

**HoLLTnet international meeting:
'Bi-/Multilingualism and the History of Language Learning and Teaching'**
University of Reading, United Kingdom, 5-7 July 2018

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This event has been made possible by the generous sponsorship of the Centre for Literacy and Multilingualism, and School of Humanities, University of Reading.

Thursday 5 July

*(All sessions on 5 July take place at the Museum of English Rural Life on Redlands Road:
<https://merl.reading.ac.uk/visit-us/getting-here/>)*

- 1.30pm Welcome (Rachel Mairs, University of Reading)
- 1.45pm Introduction to the HoLLT network (Richard Smith and Giovanni Iamartino)
- 2pm Session 1: Colonial and Postcolonial Contexts I
- 'Blessed with Talent': Competing Pedagogical Missions in Early Colonial Brazil:* Astrid Khoo, King's College London.
- Decolonizing Classical Studies: On Latin language, Hñähñu language and language diversity in Mexico City:* Claudio García-Ehrenfeld, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- 'Latin is simply one more language': learning classical languages in the British colonies of West Africa:* Barbara Goff, University of Reading.
- 3.30pm Coffee
- 4pm Session 2: Colonial and Postcolonial Contexts II
- Exploring the role of own-language use in English language learning and teaching in colonial India, with a focus on Madras Presidency (c. 1860 – c. 1920):* Vennela Rayavarapu, University of Hyderabad, and Richard Smith, University of Warwick.
- International Second Language Teacher Professional Development in Multilingual Communities: A Decolonial Historical Approach:* Douglas Fleming, University of Ottawa.

Marginalia and the History of Europeans Learning Colloquial Arabic in Egypt:
Rachel Mairs, University of Reading.

6pm Evening reception at the Museum of English Rural Life, with exhibition of language teaching books from University of Reading Special Collections.

Friday 6 July

(All sessions on 6 and 7 July take place in the Cedars Meeting Room on the University of Reading Whiteknights campus: http://www.venue-reading.com/web/FILES/venue-reading/Cedars_Map.pdf.)

9.30am Session 3: School Exercises and Textbooks

A Study of Okakura Yoshisaburô's Radio English Textbooks: Junior Course, with a Particular Focus on 'Jack the Giant-Killer': Kohei Uchimaru, Toyo University.

Bilingual Coptic-Greek Word Lists and Texts and Their Role in Late Antique Education in Egypt: Jennifer Cromwell, Manchester Metropolitan University.

10.30am Coffee

11am Session 4: Teachers and their Methods

Pre-Reform Professionals: Northern German language teacher biographies (ca. 1850-1875): Tim Giesler, Universität Bremen.

Teaching 'correct Latin' in late antique Rome: Frances Foster, University of Cambridge.

Understanding the Practical Wisdom of a Non-native EFL Teacher in the Chinese Social Context: Liu Yunqiu, East China Normal University.

Non-native Speaker Teachers of Modern Languages in 19th Century Germany: Sabine Doff, Universität Bremen.

1pm Lunch

2pm Session 5: Language Manuals and their Authors I

« An introduction to the Italian tongue for the use of those who do not understand Latin » : Giovanni Veneroni's « Maître Italien » reception in some eighteenth century Italian grammar books for the use of English and French learners: Norma Romanelli, Université Paris Diderot.

'Literal translation and multi-lingual notes in Giuseppe Baretti's An Introduction to the Italian Language (1755), Vilma de Gasperin, University of Oxford.

Teaching English in nineteenth-century Italy: The case of letter-writing manuals: Polina Shvanyukova, Università degli Studi di Bergamo.

Using pedagogical dialogues as pragmatic data: vulgar language in the Manières de langage (1399-1415): Emily Reed, University of Sheffield.

4pm Coffee

4.15pm Session 6: Standards and Vernaculars

A history of teaching Mandarin Chinese as a second language to Mongols in China 1900-2000: Jiaye (Jenny) Wu, University of Nottingham.

Didactics of Latin and vernacular languages in humanistic Europe: from Niccolò Perotti to Aldo Manuzio: Ugo Vignuzzi and Patrizia Bertini Malgarini, Rome Sapienza and LUMSA Roma.

Teaching Romance Languages in a French Romance of the Twelfth Century: a Multilingual Idyll: Brindusa Grigoriu, Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași.

Saturday 7 July

9.30am Session 7: Language Variation, Shift and Change

Norms and normativity in Early Modern language teaching: Julia Hübner, Freie Universität Berlin.

Chronotopic Images of Multilingual Self: Madina Djuraeva, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

'Where a lapse into English is invariably accepted,' the use of L1 in language classrooms in England during the 1970s, viewed from the perspective of a Northumberland Middle School: John Daniels, formerly University of Durham.

11am Coffee

11.30am Session 8: Language Learning in Multilingual Societies

Psammetichus the Linguist: Language Learning Theory and Practice in Multilingual Ancient Egypt: Nicola Reggiani, Università di Parma.

Historical perspectives on teaching and learning in the trilingual higher education of a Chinese ethnic minority: Jie Liu, University of Reading.

Learning to read the New Testament as a multilingual experience: Cressida Ryan, University of Oxford.

Merchants as Lexicographers: Michelle Li, Caritas

1.30pm Lunch

2.30pm Session 9: Language Manuals and their Authors II

Teaching English in mid-nineteenth century Italy: Millhouse's Corso: Stefania Nuccorini, Rome III.

Domenico De Vivo's Approaches on teaching Russian and Italian as a Second Language in the Second Half of 19th Century: Alessandro Cifariello, Chieti-Pescara.

Competing methodologies in 19th-c. foreign language teaching: M. Santagnello vs James Hamilton: Giovanni Iamartino and Lucia Berti, University of Milan

Translation and bilingual texts in the history of Portuguese grammar "for the instruction of the English": Maria do Céu Fonseca and Ana Alexandra Sila, Évora.

4.30pm Coffee

4.45pm Session 10: Language Manuals and their Authors III

The origins of Western language teaching: Eleanor Dickey, University of Reading.

'Reflection on the language': innovation and tradition in ELT textbooks in Italy in the 1980s and 1990s: Luciana Pedrazzini, Milan

Learning English grammar in Italian universities in the 20th century. The role of the L1: Andrea Nava, Milan.

Abstracts

1. **Domenico De Vivo's Approaches on teaching Russian and Italian as a Second Language in the Second Half of 19th Century**

Alessandro Cifariello, Università degli Studi di Chieti-Pescara "G. D'Annunzio"

Very little is known about Domenico De Vivo (1839-1897). A disciple of Italian linguist Giacomo Lignana, De Vivo worked as a professor of Russian and English language at the Asiatic College in Naples (Italy) in 1868 for two years, and then as an Italian language lecturer at Tartu and Odessa Universities (Russian Empire) from 1879 until his death, which happened suddenly in 1897. De Vivo champions his ideas on language teaching and learning in his books which are: Russian grammar for Italians, "*Grammatica della lingua russa*," Dorpat 1882, Italian grammar for Russians, "*Praktičeskoe rukovodstvo dlja izučenija ital'janskogo jazyka*," Odessa 1886, and the first and only published volume of his Italian-Russian vocabulary entitled "*Dizionario Italiano-Russo*," Odessa 1894. The purpose of this presentation is to examine De Vivo's life and works in the first attempt, according to De Vivo's own words, "to promote Russian language learning in Italy and Italian language learning in Russia." The strategies that De Vivo adopted "to relieve and ease the practical learning of a foreign language" through "the short and clear exposition of the grammar rules and [...] enough practical exercises" (the so-called "consistency of exposition") will also be discussed.

2. **Bilingual Coptic-Greek Word Lists and Texts and Their Role in Late Antique Education in Egypt**

Jennifer Cromwell, Manchester Metropolitan University

Coptic, the last phase of the indigenous Egyptian language, employed a large number of Greek loanwords (as many as 40%+ of the words of a given text). This situation was the result of Coptic's development, during centuries of language contact and alongside the use of Greek as the official administrative language of Egypt under the Ptolemies and Romans. The survival of bilingual Coptic-Greek documents on papyri and ostraca of the 6th to 8th centuries is testament to this linguistic environment. Much of this material is typically attributed to 'school' activity, notably word lists, grammatical paradigms, and parallel texts. This paper will present the surviving evidence and address the function(s) of the sources, questioning if the material belongs solely to the realm of primary education in Coptic, how much is indicative of second language (L2) acquisition, and what may be connected rather with translators and translation activity. I will discuss the aspects of language learning upon which this material sheds light, as well as what it contributes to our understanding of bilingualism in Egyptian communities of late antiquity.

3. **'Where a lapse into English is invariably accepted:' the use of L1 in language classrooms in England during the 1970s, viewed from a Northumberland Middle School**

John Daniels, formerly Durham University

This paper draws on the literature and documents of the time (the quotation above is taken from a questionnaire given to language teachers at a conference in the 1970s) and the personal experience of the author as a middle school French teacher for pupils aged nine to thirteen during the 'revolutionary' (Stern 1963) period of the 1970s, when language learning was introduced to primary aged pupils and extended to older students of all abilities. It describes how at a time of audio-visual language learning when the use of L1 was generally proscribed, there is evidence that many teachers found it necessary to revert to English in their lessons. Research into this period of language learning in England formed an important part of the author's postgraduate work at Durham with Professor Mike Byram.

The presentation will look at the importance of the visual element in audio-visual learning, the need to provide illustrations to support the taped dialogue, such as the characteristic posters of the Nuffield, introductory French course, *En Avant*. Everything was designed to avoid the need to speak in English. the detailed teachers' instructions on how the different units were to be presented

often suggesting the use of drawings to help explicate the situations in which the narratives were played out.

4. The Origins of Western Language Teaching

Eleanor Dickey, University of Reading

Language teaching in Europe today is the development of a continuous, unbroken tradition of teacher-pupil transmission going back to antiquity; this is particularly true of Latin teaching. Some of the techniques, terminology, and assumptions we use are inherited from the ancient Greeks and Romans, and others are reactions against inherited practices: both types are ultimately dependent on the ancients. Yet the origins of the tradition are obscure, and we rarely even wonder how systematic language teaching first entered the European educational tradition and what this earliest language teaching was like.

There is, however, general agreement on the time and place of that earliest systematic language teaching: Republican Rome, where aristocratic children regularly learned Greek at school. Can we know anything about how they learned? The hints provided by Roman authors are tantalizingly few, but a major unexploited source of evidence exists: the language-teaching materials used by speakers of Greek (and other languages) to learn Latin during the Empire. These materials share certain characteristics (including a particular format, 'columnar translation') indicating an origin in a developed language-teaching tradition not native to the Greek-speaking world -- almost certainly from Republican Rome.

What can that insight tell us about the materials and methods used to teach language in Rome? Can we work out anything more about the origins of those materials and methods? And how many of the Roman methods are still in use today?

5. Chronotopic Images of Multilingual Self

Madina Djuraeva, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Wirtz (2016) applies Bakhtinian notion of *chronotope* to show how different understandings of time, history, and being are utilized in narratives which generate different kinds of historicity (343). In my research, I apply the chronotopic analysis to study multilingual identities shaped by images of space and time within wider processes of socio-economic, political, and historic changes invoked in the narratives. Following Wirtz's claim that historicity is necessarily perspectival, I argue that multilingual youth in Kazakhstan construct their narratives in a chronotopic dialogue, in which their experience of becoming and being multilingual are constitutive of historical consciousness.

Drawing from over 30 hours of recordings of semi-structured interviews with university level students in internationalized educational contexts in Kazakhstan, I analyze how participants make meaning out of certain events and places in the past with regards to their language education experiences. The results reveal that the narratives of becoming multilingual are indexed through historical spatiotemporal categories, such as eras, regimes, socio-economic and political times of transition, some of which had occurred long before the participants' birth. Furthermore, the past is always present in students' stories of being multilingual either as a contrast to or a similarity with the history.

The study contributes to the field of multilingualism by extending the inquiry to learners' historical consciousness embodied in their images of self along their language learning trajectories. It further underlines the power of participants' nostalgia of the imaginative past in shaping their decisions around language education in multilingual communities.

6. Non-native Speaker Teachers of Modern Languages in 19th Century Germany

Sabine Doff, University of Bremen

When the modern languages gained a more and more important status in the German secondary school system during the second half of the 19th century, teachers for English and French were urgently needed. Yet the grammar school and academic training of the (future) male representatives of the teaching profession included classical languages only. The number of English and French

native speaker teachers was very limited; moreover this group did not enjoy a good reputation for a variety of reasons. So who taught modern languages at Germany secondary schools in the second half of the 19th century, in which ways and how were they trained? What are the implications for the modern language classrooms? This paper takes a look at the different groups of modern language teachers at different types secondary schools for boys and girls with a focus on female non-native speaker teachers and their qualifications.

7. International Second Language Teacher Professional Development in Multilingual Communities: A Decolonial Historical Approach.

Douglas Fleming, University of Ottawa

Taking a cue from how the notion of “colonial hegemony” has dominated the field of English as a Second Language (ESL) historically (Pennycook, 1998), we argue that language teacher education should explicitly address issues of power. This is especially true in contexts where colonialism has had a long and ugly history.

In this session, I will talk about how international professional development projects can be conducted using decolonial approaches by reporting the research findings of a three-year study with three sets of Yunnan middle and secondary school English teachers.

The project, which took place at University of Ottawa over the course of the past four summers, was conducted in cooperation with Chinese governmental officials and universities. It engaged these teachers in cultural and educational exchanges, English language acquisition and fundamental concepts related to ESL/EFL teaching methodologies. By the end of each three-month program, the participants had enhanced their communicative abilities in the English language, had a better understanding of Western and Canadian cultures and a clearer conceptualization of the history, range and diversity of current ESL/EFL teaching methods and techniques.

I will outline the challenges entailed in designing and delivering such a program and demonstrate the progressive possibilities of this decolonial approach to internationalization. In particular, I will discuss how current ESL/EFL theory and research can be applied to local contexts.

The study participants were experienced teachers from Yunnan, a Chinese province that is highly diverse, both ethnically and linguistically. The participating teachers were well aware of the contradictory nature of their work as English teachers and were struggling to find ways to concretely serve their students given the complexity of forces at play in this context. As we argue with our Chinese and Canadian partners, adopting a historical perspective is essential to understanding the significance of this present-day initiative.

8. Translation and bilingual texts in the history of Portuguese grammar “for the instruction of the English”

Maria do Céu Fonseca, Ana Alexandra Silva, University of Évora

Jacob Castro, António Vieira, C. Laisné, Richard Woodhouse, Alfred Elwes, A. Kinloch, Charles Henry Wall, John Laycock are key references in the field of Portuguese as a foreign language (PFL) grammaticography. All of them wrote Portuguese grammars and manuals, published in London, between the 18th and 19th centuries, which explains at least part of the interest in Portuguese grammatical literature shown both by the target audience and by the publishing market.

Some of the titles in these publications highlight the role of translation and bilingual texts in the grammatical description: “(...) *with exercises in double translation*”; “(...) *with examples selected from the best authors*”. It is based on such works that this paper raises some questions: How can one frame such texts and translation exercises within the macrostructure of the grammar and its educational purpose? Which conceptions do authors have regarding the language they describe? How does one articulate literary reading and translation practices with the teaching and learning of the foreign language? How to contextualize these practices within the framework of PFL grammars, especially in the context of the differences between grammars for English speakers vs. grammars for French speakers?

9. Teaching ‘correct Latin’ in late antique Rome

Frances Foster, University of Cambridge

Roman grammatici taught correct Latin language use through reading Latin poets. By late antiquity, there was an ever widening gap between ‘correct usage’ and the language which students would have used in daily contexts. Equally, the texts that were used to teach from were centuries old, and written in highly contrived literary registers. In addition, we know that students at even the most traditional and elite schools in Rome may well have come from all over the empire, and were not necessarily native Latin speakers. Thus, they would have been learning a Latin as a second language for two purposes: for daily communication and for ‘correct usage’ in formal situations, such as making speeches. One grammaticus, the late antique teacher and writer Maurus Servius Honoratus (fl. 390-410), has left a vast commentary which can indicate some of the approaches he used in teaching ‘correct’ Latin usage. Servius held an elite school in Rome. We can tell, from his commentary, the linguistic difficulties his students seem to have encountered with Latin. Servius frequently defines the meaning of words which were either archaic, or simply not known to those students whose native language was not Latin. In this paper, I will analyse specific passages in Servius’s Commentary to examine how Servius addressed both purposes, daily communication and ‘correct’ formal Latin. I will show instances in which Servius addresses students of differing linguistic abilities and backgrounds, although he only uses the target language in his Commentary, and perhaps in his classroom.

10. Decolonizing Classical Studies: On Latin language, Hñähñu language and language diversity in Mexico City.

Claudio García-Ehrenfeld, National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM)

De Lingua Othomitorum Dissertatio (1837) by Manuel de Juan Crisóstomo Nájera is an extremely important document for the history of multilingualism in Mexico. Not only it is the first linguistic study of modern Mexico, but it also paved the way for the study of original languages both within the academy and within other state institutions. However, Nájera’s text, which is written in Latin, also marks the end of a three-century long interaction between Latin and indigenous languages and reveals a time in which Latin had lost its prestige as a language of creative writing and science, and had become instead a language to be translated and with philological interest only. In this way, Nájera’s *Dissertatio* can be seen to foreshadow the epistemology which explains current linguistic politics in Mexico City, which not only places the nation state at its core but also privileges Indo-European western languages over the original languages spoken in Mexican territory. This is made visible in the division found inside the most important institutions dedicated to the study of languages which have English, Spanish, French and other literature departments, and give some room to the study of the origins of the western nation-state (i.e. Greek and Latin literature), but give little space to the study, promotion and preservation of indigenous languages (i.e. the 68 existing languages with their more than 364 variants, which belong to 16 different families). Focusing on the contact between Latin and Hñähñu, and inspired by Kenyan writer Ngugi wa thiong’o’s reflections on translation, this paper will analyse the responsibility of classical scholars today to engage with the original languages of Mexico, and argue that this engagement can also lead to decolonisation of classical studies themselves.

11. ‘Literal translation and multi-lingual notes in Giuseppe Baretto’s *An Introduction to the Italian Language* (1755)

Vilma De Gasperin, University of Oxford

In eighteenth century England, the Turinese man of letters Giuseppe Baretto published several works aimed at English ladies and gentlemen who wanted to learn the Italian language. His works range from lexicography to grammar, from writing to speaking and reading Italian as a foreign language. This paper will analyze his *An Introduction to the Italian language* (1755) with a focus on Baretto’s use of other languages (primarily English but also Latin, French and Spanish) to provide a tool for learning Italian as a foreign language ‘without a Master’.

An Introduction to the Italian language is a collection of texts from 27 Italian authors from the 14th to the 18th century. The aim at autonomous learning relies on the use of languages other than Italian. Thus Baretti provides, firstly, a ‘literal’ translation into English with the specific aim of clarifying the meaning of the original, rather than giving a beautifully rendering in the target language. For this reason he highlights in italics words that are not directly discernible in the Italian structure, but are required in English in order for the translation to make sense either at syntactical or at a cultural level. Secondly, Baretti’s anthology offers a series of footnotes, which clarify grammatical, syntactical and lexical points. These notes rely not only on English explanations, but also on parallels and examples drawn from other languages, such as Latin, French and Spanish, which shows that Baretti had in mind a cultivated reader who was, to some degree, multilingual.

12. Pre-Reform Professionals: Northern German language teacher biographies (ca. 1850-1875)

Tim Giesler, University of Bremen

The second half of the 19th century saw a shift in the professionalization of German (English) language teachers moving away from pure autodidacts to fully trained academics. This general tendency was visible in the northern German merchant cities as well. There, „national“ (i.e. native speaker) teachers were replaced by MFL experts trained at Prussian universities.

Between autodidacts and fully trained academics, there was a generation of English teachers who were exceptional in quite a few respects: They had been trained at (primary teacher) seminars before going on extended stays abroad as language teachers (e.g. at Eton College), private tutors or university students (e.g. at the Sorbonne). In England and France they learned the target languages up to a level that enabled them to speak fluently. Finally, some of them got a Ph.D., which qualified them for careers at more prestigious school types.

Based on their oral competencies, they were able to hold their lessons in the target language; this pre-reform „direct method“ forms an exception in the grammar- translation dominated German language education of the 19th century. Rather than drawing their teaching methodology from neo-humanist sources, they adapted primary school methods of teaching standard German to regional („Low“-German) speakers.

My paper examines the interplay between biographies of Bremen teachers and the methodological concepts they suggested for their classrooms. The source material consists mainly of articles from yearly school programmes or monthly “notices” (*Mitteilungen*) to the pupils’ parents. This regional perspective then serves as a basis for more general questions: e.g. to which extent the mid-19th century already knew the „ingredients“ of a modern language teacher education – namely academic and seminar training mixed with international experience.

13. ‘Latin is simply one more language’: learning classical languages in the British colonies of West Africa

Barbara Goff, University of Reading

I propose to offer elements of a published work, *Your Secret Language* (London: Bloomsbury 2013), in order to enrich the conversation about learning languages with some material from the colonial context. The history of the classical languages in the British colonies of West Africa – Nigeria, Sierra Leone – is fraught, although it has issued forth in two University departments of Classics, in Nigeria and Ghana. The West African context was multilingual when traders and missionaries first arrived, the latter eager to teach Biblical and classical languages to selected African children so as to train the next generation of church leaders. Many African students showed enormous skill in quickly acquiring the ancient languages, especially Latin, which was usually taught first. A government report in 1945 stated what previous authorities had also found: ‘This multiplicity of tongues ... gives the African scholar an outlook on languages differing altogether from that of his schoolboy British contemporary. Latin is simply one more language. Greek, to the Africans who reach Greek, is simply another’ (*Elliot Commission on Higher Education in West Africa*, HMSO 1945). This aptitude, in the colonial context, immediately cut two ways. It was taken as evidence of Africans’ suitability for the civilising mission of the European empires, which

was thereby usefully validated. But it also, and very quickly, became fuel for European fears of African empowerment, autonomy, and eventual resistance. This complex history can be read via a host of school histories, official reports, and autobiographies, which have previously gone largely unresearched.

14. Teaching Romance Languages in a French Romance of the Twelfth Century: a Multilingual Idyll

Bridusa Grigoriu, Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iasi

Inscribing itself in the field of the European history of language learning and teaching in multilingual communities, the present paper focuses on the first medieval romance in French, *The Conte of Flore and Blanchefleur* by Robert d'Orbigny (1150), in which the Arab-speaking prince Floire and his Francophone protégée Blanchefleur learn Latin together at the court of Spain and become fluent enough to turn it into the language of their love.

From five to ten years old, the pupils are efficiently stimulated by their teacher, Gaidon – a Moorish scholar of the royal entourage – to cultivate their competencies of oral expression and reading comprehension (of Antiquity classics), while enjoying an ever greater freedom of written expression, including the composition of love poems in Latin.

Another relevant parameter of the educational process at court is that Latin is the second language of learning, after French, whose immediate beneficiary is the (Moorish) queen herself.

Indeed, the adult “First lady” becomes a pupil benefitting from lifelong learning thanks to her chambermaid, Blanchefleur’s mother, who, despite her status of a war trophy, is her Majesty’s teacher of French. Thus, the two foreign languages taught at Spains’s court, Latin and French, suggest a spiritual authority, allowing the mutual enrichment of the dominating, in the aftermath of religious wars. Durably, and significantly –if not everlastingly – the language of physical violence rooted in intra-cultural communication is replaced by two Romance languages which seem to embody, together and yet distinctly, the parlance of peace and blossoming.

15. Norms and normativity in Early Modern language teaching

Julia Hübner, Freie Universität Berlin

When teaching and learning foreign languages in modern times the question of norms and normativity plays a crucial role. But what was the significance of normativity in Early Modern language teaching, when the linguistic norm was not yet fully developed?

This study is based on a corpus of 250 multilingual foreign language textbooks from the 15th to the 17th century Early Modern period, usually containing a grammar, a dictionary as well as model dialogues for various communicative situations. Our corpus consists of textbooks containing German as well as up to eight other languages such as French, Italian and English. In these textbooks, the authors apply, explain and transfer linguistic knowledge in order to enable learners to communicate in a foreign language.

Regarding the concept of norm conveyed by the textbooks, it considerably differs from today's idea of norm. Our corpus offers the opportunity to examine the normative ideas and the awareness of norms in historical foreign language teaching from different perspectives. What concept(s) of linguistic norm lie(s) behind those textbooks and how much variation is allowed within the norm? What importance was assigned to normativity in the context of foreign language learning? How were those norms taught – implicitly and explicitly? How did factors such as the author’s L1 and his linguistic competence, the target languages and the target audience influence the concept of norm?

In this paper, we hope to offer some insight into questions of norm and normativity in the context of premodern language teaching in situations of linguistic diversity.

16. Competing methodologies in 19th-c. foreign language teaching: M. Santagnello vs James Hamilton

Giovanni Iamartino and Lucia Berti, University of Milan

The increasing number of Italian grammars, dictionaries, anthologies and exercise books, published between the 18th and 19th centuries in Britain, show how the study of the Italian language became increasingly popular in Late Modern Britain (Mormile and Matteucci 1997, O'Connor 1990, Pizzoli 2004). The Grand Tour, the Opera and classic Italian literature inspired wealthy boys and girls, men and women, to seek knowledge in the language of the Bel Paese (Brand 1957, Thorne 1958).

There was no lack of native Italian teachers willing to satisfy this demand either. Newspapers were filled with advertisements for books and lessons promoting the best and clearest methods to ease the learner in the acquisition of the language. Consequently, the Italian teaching market became rather competitive and authors frequently felt the need both to defend themselves from others' accusations and to attack their competitors.

At the beginning of the 19th century, the Italian teacher M. Santagnello was regularly teaching and publishing books based on his own personal and comprehensive method. This method was rooted in the deep understanding of grammatical structures. For this purpose, Santagnello would exploit English by providing literal translations of Italian clauses in order to allow his students to view the functioning of Italian syntax in their own native language. However, another very different methodology but also based on a particular form of literal translations became popular in this period, that is, the Hamiltonian system by the Irish teacher James Hamilton. Hamilton advertised his courses by promising students that they would learn any foreign language in a short time and without having to study grammar.

By considering both authors' pedagogic texts and Santagnello's treatise, *An Impartial Examination of the Hamiltonian System of Teaching Languages*, our purpose is to present, compare and comment on their foreign language teaching methodologies.

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17. 'Blessed with Talent': Competing Pedagogical Missions in Early Colonial Brazil

Astrid Khoo, King's College London

From the sixteenth century onwards, the emergent Portuguese colony of Brazil was seen as a fertile proselytising ground. Accordingly, both the Franciscans and the Jesuits sent missionaries to educate the indigenous population. One such priest was Julian Garcés, who observed in 1536 that the inhabitants of Tlaxcala were 'blessed with such great talent...that they write in both Latin and Spanish more elegantly than our [European youths]'. Taking this quote as a jumping-off point, this paper will explore the pedagogical efforts taken by Franciscans and Jesuits in colonial Brazil. It will outline not only 'active' teaching practices such as the establishment of schools, but also more nuanced activities such as the production of Latin-language didactic poems which would ostensibly have been assigned as reading material for indigenous students. This paper will then assess the pedagogical efforts of each order, so as to demonstrate that the Jesuits were ultimately more successful in engaging indigenous Brazilians in Latin study. This success stemmed from the education of Jesuit missionaries; having been educated in Latin composition according to the order's classicising *Ratio Studiorum* ('Code of Studies'), they were better equipped than the Franciscans to create innovative texts which suited colonial applications. As such, this paper will not only furnish a historical comparison of two competing missionary orders. It will also recommend language-teaching methods for the modern world— including how Latin educators themselves should be taught – based on the successful practices observed in colonial Brazil.

18. Merchants as Lexicographers

Michelle Li, Caritas Institute of Higher Education

The contribution of merchants in language development has often been overlooked, since merchants are not thought to be directly involved in language change. However, throughout history merchants are the group of travelers who extensively employed innovative communication strategies in order to do business with people of diverse ethnic and linguistic origins. Thus, merchants play an active role in language contact. For example, the Phoenician alphabet, the ancestor of modern alphabets, was invented by Phoenician maritime merchants. A recent edited volume (Wagner, Beinhoff & Outhwaite 2017) also discusses the linguistic characteristics and innovations in communication among merchants. This paper investigates the role of merchants in the writing of dictionaries. The case study is a 6-volume book in Cantonese, English and Pidgin English called 《英語集全》 *The Chinese and English Instructor* compiled by a Chinese merchant 唐廷樞 Tong Ting-shu and published in Canton (now Guangzhou) in 1862. The *Instructor*, containing a dictionary and a dialogue section, was published as a direct response to the needs of people to conduct foreign trade in China. Differing from conventional dictionaries, an innovation

of the *Instructor* is that it includes Chinese Pidgin English. Moreover, many foreign words become loanwords in Cantonese through borrowing. This paper first examines the characteristics of the *Instructor* followed by a discussion of the agency of merchants in setting new linguistic trend.

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19. Historical perspectives on teaching and learning in the trilingual higher education of a Chinese ethnic minority

Jie Liu, University of Reading

Over the years, language education in Chinese minority communities has been subject to political rather than linguistic influences on decision making. In my presentation, I will focus on historical forces which have shaped how the Yi, the sixth biggest ethnic minority with over 8.7 million population in China, learn three languages – their home language *Yi*, Mandarin Chinese and English – as part of a politically driven agenda.

I will examine a range of economic, sociohistorical and language issues which have shaped Yi identity over the past half a century. In particular, I will outline the official recognition of the Yi language during the *minzu shibie* (ethnic identification process) conducted in 1950s in China, and the impact of the *bimo* religious belief system which limits public access to Yi manuscripts. In addition, I will also consider the negative effects of complex Yi-Han relations on the overall literacy levels of the Yi. To conclude, it will be argued that both the political factors as well as complex contextual and historical factors in trilingual education need to be taken into account in discussions of minority communities.

20. Understanding the Practical Wisdom of a Non-native EFL Teacher in the Chinese Social Context

Liu Yunqiu, East China Normal University/Confucius Institute of University of Turin

This study aims to explore the practical wisdom developed throughout and embedded in the 50-year teaching practice of a senior EFL teacher, Professor G, by a mixed method of ethnography and narrative inquiry. The collection of field data lasted for six years, including a two-hour interview with the teacher, his publications, unpublished articles, blog communication with his students, and lecture videos, amounting to half a million words.

With the stance of socio-cultural theory, the author believes that teachers are learners and get developed as they respond to their contexts of work, reflect on their practices, and come to a new understanding of teaching and learning in the process of seeking professional growth. Teachers practical wisdom derives from and is embedded in their teaching practice.

Through an examination of his experiences of personal life, learning, and teaching in the social context of China in his times, the study reported here intends to answer three research questions:

- 1) What are the features of his EFL teaching practice?
- 2) How is his practical knowledge reconstructed in the contextual tensions in China?
- 3) What are the driving forces of the transformation of his practical wisdom as an EFL teacher?

The study has arrived at findings which have revealed a typical old Chinese intellectual with life-long pursuit of self-cultivation, who has become a master of English but is deeply rooted in the Chinese culture. The adversity he had run into in the social context has turned into a blessing in disguise.

21. Marginalia and the History of Europeans Learning Colloquial Arabic in Egypt

Rachel Mairs, University of Reading

This paper aims to explore the potential of owners' marks to illuminate the history of, and pedagogical practice behind, Egyptian Arabic phrasebooks c. 1850-1945. Although some Arabic instruction books from this period survive in pristine copies – indicating the owners' good intentions but limited progress in the language – others contain extensive annotations in margins and any other blank spaces within the book.

I shall explore two main categories of annotations. First, marginalia with linguistic content: grammatical explanations, corrections, additional vocabulary, guidance on pronunciation, etc. added by the user of the book. A copy of Marlborough's *Arabic Self-Taught* from the early 1900s contains lists of additional vocabulary added by its owner, a British sailor in Egypt: including 'anchor', 'pliers', 'twine', but also words for recreational activities (drinking, gambling and spending time with women). Lists such as these provide evidence for interactions between learners and native speakers, and formal instruction books as a starting point for learning, rather than a complete programme.

Second, ownership inscriptions (including bookplates and customised bindings) and other information on who used the book, where, and in what professional context. I will consider several individual copies of Arabic phrasebooks used by British army personnel in Egypt, who left a list of signatures and dates inside the covers. These books seem to have passed from hand to hand in military camps, being left for incoming soldiers by those who were posted away from Egypt or the Sudan. They offer an insight into informal language study practices within the army, at a different level to that of grammar instruction in a formal educational context.

22. Learning English Grammar In Italian Universities in The 20th Century. The Role of the L1.

Andrea Nava, Università degli Studi di Milano

The first few decades following the end of the Second World War saw the publication in many European countries of dedicated teaching materials aimed at would-be English language professionals, such as the highly successful grammaticographical genre of university grammars of English (e.g. Zandvoort 1945) as a result of research efforts shifting from historical investigations into the English language to the study of contemporary English (Engler and Haas 2000). In Italian universities, English language materials used to prepare language professionals tended to follow the model of textbooks for the learning of classical languages (Zagrebelsky 1985). Two aspects of the Italian academic context conspired against the adoption of an approach to English grammar learning/teaching more akin to that instantiated in European university grammars: first, the fact that no degree of previous familiarity with English was required of those who intended to pursue a degree in English language and literature and second the fact that, unlike in many other European contexts, English studies in Italian universities predominantly focused on literary aspects (Dodd 1982, Zagrebelsky 1991, Nava 2018).

Drawing on a sample of highly successful English language materials used in Italian universities before the age of so-called 'mass higher education' started in this country (Marenco 2000), this presentation investigates the extent to which the Italian language/grammar impacted on the way English grammar was conceptualized and described/exemplified in the pedagogical output of Italian anglicists and ponders the role that advances in linguistic and applied linguistic research played in the development of an increasingly more scientifically grounded view of English grammar and its teaching in Italian universities in the 20th century.

23. Teaching English in mid-nineteenth century Italy: Millhouse's *Corso*

Stefania Nuccorini, Rome-III

John Millhouse, a professor of English Language and Literature in Turin, published the five parts of his *Corso graduato e completo di lingua inglese* (Graded and Complete English Language Course) in 1842. The *Corso*, a textbook which explicitly addressed the needs of Italian learners of English, was later revised and reprinted by Ferdinando Bracciforti over a period of several years. The eighth edition of the last two parts was published in 1885. The first three parts, namely *Il primo passo all'Inglese* (the first step towards English or *The English Narrator*), which also includes a detailed description of English pronunciation, the *Analytical Grammar*, and a collection of *Elegant Extracts* in prose and verse, are well-rooted in the then language teaching tradition. Conversely, the fourth and fifth parts, the *Temì Sceneggiati* (rehearsed talks) and their English version, seem to challenge the grammar-translation method. Though as dialogues the *Temì* adopted a long-standing didactic technique, their author purposefully compiled them to show how Italian learners could

assimilate English colloquial phrases and expressions and use them in real-life conversations in a way he described as “simple and natural”. However, Millhouse was fully aware of the different difficulties in developing reading, writing, listening and speaking skills.

The presentation will overview the main characteristics of the first three parts of the *Course*, which are based on deductive rote-learning, and examine the innovative aspects in the last two parts, which enthusiastic reviewers praised with special reference to the role played by the spoken language, thus anticipating the then not even dawning natural method.

24. **‘Reflection on the language’: innovation and tradition in ELT textbooks in Italy in the 1980s and 1990s**

Luciana Pedrazzini, University of Milan

The 1980s and 1990s witnessed the spread of various innovations in the traditionally conservative Italian scenario of foreign language teaching (Rizzardi and Barsi 2005). These innovations, which were boosted by different driving factors (the positive reception of communicative-oriented teaching principles, a reform of the school syllabuses, the activism of language teachers’ associations and an unprecedented offer of teacher-training initiatives) also came to have an impact on locally published ELT textbooks (Pedrazzini forthcoming). One of the peculiarities of the Italian context was that the whole process of change was meant to be approached according to a broader perspective of language education (*educazione linguistica*) aimed at fostering students’ awareness about similarities and differences among languages. and encouraging the implementation of shared aims and procedures by teachers (Bertocchi et al. 1981).

On account of the innovative impulse provided by an approach to language learning and teaching that aimed to mark a break with grammar-translation teaching, this presentation reports on the preliminary findings of a small-scale study that has investigated how the ‘reflection on the language’ was actually implemented in a corpus of communicative-oriented school EFL textbooks published in Italy in the 1980s and 1990s. As part of the data collection process, two Italian authors that played a key role in fostering innovation in language teaching in these decades have been interviewed and asked to ‘evaluate’ a sample of the corpus materials using the methodology of ‘concurrent verbalization’. In keeping with a research approach to the history of ELT aimed at emphasizing continuity rather than sudden breaks (Howatt and Smith, 2014) and investigating ‘histories of practice as well as ideas’ (Smith 2015), the analysis has shown methodological features that on the one hand resulted from innovative ‘local’ proposals, on the other were still based on traditional practices.

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25. **Exploring the role of own-language use in English language learning and teaching in colonial India, with a focus on Madras Presidency (c. 1860 – c. 1920)**

Vennela Rayavarapu, University of Hyderabad, and Richard Smith, University of Warwick

Existing work on colonial Indian education tends to present English education as having been only in English with an aim of anglicising the masses. While it is true that there were colonial motives of acculturation embedded in English language teaching, the idea that English language learning was exclusively monolingual is historically inaccurate. Colonial education policies in 19th century India often foregrounded the use of own language in English education, especially in learning

English as a subject. Likewise, teaching material prepared in the 19th century for use in colonial schools in India shows a rich variety of bilingual/trilingual models used in teaching English at the school level.

This paper will draw on colonial Indian education policy level documents to provide an overview of various viewpoints for and against using own language in English learning and teaching. Also, we will outline the bilingual strategies which were defined and advocated for use. Thus, our findings throw light on the under-explored bilingual culture of language learning in colonial India.

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26. Using pedagogical dialogues as pragmatic data: vulgar language in the *Manières de langage* (1399-1415)

Emily Reed, University of Sheffield

My proposed presentation will demonstrate my current PhD research, using late-14th century conversational dialogues as linguistic pragmatic evidence within the ongoing exploration into language contact between Anglo Norman and Middle English. The dialogues under scrutiny, the *Manières de langage*, were designed to teach spoken French within the English schoolroom. Furthermore, they represent the peak of a c.200-year development of increasingly sophisticated French-language pedagogical technique. Jonathan Culpeper and Merja Kytö characterise conversation manuals as ‘speech-purposed’ texts, that seek to mimic spoken interaction¹. However, John Gallagher argues that these are ‘speech-directed’ texts, and thus not merely reflecting speech, but themselves producing linguistically competent expressions within a target language.² This makes conversational dialogues ideal for pragmatic study, and few represent as many voices and social strata as the *Manières de langage*. I intend firstly to provide a historical context to the dialogues, before demonstrating my current research in contact pragmatics between Middle English and Anglo Norman, as evidenced in these texts. Building on the work of Alexander Onysko and Esme Winter-Froemel, who discuss catachrestic and non-catachrestic loanwords (on the basis of competition with indigenous terms)³, I wish to examine the transmission of vulgar words found within the *Manières de langage* (many of which could be recognised as English). In keeping with

¹ Jonathan Culpeper & Merja Kytö, *Early Modern English Dialogues: Spoken Interaction as Writing* (Cambridge, 2010), p.13.

² John Gallagher, *Vernacular language-learning in early modern England* (unpublished thesis), p.27.

³ Alexander Onysko and Esme Winter-Froemel, ‘Necessary loans – luxury loans? Exploring the pragmatic dimension of borrowing’, *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43.6 (2011): 1550-1567

the vulgar theme, I also wish to discuss the calque of *sanglant* into English (as *bloody*), which I discuss in my recent article, and which first appears within the *Manières*.⁴

27. Psammetichus the Linguist: Language Learning Theory and Practice in Multilingual Ancient Egypt

Nicola Reggiani, University of Parma

Seventh-century BC Egyptian Pharaoh Psammetichus I is credited by the ancient historical tradition as strongly interested in language learning theory and practice. Two tales are recounted about his innovative linguistic challenges. According to the first one, he ordered to keep some Egyptian newborns isolated so that they could develop linguistic abilities without external influences, in order to discover the earliest human language. The outcome is historically suspect (the resulted idiom, that is Phrygian, may have been artificially deducted by the king in order to gratify his allies) but the dynamics of the test are extremely interesting, also because it was emulated at later times (for example by Frederick II). The second one tells about the sending of Egyptian children to the local Greek immigrant community in order to make them learn that foreign language and become the new interpreters between the two cultures. The paper will analyse these two episodes from a unitary theoretical viewpoint, by highlighting the concept of language learning / acquisition in childhood according to the ancient thought, and from the socio-cultural perspective, namely the development of language learning in the multilingual environment of ancient Egypt. In particular, the paper will stress the contrast between the earlier Pharaonic tradition – according to which, foreigners were obliged to learn Egyptian – and Psammetichus' attitude, and will make use of the papyrological evidence about learning of Egyptian and Greek in order to outline the consequences of Psammetichus' policy in the later times.

28. « An introduction to the Italian tongue for the use of those who do not understand Latin » : Giovanni Veneroni's « Maître Italien » reception in some eighteenth century Italian grammar books for the use of English and French learners.

Norma Romanelli, Université de Paris-Diderot

The well-known Giovanni Veneroni's Italian grammar *Le Maître Italien*, first published in Paris in 1678, became extraordinarily popular during the author's lifetime, due to its « facilitating » vocation and its attempt at reducing the complexity of grammar rules to adapt them to an audience that did not know Latin. *Le Maître Italien*, continued to be very successful long after its author's death in 1708, through a large number of revised and expanded editions published in many European countries. Several translations were published in England until 1840, starting with Thomas Uvedale's *The new Italian grammar: or the easiest and best method for attaining that language* (London, 1711).

Our paper intends to explore how, during the last decades of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, many authors of Italian grammar books, both in France and in England, came to terms with *Le Maître Italien*, thus placing themselves in a more or less critical way towards it. In particular our attention will focus on the different positions adopted towards Veneroni's grammar by Annibale Antonini (1702-1755), Vincenzo Peretti (...-1808) and Angelo Vergani (fl. 1791-1811).

In particular, we shall examine the relationship they established with the Italian grammar *auctoritates* and the way they promote the legitimacy of their work, pointing out the inadequacy and errors of *Le Maître Italien* but also drawing inspiration from it.

29. Learning to read the New Testament as a multilingual experience.

Cressida Ryan, University of Oxford

The New Testament was written in Greek, in the Roman empire, by those immersed in an Aramaic-speaking culture, with close reference to the Hebrew Old Testament. Understanding the awkward *καὶ ἐγενετο*, or the relationship implied by *ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν*, let alone by *πρὸς ὄψιν*, or

⁴ Emily Reed, 'Some evidence for *bloody* as an Anglo-Norman intensifier', *Notes and Queries*, 64.4(2017): 521-524

the impact of the perfect tense in 1 John, relies on having some sensitivity to how Hebrew works. This meeting of Indo-European and Semitic languages is not simple, but produces a range of conceptual and interpretative challenges, both for those writing the New Testament, and us, as readers. On the other side, the calquing of Latin terms such *ἐκατονταρχή* for centurion, or use of *εἰς*, *ἐν*, and *ἐπι* to reflect Latin 'in', for example, suggest the importance of understanding Latin idioms for reading Greek. What does it mean to talk of St Paul's 'mother tongue', and how does a concept of this affect our reading and teaching of the New Testament? New Testament Greek books construct a form of language in order to demarcate / demarcated by a canon of texts, but what effect does it have on language learning, and textual interpretation to prioritise just one set of texts without incorporating their broader linguistic context? This paper considers the impact of exploring New Testament Greek as a sub-form of Koine both distinct from and integrated with its broader Greek, Hebrew, and Latin context, and the interpretative and pedagogical challenges of so doing.

30. Teaching English in nineteenth-century Italy: The case of letter-writing manuals

Polina Shvanyukova, University of Bergamo, Italy

This paper would like to address an important gap in the historiography of English-language teaching in Italy by examining a selection of EFL didactic materials published in the course of the nineteenth century. In addition to new English-Italian dictionaries (O'Connor 1990), re-editions of the first, eighteenth-century, Italian grammars of the English language (Frank 1983, Vicentini 2012), the increasing popularity of English stimulated production of a vast range of new didactic materials in that period. For instance, the appearance of several bilingual English-Italian letter-writing manuals seems to indicate that the ability to write letters in English was starting to be seen as a valuable skill. In my paper I will examine a selection of such English-Italian letter-writing manuals addressed to nineteenth-century Italian learners of English (Hodgkins – Schor 1858, Millhouse – Anderson 1873 [1856], Cann 1878). I will be concerned, first of all, with the choices these authors made as to the selection of model letters to be included. I will look at the topics the letters deal with, the actors involved, as well as at cultural references and transmission of social knowledge about both countries. Secondly, I will investigate the strategies of teaching English through letter writing, such as translation and glossing, that these authors employ.

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31. A Study of Okakura Yoshisaburô's Radio English Textbooks: Junior Course, with a Particular Focus on 'Jack the Giant-Killer'

Kohei Uchimaru, Toyo University

Okakura Yoshisaburô (1868–1936) established himself as the doyen of English studies in early twentieth-century Japan via series of EFL coursebooks, and writings on English teaching and English literature. Whilst historians of English language teaching in Japan have documented his emphasis on the educational value of the study of English, along with his deference to the Reform Movement, Okakura's radio English course has received only scant attention (his regular course

was conducted three times a year, in spring, autumn, winter, between 1925 and 1936, and each course was two months long, though he often gave lectures for the summer course as well). This is surprising given that the course further diffused Okakura's reputation across the nation and enhanced his profile as 'the most popular teacher of English'.

This paper will remedy the oversight primarily by examining the coursebooks that Okakura produced for the wireless programme. The first section will provide an overview of his selection of texts for use in the *Radio English Textbooks: Junior Course*, before it proceeds to discuss his selective filter on texts. The second will gauge his actual instructional strategies for improving reading comprehension by focusing on 'Jack the Giant-Killer' from Okakura's 1927 textbook and his handwritten notes on the text, and will then demonstrate the ways in which he strove to foster students' abilities to read and comprehend English texts. The third will situate these teaching practices alongside his statements about the teaching of English. In so doing, this study will reveal a hitherto neglected aspect of English language education in early twentieth-century Japan.

* All Japanese names appear in order of the family name followed by the given name

32. Didactics of Latin and vernacular languages in humanistic Europe: from Niccolò Perotti to Aldo Manuzio

Ugo Vignuzzi, Sapienza Università di Roma and Patrizia Bertini Malgarini, Università L.U.M.S.A. Roma

In Latin "first level" grammars written by Italian humanists, and published between 1455 and 1550 (and beyond), Tosco-italian vernacular is widely present, either in the form of a series of translating glosses or as actual sentences: a real "Latin way" for the standardization of the vernacular (Marazzini 1984, vd Bertini Malgarini, Vignuzzi *in press*, and cf Vignuzzi, Bertini 2016). In several reprints of these grammars outside Italy (especially in Germany, France and England), the vernacular glosses often do not reproduce the original Italian ones but are "transposed" into the local variety. For instance, in *Rudimenta grammatices* by N. Perotti the glosses of the ed. [Venezia] 1476 *Diligo, Amo per amare, Audio per odire, Exaudio per exaudire* in the edd. Quentell 1501, Wolff 1506 and Anshelmus 1512 become, respectively, *lieben, horen, erholen*, and in Jodocus Badius Ascensius 1508 *Diligo aymer ong peu, Amo aymer fort, Audio ouir, Exaudio exaulcer*. In another very successful grammar, *Institutiones* written by Aldo Manuzio, the sentence of the ed. 1501 (1508) *tu impari certamente volentera la grammatica studiata da me ma non fai fructo* corresponds in Le Preux 1513 *tu apre(n)s vole(n)tiers gra(m)mair en laquelle iay estudie mays tu ny pourfite point*, in Tubinga 1516 *du lernst nit onwillig gra(m)matic die ich gelernt hab, aber du wirst nit gelert*, and in Colonia 1519 *Gy leren neyt vnwillich grammaticam die ich gelert hebbe mer gy en vordert nyet*. The paper aims to examine the bibliographic, philological and linguistic-textual aspects of these "transpositions".

33. A History of Teaching Mandarin Chinese as a Second Language to Mongols in China 1900-2000

Jiaye (Jenny) Wu, University of Nottingham

My research investigates the under-researched history of teaching and learning Mandarin Chinese as a second language to Mongols within China across the twentieth century and its implications for the present day. Such a study allows us to examine how a national standard language and national identity are promulgated within a minority ethnic group over time. The twentieth century witnessed dramatic social political changes in Chinese society. The country transformed from a feudal empire into a modern nation after the collapse of Qing dynasty and establishment of Republic of China in 1912. After a turbulent period of Civil War, the Communist Party replaced the former ruling Nationalist party and founded the People's Republic of China in 1949. Such a complicated social and political background, provides an opportunity to explore how the teaching and learning of the national language of China changed over time with the aim of unifying and modernizing the country, combatting the potential danger of territorial separation along ethnic lines, and complex and intertwining relationship with the cultural and language rights of the Mongol ethnic group.

This paper investigates the developments of Chinese national identity and Mongolian ethnic identity in the teaching of the national language from 1900 to 2000. Textbooks are the primary source. First, it will look at the memory education in terms of how Chinese national history and Mongol's ethnic history are represented in the textbooks. Second, this study will explore what kinds of Chinese people are included, focusing on ethnicity, gender, class and political figures, and how they are represented. Third, it will examine the relationship between the portrayal of Chinese national identity and Mongolian ethnic identity, and ethnic minority policy in China.