a sort of magic spell, or even maybe a curse, for the recipient. Even the description of the context reflects the legal situation he lives. The culprit is in a dark room and dark is the language used to judge him. Members of the jury do not feel at ease, they are hot, they would like to be in some other place and this discomfort can be understood through the way the sentence is made: the room is noisy and no one pays attention to the culprit who does understand only the last word of the sentence. This situation shows in fact a lack of respect from the law and from people who can understand it towards people who cannot.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 130.

²⁰ Giovanni VERGA, *Toutes les nouvelles*, Carla RICCARDI (ed.), Milan: Arnoldo Mondadori, 2001.

Contemporary Italian literature also includes some similar elements. Italo Calvino (dead in 1985) expresses a very emblematic opinion in February 3rd 1965 when he publishes in the newspaper "Il Giorno" a paper entitled "*Per ora sommersi dall'antilingua*"²¹ in which the anti-language is clearly the legal one. Calvino compares the confession given to a policeman by a thief with the official report written afterwards. His aim is to show how the official report is a lot more intricate than the confession itself. Although the thief tells the story with simple words and in a short way, the translation in legal terms is slowed down by adjectives, archaic structures and old-fashioned expressions. All this makes a very simple story incomprehensible.

Calvino draws this parallel and concludes as Manzino and Verga did: legal language aims at rejecting recipients but also aims at marking a cultural distance between jurists and common people. According to Calvino "the one who can talk the anti-language always has a hard time showing interest in the things he deals with. He thinks he must hint things out: I talk about these things by incident but my position deals with higher matters, even I am of a higher position."²² And he adds: "Languages only live through a relation to life which becomes communication, through an existential plenitude which becomes expression. When anti-language prevails and when Italian people need to say not "I did" but "I performed", language is dead".²³

These three writers share the same idea: one who knows legal language exploits it and transforms it in a tool of power and sometimes of usurpation. If legal language is so complicated and in a certain way discriminatory, what is the use of teaching it to university students? Specialised domains as Law use technical languages which have two main characteristics: it cannot be replaced by another one and it shows the user belongs to a certain group with common interests and knowledge which contribute to stronger bounds than in other communities.²⁴

In addition, legal terms reflect the deep differences in legal systems. The approximate translation of a legal text, based on assonance words for example, can lead to misinterpretation which can have serious consequences on people's lives. Sometimes, a word can be literally translated but can have a completely different meaning in another linguistic context. Knowing

²¹ "So far, we've been overwhelmed by the 'anti-language'"

²² Italo CALVINO, *Per ora sommersi dall'antilingua*, Il Giorno, 3 fevriur 1965.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Raffaele CATERINA & ROSSI PIERCARLO, "L'italiano giuridico", In Barbara POZZO & TIMOTEO Marina (dir.), *Le lingue dell'Europa*, Milan: Giuffrè, 2008, p. 202.

the legal language is then a way to enrich one's training, to become interpreters of technical languages and to be able to work in professional contexts which would be otherwise inaccessible.

PART III:
CONTEMPORARY TIMES

FRENCH AS AN ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE FOR MATHEMATICS' PURPOSES

CATHERINE MENDONÇA DIAS
AND KARINE MILLON-FAURÉ

In French schools, the number of young migrants who come to France without or barely speaking French is increasing every year. About 52 500 recently arrived multilingual learners were identified during the academic year 2014-2015, which corresponds to 0.56% of the French school population (Robin & Touahir, 2015). All of these pupils are expected to attend regular classes and simultaneously 76% were enrolled to French specific courses called "Unité Pédagogique pour Elèves Allophones Arrivants" (UPE2A), which could be translated as follows: pedagogical classes for non-native speakers who recently settled in France. Special pedagogical classes have been created since 1970 (Mendonça Dias & Schiff, 2017). Today, these classes offer intensive instruction in French as an additional language (FAL) during approximately 9 hours per week in primary schools and 12 hours per week in secondary schools.¹ Moreover, within this schedule, other courses may be added depending on the settings and local resources. Frequently, mathematics courses are needed as students have not necessarily studied the same program in their native country (for instance, geometry is not systematically studied in primary schools all over the world) or there might be a gap in knowledge and abilities due to previous learning conditions (e.g. in overcrowded classrooms) or due to the individual's own special needs. Hence, these reasons justify the review of some basic concepts before attending regular mathematics courses. For this reason, newcomers are grouped to improve advanced content knowledge in mathematics, but also to acquire the language of schooling necessary to understand in a maths class.

¹ Circulaire n° 2012-141 du 2-10-2012, *Organisation de la scolarité des élèves allophones nouvellement arrivés*. Bulletin Officiel n° 37 du 11-10-2012. Available on: <http://www.francaislangueseconde.fr/bibliographie/textes-officiels/>

In fact, each school usually organises language support for most of the new pupils by grouping them together in the specific class, UPE2A, as a part of their daily schedule. As a result, in the UPE2A, in primary schools multilingual learners range from 6 to 11 years old, and in secondary schools from 11 to 16 years old. Therefore, diversity is not only linguistic but also concerns the levels of programs and the degree of skills mastered by students for each academic subject. In addition, there is no mandatory program for these specific classes and no compulsory requirement for pupils at the end of the session. Although the group is heterogeneous and the issue concerns basically language learning, mathematics teachers are not adequately trained for this objective, in contrast to French teachers who usually have had specific trainings on migratory paths, multilingualism, and intercultural approaches. Mathematics teachers often must experiment with different ways to teach to multilingual newcomers in their classrooms.

Pupils can enrol in a UPE2A for just a single school year, even though educational policies promote continuous specific language learning for multilingual students with such needs. In the UPE2A, there is no set curriculum. Mathematics teachers freely define their teaching priorities. Difficulties in student performance may lead to a reconsideration of these priorities. Under such circumstances, most of these students can't manage to reach a sufficient linguistic level in order to attend regular class but they have no educational support, for the following academic year. Are their potential difficulties linguistic, scientific or cognitive?

This article reports on a study of the skills of recent multilingual learners. Data were gathered as part of a national multidisciplinary investigation EVASCOL² which aims to understand the new migrants' schooling. This current analysis will address the results of two numerical tests, taken by 177 students during the school year 2015-16. First, the length of time needed for additional language's acquisition at school will be reviewed and we will describe the evolution of additional language teaching. Secondly, the methodology used to collect data will be explained. Then, the pupils' work will be analysed. Finally, we will suggest pedagogical approaches for "non linguistic" subjects such as mathematics courses (whose main purpose is not language teaching), in order to enhance teaching practice to multilingual students who have just arrived in a new country.

² EVASCOL (2015-2017) is a research carried out by INSHEA and funded by the Défenseur Des Droits. Available on: <https://evascol.hypotheses.org/>

1. Theoretical framework regarding the length of time for additional language acquisition

1.1. Historic study of French as an additional language

The linguist Braj B. Kachru in talking about English language acquisition described a sociolinguistic model with three circles (1985: 12-13) as "*the type of spread, the patterns of acquisition and the functional domains in which English is used across cultures and languages*" in an international context. The "inner circle" represents countries where English is mainly a native language or a primary language (L1), the "outer circle" encompasses English as a second language – whose status may be nationally official, alongside other local languages, as in former colonies of the UK or in the USA. Finally, the "expanding circle" relates to territories where English is taught and learned as a foreign language.

In France, Jean-Pierre Cuq (1991: 37) used Kachru's model to describe different contexts in which French was used and he developed more precisely the topic of French as a second language (FSL). He reminds that, in France, in the nineteenth century, a large part of the native population used dialects at home. In fact, French language has expanded partly because of the compulsory schooling. Even at the beginning of the twentieth century, for instance, an official text³ rejected the use of dialects at school, to impose French (Boutan, 1996: 84). There was no specific pedagogical teaching to these French pupils for whom French was not their native language. This situation can be compared with the one foreign pupils live when they move to France with their family for economic reasons (Vigner, 2008: 37). But the word "second" is ambiguous. According to Jean-Pierre Cuq, in the context of France, French could be considered as a second language but in fact this one might become a "first" language for migrants when they definitely settle in France. Moreover, if a second language can be defined as second in comparison with a first one (Besse, 1987: 14-15), that is not necessarily what these multilingual people face. In fact, this terminology may not be the most adequate one to characterize this specific sociolinguistic context (Cuq, 1991: 140; Verdelhan-Bourgade, 2002: 21) even if the expression "French as a second language" is still used for pupils who recently came to France and have language needs. Even the terminology "French as a second language" does not reach consensus, it makes it possible to identify and to refer to a teaching different from French teaching as a mother tongue to native

³ Official text Monzie, August 14th, 1925.

students in France or as a foreign language in non-French-speaking context. French is not only an academic subject but also a learning medium for all the subjects that are not linguistic ones: students learn the French language and learn *in* French (Marcus, 1993, mentioned by Marcus, 1999; Chnane-Davin, 2005: 412). In English, the expression 'French as an additional language' would be the literal translation from the concept 'English as an additional language' (EAL) but this one is not used in France.⁴

It's not just a terminology that is struggling to come into place; it's also a didactic design. In the 90's, the few pedagogical publications use in their titles the term "French as a second language". For instance, Catherine Marcus suggested several pedagogical approaches to make pupils read literature with an intercultural approach and develop metalanguage at beginner level. In 1996, an additional document to the national programs used this terminology; teachers are encouraged to make pupils work on instructions from different handbooks, in order for them to reword these statements in their own language to access progressively to academic French. In 2000, the first official brochure was published with the title "French as a second language": the pedagogical methods took into account the school context to select appropriate lexicon and teaching aids with the global aim of achieving similar goals as in the general curriculum but with linguistic adaptation. Regarding this pedagogical plan, teachers should target French's acquisition *for* all subjects and *through* all subjects. Therefore, the weekly schedule should include one specific period for each subject in order to make sure pupils acquire the appropriate vocabulary with a qualified teacher (Bertrand & alii, 2000: 20). But there was still no compulsory program for these specific classes. Indeed, only two handbooks were provided for secondary school, the first one in 2005 and the second one, entitled *French as a second language*,⁵ in 2012. In both of them, there are exercises with communicative goals, linguistic training and cultural contents (mostly linked to their educational environment), but these two handbooks also include texts from several school subjects (as biology, sciences...) in order to teach technical vocabulary. In 2004, for

⁴ In English, another expression is Teaching English to Speakers of Other Language (TESOL) concerning migrant adults. In France, a new expression has been created: "Français Langue d'Intégration" (FLI), French as Language for Integration.

⁵ CERVONI, B., CHNANE-DAVIN, F. & FERREIRA-PINTO, M. (2005), *Entrée en matière. La méthode de français pour adolescents nouvellement arrivés*, Vanves: Hachette FLE. LEVET, D. (2012), *Français langue seconde*, Paris: Belin.

the first time, a mathematics handbook⁶ was published and provided a specific methodology for French beginner newcomers.

In 2012 a new editorial collection appeared and was entitled "French as a language of schooling", which refers to language teaching to multilingual newcomers. This terminology was preferred to FSL as these linguistic issues should not be restricted to migrants but extended to every pupil with special needs. Therefore, every teacher should be able to adapt and not only a few of them. This point of view also appears in the new official texts from the Ministry of Education: teachers are not required to pass a FSL certification (they can attend a specific training later) but each one should be able to teach to student who are not French-speaking.

Hence, these special classes have evolved from an organisation with a single multidisciplinary teacher to several teachers from different subjects who can help pupils to improve French and subject knowledge, at once. But if resources and trainings are seldom provided to teachers of other subjects than French, teams schedule different courses in UPE2A such as mathematics in which an intercultural approach, through ethnomathematics for instance, could be profitable (Mendonça Dias, 2014). Secondly it appears that there is no framework to plan a relevant curriculum especially since the didactics proposals don't take account of the length of time to acquire academic register.

1.2. Gap between everyday language and specific mathematical lexicon

A number of previous studies focused on the difficulties multilingual learners might encounter when they try to solve a math problem. According to Campbell, Adams and Davis (2007), limited linguistic skills, particularly concerning the language of mathematics, can be regarded as one of the major barriers to learning. Similarly, Ni Riordain (2011) observed that students whose first language was Irish had encountered problems when taught in English. It highlights the impact of linguistic difficulties, especially when they relate to a mathematical lexicon. Schafel, Belton-Kocher, Glasnapp and Poggio's carried out a study in 2006 on nearly 8000 students. They also found that language skills play a role in mathematics scores – for both migrant and non-migrant pupils – but not as significant as specific mathematical language skills: "The characteristic

⁶ BLANCHARD, M., DESMOTTES, D. & al. (2004). *Enseigner les mathématiques à des élèves non francophones. Des outils français-maths*, SCEREN, CRDP, Cahiers de Ville Ecole Intégration, Académie de Créteil.

of difficult mathematics vocabulary shows a consistent effect for all student groups at all grade levels" (Schafel & al., 2006: 120).

Cummins' work (Cummins, 1979 a. et b.; Cummins, 2000), as early as the 70s and 80s, recommended distinguishing basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS) involved in daily conversation, from cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) skills used in teaching language. Of course, on the one hand, an interpersonal communication may also rely on cognitive academic language proficiency and in the other hand, to enhance academic language proficiency, students need to develop interpersonal communicative skills. We could also refer to 'informal communicative register' and 'academic register'. Anyway the distinction done by Cummins seems relevant to analyse the special needs.

Indeed, Cummins showed that CALP skills can require considerably more time to be developed compared to BICS skills. According to his observations, children in immersion need between two and three years to be able to have a daily conversation in a second language. Actually, several other sources of information (facial expressions, gestures, intonation, context, etc.) can contribute to understand a language. Furthermore, other factors can motivate pupils and help them improve language skills more quickly: a commitment to integrate into the host country, a desire to communicate with friends, or to understand television shows. In contrast, Cummins estimates that between five to seven years are necessary to fully master the ways that language is used in academic settings so that pupils can efficiently learn in their host country.

Other studies confirm these results. Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa (1976) studied Finnish speaking students in Sweden who spoke both languages fluently. They concluded that these pupils showed a level of scholarly language much below the expected level in both countries. Spolsky and Shohamy (1999) observed several schools in Israel and estimated that two to three years were needed to acquire everyday language, but in contrast, seven to nine years were necessary to acquire language skills to succeed in all school subjects.

1.3. French as an additional language's acquisition

A longitudinal research study by Mendonça Dias (2012) focused on the influence of French courses on the linguistic progress of 190 multilingual learners, aged 11 to 17, in 2008-2009. The linguistic levels reached, three years later, in June 2012 were analysed according to individual profiles (age, sex, migratory purposes, etc.) and educational contexts. The data were organized according to the six levels of the Common European

Framework of Reference for Languages (from the breakthrough A1 to the mastery C2).⁷ It appeared that the ongoing threshold level B1 in writing is necessary to obtain a chosen academic orientation in high school. With a lower level, chances are reduced that students will attain a place in the desired diploma program. Most non-French speaking pupils needed three years to cope with academic subjects, but their results also depended on their former academic abilities. Some students still had a level A1, even regarding their oral abilities, which implied that they could only introduce themselves or somebody else and used very basic, familiar and concrete phrases even though they had spent more than 2 academic years in France and most of them were enrolled to a class of reception (the previous UPE2A).

Millon-Fauré (2011) studied linguistic skills related to mathematics and confirmed a gap between the control of everyday language and the knowledge needed for mathematical activities: interview data suggested that some migrant pupils had acquired lexicon essential for academic success in this content-area. Furthermore, linguistic skills involved in daily conversations were not systematically developed faster than the ones necessary for understanding and producing mathematical statements in French. In other words some of the students could do the math, whereas they could not lead a daily conversation.

2. Methodology

2.1. Procedures

Data for this study were gathered through a national multidisciplinary investigation called EVASCOL. Both authors are responsible for the second aspect of the project: academic and language performances. Students enrolled in a class with language tutoring – the UPE2A – took numerical mathematics and French tests⁸ during two periods, in December and in June. Numerical exercises were organised within a conditional structure: if a student completed an exercise, he/she could access the next stage and if he/she failed, the level of difficulties decreased. All mathematics school levels were included, from primary to secondary school. Placement tests were prepared in several languages by the CASNAV in Aix-

⁷ The study was possible thanks to the test results of the "Diplôme d'Etudes en Langue Française" (DELFL), an international and official diploma granted by the Ministry of Education and that testifies the level reached in French. Moreover, pupils took a linguistic test in their third school year in France.

⁸ <https://evascol.hypotheses.org/exercices-en-ligne>

Marseille⁹. These exercises were also tested in French by about 600 native students to estimate the quality of this test and the average performance levels. The results helped us to modify our own data so that our analysis is not based on the mathematics program's completion but on the average score reached by a given native student.

The 18 most represented languages in UPE2A were selected. In December, the goal was to verify multilingual newcomers' mathematics abilities in comparison with native students, for each grade level. For this first test, multilingual learners could choose the language they preferred using whereas in June tests could only be completed in French to measure each pupil's acquisition and loss. Moreover, in June, some more exercises were given to a limited number of students. The numerical version of the test is effective for generating quantitative data but could not assess students' skills in drawing geometrical shapes. Consequently, additional activities were carried out by a researcher. In that way it was possible to better evaluate students' geometrical abilities and academic language proficiency. Results were studied to determine the causes of difficulties or easiness: linguistic, academic or cultural influences.

2.2 Sample

For this study, the sample was composed of 177 students who took the first numerical test in December 2015. All were enrolled in an UPE2A for several hours per week and spent the rest of the week in a regular class. However, only 37% of them were enrolled in a class that corresponded to their age, with most of them being placed in a lower grade. They were then one or two years older than their French classmates (and in exceptional cases three years older if they were previously unschooled). Participants came from 46 countries (the most represented were Bulgaria, Spain and Portugal) and three fourths of them arrived in 2015. The others had been in France for one, two, and in a few cases three years: that was surprising given the fact that pupils should not be enrolled in an UPE2A for more than one full year. They were 82 girls and 95 boys coming from 4 primary schools and 15 secondary schools during the academic year 2015-2016. 26 of the pupils, 6 from one primary school, the others from a middle school took the supervised geometry test.

⁹ <http://galileo.crdp-aix-marseille.fr/mathsenaf/>

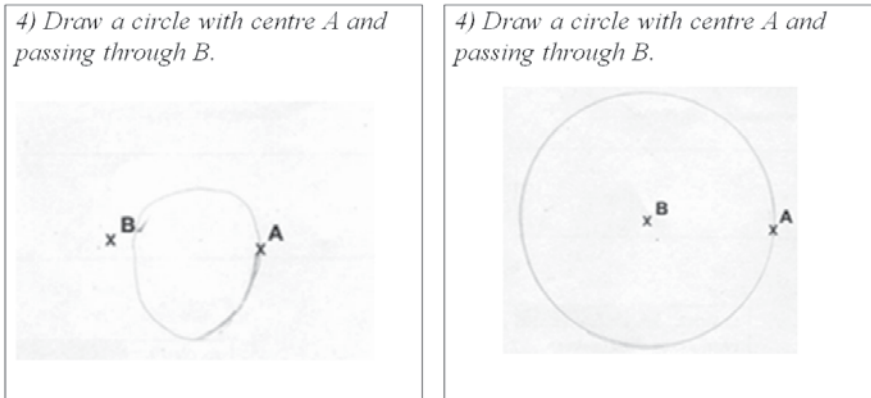
3. Results

3.1 Warning about the interpretations

This study sought to determine whether or not multilingual newcomers understood the essential terms of the mathematical lexicon which appeared in the tests. We chose basic words which are used from the beginning of middle school, such as 'triangle', 'circle', 'square', 'to draw', 'to measure', 'axial symmetry', 'perpendicular', 'parallel', 'central symmetry'. However, interpreting students' answers was sometimes a delicate operation. A wrong answer or an absence of response might be due to several factors:

- Misunderstanding of some terms in the mathematical instructions,
- Misidentification of the type of task being asked for (particularly if the conventions or coding were different from the ones used in schools previously attended),
- Incorrect manipulation of geometry instruments,
- Not knowing the mathematical knowledge involved in the task (for instance if they had not been taught this knowledge in the country of origin) etc. For example, a pupil we interviewed exclaimed "*we have never done that*" when he saw one of our questions.

This is why we systematically questioned whether or not the mistakes were actually due to a misunderstanding of one of the terms we focused on. As an example of this phenomenon, let us consider the two drawings below:

Figure 1. Figures drawn by two newcomers, several months after their arrivals¹⁰

In these two drawings, the restriction "with centre A passing through B" seems not to have been taken into account. Besides, in the drawing on the left, we can notice the approximate plot which is certainly due to an inability to manipulate a compass. Hence these answers cannot have been said correct. However, in both productions, we have considered that the word 'circle' has been understood by pupils.

Conversely, it should be noted that a correct answer does not guarantee a perfect understanding of each term of the instruction. The pupil may have been helped by the geometric figure which illustrates the instructions, or by mathematical coding, or by knowledge of some typical types of task, so that he or she was able to understand what he or she was supposed to do whereas some terms remain unclear. Hence, a correct answer is only a guarantee of an understanding of the target terms used in the context of our questionnaire.

3.2 Analysis of students' answers

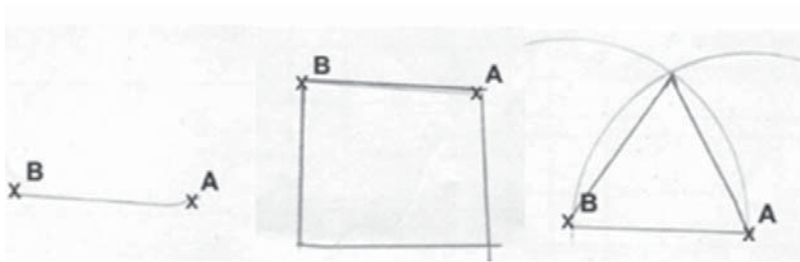
Once we identified the problems in interpreting pupils' answers, we needed to focus on the results. First, some very successful answers were identified. For instance, two fourteen-year-old boys completed the last exercise of our questionnaire, which was a very difficult exercise both in terms of mathematics (the concepts involved were only required at the end of secondary school) and language (the mathematical terms were hard to

¹⁰ The written instruction was given in French.

understand). Another example was the precision of the drawing of some figures (some triangles were constructed using circular arcs when the length of the three sides were known) or the use of symbols (especially to indicate right angles) which proved that some migrant pupils had completely understood the mathematics teachers' expectations.

However, our analysis also revealed some serious misunderstandings concerning basic terms of geometry. For instance, the drawings below show answers to the instruction "Circle with centre A and passing through B". Confusion between the concept of a circle and the notions of a segment, a square and a triangle, respectively, are clear:

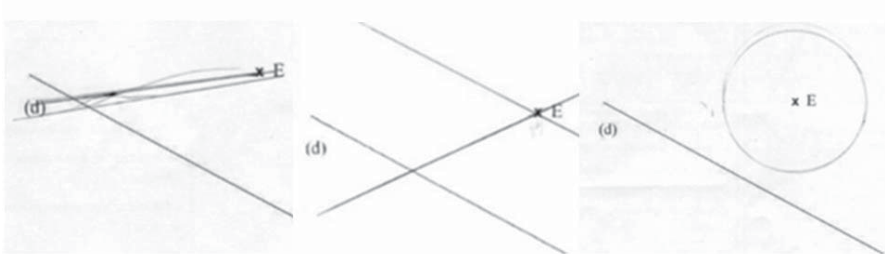
Figure 2. Figures drawn in response to the question "Circle with centre A and passing through B"



We can notice the use of a compass to construct an equilateral triangle in the third drawing which might indicate that this pupil associated the term 'circle' with the geometry instrument used to draw this figure. However, the term 'circle' itself was not understood.

Similarly, in response to the instruction "Draw in green the line perpendicular to (d), through the point E; then draw in red the line parallel to (d), through the point E", many answers were wrong. Confusion between the terms 'parallel' and 'perpendicular' are, of course, relatively common, even for students who have always attended French schools, but multilingual newcomers' work presented other types of errors which are markedly more atypical:

Figure 3. Proposals for the construction of parallel and perpendicular, done by three newcomers, a few months after their arrival



In the first example above, the parallel line and the perpendicular line were fairly similar. This seems to indicate that this pupil could not distinguish between the two terms. Perhaps there was also some confusion as regards the expression 'horizontal line'. In the second drawing, the term 'parallel' may have been understood, but this was not the case for the word 'perpendicular'. Finally, in the third drawing, we can notice that the words 'parallel' and 'perpendicular' were not even associated with the concept of a line.

The table below summarizes the number of answers which attest a correct understanding of the target terms:¹¹

¹¹ The number of answers varies according to pupils' skills and ages. Consequently, several students did not have to answer some questions as the level was too high or too low for them.

Figure 4. Table with the results of correct answers in relation to the number of participants

To draw	22 out of 26 answers	Axial symmetry	20 out of 25 answers
To measure	22 out of 26 answers	Perpendicular	5 out of 26 answers
Triangle	19 out of 22 answers	Parallel	6 out of 26 answers
Square	20 out of 26 answers	Central symmetry	0 out of 15 answers
Circle	20 out of 26 answers		

It is possible to conclude that some terms were relatively well understood by the students interviewed, whereas others remained obscure. For instance, no student really understood the expression 'central symmetry' and only approximately 20% related the right mathematical concept to the words 'parallel' and 'perpendicular'. However, both terms are regularly used in middle school and high school so this leads to the question of whether or not these pupils really understand mathematical lessons provided in ordinary classrooms.

3.3 Knowledge about geometry tools terms

The French language test included a reading comprehension task. At the beginner level, students had to read a short text that seemed extracted from a school agenda and in which it was indicated that a test was scheduled for the mathematics course. Therefore, five questions aimed to verify if students could easily locate concrete information such as the date, the door number, etc. It was also an opportunity to verify the understanding of basic geometry terms used for several weeks at school: a

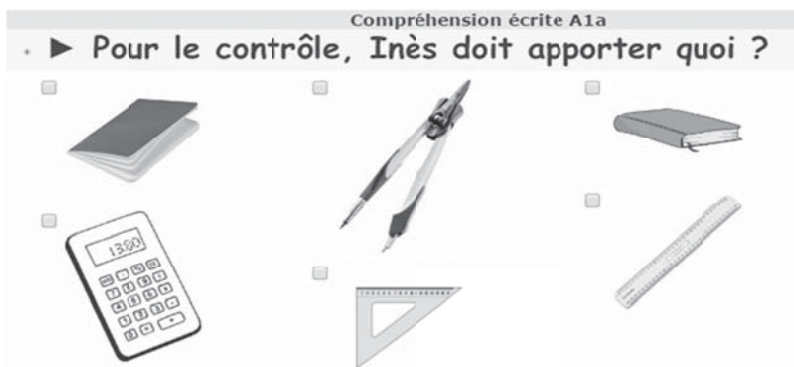
ruler, a square and a compass, and it was specified that calculators were forbidden.

Figure 5. Text for a written comprehension level A1

MATIÈRES	date	TEXTES	
maths	12/01	Lundi 12 janvier : contrôle de mathématiques A 9 h en salle 8. Apporter le matériel de géométrie : une règle, une équerre et un compas (la calculatrice est interdite). Préparer la feuille de contrôle et écrire son nom, son prénom, sa classe et la date. Le contrôle porte sur les leçons de jeudi et de vendredi : il faut apprendre la leçon sur le livre page 15 et relire la fiche 2 de géométrie.	lundi mardi mercredi jeudi vendredi

In the following exercise, the student needed to select the three correct pictures among six pictures.

Figure 5. Exercise extracted from the numerical French test



52 out of the 177 newcomers have not to do this exercise A1 as their level in French did not correspond to this step: it was either too easy (some pupils had already reached level A2) or too difficult (some pupils had hardly ever attended school before and had few abilities in reading). Moreover, a part of students did not complete the two sessions for different reasons, so that our sample ended up with 100 students in December and 75 students in June.

In December, 100 children took the test, of whom 61% failed. This shows that even if they had already used these tools in France, they did not memorize their names. But it seems a bit more surprising in June, after one academic year, that 36 out of 75 students still failed. This can only be but problematic the following September as they were to join a regular class.

Our data is not conclusive whether age, mother tongue, migratory paths and grade repetition may have had significant effects on the results of this test. However, a majority of successful students indicated they used French at home, a percentage a bit higher than those who gave the wrong answer. Furthermore, pupils who gave the right answer in December and in June had in common point that their listening comprehension results mostly corresponded to level A2 or above, whereas their written comprehension was estimated as at level A1. Overall they had standard mathematics skills (that had been assessed in their own language, in December) in comparison with other native children of the same age. To the contrary, pupils who failed had lower oral and written skills in December and in June (only around 26% reached the listening comprehension A2, at each testing interval). Moreover, 5 of them were not able to decipher a sentence accurately. Furthermore, overall the mathematical skills in their

own language were not at grade level, and a consistent percentage of students had mathematical abilities below the beginning of primary level whereas they were attending middle school. Of course, the combination of these factors is not constant since several pupils with medium mathematical abilities did not choose the right pictures, something that is quite puzzling.

4. Case studies¹²

The four case studies conducted as part of data collection are particularly informative regarding the relationship between daily language and school language use and knowledge.

Case study 1

Delfina and Pira are two girls who came to France in 2015. Delfina enrolled in the final year of primary school, while Pira integrated into the first year of secondary school. They were both one year older than the reference age of their class.

Delfina came from Romania. His mother tongue was Romanian and at home, French was more or less spoken. Romanian is a Romance language that is very close to French. Before she left, she had studied French in Romania. Pira came from Thailand. Thai is her mother tongue and at home, French and English are also spoken, as her step father is French. Thai is far from French and works with a distinct alphabet, but she did have the skills needed to decipher the Latin alphabet as she knew some English.

Pira encountered many problems with regard to knowledge of everyday language as she only had a level A1 in both listening and written comprehension. Furthermore, the rare answers she provided to our mathematical questionnaire were generally wrong and they demonstrated that Pira had considerable difficulty in understanding the instructions. In fact, she admitted during the interview she "did not understand". In addition, some concepts could have been taught differently in her home country. Depending on the school where she went in Thailand, she may have used other measurement systems for lengths, weights, etc. But even if we take these considerations into account, her abilities seemed far below what would be expected for her level of education. Furthermore, on a fluency test taken in June, it appeared that in one minute, she could only read 22 words from a French narrative text, while Delfina could read 139

¹² Names have been changed in order to respect the anonymity of interviewees.

from the same text, which corresponds to an average performance. Pira experienced difficulties decoding that she apparently did not have in her native language since, according to her school report, she was good student in her home country. This difficulty affected all disciplines, including reading mathematical statements.

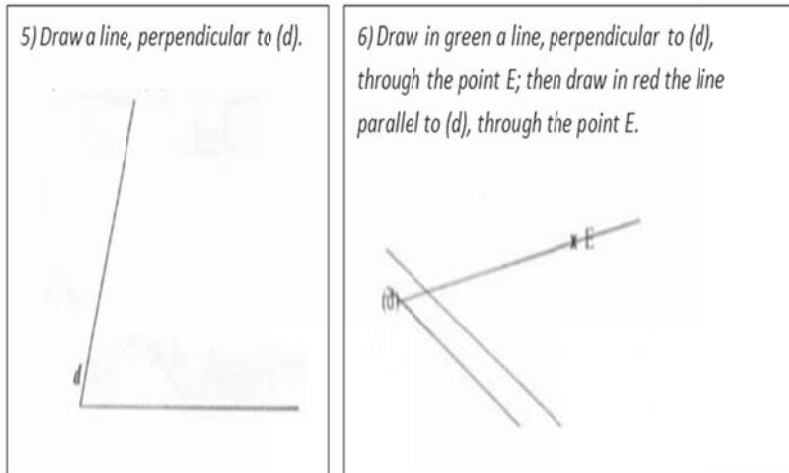
In contrast, Delfina obtained a level B1 in listening comprehension and a A1 in written comprehension in December and B1 in June. Delfina felt ready to perform the mathematics tests directly in French rather than in Romanian, and as early as December she succeeded in obtaining a score corresponding to her level of education. She even had better results regarding geometry as she had a secondary school level whereas she was still enrolled at primary level. In the supervised mathematical test, even if drawing a square was a bit difficult, all her other answers were right.

Therefore, for these two pupils, the development of everyday language and the development of the linguistic skills coincide. Pira's linguistic progression is slow for the daily interpersonal communication and for understanding school discourses, unlike Delfina whose progression is simultaneous both in the informal register and in the academic register. Of course, the causes can be multiple: for example, in this case, the linguistic proximity, the similarities in the education systems between France and Romania, and especially the previous academic skills (Mendonça Dias, 2012) might have also played in favor of Delfina.

Case study 2

Case study 2 is an analysis of the situation of Chourouk and Li who had arrived in France a year earlier. Both were schooled in the same class with pupils aged 14 at the beginning of the school year. Li whose mother tongue is Chinese was one year older than his classmates. At home, Li speaks Chinese, his native tongue, but also French. Chourouk, 14 years old, whose mother tongue is Arabic, is Spanish-speaking because he lived and did his schooling in Spain. Regarding everyday language, Chourouk obtained a level B1 in listening comprehension and a level A2 in written comprehension. He had more oral facilities than Li, but their skills in writing were much the same. Chourouk's answers to our mathematical questionnaire were lower than would be expected of a student of that age. In fact, even in Spanish, the numerical tests completed in December showed that Chourouk had secondary school level in arithmetical abilities but failed in geometry and measurement exercises which indicate his skills were at a primary level. His answers on the supervised test can be observed below:

Figure 6. Chourouk's productions in geometry.



Li encountered more problems than his classmate with regard to the control of everyday language (he recently obtained a level A2 in oral comprehension). However, Li had excellent skills in mathematics. Once the instructions were translated in Chinese, he met the expectations not from the beginning but from the end of his age class. Moreover, in June all his answers to our mathematics questionnaire were correct, except for the exercise concerning central symmetry where he had some confusion with the translation. As was the case for Delfina, Li was being asked about mathematic concepts he already mastered in his native tongue, while Chourouk – like Pira – confronted a double cognitive challenge: he needed to study mathematical concepts he did not know while also learning French vocabulary. While Delfina and Li were in a situation of transferring already acquired mathematics skills from a first language to an additional language, Chourouk and Pira were in the situation of acquiring new disciplinary knowledge as well as language skills.

Both previous mathematical and literacy skills seem to be determiners in the acquisition of discipline specific terms. Learning specialised vocabulary is no more complex than everyday vocabulary. For instance, the word "umbrella" (level A1) is as easy to memorize as the word "perimeter" for someone who knows the meaning of these two terms. Chourouk and Pira are likely able to identify the term "umbrella" more easily than "perimeter" even though the latter term would be more

frequently pronounced in mathematics class. But for these students, the development of everyday language control and the development of linguistic skills required for mathematical skills do not match: Chourouk reached the level B1 for the communicative interactions, but mastered fewer mathematical terms than Li who had a lower communicative level.

5. Discussion and conclusion

This study illustrates the difficulties encountered by multilingual newcomers learning mathematics with French as an additional language. Immersive classes, and even UPE2A, do not seem sufficient to guarantee the acquisition of the lexicon needed to be successful in mathematics instruction. Academic language in mathematics may be taught in UPE2A, usually by practice, directly dealing with mathematics exercises with a pedagogical adaptation (slow and decelerated rhythm, differentiation regarding the grade level of each student, more explanation in reduced groups, etc.). Does this correspond to the way teachers organise the contents of their module in a context of French as an additional language teaching? Mathematics teachers who prepare specific courses for multilingual newcomers may focus their contents on different mathematical topics because they receive students of different ages and class levels, who are gathered in the same classroom. They have to provide some adapted activities corresponding to the mathematical abilities of each pupil.

However, it appears that even after one year of schooling in an UPE2A, many multilingual learners still have a serious lack of mathematical language, which compromises their integration into a regular math class. Obviously the everyday language is not a sufficient basis to master the specific lexicon for mathematical activities. What is worrying is that the students who spent more than 10 months at school in France were not able to understand simple written instructions that referred to very common, useful, daily and concrete terms for this subject, terms accessible since the beginning of the learning.

These observations led us to ask whether there were teaching practices capable of accelerating the learning of these language skills essential to mathematical activities. Indeed, it seems appropriate to provide students with a different kind of instruction. For instance, we can mention a specific module that was tested for a few years in a secondary school in Marseille. It aimed to offer multilingual newcomers activities that were both mathematically rich and designed in such a way as to promote the expression and comprehension of specific statements, in order to link the manipulation of the lexicon with the associated concepts mathematics so

that migrant students could more quickly take advantage of mathematical lessons in a way, independent from the development of everyday language (Millon-Fauré, 2013). This experiment showed encouraging results concerning the memorization of the mathematical terms, and deserves to be studied further.

Other practices also seem relevant to us to facilitate the students' learning of these language skills:

- Specific oral and written language activities directly in relation with mathematical activities,
- Pluralistic approaches to languages and cultures (language awareness, integrated didactic approaches, intercomprehension between related languages, etc.) and mediation through translation,
- Intercultural approach with ethnomathematics, promoted language acquisition, transversality of scientific subjects with French courses through some common projects.

However, the complexity of the introduction of such practices for teachers in these special classes is stressed. These adaptations require considering the language skills necessary for mathematical activities and the practices encouraging their learning. Therefore, it is necessary to organise training of these professionals, through supervised training or e-workshops (Joseph, Leonard, Viesca & Hamilton, 2015).

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ALWAYS TAKE THE SCENIC ROUTE: DESIGNING ACTIVITIES FOR TEACHING ENGLISH FOR HERITAGE PURPOSES

LEONOR PÉREZ RUIZ

Learners typically enroll in an ESP (English for Specific Purposes) course when in need to gain proficiency in English for their studies or professional activity; but this is not always the case. We may also find students interested in acquiring the language so that they can learn more about their hobby or subject of interest. This would require an ESP approach too.

In this paper, I deal with the design of different activities for an ESP course intended for students interested in history and heritage. Our target learners need support and guidance in their learning process towards a set goal: studying English in order to better understand contents related to material and immaterial heritage, in this specific case with the Spanish Peninsular War. Thus, I intend to set the basis for a course that will instruct them, both in terms of language and specific contents. This will be carried out while visiting the sites where the events directly related to those contents took place.

Following Negro Alousque (2016), ESP is characterized by sharing several basic features which are common to all courses based on this approach. For instance, it aims at effectively communicating scientific or technical contents within a professional or academic environment. Moreover, ESP is mainly concerned with learners' needs, being the basis for the design of the course, its contents, methodology, etc. This approach is also conditioned by the discipline, occupation or area of study that stands for the 'S' of its acronym. In fact, the development of tasks for a course, which corresponds to these characteristics, should be done considering these aspects and aiming at satisfying the students' technical, scientific, academic, professional or occupational needs since, "once learners' specialized needs and special language registers are identified, then relevant teaching materials can be used to teach the course more effectively." (Kaur, 2007: 26)

In order to set the basis for the intended activities, we will first review the advantages and challenges of using history as a pretext to learn English. Then, a description of the historical route that will serve as a common thread for the course of English for Heritage Purposes will be presented in order to be contextualized. Finally, we will give some examples of activities carried out and suggestions on how to implement them.

1. History as a pretext to learn a language

Teaching adult learners a second language has been widely studied from different perspectives (see, e.g., Smith & G. Strong, 2009; Joiner, 1981; Kim, 2015; Cozma, 2015). Nevertheless, the present paper has an additional motivating value: acquiring a language for heritage purposes while enjoying the scenario where the historical events took place. In sum, we suggest combining vocational teaching with a learning activity.

When analyzing the objectives students enrolling in this type of course may have, the first premise is that it is interesting, useful, entertaining and motivating. In reality, we should be aware of the fact that learners attending this program are not under pressure to pass an exam in order to obtain a degree, or getting more competent in the language because their job depends on this. On the opposite, our students choose to learn the language as part of a leisure time activity. They have freely decided to enroll and this makes a great difference in the learning process. There is a common agreement that when materials and teaching methods deal with issues which learners find relevant to their interests, this encourages their learning process. In this case, our students enroll in a course that makes them feel that their language and cultural needs will be satisfied, since the program aims at helping them to better understand the different events in which British troops were involved during the Spanish Peninsular War.

Getting deep into the culture and history of a territory implies more than just learning vocabulary, phraseology or acquiring local colloquialisms. This area of expertise should be viewed mainly as customs, traditions, heritage and historical understanding. The emphasis then is in helping students to understand contents with some conceptual density and assumed cultural knowledge. In this case, besides academic literature, there are plenty of materials – e.g. documents written during the campaign and about it – that may be adapted to be used as class materials.

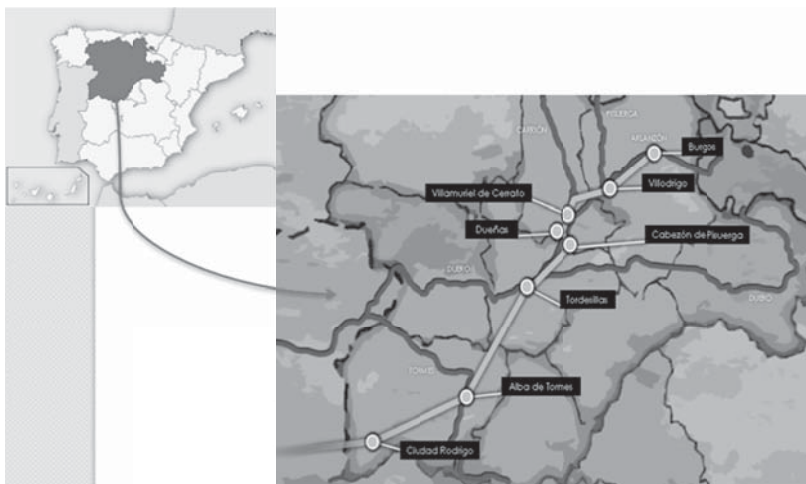
Thus, this program is not just another language program. It is a tailor made type of course, since it is through a combination of learning the language for that specific purpose, plus evoking the historical events by

interpreting the sources and visiting and wandering through the places where those events took place, that historical and linguistic mastery can be encouraged.

2. Learning English while touring the battlefield

The Peninsular War to which Napoleon once referred as "the Spanish ulcer" (Gates, 2009) was crucial for the destiny of Europe as it ultimately helped to bring down the French Empire. Over two hundred years have already gone by and these events are still of much interest to scholars and *aficionados* alike. In line with this, we believe that it can be positive to use these episodes as a unifying plot in the hope of facilitating the learning of the English language to those interested in the subject.

Map 1: The Route of the Blown Bridges



One of the events of the Peninsular War that, to our understanding, has not been given enough credit¹ has to do with Wellington's withdrawal in 1812 from Burgos to Portugal after a month-long siege of the castle of Burgos. Lord Wellington had, at that time, been appointed Captain General of the Spanish Army, commanding the Allied troops with soldiers from Spain, the United Kingdom and Portugal. While retreating towards

¹ "Many of Wellington's [deeds] here have been forgotten – lost in the dazzle of his future victory at Waterloo." (Heptinstall, 2013)

the Duero river and Portugal to avoid being trapped by the French army and along what has been called the *Route of the Blown Bridges*², Wellington ordered that several bridges on the Carrion, Pisuerga and Duero rivers were blown so that they could successfully complete their retreat. Indeed, the retreat was hard and dangerous since, besides being pursued by the enemy, they had to endure many other hazards: heavy showers, diseases, starvation, etc.

The sufferings of the army on this retreat were severe, and the loss considerable. It rained with little intermission; the roads were deep and miry, and some of the rivers to be forded were breast-high. The ground in the bivouacs was soaked; and such fires as the men contrived to make were smoky and cheerless. Many of the divisions had neither bread, biscuit nor flour. (Sherer, 1836: 102-103)

All this resulted in a very weak army and, as Wellington had feared, this maneuver would risk his personal reputation: "The failure of Lord Wellington's attack on Burgos occasioned a powerful sensation in England when the news arrived that the siege had been abandoned, and the allied army was in full retreat (...) and many were found who pronounced that method of attack defective." (Maxwell, 1839: 44) But, once they had successfully reached the Portuguese border, and being aware of Napoleon's defeat in Russia, Wellington's spirit was recovered and what initially had looked like a terrible defeat – "it was an unhappy end to an unhappy campaign" (Esdaile, 2002: 418) – turned into a masterful maneuver. With this news, the army gained moral dominance and eventually succeeded in expelling the French from the Spanish territory.

The so-called *Route of the Blown Bridges* still shows nowadays many landmarks and milestones that help visitors recall the events that took place back then.³ All the bridges are still there, most of them with a similar appearance. This is also true for the vast plains and chains of low cliffs, so typical of this area and that at times so much helped Wellington design his strategy:

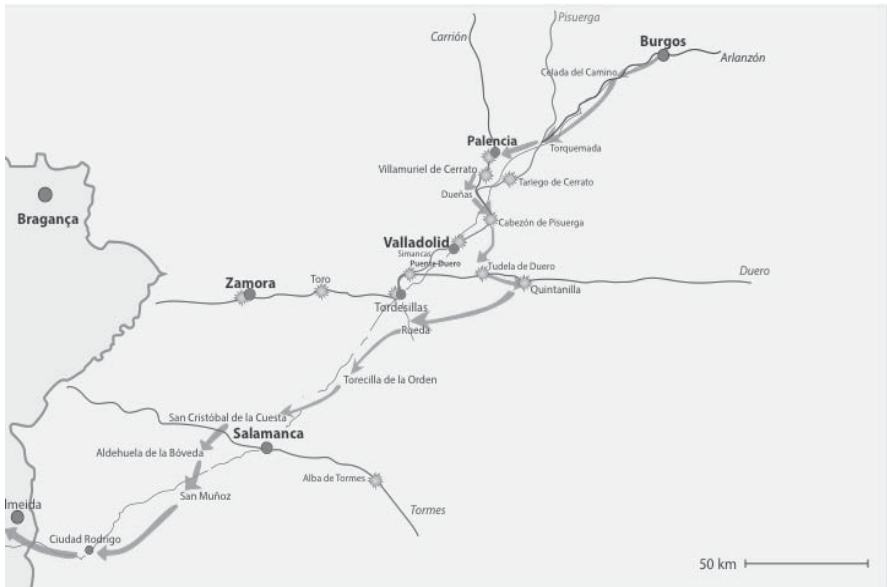
The ground over which the retreating army passed presented a considerable advantage, the road from Burgos to Valladolid being intersected every ten or twelve miles by a river, over which the road passes

² http://www.wellingtonencyl.es/la_ruta.html

³ "One hot morning, we walk along the ditch below the walls of the little hill town of Ciudad Rodrigo. We are trying to gauge just how difficult it would have been for Wellington's men to storm defenses that are still picturesquely intact." (HEPTINSTALL, 2013)

by a ford or bridge. Of these advantages the English general availed himself, by taking up his several positions on the further side of the intersecting rivers, and destroying the bridges; thus interposing the stream as a barrier between himself and the enemy. He was thus secured in his bivouacs, and had time to retreat before his rear was forced, or his flank turned. (Williams, 1856: 302)

Map of route and bridges blown



Belcher (2004) proposes ESP teachers to adapt tasks and pedagogical materials to learners' needs. In line with this author, our teaching proposal is based on the adaptation of authentic materials to the different teaching practices used to promote effective learning. In fact, if authentic materials are used in an efficient way, they will contribute to bring "the real world into the classroom and significantly enliven the ESL class" (Kelly & al, 2002: 6). There are plenty of materials that, once adapted to the language level and the communicative competence of the target learners, can be very useful for the design of this course. This has definitely contributed to enlarge the scope of our teaching proposal. Journals by soldiers, letters and dispatches between Wellington and his generals, and maps, are among the authentic materials that together with other sources have been used in the preparations of the teaching proposal.

Learners enrolled in this kind of programs often realize that even though they have certain academic expertise on the subject, they feel less confident when needing to communicate that knowledge in a second language. This type of learning is goal oriented. This implies that students are interested in learning the language to fulfill their specific needs and that different teaching practices are necessary. Therefore, the main emphasis should be on familiarizing learners with specific discourse related to historical thinking, so that they can acquire the necessary language proficiency to further develop their historical knowledge.

It is also important to note that participants in these programs often have different proficiency profiles in L2, sometimes not reaching the basic standards set. So that students can reach a sufficient mastery of English language to access the acquisition of the heritage and cultural contents proposed, it is important to use an appropriate teaching method. During the first stages of the learning process, it will be essential to assist students with some type of support that is, breaking the learning process down into smaller, manageable pieces, in order to help learners "in building their understanding of new content and process." (Sherow, 2006: 37). When they are ready and confident enough, the aid can be removed and the teacher support is gradually taken away.

Collaborative learning refers to those tasks that are carried out by students working in groups and sharing responsibility and workload. All learners need to be involved in these activities at the same level so that they can reach the objectives set by teachers. Working in collaboration with other students means that each member of the group can help others in the area they are better at, be it related to language or content. Thus, depending on the field each student is more proficient in they will add that to the group and thus create a collaborative process.

When designing our teaching materials our emphasis relied on adequate teaching practice for greater effectiveness. A tool, which has been demonstrated to be efficient in helping to acquire and secure learning, is the use of extra supporting materials, usually very visual, like commemorative plaques, pictures, maps, paintings, and guided visits to different spots along the route. Thus, learners will be able to feel history rather than contemplating it, since one of the great values of our proposal is the possibility of imagining the events as they took place, by visiting the related sites. Designing materials related to this part of history, plus combining these activities with an on-site program, lead students to better understand the different events and their repercussion on history.

Based on the outlined teaching practices, we have designed different materials intended for this specific course. Some examples of these

activities, devised in order to help students improve their communication skills to expand further their academic expertise will be presented. These tasks are often part of larger projects with a more comprehensive perspective. They are divided in a project-like activity. Students are presented with a task in which the different components of the group are responsible for a specific part or role which is fundamental for the successful outcome of the activity as a whole. Students then need to work collaboratively.

3. Reading skills

Despite what is often said, reading is an active and productive activity. One needs efforts to properly catch the content of a document, the ideas presented and the words and phrases used. Thus, when designing reading activities, one needs to help learners to acquire the ability to extract the required information from a written text.

In the following task, students are invited to read two short, and fairly similar, descriptions of the castle of Burgos, one written by the British officer and writer Moyle Sherer, out of his recollections of the Peninsular war, and the second by Thomas Jones, a British major-general in the Royal Engineers who played a leading engineering role in different campaigns during the Peninsular War:

The castle of Burgos stands upon an oblong, conical, rocky hill; and the defenses, as improved most ingeniously by the French, consisted of three lines. The outer line was an old escarp wall, of difficult access, running round the lower part of the hill. This wall they had modernized with a shot-proof parapet; and had contrived flanks at the salient and re-entering points. The second line was a strong field-retrenchment, armed with cannon. The third was similar to the second; and, upon the very summit, an ancient keep had been converted into a heavy casemated battery, and crowned these formidable defenses. (Sherer, 1836: 97)

The defenses were found to occupy an oblong, conical hill, and to be of a triple nature nearly all round. The lower or outer line consisted of the old escarp wall of the town or castle, modernized with a shot-proof parapet, and flanks ingeniously procured by means of palisades, or tambours, at the salient and re-entering points. The second line was of the nature and profile of a field retrenchment, and well palisaded. The third, or upper line, was nearly of a similar construction to the second; and on the most elevated point of the cone, the primitive keep had been formed into an interior retrenchment, with a modern heavy casemated battery, named after Napoleon. (Jones, 1846: 275)

Once the students have spent some time reading the texts, they are presented with different exercises in which they work towards the comprehension of key aspects. An example of a vocabulary activity, in which the need to interpret the meaning of some adjectives being used in the description of the castle, is proposed. They are asked to identify, in the following table, elements which are *oblong*, *conical* and *rocky*:



Another group exercise has to do with the identification of the castle as in 1812 out of various mockups and paintings, two of them corresponding to the castle of Burgos. This activity requires students to attentively read the descriptions provided and also discuss what aspects in the images shown comply with any in the text, reasoning why they have made their final selection. Learners analyse the text provided and produce short descriptions or explanations in which they also have to apply some of their prior content knowledge plus some logic and thinking. Various questions are asked such as: What is the function of a *casemate*? Why do you think they needed to modernize the castle with a shot-proof parapet?

Of course, the activities proposed will depend on the academic knowledge of the learners, since:

[A] specialist reader will normally call upon his or her special knowledge to determine whether or not certain information is important to comprehending the text as a whole (...). The no specialist reader, not having such knowledge to draw on, must rely much more heavily on how the information is presented in the text (...) as a result, he or she will pay less attention to it, infer few if any details about it, comprehend it poorly, and recall it poorly. (Huckin, 1983: 95)

In the following activity, the text they have to read is longer. It is another extract from the diary of Captain Moyle Sherer which refers to the beginning of Wellington's retreat after the month-long siege of the Castle of Burgos. Students work in groups and besides the information provided in the text, they are provided with other documents⁴ and materials, such as maps, photographs and videos, and with a previous guided visit to the castle, where they can see first-hand the different alterations it has suffered throughout time:

On the night of the 21st of October the siege was raised, a measure which the combined movements of the armies of the south and center, under Soult and the intrusive king, now compelled lord Wellington to adopt. Immediately in his front was an army considerably reinforced of late, and having a superiority of horses so great, that the allied cavalry bore no proportion to it in numbers. The commencement of this retreat was a most dangerous and difficult operation; for not only was it to be performed in the presence of a superior army, but the castle of Burgos commanded the high road and the bridges on the Arlanzon, and the lateral roads were deep in mud. Nevertheless lord Wellington, in one night, threw his whole army, his stores, and his baggage, on the other side of Burgos; and such were the good order and admirable boldness of his movements, that the first division filed over two bridges within close musket-shot of the fort, in a moonlight night, without losing a man. Some other of troops suffered a little from the first discharges of artillery, which the enemy, when alarmed, directed on the bridge; but so uncertain is the fire of artillery by night, that the range and directions of the guns were soon lost. (Sherer, 1836: 100)

Learners are asked to write a text intended for high school pupils with similar elements. This activity allows checking if students have understood the contents of the text and of other materials but also to make them write a passage with a simple language which summarises the events. The passage is produced following given instructions. This makes it easier for

⁴ Other readings are also provided such as the chapter titled "This Cursed Castle"(RICHARDS, 2002: 158-169)

learners. Later in the course, when students have improved their writing skills, instructions are no longer necessary.

4. Oral skills

Oral communication may include speeches, presentations, discussions or other forms of communication for which speaking is required. For our course, practicing these activities is useful especially those which involve face-to-face communication, since they contribute to break the ice and make learners more confident. Consequently, we put a great emphasis on direct interaction considering that having the ability to communicate directly with others is useful when contributing to a group work to successfully take part in a team and complete different activities.

In this activity, students, working in pairs, are provided with a short text in which different opinions about the siege of Burgos and its convenience are discussed:

[W]ith regard to the campaign and the siege of Burgos, it is a question much argued and discussed. Some say we should never have lost time by going to Madrid, and that was the mistake; some that if we had taken Burgos, as we should have done but for the very bad weather, all would have gone right. General O'Lalor, however, told me he thought that would have made no difference, but that if the French chose to give up the South, and unite against us ninety thousand strong, we must have been off just the same even though Burgos had been taken. (Larpent, 1853: 91)

They are also given a set of comprehension or reasoning questions – e.g. What are the different arguments in favor or against the siege of Burgos? Student A is responsible for answering orally the first question and Student B is in charge of taking notes – they will do it the other way round in the following question. The answer should be discussed talking out issues and using historical vocabulary both orally and in their writing. During this activity, there are many opportunities for students to ask their partners what they are suggesting or implying. This allows them to listen to their own thoughts and rearticulate their ideas. Through this task, and similar ones, students practice a certain range of meaningfully close communicative situations and topics connected with their specific interests and needs.

Role-plays are useful to help students wear on different hats. When students role-play a part, they very often feel free to try out new or unfamiliar language. With these activities learners are also stimulated to talk and share ideas, and when they are given different linguistic tools to

do it – e.g. instructions upon which they can build their dialogues – they will find it easier to articulate complex historical understandings. Plenty of anecdotes and events occurred during the retreat. Once presented by the teacher and supported with additional reading material they can be turned into a role-play activity.

In the activity proposed here, students watch a video in which Carol Divall (2012), author of *Wellington's Worst Scrape: the Burgos Campaign, 1812*, narrates the events that occurred in Torquemada upon the arrival of the Allied troops soon after they had abandoned the siege of the castle of Burgos. This is a brief extract of the audio transcript:

On 23 October the allied army for the most part, all except the 5th Division and the Galicians, was at Torquemada. Torquemada is in a wine-growing area - you're probably getting the picture already. The wine vats were full and during the night our enterprising British and, I imagine, Portuguese soldiers broke into the wine vats and the result was mass drunkenness.

There are some amazing scenes and it sounds like something out of Hieronymus Bosch, actually, some of the descriptions of the scenes at Torquemada. (...) So on the 24th this drunken crew had to be marched further on – the French were quite close by. I have to say, by the way, that the Allies didn't drink all the wine and when the French moved in they finished off what the Allies had started, which may have significance. (National Army Museum)

After watching the video and being also provided with other explanations and reading material, students are given different roles and are asked to plan and perform – to the best of their ability – how they think the events took place and how some of the outstanding figures like Field Marshal Arthur Wellesley, general Álava or colonel Halkett reacted. The emphasis in this activity is to push students to build a "credible" story which doesn't necessarily have to correspond to how real events took place: the aim is for them to use appropriate language and to connect discourse correctly. The different groups perform the role-play for the rest of the class and open discussion follows.

5. Writing skills

Mastering writing is also an important part of this language learning process. This type of students' specific needs have nothing to do with those essential for a professional or academic environment. Nevertheless, they still need to master this skill for different purposes: being able to

communicate with their peers, contributing their knowledge to ongoing online conversations, just to name a few.

Getting students to write in a specific environment is not always easy. In fact, non-native speakers often have difficulties writing adequate academic prose. In line with this, we intend to provide our learners with clear theoretical bases and teaching practices to meet the complexities of this skill. We chose to describe an activity consisting in teaching students how to write a history blog post. In the activities implemented in this course, usually different stages are addressed with the aim of guiding learners in their writing process. Following the scaffolding technique, we start by building knowledge about the topic they have to write about. We try to make a connection between the new knowledge students are about to acquire and the knowledge they already have. In the present activity, students are to practice writing a history blog post that describes the ambush in the bridge of Tordesillas – as narrated by Williams (1856: 302) and other authors.

First, brainstorming allows students to gather information: what were the events that provoked that ambush? What armies were involved? Why were these events important? What was its aftermath?, etc. Doing so, students begin to select the aspects they consider interesting to be included in their essay. They also deal with the most appropriate type of structures, the tone they should use, etc. They also browse the web to get ideas and gather information on the topic.

Methodology is also provided: characteristics of the genre, structuration of a paragraph and an essay, importance of using academic terminology. This will make students review what they already know about essay writing and learn the contents they do not master yet. By putting into practice this type of tasks, we intend to actively engage our students in the learning process, by means of constructing understanding and meaning and not just receiving (Pérez Ruiz & Tabarés Pérez, 2010: 529).

We provide learners with several examples of essays narrating the events that occurred during the Peninsular War. Based on the knowledge they previously acquired on how essays are structured, we ask them to identify the different sections of the texts. This is a useful way of having them get a grasp of how this type of discourse is built. Students will also practice completing various exercises on text reconstruction, grammar and vocabulary.

Once learners are familiar with the type of text they are to produce, they develop and implement supported writing. They go a step further and write paragraphs of varying lengths and purposes – introductory, concluding – or design the structure of an essay. A writing template is also

provided, with different key words or phrases, linking devices and sentence modifiers. This helps students to produce their texts and make them concentrate on communicating an intended content. Eventually, when students feel more confident and are able to create their own independent texts, the aim is to remove the remaining scaffolds and have the teacher provide less support.

6. Vocabulary acquisition

Since "reading supplies a substantial effect on incidental vocabulary acquisition" (Wachyunni, 2015: 21), we are aware that most of the activities in this course certainly help students to enlarge their vocabulary knowledge. Nevertheless, some specific activities intended to increase and improve students' technical vocabulary are essential, since language is a key element to help understand contents. Moreover, the more terms they know and can use, the better they can acquire and express knowledge.

In line with this, specific exercises are intended to help acquire new vocabulary. Students are provided with a handout with a highly visual layout in which vocabulary related to the uniform of a corporal of the light infantry is presented. These soldiers covered the army's retreat back into Portugal and were considered as "highly gentlemanly men, of steady aspect; they mixed little with other corps, but attended the theatricals of the 43rd with circumspect good humor, and now and then relaxed." (Chappell, 2004: 33)

Learners must identify in this activity the given terms with their corresponding translation in Spanish:

Shako, Trousers, Bayonet belt, Pompom, Shako plate, Coat, Gaiters, Plume, Knapsack, Bugle horn, Sword, Epaulette, Pouch, Sabre
Chacó / shakó, Corneta, Pantalones, Polainas, Placa de chacó / shako, Hombrera / charretera, Mochila, Sable, Espada, Faltriquera, Funda de bayoneta, Casaca, Pompón, Plumero

Dress Regulations (Fletcher, 1996: 19)



In this activity, the vocabulary is provided in both English and Spanish, source and target languages of learners. This handout can indeed be used in various other ways since after reviewing basic vocabulary some type of oral practice can be carried out.

We presented and commented different activities intended for an ESP course in which the purpose is twofold : promoting a learning environment – while vacationing – that may help adult L2 students fulfill their particular language needs and making the materials relevant and motivating considering students' specific interest: history and heritage.

When devising and designing activities for this type of learners we concluded that a multiple source and method approach should be used. On the one hand, an active and collaborative learning approach is beneficial due to learners' specific characteristics and needs. The scaffolding technique, in which students are guided in their learning process to

independent work, is very useful in this teaching practice. Furthermore, the use of authentic and adapted materials and other sources, plus the possibility of combining a leisure activity with an educational one are very helpful in motivating students. Finally, by making students reflect in a critical way on their learning process, both of the language and of historical events, they become more independent in their learning process as well as aware of the usefulness of the learning resources that they are presented with in class and in field trips.

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COMMUNICATIVE PROJECT BASED ACTIVITIES: TEACHING RUSSIAN AND FRENCH TO THE MILITARY AND CUSTOMS OFFICERS IN LITHUANIA

MIROSLAV STASILO

The special Euro barometer 386 survey (Stasilo & Valiukiėnė, 2013: 43), carried out in all European countries in 2012, aimed at investigating their overall linguistic situation and its current trends. 27,000 Europeans participated in the survey. In line with the previous polls (carried out in 2001 and 2006), the results showed that the most popular languages are English (38%), French (12%), German (11%), Spanish (7%) and Russian (5%). The survey pointed out a rise in the numbers of people who use a foreign language on a daily basis by using the Internet (10%), watching foreign films and listening to foreign radio channels (8%). Besides, the number of people who think that knowing foreign languages is not essential decreased from 13% in 2005 to 9% in 2012. Respondents name the following factors of motivation to learn languages: work (53%), leisure (47%) and studies abroad (46%). Work was mentioned by elder respondents who seek to improve or change their living conditions while young people learn languages mainly for educational purposes.

Changes in the geopolitical situation in Europe require new approaches to teaching languages in the area of professional training, like, for example, at the Customs Training Centre (CTC) and The General Jonas Zemaitis Military Academy of Lithuania (MAL). Nowadays, military and customs officers, in addition to their native language and English, must know at least one language well enough to be able to use it in professional communication. The practice of teaching languages at the CTC and MAL proves that Russian and French are gaining priority among the optional subjects offered in the curricula. The number of cadets who choose Russian as their third language tripled from 7 cadets in 2013 to 24 in 2017.

It should be noted that cadets with various language levels quite often find themselves in one language group; for example, those who have never studied Russian or French may be grouped with those who learned one of these languages as their second foreign language at school. Besides, the amount of contact hours for another foreign language in the study program is limited, in spite of the fact that the course includes not only general topics, with basic grammar and lexis, but also communication on professional topics, which requires the use of proper military terms.

All the above-mentioned considerations and facts suggest that the process of language teaching must be intensified to improve approaches and teaching methods. These include the use of modern technologies that are applied in teaching languages, in our case – Russian and French – in a specific professional classroom. The teacher who works with adults faces certain problems and tasks that differ from those in a classroom with children or teenagers at school. First, the study material should meet the needs of everyday communication as well as the requirements of professional/vocational education. Secondly, the selected study material must be politically correct and must reflect the educational aims and tasks stated in the strategies of the educational institutions, namely, CTC and MAL. Thus, theoretical foundations for designing state-of-the-art textbooks of Russian and French languages that would meet the specific requirements of the mentioned educational institutions are definitely needed.

The aim of this paper is to review and analyze the existing modern methods and teaching/learning technologies as well as their application in the practical courses of Russian and French as foreign languages.

The set aim dictates the following tasks:

- describing the essence, advantages and disadvantages of the activity-based communicative approach to language teaching and its application in combination with other teaching methods;
- presenting the advantages of the activity-based communicative method in Russian and French language classes;
- investigating the practicability of using elements of distance learning within the activity-based communicative method in teaching Russian and French at the Military Academy of Lithuania;
- presenting the experience of designing activity-based communicative approach textbooks of Russian and French, used both in the classroom and distance learning formats, for specialized educational institutions.

This paper is written on the results of descriptive and analytical research.

Aims and Tasks of CTC and MAL Graduates

Nowadays, the process of language education incorporates the intensive use of various teaching and learning methods:

- enhancing the effectiveness of classroom learning time through the use of new technologies;
- using extensively educational and authentic audio-visual aids in education;
- focusing on ICT-based methods, particularly in self-studies and distance learning;
- approaching students on an individual basis: texts and tasks should be differentiated according to each learner's language level.

The scope of this paper is not to review all existing language teaching methods and techniques. We will focus on those that, in our opinion, are most likely to be used in teaching a second foreign language within the curricula of the CTC and MAL. Language teaching in these educational institutions is tailored to ensure that the military and customs officers of the Republic of Lithuania meet the needs required by their profession.

On the one hand, learners must cope with the established routine and requirements of the CTC and MAL that organise the training of professionals who must be able to ensure the military defense or customs protection of the state. On the other hand, they need to successfully participate in international operations related to the state's home and foreign policies within the international law and cooperation framework. Thus, the main objective of teaching languages to the military and customs staff is the development of communicative and social skills that would facilitate the execution of their primary professional duties.

The students of the CTC and MAL who learn languages, for example, Russian or French, should follow the recommendations and guidelines of the Common European Framework for Languages¹ created in 2001. The Framework offers the descriptions of language levels, based on a communicative approach and covering all types of language activities. It also refers to cultural context specificities in which the language is used. The levels of language education are linked to certain skills and competences:

¹ https://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/Source/Framework_FR.pdf

- being able to quickly adapt to a changing situation by means of acquiring language knowledge and its skillful application in practice;
- developing critical constructive thinking, being aware of where and how the acquired language knowledge can be used;
- processing information adequately in a foreign language;
- communicating successfully with people from various social and ethnic groups;
- being able to work in an international team, to prevent or resolve conflicts;
- seeking to develop one's cultural and language level (*Казимянец, 2016: 207; Краснова, 2009: 4-5*).

The learner as an Active Center of Teaching

In order to adequately carry out the complex tasks of vocational language education, we rely on the experiential approach that is implemented in the so-called learner-centered teaching method, which we view as one of the most popular and productive methods in the modern practice of language teaching. The learner-centered teaching takes a new perspective on the roles the teacher and learner play in the process of education, it builds ground for the latter to fully realize his/her aptitude, self-reliance and autonomy. This method provides a basis for the model of teaching languages with learners being the active center in the process.

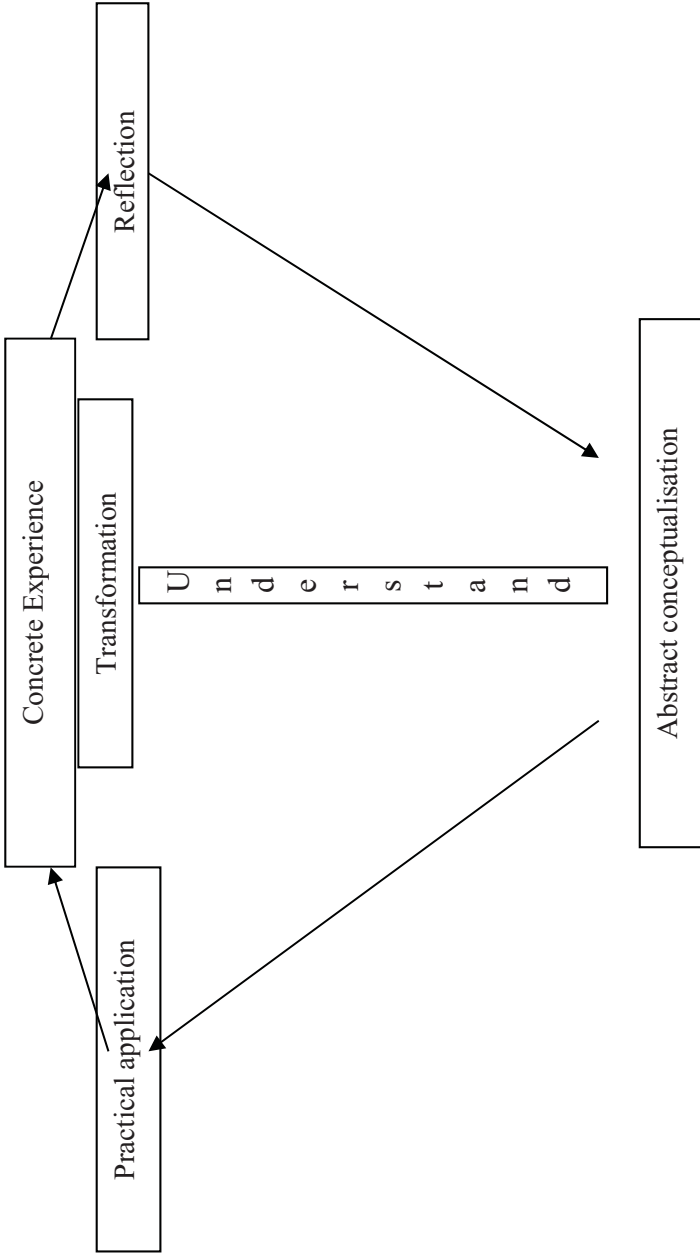
It is well known that the traditional approach to language learning is based on the teacher's dominant role, not only when face-to-face with learners in class, but also in deciding on the content and amount of study materials and ways of teaching. Learners take a rather passive role in the process. The traditional model is quite acceptable and may yield positive results in a homogenous (by language level) classroom. But in the case of mixed-level classes, the traditional method may widen the gap between stronger and weaker learners, and may trigger the development of the "hopelessness complex" in the latter. The fear of looking funny or inadequate leads to isolation, the person loses self-confidence and initiative. This may result in a lower motivation of the whole class, not only of its weaker part. Such concerns stimulate scholars to look for new ways and methods of teaching mixed-level classes.

The idea of equal cooperation between teachers and learners has been around for a few decades now; it was first highlighted in the works on language teaching methods in the 1980s. Scholars (R.J. Stevens, N.A. Madden, R.E. Slavin & *al.*) provided experimentally proven data on the

much higher effectiveness of cooperation methods as compared to traditional teaching. In the 1990s the idea found further development in the papers that focused on the process-oriented model of language acquisition. The essence of the model lies in the "interactive task" set by the teacher; the learners cooperate to solve the task, using their previous language experience (Bruner, 1983).

The above mentioned research was the basis for the so-called "learner-centered instruction", which views the learner as the core of the learning process. This approach was later called experiential learning (*Казимьянец*, 2002: 60). According to D. Kolb (Kolb, 1984: 21- 42), the learner's immediate concrete experience plays an essential role in learning: abstract concepts, introduced in the process of learning, are transformed through the learner's language experience. In this process, learners gain volumetric perception and subjective understanding. On the other hand, the immediate experience in the process of the perception of abstract concepts is also analyzed and reflected on. In the process of language acquisition is a circle that involves immediate concrete experience followed by reflection and analysis followed by abstract conceptualization followed by concrete actions, i.e. by certain language behavior. D. Kolb's theory is best seen in the following diagram:

D.Kolb's scheme (Kolb, 1984: 42)



The given model presents the learning of new material as the process of understanding new items and their further transformation in speech patterns in the process of communication. Understanding means the way learners acquire experience, and transformation: the way they use the acquired knowledge. There are two types of transformation:

- active experiment: active speaking activities when learners freely use the acquired knowledge, not bothering about the errors they make;
- gradual reflection and conscious acquisition of the material: to avoid possible errors, the learner opts for a slower way of achieving the result.

The above diagram shows that the understanding and transformation of the new material include four stages in the circle of experiential learning:

- concrete language experience (through engaging individual experience; sensory perception overrides mental processes);
- abstract conceptualization based on logical thinking and systemic approach to problem-solving;
- reflective analysis aimed at understanding new ideas, new material and situations on the basis of one's knowledge, mindset, impressions and senses;
- application of the acquired knowledge in concrete speaking situations.

The learner-centered model allows building up team spirit as it leads to a common objective and joint management of the learning process. The success in the classroom is guaranteed by the active involvement of every student and the teacher who is viewed as a full-right participant. It is noteworthy that in traditional teaching models students tend to work on their own; communication is narrowed down to competing for better marks (*Казимьянец, 2002: 60-61*).

The experiential learner-centered model offers a range of advantages over the traditional model. As the practice of teaching Russian and French in the CTC and MAL shows, the traditional model of teaching does not ensure the acquisition of new material by students, due to their passive role in the classroom. In addition, not every student is able to apply the acquired theoretical knowledge to produce certain language patterns in the classroom or real-life communication. Conversely, the new approach engages each student. It allows every learner to work out independently,

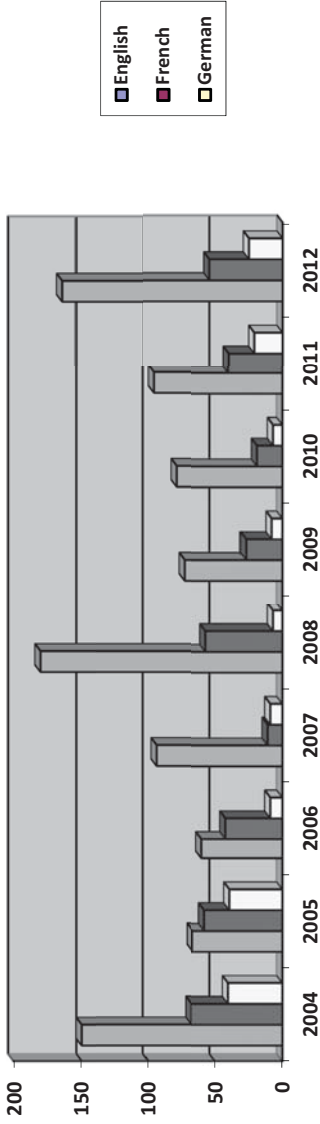
on the basis of his/her experience. Secondly, this approach boosts motivation as it gives learners the freedom of choosing their ways and tools to complete the task set by the teacher. Thirdly, the enhanced motivation and awareness of one's own role in coping with a certain task encourage learners to overcome other difficulties and lead to further achievement. They develop important skills such as independent decisions-making, assessing situation and setting tasks. They facilitate the development of leadership which is of utmost importance in officer training. Finally, creating equality and cooperation between teachers and learners leads as well to eradicating the fear of making mistakes as well as to removing constant control by teachers. This encourages creating real communication in the foreign language of choice.

The blended learning method, that combines the traditional classroom and innovative distance learning, focuses on every learner. It suggests that individual pace and a choice of topics that are relevant and important for them is essential. Blended learning is an example of active learning as it involves all the above-stated components of the learner-centered method: learners not only acquire information, they also learn how to use it, for example, in doing crosswords, browsing foreign language websites, answering questions related to their professional interests. The teacher is constantly engaged in a dialogue with learners as they exchange messages (by e-mail or in chat groups). In addition, at the end of the course, there is a week of face-to-face classes to conclude the course and discuss achievements. The tasks are often offered through games. Learners can make mistakes and then repeat tasks which stimulate reflection and enhance confidence in progress.

The Blended Learning Course at the Customs Training Centre

As to the number of CTC trainees who took French as a foreign language course, Table 1 shows the highest number in 2004 (68 customs officers), a rapid decline in 2009 (27 customs officers), during the world economic crisis; then there was a rise in 2012, comparable to the number of trainees in 2004 or 2008, i.e., the level before the crisis.

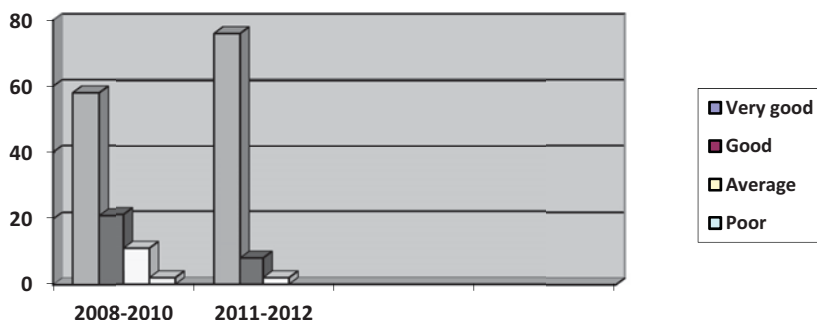
Table 1. Trainees at the CTC (2004-2012)



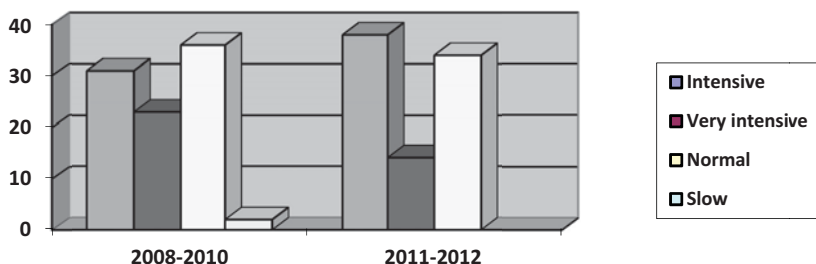
Although this type of learning is appreciated, it is still not very popular in Lithuania because most educators are not very familiar with the communicative or action-oriented approach, giving preference to transmission or interaction paradigms. Learners are more or less passive receivers and teacher-experts give information and test results. The CTC offers a French course that combines blended learning and traditional sessions, as most adult learners prefer the traditional pedagogy. There are three – A1, A2, B1 – level programs. Sessions are held in CTC classrooms, where, on course completion, trainees take an achievement test. The A1 course consists of 240 hours: 6 weeks (x 40 contact hours) of intensive studies from Monday to Friday. The A2 course comprises 280 hours, and B1 – 320 hours.

At the end of each level course, trainees fill in the feedback questionnaire. Collected data are used to improve the quality of training at the CTC as well as teachers' performance. The questionnaire includes 11 questions.¹ If we compare the answers after the face-to-face course with those after the blended learning offer, the level of satisfaction with blended learning is higher: 76 customs officers gave the highest rating (very good), 8 respondents assessed the blended course as "good", and only 2 respondents assessed it as "average" (see Table 2). Ninety-two customs officers, who completed the face-to-face course, replied to the same questions. Their responses show that 58 respondents gave the highest mark – "very good", 21 – "good", 11 – "average", 2 – "poor" (*ibidem*).

¹ "How do you assess the course?", "What expectations did you have before the course?", "Did the course meet your expectations?", "Did you read the study program?", "Did you find all the topics useful?", "Which topics did you like the most?", "Which topics would you like to remove?", "What can be added?", "How do you rate the pace and intensity of the course?", "What advice can you give to the teacher?", "Do you think you will apply the acquired knowledge in your job?".

Table 2. Course satisfaction

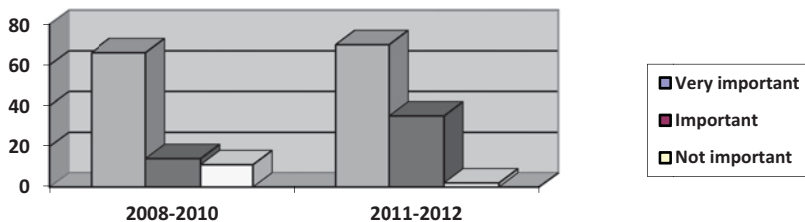
As regards the satisfaction with the course, the majority of respondents (84 out of 86) replied that the course fully met their expectations in 2011-2012, 71 out of 92 respondents replied that the course completely met their expectations in 2008- 2010. Thus, the traditional course was rated lower than the blended learning one, as the number of dissatisfied respondents was lower in the blended learning course. As for the pace of the course, in 2008-2010, 23 customs officers rated the course as very intensive, 31 – intensive, 36 – normal, 2 –slow (see Table 3). In 2011-2012, 14 learners found the course very intensive, 38 – intensive, 34 – normal (*ibidem*).

Table 3. The pace of the course (2008-2012)

The last question dealt with the practical aspect of the course. In 2011-2012, 2 respondents did not find any use in the acquired language knowledge, 35 participants answered that they sometimes used their language knowledge at work, and 70 participants felt sure they would use

at work. In 2008-2010, 11 participants did not find the acquired language knowledge useful, 14 respondents used it sometimes, and 66 customs officers evaluated the acquired language knowledge as useful for their everyday work duties (*ibidem*).

Table 4. The importance of language acquisition for work (2008-2012)



The blended learning course incorporates an action-based approach related to the professional life of customs officers: customs officers' time management, cooperation with French-speaking colleagues, the Code of Ethics of Customs Officers, customs control, exemplary behavior, customs mission abroad and comparison between the Lithuanian and French customs services. The pedagogical means include the Internet communication platform and the ICT training required for effectively using the platform. Thus, blended learning contributes in a more effective integration of customs officers into their professional and social life. It also works for larger multi-disciplinary education programs based on the application of modern technologies and a variety of authentic language sources.

Vocabulary in blended learning

When blended learning first appeared at the CTC in 2011, the topics in the language programs had to be revised. The "traditional" programs focused on teaching French as a foreign language while blended learning gives priority to French for Specific Purposes, with a leading place given to vocabulary. According to the strategic objectives of learning, "the teacher conveys declarative knowledge (the What), procedural knowledge (the How), and conditional knowledge (the Why and When). More specifically, the strategies of learning vocabulary are classified in different ways by many scholars: "determination strategies, social strategies,

memorization strategies, cognitive strategies, repetition strategies, association strategies, inference strategies, metacognitive strategies, etc." (Lavoie, 2015: 4).

We will show the importance of lexical competence in blended learning through the example of the B1 level study program "Professional blended learning course of French for customs officers". In this teaching aid, the professional vocabulary is presented in topics and illustrated with authentic texts, for example, a comparative analysis of the customs services in Lithuania and France (see Figure 1).

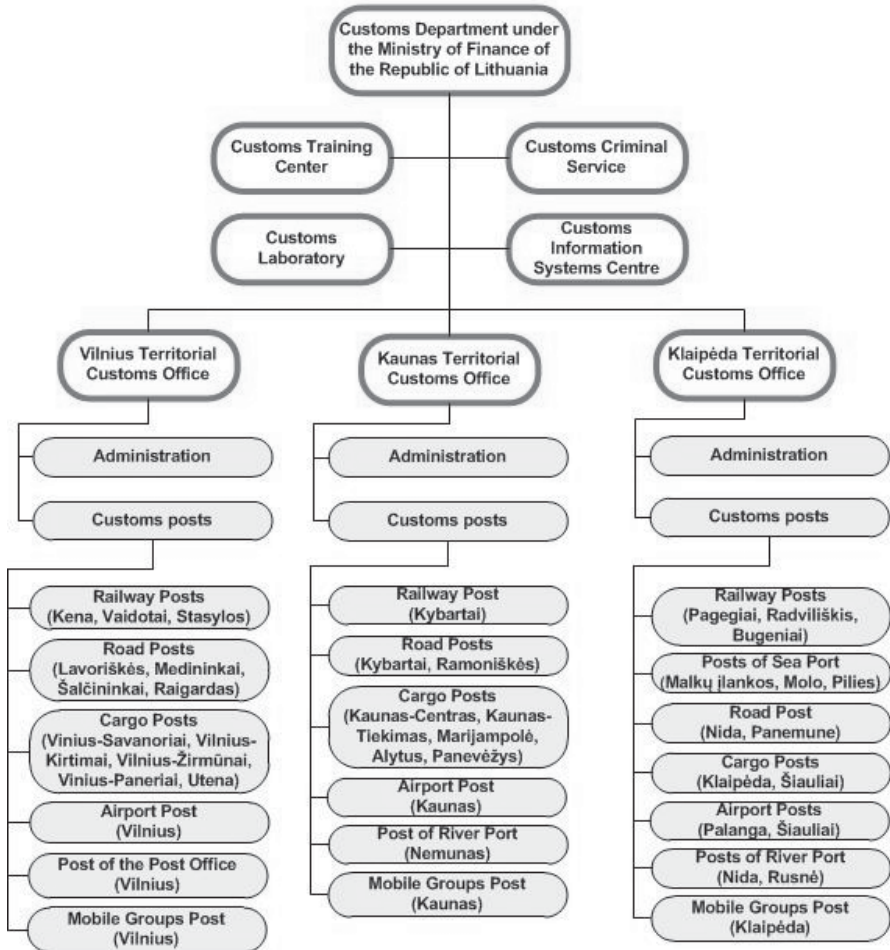
Interactive components include audio recordings, original animated films and games such as crosswords. A Moodle platform is used for distance learning material. During the course, the teacher can modify or adjust it according to learners' comments or reactions regarding course content (exercises, authentic texts, questionnaires, etc). The teacher and learners engage in interactive tasks that imitate the situations of real communication. The traditional education methods, based on demonstration, reading, interpretation or translation coexist with communicative methods and the interactive approach.

The majority of foreign language programs are based on the same set of competences:

- 1) oral comprehension,
- 2) written comprehension,
- 3) oral production,
- 4) written production (Vigner, 2001)
- 5) In the reception phase, the learner remains passive: intonation, body language, context can be used to understand the speaker. In production, on the other hand, the language is used in an active way. "Research has shown that words are the pivots of languages, around which all the data (phonemic, morphological, syntactical, semantical, rhetoric) that condition their use in the discourse are organized" (Tréville & Duquette, 1996: 33). The learning of vocabulary is extremely important in language acquisition.

Figure 1. Structure of the Customs Service of Lithuania, updated in September 2016 (<http://www.cust.lt/web/guest/776#en>)

Lithuanian Customs administrative structure



Marie-Claude Tréville and Lise Duquette single out five components of lexical competence: linguistic, discursive, referential, socio-cultural and strategic (*ibidem*, 98). The linguistic component emphasizes either the oral side (pronunciation) or the written one (spelling and writing). "Extensive

exercises in morphological derivation and writing lead to a significant improvement of learners' spelling" (Lavoie, 2015: 5). They may also improve the spelling so that learners will retain phonic patterns such as in *forêt*, *forestier*, *déforestation*, etc; or the words with silent letters *bord*, *bordure*, etc. Learners may also retain homonyms: *compte*, *compteur*/*conte*, *conter*, etc.

As regards the discursive component, the teacher should present the "logical-semantic relations" (Tréville & Duquette, 1996: 95) in common collocations. Learners often face problems when forming phrases and choosing appropriate components. In most cases, they rely on the structures of their mother tongue. This is the case with the trainees at the CTC when they study French for professional purposes, as the presence of the Lithuanian professional environment is noticeable in the course of French for professional purposes.

The referential component deals with the analysis of "the domain of experience and objects of the world and <...> their relations" (*ibidem*, 98), so that one could "...anticipate, at the discourse level, the lexical sequences which correspond to the stereotypes of social behavior familiar to learners" (*ibidem*). Blended learning not only improves the lexical skills of the customs officers, based on Internet reference but it also provides such professional information as, for example, the ways of searching vehicles for illegal goods.

The socio-cultural component focuses on the time and socio-cultural conditions of the discourse. A common error is the confusion of registers. In some cases, learners fail to distinguish between formal style and that of everyday language (spoken). Thus, when writing their CVs, learners often use '*job*' or '*boulot*' (In French, the word *boulot* or *job* means work in an informal context) instead of '*travail*', '*emploi*', '*profession*' (the same meaning but in a formal context); also '*dada*' or '*hobby*' (informal) instead of '*passe-temps*' or '*loisirs*' (formal).

The strategic component focuses on the learners who use professional vocabulary, for example, special words with synonyms that are often vague or less known to the learner. This component is very important in learning vocabulary because the ability to find synonyms, to clarify or solve a communication problem <...> (*ibidem*) helps not only diminish the deficiency of lexical knowledge, but also helps reformulate ideas and avoid repetition.

The blended learning course for customs officers includes, alongside learning the professional language and its registers, the development of analytical abilities, needed to read and analyze texts and other authentic documents chosen because of their importance, relevance and

accessibility. In some cases, even without understanding all the words, the learners can guess their meaning and find a suitable response to the question. While learning words, the customs officers also improve their oral comprehension skills, listening to the audio recordings that are included in the online course.

The course focuses on the development of the customs officers' general practical competences through learning French. The themes of the blended learning course were chosen regarding the personal and professional experience as well as the intercultural differences of learners. The course covers such themes as the exemplary behavior of customs officers based on the Code of Ethics of the Customs Officers of the Republic of Lithuania, or the comparison between the Customs services of Lithuania and France using pictures, diagrams and authentic information provided by the customs officers of both countries. These themes reflect real-life situations and encourage considering the questions: "Why is proper behavior so important?", "How can you improve your image?", "Is it advisable to avoid conflict in all situations?", "How should the structure of the Lithuanian customs service be improved?", "What is the future of the customs services in Lithuania and in France?", etc.

According to Terville and Duquette, vocabulary learning involves "the storing of words (with the rules of use and connections to other words) in memory, so that they could be immediately recalled to accomplish a language task" (Tréville & Duquette, 1996: 33). This view on vocabulary learning is shared by the *andragogues* who work with the customs officers. It is worth adding that the acquisition of professional vocabulary also involves the expression of personal opinions and leads to a higher language and professional level. The blended learning course at the CTC shows that such themes as collaborating with French-speaking colleagues or the Code of Ethics of Customs Officers require the mastering of certain professional knowledge as well as the ability to express one's personal position.

A New Textbook of Russian for the Military Academy of Lithuania (MAL)

The traditional educational model, still widely used in secondary schools, determines a rather "passive" engagement from learners. Therefore, even though teachers might want to engage learners in cooperation, they face real problems and, in some cases, are forced to take on the leader's role. Besides, it has been noticed that, being better-mark-driven, students cannot assess their own performance adequately; quite

often cadets prefer to rely on the teacher's assessment rather than on self-assessment. Thus, they face difficulties in overcoming the habit from secondary schools of "being instructed" and struggle to adjust to the more pro-active role of a partner within the learner-centered model of education. It should be mentioned that existing textbooks of Russian for foreigners largely follow traditional teaching ways. Therefore, it is difficult to adjust them to the learner-centered teaching model.

Language teaching practice in MAL and CTC, as well as extensive research in language teaching worldwide, in particular, in the UK and France,² prove the impossibility of following only one educational model. Changes in the educational environment (such as ICT based and distance learning, accessibility to audio-visual resources in the classroom) and the rapid development of modern technologies have created advantageous conditions for introducing a complex set of tools and methods that combines traditional and technology-assisted language teaching.

At present there are lots of distances/web-based courses of Russian for foreigners, but hardly any of them meet the specific needs of military educational institutions. Therefore, there is a need to create a new Russian textbook for the Military Academy of Lithuania; it would be based on a harmonious and reasonable combination of traditional teaching and ICT-assisted language learning methods. The work on the textbook is already underway. Alongside the above-mentioned methodological basis, the textbook will offer a set of features that reflect the specific needs of military education, distance learning options, as well as the differences in learners' language levels. These features are:

- General language topics and professional communication situations are introduced at once.
- The content of the textbook provides the possibility to work individually in a mixed-language-level class; the textbook offers texts, dialogues and exercises for various language levels; all within one study theme.
- The vocabulary required for everyday and professional communication, including military terminology, is acquired through texts and tailor-made tasks and exercises.
- The grammar section of the textbook is reduced: grammar is mainly given in tables; they contain sufficient information for producing correct Russian speech in real-life situations.

² See Jerome BRUNER, Jennifer FAUST, John FANSELOW, Donald PAULSON, Christian PUREN.

- Teaching tools are provided for classroom work, self-learning and distance learning.
- Learners are immersed in real-life Russian speaking environments through audio-visual resources; they stimulate speaking skills, raise motivation to use the language in learning situations.
- Internet video files and YouTube resources are used for educational purposes in class or for self-studies.

The main principles of the theoretical basis of the method can be summarized as follows:

Firstly, the principle of personality-oriented communication aims at a complete fusion of communication and learning. It is common knowledge that personal communication fosters trust within a group of learners: it removes self-consciousness and makes language acquisition highly productive. Secondly, the principle of role-based organization of the learning material and learning process is essential. Role-based organization preserves all the socio-psychological characteristics of real-life communication. This is no doubt motivating as it supposes well-defined goals and the presence of active communicators: real people with their interests, their moods and preferences. Thirdly, the principle of concentration in the organization of the study materials and the process of studies mainly concern the amount of material and course scheduling. This principle presupposes the coherence and interdependence of a rather large amount of study material. It also highlights the efficiency of cognitive processes. According to S. Titkova, learners switch over into a more active mode of learning that fosters their creativity. They learn to retain large volumes of information without prior memorization (*Титкова, 2013*).

Our practice shows that 80% of home tasks should contain information that is known to learners; thus, the purpose of homework is to revise and summarize the vocabulary and grammar that have been covered in class. Homework should also include creative tasks, such as searching on the Internet for information related to learners' professional activities. This approach to home tasks promotes learners' autonomy and creates initiative. It also allows identifying and developing learners' abilities, interests and preferences.

The distinctive features of this textbook, alongside the above-mentioned teaching methods, include taking into account the specific needs of military education and distance-learning options. The textbook caters for working in mixed-level groups: general topics are introduced in professional communication situations. Texts, dialogues and exercises on one study theme vary in their level of difficulty and the grammar section is

reduced to the tables that provide sufficient information for producing correct Russian speech in real-life situations. Internet video files and YouTube resources are used for specific educational purposes.

Conclusion

At present, successful acquisition of a second foreign language largely depends on a highly beneficial combination of teaching ways and methods. The practice of teaching languages at the Lithuanian Military Academy and the Customs Training Centre proves that the learning process can be organized on the learner-centered model experiential approach. This educational model not only ensures not only the acquisition of sound language skills, but also contributes to the development of leadership skills, creativity and decision making abilities.

This approach transforms the traditional roles in the classroom: teachers give up their leading role; teacher-learner relations turn into cooperation among partners. This raises the quality of learning, increases motivation and stimulates progress. Besides, this method works well in mixed-level classes. The application of distance-learning technologies is viewed as a significant factor: these technologies give rise to radically new ways of active learning.

Thus, there is a definite need to design Russian and French teaching aids that, with due regard to the specific requirements of specialized educational institutions, will exploit a wide range of modern technologies, both for classroom and distance learning.

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