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Articles

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Who We Really are as Resourceful and Creative Cultural and Linguistic Travellers: Combatting Divisive, Blocking Narratives and Finding Threads that Connect Us

Abstract: A postmodern approach recognises the ideological and therefore distorting, prejudicial and divisive nature of large, national and civilisational culture definitions. It is therefore necessary to find ways, in everyday and professional life, to put these definitions aside and therefore dissolve them. To do this, choices need to be made to find ways of bypassing the 'us'-'them' blocking narratives that are produced by these definitions that we have been brought up with and which easily surround us. We need to search for more personal thread narratives that find hybrid identities that we share and which bring us together. These choices arise in the everyday process of small culture formation on the go in which we pass by and make sense of each other. The grammar of culture lays out the various forces that inhabit these blocking and alternative thread narratives.

Key words: culture, narratives, ideology, social construction, hybridity

This paper follows what I consider to be a postmodern position, that what have been commonly been thought of as separate, large, national or civilisational 'cultures' are ideologically constructed and indeed neo-racist in their false reduction of the people 'within them' to behaviour-governing, essentialist stereotypes (Anderson, 2006; Dervin, 2011; Hervik, 2013; Holliday, 2011; Mannheim, 1936). I also take a critical cosmopolitan approach, influenced by postcolonial sociology, which accuses Western grand narratives of marginalising non-Western cultural realities (Delanty, 2006; Hall, 1996).

This does not however mean that there is no cultural difference. Hugely diverse cultural practices (e.g. protocols, systems, clothing, food and ceremonies) and sensual and physical features (e.g. sounds, colours, smells, architectures, cityscapes, landscapes and climates) flow in complex ways across and within cultural environments, but without clear boundaries. While we are all different in the ways that we are brought up in our respective societies, when, in everyday small culture formation on the go, we experience more unfamiliar cultural settings, we can find resonances with what we know because we have been learning, negotiating, passing by, observing, disagreeing with, constructing and taking part in cultural practices, and appreciating the value and nostalgia of appearances all our lives. Shared underlying universal cultural processes mean that wherever we go, while the content might be strange, these processes are accessible and learnable. We are already used to variations in these practices as we move through multiple social settings, from the family next door to new schools, jobs and institutions throughout our lives (Lankshear et al., 1997). In this sense, we are all hybrid. This does not imply, as has sometimes been argued in the more essentialist sense, an imperfect, in-between state. Instead, we

are all normally, complex and many-facetted; and understanding this is a defence against the Centre structures (e.g. hierarchies, patriarchy, colonialism) that try to define us as less or different than what we might be (Bhabha, 1994; Hall, 1996).

The opposition between who we are and structures is complex. On the one hand, the structures with which we are brought up in our respective societies and their cultural products, through education, media, the arts, and language, can provide us with rich resources to appreciate the diversities that we meet. Nevertheless, they can also provide us with grand narratives, big stories, that set us against the cultural Other – 'us'–'them' idealisations of 'our' nation, people, language, values, religion and so on, often referring back to iconic heroes and battles.

I will illustrate these points with a series of instances (originally in the form of either reconstructed ethnographic narratives or interviews) from various of my publications, which will be specified at the point of reference. In my analysis here I use the concepts of *blocks*, large-culture, Centre definitions of difference that pull us apart, and small-culture, deCentred *threads* that bring us together and represent the commonalities that we need to work hard to find (Holliday, & Amadasi, 2020).

'Betrayal' in a foreign university

The first instance concerns Wang, who is working abroad in a university quality office (Holliday et al., 2016, pp. 52–53). Her funding to attend a staff development event is cancelled by her head of department whom she had considered a 'friend'. She explains this as her large-culture 'collectivist' concept of friendship that cannot be found in this 'individualist' large-culture. This block narrative immediately implies an uncrossable barrier. However, other events change Wang's mind. She and two colleagues help

the sociology department to develop their quality systems and discover that they have a very different 'small' culture to their own department in the same university: they do not understand their system of administration, they have meetings which are impossible to understand with people coming late, despite this large culture's reputation for punctuality. Wang finds a thread narrative in her colleagues who 'come from there' agreeing with this perception of strangeness. Another thread that then emerges is that several colleagues 'from there' have also been denied travel funding just like her. Wang therefore appreciates that universities there are just as complex and inefficient as at home. She also feels more culturally competent because she has international experience which enables her to place what she finds there in the broader perspective of universities she has studied in at home. Wang also feels that this perspective has given her more cosmopolitan negotiation and organisation skills with which she sometimes influences her colleagues. She also feels that intercultural travel has made her particularly good at watching and working things out, being sincere, sensitive and efficient. This *observation* has encouraged me to consider more the importance of recognising the value of the cultural life experience that we bring with us (Amadasi, & Holliday, 2018), especially in professional circumstances (Holliday, 2012).

Another thread narrative is that large culture theories of difference are themselves a way of coping that we can all relate to. In this sense, claiming incompatible large-culture difference is a positioning projection of desperation that can be a response to culture shock rather than a true representation.

It is the detail of what is going on between people in particular instances of small culture formation on the go that enables Wang to find a thread about institutional life that cuts across and indeed dissolves imagined large-culture borders. However, it could easily have been the case that no amount of such direct experience would enable her to

sidestep imagined large-culture explanations. There need therefore to be disciplines of looking that will stave off such easy answers. My grammar of culture (Holliday, 2018b), inspired by the social action theory of Max Weber (1922/1964), lays the ground by purposefully presenting sufficient looseness and complexity to prevent simplistic large-culture analysis and opens an important window on underlying universal cultural processes and personal cultural trajectories from which thread narratives are likely to emerge. The postmodern appreciation of the nature of social construction (Berger, & Luckmann, 1979) further supports an ethnographic and phenomenological discipline of problematising established large-culture explanations (Baumann, 1996; Schutz, 1964).

Exploring study abroad experience

Hande and Gita are studying abroad (Holliday, 2018b, pp. 54–55). They come from different cultural backgrounds and share the thread narrative of missing home in the aesthetic sense – cooking ingredients and the ambiance and the sounds of the streets. They also encounter block responses from the people they meet who frame them as 'non-Western' and are then surprised when they play 'Western' music. However, as they continue to interrogate the architecture of how they are wrongly perceived by others, they begin to appreciate how they too fall into the trap of creating Othering block narratives about people with particular features and clothing to common large-culture stereotypes. Here they found the seduction of what appeared to be threads, as they share how they stereotyped minority groups in their own countries, but then realised that these were threading blocks based in ancient traditions of prejudice; and they realised that the danger and intensity of this was serious.

They also note a particular type of blocking narrative against them that comes from people they meet there who frame themselves

as 'Western'. Even though Hande and Gita see that they also have family loyalties and depend on each other just like they do, these people just fail to imagine that 'foreigners' can be anything like them. When they see Hande and Gita being critical or independently minded, it is assumed that they have learnt it as a result of integrating and studying there, in the 'West'.

This blocking narrative belongs to a widespread West as steward discourse. Initially deceptive in its apparent well-wishing, the 'stewardship' element is deeply patronising. Another student abroad, Jenna, confronts this (Holliday, 2018b, pp. 86–87) when her friend, Bekka, who identifies herself as 'Western', seems surprised when she is punctual for lectures and asks critical questions. The well-wishing part comes out when Bekka congratulates her – 'you are doing so well'. But then the patronising part is when this is a framed as 'you are now becoming like us' and 'Westernised' as though Jenna can have brought nothing of value with her. When she points out to Bekka that people at home, just like there, are sometimes punctual and sometimes not depending on the circumstances, Bekka seems annoyed and explains that it is only in 'individualist cultures' like hers that people are free to make personal decisions about being punctual or not, and that in 'collectivist cultures' like Jenna's, people do not have this choice unless they are 'Westernised'.

'I have my own culture. I don't need yours.'

On another occasion, a student abroad (S) reports a conflict over accommodation (Amadasi, & Holliday, 2018). Because she is breaking her contract, S is told by her landlady that she can never be 'part of this culture'. S responds by asserting that she does not need to be 'part of this culture' because she 'has her own'. One possible, block interpretation of

S's response as that she does not want to integrate with what she considers to be the incompatible large-culture of her country of study. However, it becomes evident that she is instead resisting what she considers to be racist abuse from her landlady by saying that her main resource is the cultural experience that she brings with her. This is a thread narrative that recognises the resonance between her personal cultural trajectory and what she finds in this new cultural environment. She explains that of course she is aware that she is breaking her accommodation contract, as they have similar rules in her own country, but that this does not justify the abuse that she receives. Her problem is not cultural but with lacking information about her legal rights in the face of the abuse, which she would know in her own country.

An important point to note here is the role of we two researchers in this process of understanding. As stated above, we need to be methodologically open to intercultural threads, and to be proactive in helping the people we interview to stave off blocks. This does not mean that we are trying to impose our bias, but that we are not prepared to take what might appear to be blocks at face value. The example of S arises from an interview that I carried out with my colleague, Sara. The thread interpretation only came about because Sara suspected and encouraged it by sharing her own experience of dealing with accommodation problems while studying abroad.

Englishes and labelling

Reference to linguistic travel comes late in this discussion because the postmodern viewpoint does not recognise the common assumption that national language is mapped precisely with national culture (Saraceni, 2015). The more hybrid relationship in which language can attach itself to any cultural reality became evident in my own experience of interviewing

S with Sara. They each brought their own linguacultures from their other languages (Risager, 2011) into the English of the interview. Also, being critical of what I consider to be the neo-racist, native-speakerist block presumption that the ideologically constructed 'native speaker' possesses an exclusively superior command and monopoly of the language (Holliday, 2018a), I was open to appreciating a different sort of linguistic thread with them as I had to submit to their very competent but sometimes unfamiliar use of English. Rather than being a block in communication, this increased my cautious making the familiar strange that helped me to search out deCentred threads. Resonating with the point made above that blocks are easy answers, it might be the 'easy English' which is often associated with the so-labelled 'native speaker' ideal that acts against the disciplined thinking that threads require.

What we can learn

These instances have shown that cultural and linguistic diversity and indeed hybridity is the norm. People everywhere are struggling to make sense during the everyday process of small culture formation on the go. However, there are serious choices to be made in social action and research – whether or not to look further for deeper thread meanings that do not confine us within reductive, prejudiced large-culture blocks.

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Bible Translations as a Case of Grapevine Communication

"Everything is more intricate than it seems to us." (Stanisław Lem)

Abstract: Grapevine telephone or grapevine telegraph is a popular social game involving a specific way of communication by means of linguistic expressions.The game appears to be a model of communication in general and of translation, as a special case of communication, in particular. All communicative events involve transferring meanings as messages from some person(s) to some other persons directly or indirectly, i.e. via other persons, if necessary including translators, and with or without the help of various technological devices. Every communication event entails communication sequences (Krzeszowski, 2016). A simple communication sequence consists of seven stages: 1. sender's conceptual, 2. sender's neural, 3. articulatory (speaking) or graphic (writing), 4. acoustic (spoken text) or graphic (written text), 5. auditory (hearing) or visual (reading), 6. recipient's-neural, 7. recipient's-conceptual. Most communication events, both spoken and written, and all translations involve compound communication sequences. Various kinds of distortions are very likely to occur at the stages which separate particular speakers' conceptual structures from particular hearers' conceptual structures. Such distortions are mainly due to communication barriers (Krzeszowski, 1997/2013). Translators, like participants in the grapevine telegraph game, may

contribute to increasing the number of distortions adversely affecting original messages. The grapevine telegraph effects and the related communication sequences are illustrated by translation series of selected fragments of the Bible (Psalm 78, Jesus Christ's sermons) in the context of the way in which, according to the faithful, the Bible originated.

Key words: grapevine communication, Bible, translation

Introduction

The Bible can be approached in at least *three* fundamentally different ways:

1) As an object of *philological* studies including comparisons of numerous original and translated versions respectively called source texts and target texts by means of standard analytical and comparative techniques used in linguistics.

2) As a *historical source* by means of the usual methods of verification confronting the contents of the Bible with ascertained and confirmed data derived from other independent sources providing evidential data confirming or refuting what is said in the Bible. This sense includes verifying information about the world at large embracing the validity of biblical statements concerning cosmology, biology, history and other branches of knowledge acquired and accumulated over centuries preceding and following the times when the Bible came into existence.

3) As a *sacred text* revealed by God Himself to help people gain salvation. This approach treats the Bible as the "Word of God", that is the way in which God speaks to people.

In what follows the focus is laid on the first approach with a special stress on divergences among numerous selected translated versions of the Bible including Greek, Latin, English, and Polish. Consequently, historical and theological controversies about the authorship of

the Bible (treated by some as "The Word of God") are completely irrelevant to our present concerns. The original senders (addressers) of the original messages and the first recipients (addressees) of these messages are explicitly specified in the appropriate places of the Bible: Yahwe addressing Moses on Mount Sinai, Jesus addressing the crowds on the mountain near Lake Genezareth (Lake Tiberias), Jesus addressing Saul (later St. Paul) near Damascus, etc. However, practically all later recipients of these messages are unknown and what is left are written versions, some of which are believed to be reasonably accurate renderings of the original texts in the original languages (mainly Hebrew, Aramaic and perhaps Greek). Other versions, in a great number of modern languages constitute the most numerous and constantly growing translation series ever produced.

At any rate, whatever is said here will concern what can be attested in the course of examining and comparing the relevant texts, i.e. what can be found in these texts rather than what these texts may refer to in the world at large.

Metaphors of communication

Translation as a form of communication is usually understood as replacing a text in one language (source text) with an "equivalent" text in another language (target text).[1] This simple explication conceals an enormous complexity of what translation consists in. Since translation is an element of communication across languages and cultures, it can be conceived in terms of the same metaphors which mold our understanding of communication.

1. Cf. Translation is the communication of meaning from one language (the source) to another language (the target). [...] The purpose of translation is to convey the original tone and intent of a message, taking into account cultural and regional differences between source and target languages (*What is Translation? Language Industry Definitions* | GALA, www.gala-global.org › industry › what-translation).

As an abstract concept communication and discourse are understood in terms of more concrete concepts, through various conceptual metaphors, which are cognitively structured devices essential in our understanding of the world that we live in. One of these metaphors is called the CONDUIT metaphor (Reddy, 1979). According to subsequent reformulations the CONDUIT metaphor consists of four sub-metaphors whereby communication is understood as transfer of meanings, conceived as objects, from one human mind conceived as a container to another human mind also conceived as a container (cf. Johnson, & Lakoff, 1982; Krzeszowski, 1997/2013).

Reddy as well as Johnson and Lakoff (1982) assert that the metaphor is not an accurate model of human communication, mainly because it does not predict frequent communication failures and breakdowns, which can only be overcome by investing *energy* into both sending and receiving information, and which the CONDUIT metaphor does not predict. Therefore, Reddy suggests that what he calls "the toolmakers paradigm", might be a better metaphor of what actually happens in an attempt to communicate. According to this paradigm, participants in communication inhabit separate compounds, across which no material objects, such as tools can be sent. Only schematic blueprints can be transmitted between senders and recipients. Enormous intellectual effort is required from the recipient if he is to reconstruct the original object from the blueprint which he receives from the sender. The tool resulting from such a reconstruction may be very different from the original tool. For example, a hoe may be obtained as an unsuccessful reconstruction of an axe.

In earlier publications I demonstrated that if the CONDUIT metaphor as originally formulated by Reddy is an inadequate model of communication for different reasons than those presented by its earlier critiques (cf. Krzeszowski, 1997/2013). It must be noted that the

toolmakers paradigm involves a more specific kind of sending than does the CONDUIT metaphor, so that in fact the former entails the latter. In its original form the metaphor is so general that it does not embrace specific kinds of sending and specific kinds of things being sent, in addition to those making up the toolmakers paradigm. Some, if not most of these specific cases, require enormous effort on the part of both the senders and the recipients. Other inadequacies and limitations of the CONDUIT metaphor will become evident presently. They are conducive to suggesting a new paradigm, which I call the Grapevine paradigm.

However, first it is necessary to look more closely at the inner physical mechanisms communication itself.

Simple communication events

At the beginning let us consider the simplest communication event with one sender and one recipient, communicating orally in one language, on the face-to-face basis.

In this case we are dealing with an instantiation of the general sender-recipient schema, which may be realized in such material substances as visual or electronic devices.

What is directly observable in communication are physical elements of the process, notably the *energy* transmitted from one place to another. In every communication event a quantum of energy is transmitted from the speaker's brain to the hearer's brain along a certain medium. Every such event is a succession of incredibly complex sub-events, which occur as distinct stages making up what I call the Communication Sequence (cf. Krzeszowski, 2016). Every Communication Sequence begins in the speaker's brain as a certain dynamic pattern of cerebral-neural connections in what is technically called 'the neural circuitry', and, through a sequence of *mappings* along

successive material substances, ends with corresponding dynamic patterns of neural connections in the hearer's brain. A grossly simplified version a fragment of the single strand Communication Sequence can be presented as the succession of five stages:

I → II → III → IV → V

SNC ASO AT AHO HNC

where

SNC = speaker's neural connections

ASO = activation of speech organs

AT = acoustic transmission

AHO = activation of hearing organs

HNC = hearer's neural connections

Stage I is *neural* and occurs in the speaker's brain; Stage II is *articulatory* and occurs in the speaker's vocal tract; Stage II is *acoustic* and occurs in the air; Stage IV is *auditory* and occurs in the hearer's ear (middle and inner), and Stage V is again *neural* and occurs in the hearer's brain. It is perhaps needless to emphasize that this is an enormously simplified model of the mappings that are involved in the transmission of even the simplest sound.[2]

However, efficient communication requires even more mappings, namely between dynamic neural structures and conceptual structures at both ends of the sequence. At this point the situation becomes more complicated (intricate). Although neural structures and conceptual structures exist in two different conceptual domains – respectively physical and mental – they are inevitably interrelated through

2. For example, even the auditory Stage IV requires a sequence of mappings from patterns of sound waves into patterns of vibrations in the ear-drum, and next into patterns of vibrations in the ossicles and from there into patterns of vibrations of the fluid filling the cochlea in the inner ear, and next to patterns of vibrations of the hair cells inside the cochlea which are eventually mapped into nerve impulses in the auditory nerve. But our crude model is quite sufficient to illustrate the nature of the problem which we are facing.

appropriate interfaces between conceptual structures and neural structures in the speaker and between neural structures and conceptual structures in the hearer:[3]

SCS → SNC

HNC → HCS

where

SCS = Speaker's Conceptual Structures

HCS = Hearer's Conceptual Structures

Consequently, the Communication Sequence must now look as follows:

SCS →SNC → ASO → AT → AHO → HNC → HCS

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1999) what conceptual structures are largely a matter of inferences and hypotheses. Nevertheless, one must take it for granted that every successful communication event must entail a sufficient degree of conceptual pattern matching between Speaker's Conceptual Structures and Hearer's Conceptual Structures. This means that the appropriate conceptual structures are somehow mapped into neural structures of the sender's brain and at the end of the Communication Sequence they are somehow retrieved from neural structures in the recipient's brain.

The Communication Sequence as formulated above represents what may be called 'a nuclear communication event' involving one sender and one recipient communicating on the face-to-face basis. In every such event the process of sending is purely physical in the most directly meaningful sense since what is actually "sent" are not ideas but various patterns of physical phenomena successively mapped between Speakers' Neural Connections and Hearer's Neural Connections. It is this physical aspect of communication that constitutes experiential

3. The alternative would be to reduce conceptual structures to neural structures, which would identify neural reality with mental reality. This option is rejected for the reasons expounded in Krzeszowski (2016).

grounding of the CONDUIT metaphor and of the toolmakers paradigm as models of communication, whereby ideas (concepts) are metaphorically understood as "things" being sent from one place (the speaker's mind) to another place (the hearer's mind). What happens at the interfaces between Speaker's Conceptual Structures and Speaker's Neural Connections, on the one hand, and between Hearer's Neural Connections and Hearer's Conceptual Structures can only be described in terms of the CONDUIT metaphor and the toolmakers paradigm.

Even the nuclear communication events can be seriously disrupted or even rendered impossible when the sender's and the recipient's conceptual structures are realized in different languages. In such cases the recipient's neural and conceptual structures cannot reach a certain threshold level of similarity with the sender's conceptual and neural structures. Remaining above this critical level is *conditio sine qua non* of every successful communication. Any failure in this respect requires some sort of metalinguistic explication or interpretation if reasonably successful communication is sought. One obvious way is to reconstruct what happens in the sender's conceptual structures is to express it in a language that is familiar to the recipient. Such a reconstruction is called translation.

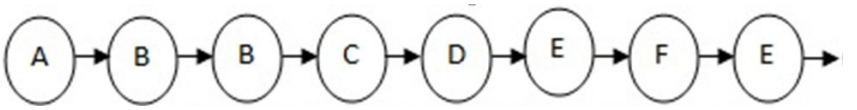
The grapevine paradigm

Seemingly, the title of the present paper is based on a conceptual metaphor, which in consistence with Johnson and Lakoff's notation could be formulated as TRANSLATION IS GRAPEVINE. However, by analogy with Reddy's toolmakers paradigm, I prefer to call it the grapevine paradigm, mainly because, unlike in the case of the CONDUIT metaphor, so far there exist virtually no conventional linguistic expressions that are coherent with these paradigms. This is so because the CONDUIT metaphor is an

element of the toolmakers' paradigm as well as of the grapevine paradigm: both conceptualize communication as sending, both involve senders and recipients and both conceptualize ideas, messages, thoughts, etc., as things. The difference is that of complexity. The CONDUIT metaphor in its original form and the toolmakers paradigm concern nuclear communication events, involving one idealized abstract sender and one idealized abstract recipient. The grapevine paradigm embraces very long and complicated complexes of communication events involving an indefinite number of recipients-becoming-senders.

The crucial word 'grapevine', used in this paradigm, is explicated as "an informal person-to-person means of circulating information or gossip" (*Merriam-Webster*), or as "The informal transmission of information, gossip, or rumor from person to person" (*The Free Dictionary*). The grapevine does not have any definite pattern or direction. It can be effective horizontally, vertically and even diagonally. Keith Davis (1969) distinguishes four basic types of grapevine communication, two of which, namely Single Strand Chain and the Cluster Chain, are immediately relevant to our present concerns:

Figure 1. Grapevine Pattern - Single Strand Chain



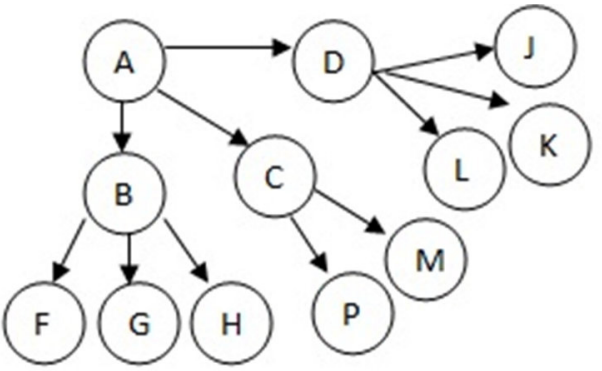
Source: Davis, 1969.

This type of grapevine communication is implemented in the popular social game called 'grapevine telephone', 'grapevine telegraph', or 'Chinese whispers'[4]. The game is played by a group of participants sitting or standing side by side in a row or a circle. The first person as

4. The game is also called 'Russian scandal', 'whisper down the lane', 'broken telephone', 'secret message', 'the messenger game', or 'pass the message'.

the originator of a message (sender) whispers it into the ear of the next person, who whispers the message into the ear of the next person, and so on. Finally the last person – the ultimate recipient of the message – announces it loud. It rarely happens that the message arrives in its original form. On the contrary, the final version is often so distorted that it can hardly be recognized as being somehow related with the original message. As will be shown later this simple version of grapevine may serve as a fairly accurate model of some rather simple communication events and translations. However, Davis specifies a few other versions, at least one of which, namely 'the cluster chain' is particularly relevant to other, more complex cases:

Figure 2. Grapevine Pattern - Cluster Chain



Source: Davis, 1969.

In the grapevine telegraph game, in which the single strand version of grapevine communication is used, distortion of the original message may be deliberate to increase the element of fun and entertainment. In real-life grapevine communication it is gossip that is often highlighted.

Distortion, which is likely to occur in both real life grapevine communication and in the grapevine telegraph game, is to a large extent

rooted in three features of the grapevine communication, namely flexibility, rapid communication and spontaneity (cf. Davis, 1969).

Flexibility manifests itself in the fact that in principle, though not necessarily in practice, "there is no formal control over grapevine, so it is more flexible than other forms of communication" (Davis 1969, p. 269). This is consistent with the existence of numerous possible and acceptable translations of source texts technically called translation series. Innumerable translations of the Bible very well illustrate this property of the grapevine. Considered by many to be a sacred text, it owes its continued existence to an enormous number of versions in an enormous number of translations. This phenomenal wealth of translations results from the fact that in the unanimous opinion of experts, for example, Nida (1964), Swanson and Heisig (2005), Majewski (2015), there is no such thing as a single correct translation (interpretation) of the Holy Scripture.

Rapidity manifests itself in the fact that owing to translations the transfer of meaning from the sender to the recipients is supposed to be and in many cases indeed is more "rapid". There is no doubt that reading and understanding any text translated into a language familiar to the recipient is less time consuming than attempting to read the text in any of its original source versions whatever the word 'original' cold mean in the case of the Bible. To say the least one would have to be able to understand texts written in ancient Hebrew, New Testament (Koine) Greek and possibly even Aramaic. To learn these languages would consume a lot of time and effort. In this way the property 'rapid' characterizing grapevine communication turns out to be critically important in establishing analogies between translation and grapevine communication.

Spontaneity in grapevine communication manifests itself in the technique of passing information (meaning) from the sender to (the) recipient(s), which consists in passing the relevant information

"automatically from the top level of the organization to the bottom level without any difficulty in delivering the message." (Davis, 1969, p. 269). This property of grapevine communication will turn out to be particularly relevant to describing the technique of God's communication with people through His prophets and through Jesus of Nazareth.

Before more is said about translation of the Bible as an element of GOD TO MAN communication, it is necessary to l ook more closely at what happens when the recipient is not familiar with the language of the original text. In such cases the original text must be *translated* into whatever language is familiar to the intended recipient.

The Translation Communication Sequence.

Introducing translation into the Simple Communication Sequence results in a longer sequence, which will be called Translation Communication Sequence:

Translation Communication Sequence

→ [Transfer Station] →

SCS →SNC → SPA → A/VT→ [----------]→ A/VT→ RRA → RNC → RCS

The 'transfer station' consists of the following subsequence:

TRA → TNC_{sl} → TCA → TNC_{tl} → TPA

where

TRA = Translator's Receptive Activity.

TNC_{sl} = Translator's Neural Connections in the source language.

TCA = Translator's Conversion Activity, which consists in mapping source language structures into target language structures.

TNC_{tl} = Translator's Neural Connections in the target language.

TPA = Translator's Productive Activity.

In the Transfer Station meaning, i.e. conceptual structures are reinterpreted and packed into suitable new containers familiar to the

recipient. In the course of this process source conceptual structures are likely to undergo modifications, alterations and distortions, which in principle, though not necessarily in practice, are not supposed to cause communication breakdowns.

The Translation Communication Sequence presented above does not reveal *the enormous complexity of what actually goes on in the minds and brains of the sender and of the recipient when they communicate by means of translated texts.* For a long time, to a large extent this will remain one of the greatest mysteries pending continued explorations of various scholars and scientists. In terms of our present concerns the Communication Sequence and even the Translation Communication Sequence represent only a few initial links in a very long sequence of links making up a much longer and much more intricate cluster-strand-grapevine.

There are at least four sources of intricacy of actual grapevine communication:

1) **Heterogeneity of source and target texts.** Written texts may be translated into written texts, spoken texts into spoken texts, but also spoken texts may be translated into written texts and written texts into spoken texts. In addition, gestures (sign language) and electronic devices, may be used in different interactions and configurations with spoken and written texts.

2) **Number of participants.** Even in single-strand types of communication, such as the game called Chinese whispers, the number of participants is indefinite. At any rate, the degree of intricacy is directly proportional to the number of participants.

3) **Number of off-branches.** In cluster-strand types of communication particular links may branch off in various directions. Grapevine communication becomes still more intricate in proportion to the number of off-branches.

4) **Indirect translations.** Direct translations involve only one transfer station and result in 2-texts (cf. Krzeszowski, 2016). Indirect translations involve more than one transfer station and result in n-texts, each consisting of a text translated from some language, which may serve as a source text for a new target text in some other language, and so on, as depicted in the formula:

$ST_1 \rightarrow TT_1 (=ST_2) \rightarrow TT_2 (=ST_3) \rightarrow ... ST_n \rightarrow TT_n (=ST_{n+1})$

Such translations are *indirect*, which means that instead of dealing with 2-texts we deal with n-texts.[5] For example, the Polish *Pismo Święte w Przekładzie Nowego Świata* (1997), which, as the title page informs, has been translated from *New World Translation of the Holy Scriptures* "z uwzględnieniem języków oryginału" [taking into consideration the tongues of the original], edited in 1984, is a case of indirect translation, in which the English target text is used as the source text for the Polish rendering. Also those fragments of the Vulgate which are translation from the Septuagint rather than from the original Hebrew constitute yet another link. All this yields the following 5-text:

Hebrew → Septuagint → Vulgate → English → Polish

Grapevine communication becomes more intricate in proportion to the number target texts becoming source texts for successive target texts in successive languages.

Each one of these four complicating factors can be expected to increase the number of distortions and other grapevine' effects.

5. It is worth remembering that with one exception (*Hedda Gabler*), all Polish versions of plays by Henrik Johan Ibsen published by Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy in 1956 had been translated into Polish from German versions on the basis of English and Russian versions. The ultimate Polish target texts were created by such renowned translators as Włodzimerz Lewik, Jacek Frühling, Cecylia Wojewoda, Józef Giebułtowicz, and Anna Maria Linke (cf. *Nota od redakcji* in Ibsen, 1956, p. 829). In regard of biblical translations when ST1 is the original source text (in this case the Bible in Hebrew), and TT1 is the target text (in this case the Septuagint or the Vulgate), the latter may become the source text for the subsequent translations, yielding TT2's in vernacular languages (for details see Krzeszowski, 2016).

Who speaks to whom and how, or other links in the grapevine chain

Translating the Bible evokes its ultimate sender at one end of the Translation Communication Sequence and the ultimate recipients at the other end of the Translation Communication Sequence. Because of its flexibility, consistent with its grapevine character, communication in general and translation in particular may involve an indefinite number of intermediate and ultimate recipients although the ultimate author – God – is assumed to remain constant.

This assumption is based on the dogmatic description of the Bible as the 'Word of God' (λόγος του Θεού – Verbum Dei). It is impossible to ascertain exactly the identity of the ultimate recipient(s) of the Bible and *a fortiori* the identity of its intermediate recipients. The only sensible thing to do is to assume that *every* reader of the Bible in whatever language and in whatever doctrinal version is its ultimate recipient. Otherwise, all those who participated in transmitting the content of the Bible in whatever form and in whatever language must be considered as participants in the grapevine cluster chain.

The books making up the Hebrew Bible (Tora) and the Christian Pentateuch, i.e. the first five books of the Old Testament are attributed to Moses as the first of the intermediate recipients and at the same time the first of a long sequence of intermediate senders of the message to subsequent recipients-becoming-senders.[6] During his encounter with Yahwe on Mount Sinai Moses acted as the first intermediate recipient of the word of God, which according to traditional lore, he committed to writing . His testimony was supported by the written certificate in the form of the Decalogue engraved on two stone tablets. The Ten

6. Significantly, in a number of early Polish versions of the Bible (Biblia Brzeska, Biblia Warszawska, Biblia Gdańska) the first five books of the Old Testament are called "Mojżeszowe" (Moses') rather than "Rodzaju" (Genesis), "Wyjścia" (Exodus), etc.

Commandments are listed twice in the Hebrew Bible, first in Exodus 20:1–17, and then in Deuteronomy 5:4–21. Even as the presumed author of the Pentateuch Moses still is the first recipient of the message directed first to Israelites as the Chosen People, but later, through translations into other tongues, to an endless succession of recipients-becoming-senders, with each and every person reading a particular version as an individual recipient at the end of the gigantic grapevine.

Other parts of the Bible were authored by other intermediate recipients-becoming-senders, in the first place by a number of prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Elijah, Amos, Hosea, and others), and by Israeli Kings (David, Salomon). In Christianity the most important recipient-become-sender was Jesus Christ believed to be the Word of God (Logoς /Logos/) incorporated, whose first and foremost recipients were the Apostles as well as numerous innumerable disciples, followers, and all those who read the Holy Scriptures. This fragment of the grapevine chain is aptly described by the following quotation from the New Testament: "In the past God spoke to our ancestors through the prophets at many times and in various ways, but in these last days he has spoken to us by his Son, whom he appointed heir of all things, and through whom also he made the universe." (Hebrew 1:1–2, *New International Version*). According to the traditional Christian doctrine, some of the first participants in the communication sequence are: the Evangelists Mark, Matthew, Luke (believed to have authored also *Acts of the Apostles*), and John, as well as Paul the Apostle (former Saul of Tars), and the alleged authors of other New Testament epistles, i.e. Peter, James, and Jude. In all these cases and at every place of the communication sequence in which a recipient becomes a sender, a transfer station may have to be inserted to sustain further communication and to continue the transmission of the source message, even at the price of distorting it in the process.

Some examples of the grapevine effects

As was said earlier the number of grapevine effects is in proportion to the length of the communication sequences, the number of off-branches and the number of transfer stations in the sequence. In extreme cases these adverse effects may distort the original message beyond recognition. In the case of sacred texts, such as the Holy Bible, one should not expect anything extremely drastic. Yet, the very nature of the grapevine techniques implemented in transferring, disseminating and translating "the Word of God" forces one to regard the matter with a considerable amount of wariness. Even the first example should suffice to switch the amber light on. Verse 65 of Psalm 78, with King David, presumed to be the first immediate recipient-become-sender, in the original (though Romanized) Hebrew reads:

a·do·nai – Lord

vai·yi·katz – awake

ke·ya·shen – (from) sleeping [kə·yā·šên] — the only occurrence in the Bible

ke·gib·bo·vr – (like) mighty

mitrownen – that shouts [mi̱·rō·w·nên] — the only occurrence in the Bible

mi·ya·yin. – by (because of) wine.[7]

In a slightly more liberal but also more comprehensible rendering the English version could read as "And then the Lord woke up as a warrior overcome by wine."[8]

The following target texts demonstrate the grapevine effects connected with off-branching:

7. The Latin transliteration is based on Bible Hub (https://biblehub.com).

8. This fragment of the Psalm expresses God's indifference in view of calamities suffered by Israelites in consequence of their disloyalty and disobedience. Verse 65 is preceded by a lengthy passage providing the context in which this verse occurs: "they put God to the test and rebelled against the Most High; they did not keep his statutes. Like their ancestors they were disloyal and faithless, as unreliable as a faulty bow.[...] When God heard them, he was furious; he rejected Israel completely [...] (*New International Version*).

Then the Lord awoke as from sleep, as a warrior wakes from the **stupor** of wine. (*New International Version*).

Then the Lord rose up as though waking from sleep, like a warrior aroused from a **drunken stupor.** (*New Living Translation*).

But then the Lord awoke from his sleep; he was like a warrior in **a drunken rage.** (*The New English Translation Bible*).

Then the Lord woke up like one who had been sleeping, like a warrior **sobering up from [too much] wine.** (*God's Word @ Translation*).

Then the Lord awaked as one out of sleep, and like a mighty man that **shouteth by reason of wine.** (*King James Bible*).

Lecz Pan ocknął się jakby ze snu, Jak wojownik, **który sobie podochocił winem.** (*Biblia Warszawska*).

I powstał Pan jakby ze snu, jak wojownik **odurzony winem.** (*Biblia Warszawsko-Praska*).

Lecz potem **ocucił się** Pan jako ze snu, jako mocarz **wykrzykujący od wina.** (*Biblia Gdańska*).

A wszakoż **się** Pan **ocucił** jako ze snu, a jako mocarz **wykrzykując podpiwszy sobie.** (*Biblia Brzeska*).

Ale Pan się przebudził, jakby śpiący, jak bohater **co wydaje okrzyki od wina.** (*Nowa Biblia Gdańska*).

In the New Testament Jesus's teachings, particularly His "Sermon of the Mountain", can be used to show how the grapevine technique had originally functioned in the spoken medium, even before the written translations further complicated the grapevine chain. Jesus Christ's sermon, His first public address, is reported in Matthew's gospel (Matthew 5:1–12) and is known as the Sermon on the Mountain. However, in Luke's account both the setting and the content of the sermon are quite different. It is not even clear whether they describe the same event. Compare the following introductions to the sermons:

Matthew (5:1–2): "Now when Jesus saw the crowds, he went up on a mountainside and sat down. His disciples came to him, and he began to teach them." (*New International Version*).

Luke (6:17–20): "He went down with them and stood on **a level** place. A large crowd of his disciples was there and a great number of people from all over Judea, from Jerusalem, and from the coastal region around Tyre and Sidon, who had come to hear him and to be healed of

their diseases. Those troubled by impure spirits were cured, and the people all tried to touch him, because power was coming from him and healing them all. Looking at his disciples, he said: *Blessed are you who are poor, for yours is the kingdom of God.*" (*New International Version*).

These and many other divergences result from the technique of transmitting Jesus Christ's words to His listeners.

Like other Hebrew rabbis Jesus taught while sitting with the crowd gathered around Him. The teaching always took place in the evening. When the crowd counted several thousand people (cf. Mark, Matthew, Luke?) the cluster strand grapevine telegraph technique has to be implemented: Jesus's words were repeated and those who sat near the Speaker repeated His words to the nearest neighbours, until message (had) reached those who sat or stood at the most remote limits of the assembled crowd.[9]

Obviously, these teachings were intended as something to remember and to convey to other recipients who were not present at the time when the original sermon was delivered. Eventually, changing the medium, someone committed these teachings to writing beginning a new stage in the long chain of the grapevine communication.[10] Notably, Luke's account of the situation in which the sermon was delivered is more detailed, but the sermon itself is shorter than in Matthew's version, which strongly suggests the presence of grapevine effects affecting

9. This description is largely based on one of Waldemar Chrostowski's biblical conferences as reported by Rev. Michał Bednarz „Pytania do Biblii" Czy tłumy, które otaczały Jezusa, mogły Go usłyszeć? [*Questions about the Bible*, Could the crowds surrounding Jesus hear Him?] *parafia-siennica.pl/index.php?pokaz=a_czytelnia/pytania/r2_21*).

10. Not all Jesus's teachings took place on a mountain. Sometimes he preached in quite different circumstances, for example sitting in a boat: "That same day Jesus went out of the h**ouse and sat by the lake. Such large crowds gathered around him that he got into a boat** and sat in it, while all the people stood on the shore." "One day as Jesus was standing by the Lake of Gennesaret, the people were crowding around him and listening to the word of God. He saw at the water's edge two boats, left there by the fishermen, who were washing their nets. He got into one of the boats, the one belonging to Simon, and asked him **to put out a little from shore. Then he sat down and taught the people from the boat.** (Luke 5: 1-3).

the transmission of information from the ultimate sender to various intermediate recipients including those who wrote the Gospels. It, therefore, cannot come as a surprise that Matthew's and Luke's versions of the Sermon on the Mountain, in which the opening verses contain the *Beatitudes,* also differ in matters of contents and structure:

Matthew's version (Matthew 5–7)

Blessed are the poor in spirit,

for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

Blessed are those who mourn,

for they will be comforted.

Blessed are the meek,

for they will inherit the earth.

Blessed are those who hunger and thirst for righteousness,

for they will be filled.

Blessed are the merciful,

for they will be shown mercy.

Blessed are the pure in heart,

for they will see God.

Blessed are the peacemakers,

for they will be called children of God.

Blessed are those who are persecuted because of righteousness,

for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

Blessed are you when people insult you, persecute you and falsely say all kinds of evil against you because of me. Rejoice and be glad, because great is your reward in heaven, for in the same way they persecuted the prophets who were before you. (*New International Version*)

Luke's version (Luke 6:17–49)

Looking at his disciples, he said:

Blessed are you who are poor,

for yours is the kingdom of God.

Blessed are you who hunger now,
for you will be satisfied.
Blessed are you who weep now,
for you will laugh.
Blessed are you when people hate you,
when they exclude you and insult you
and reject your name as evil,
because of the Son of Man.
Rejoice in that day and leap for joy, because great is your reward in heaven. For that is how their ancestors treated the prophets.
But woe to you who are rich,
for you have already received your comfort.
Woe to you who are well fed now,
for you will go hungry.
Woe to you who laugh now,
for you will mourn and weep.
Woe to you when everyone speaks well of you,
for that is how their ancestors treated the false prophets. (*New International Version*)

The editors of *Biblia Tysiąclecia* admit in a footnote that the two versions differ, but they do not attribute these differences to grapevine effects: "Matthew's version of the Sermon on the Mountain[11], much longer than Luke's relation, is perhaps a more *faithful* account of Jesus' *original* speech." (italics supplied). In this case the grapevine effects consist not only in *adding* some new information concerning the circumstances in which the sermons took place but also in *omitting* some elements of the sermons' contents.

Another rather telling example of grapevine effects are the most

11. In Luke's version the sermon does not take place "on the Mountain" but on some flat plane!

important words in the New Testament, namely those uttered by Jesus Christ during the Last Supper when He broke bread and offered it to his Apostles as His real flesh. The chain of links which these words have been going through is formidable. The earliest extant account comes from St. Paul ca 65 A.D., who claimed that he heard them directly from Jesus Christ during Paul's encounter with the risen Christ near Damascus (1 Corinthians 23–26). Later descriptions of the Last Supper come from the two Evangelists, Matthew and John, who as Apostles took part in the event, unlike the other two Evangelists, Mark and Luke, who could not hear the words uttered by the Lord during the Last Supper. However, only Matthew quotes Jesus Christ's words, while John, the "beloved disciple", does not, even if he extensively elaborates on the idea that Jesus Christ is the true bread, indispensable on the way to salvation. According to the current state of knowledge, Matthew's version is to a large extent based on Mark's relation, which chronologically precedes not only Matthew's but also Luke's account. Given that all these accounts were written several decades after the Last Supper, there is no telling what other links had been involved before whoever wrote the Gospels decided to commit the story and the words attributed to Christ to writing. In principle, however, Paul's version is the one least affected by grapevine effects of any sort. Nevertheless, it is now obvious that already the earliest fragments of successive links represent the cluster strand version of the grapevine. Some, though by no means all links of this extremely complex chain could be:

JC —– Paul[12]

JC —— Matthew

JC —— X —— Matthew

JC —— X —— Mark —— Matthew

12. See also Galatians (1:12): "I want you to know, brothers and sisters, that the gospel I preached is not of human origin. I did not receive it from any man, nor was I taught it; rather, **I received it by revelation from Jesus Christ."**.

JC —— X —— Mark —— X —— Matthew

JC —— Paul —— X —— Luke

JC —— X —— Luke *where X stands for unknown or uncertain sources.*

According to what is said in the New Testament, only Paul and Matthew could be direct recipients of Jesus Christ's words uttered during the Last Supper. Later grapevine effects appear in subsequent translations into Latin and numerous vernacular versions of Paul's epistle as well as in liturgical texts referring to this fragment. Compare – arranged in the most probable chronological order – different versions of the words which Jesus Christ is believed to have uttered during the Last Supper about the bread offered as His Body. No exact map of various off-branches is possible to suggest, but what is presented below sufficiently well demonstrates the complex nature of the grapevine:

Paul (1 Corinthians 11:24, ca 65 AD, the earliest extant version in Greek)

ἐγὼ γὰρ παρέλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, ὃ καὶ παρέδωκα ὑμῖν, ὅτι ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ᾗ παρεδίδετοG ἔλαβεν ἄρτον

καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ εἶπεν,τοῦτό μού ἐστιν τὸ σῶμα τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν**.**

Latin Vulgate (since 4th–5th century)

ego enim accepi a Domino quod et tradidi vobis quoniam Dominus Iesus in qua nocte tradebatur accepit panem

et gratias agens fregit et dixit **hoc est corpus meum pro vobis hoc facite in meam commemorationem.**

Clementine Vulgate (1592)

Ego enim accepi a Domino quod et tradidi vobis, quoniam Dominus Jesus in qua nocte tradebatur, accepit panem,

et gratias agens fregit, et dixit: Accipite, et manducate: **hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis tradetur: hoc facite in meam commemorationem.**

[For I received from the Lord what I also passed on to you: The Lord Jesus, on the night he was betrayed, took bread, and when he had given thanks, he broke it and said, "This is my

body, which is for you; do this in remembrance of me."] (*New International Version*).

Mark 14:22 (ca 66-70 A.D.)

Καὶ ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐλογήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς κα εἶπεν· λάβετε· τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου**.**

Latin Vulgate

et manducantibus illis accepit Iesus panem et benedicens fregit et dedit eis et ait sumite **hoc est corpus meum**

Clementine Vulgate

Et manducantibus illis, accepit Jesus panem: et benedicens fregit, et dedit eis, et ait: Sumite, **hoc est corpus meum.**

Matthew 26:26 (ca 80–90 A.D.)

εσθιοντων δε αυτων λαβων ο ιησους τον αρτον και ευλογησας εκλασεν και εδιδου τοις μαθηταις και ειπεν λαβετε φαγετε τουτο εστιν το σωμα μου**.**

Latin Vulgate

cenantibus autem eis accepit Iesus panem et benedixit ac fregit deditque discipulis suis et ait **accipite et comedite hoc est corpus meum**

Clementine Vulgate

Cœnantibus autem eis, accepit Jesus panem, et benedixit, ac fregit, deditque discipulis suis, et ait: **Accipite, et comedite: hoc est corpus meum.**

Luke 22:17–20 (date uncertain, The oldest witness is a fragment dating from the late 2nd century, while the oldest complete texts are the 4th century Codex Sinaiticus and Vaticanus)

και δεξαμενος ποτηριον ευχαριστησας ειπεν λαβετε τουτο και διαμερισατε εαυτοις

[And having taken a cup, having given thanks, He said, "Take this and divide *[it]* among yourselves.]

λεγω γαρ υμιν οτι ου μη πιω απο του γεννηματος της αμπελου εως οτου η βασιλεια του θεου ελθη

[I say to you, by no means shall I drink of the fruit of the grapevine until which *[time]* the kingdom of God comes.]

και λαβων αρτον ευχαριστησας εκλασεν και εδωκεν αυτοις λεγων τουτο εστιν το σωμα μου το υπερ

υμων διδομενον τουτο ποιειτε εις την εμην αναμνησιν

[And having taken bread, having given thanks, He broke *[it]*and gave *[it]* to them, saying, "This is My body, the *[one]* being given on your behalf ; be doing this in remembrance of Me.]

ωσαυτως και το ποτηριον μετα το δειπνησαι λεγων τουτο το ποτηριον η καινη διαθηκη εν τω αιματι μου το υπερ υμων εκχυνομενον.

[And in the same manner *[He took]* the cup after *[they]* ate, saying, "This cup *[is]* the New Covenant in My blood, the *[blood]* being poured out on your behalf.]

Latin Vulgate

[et accepto calice gratias egit et dixit accipite et dividite inter vos dico enim vobis quod non bibam de generatione vitis donec regnum Dei veniat

et accepto pane gratias egit et fregit et dedit eis dicens **hoc est corpus meum quod pro vobis datur hoc facite in meam commemorationem**

similiter et calicem postquam cenavit dicens hic est calix novum testamentum in sanguine meo quod pro vobis funditur]

Clementine Vulgate

Et accepto calice gratias egit, et dixit: Accipite, et dividite inter vos.

Dico enim vobis quod non bibam de generatione vitis donec regnum Dei veniat.

Et accepto pane gratias egit, et fregit, et dedit eis, dicens: **Hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis datur: hoc facite in meam commemorationem.**

Similiter et calicem, postquam cœnavit, dicens: Hic est calix novum testamentum in sanguine meo, qui pro vobis fundetur.

Liturgical texts are not fully consistent with the fragments of the New Testament quoted above. The most important part of the Holy Eucharist in the Roman Catholic rite – the transubstantiation – is performed by the priest, who utters translated words which Jesus Christ reportedly uttered, probably in Aramaic, to His disciples during the Last Supper. However, it is not clear which fragment of the New Testament is used in the formula accepted by church authorities. The exact phrasing underwent modifications in the Latin version and in its translations into vernacular languages. After the Council of Trent,

in the middle of the sixteenth century, the formula HOC EST **ENIM** CORPUS MEUM has been used. After the second Vatican Council in the middle of the twentieth century, the formula was further expanded to read HOC EST ENIM CORPUS MEUM, **QUOD PRO VOBIS TRADETUR**, which is partly consistent with Luke's Gospel as it appears in the Clementine Vulgate, where the word 'datur' not 'tradetur' is used. This is, however, inconsistent with Paul's account and the earlier versions of the Vulgate, where neither datur nor tradetur are used in the accurate renderings of Paul's τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν· (Lat. pro vobis, Eng. for you). Notably, the word 'enim'(Pol. 'bowiem') is not used in the Vulgates, and there is no equivalent word in any original Greek text. Likewise, no equivalent of 'enim' is used in English versions but mainly because in this particular context the word is virtually untranslatable.[13]

Finally, the words διδομενον τουτο ποιειτε εις την εμην αναμνησιν (Lat. hoc facite in meam commemorationem do this in memory of me), are used only at the very end of the transubstantion, not as in Paul's account after the 'bread' part of the rite. However, the present version is at odds with the texts approved by the Roman Catholic authorities after the Council of Trent, viz. **Haec quotiescumque feceritis, in mei memoriam facietis** [lit. This whenever you do it, do it in memory of me]. I am not competent to comment on the theological and doctrinal ramifications of this shift of focus. However, the linguistic fates of the transubstantiation formula well illustrate the grapevine effects: firstly, those that result from both the cluster- strand type of transmission of the message itself as conveyed by various original authors of the New Testament; secondly, those resulting from translations of the source texts into target texts in different languages.

13. The closest English approximations are 'since' or 'as', i.e. subordinating conjunctions introducing adverbial clauses of reason, cannot be inserted *into* the clauses which they introduce.

Conclusions

The traditional Jakobsonian model of communication and translation concerning face-to-face communication between one sender and one recipient in real time, correct as far as it goes, is inadequate when it comes to considering complex communication events involving an indefinite number of recipients separated from the sender in space and in time, with an indefinite number of intermediate recipients-becoming-senders. The grapevine model of communication in its cluster-chain variant makes it possible to give more accurate accounts of why messages are prone to undergo modifications, alterations and distortions in the process of transfer in space from one site to another, i.e. from one mind to other minds in both synchronic and diachronic dimensions. The off-set is a better understanding of some reasons why people so often go astray and deviate from the path which presumably God expects them to follow on their way to salvation.

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Constructing a Thesis-Writing Workshop

Abstract: The Bocconi University Language Centre was tasked with constructing a thesis-writing workshop for L2 students submitting their Master of Science thesis in English. The Language Centre explored what was expected from a university-sponsored workshop, which elements of thesis writing to cover, and which elements of Academic English to address. Three characteristics of workshops were identified: a short duration, focus on the development of specific skills and knowledge, and a focus on attendee interaction and participation. The focus on the development of specific skills and knowledge led to a workshop structured around six principle sections of a master's-level thesis: the Abstract, the Introduction, the Literature Review, the Methodology, the Discussion and Analysis, and the Conclusion. Additionally, three aspects of Academic English were woven into the structure of the workshop: academic vocabulary, signposting, and paragraph development. The Effective Thesis Writing Workshop was presented to students as a series of four ninety-minute sessions.

Key words: thesis writing, academic English, workshop

Introduction

Recently, in response to requests from the growing number of students submitting their master's thesis in English, Bocconi University in Milan,

Italy, decided to institute an "Effective Thesis Writing Workshop". At Bocconi, as in most Italian universities, degree programs are largely organised around a three-year degree (Bachelor of Science / *laurea triennale*) plus two-year (Master of Science / *laurea magistrale*) system, with degree programs taught in either Italian or English. The university requires that all master's students "present and defend their written thesis before the Degree Assessment Board" in order to obtain their degree.

The "Effective Thesis Writing Workshop" was conceived as a simple way for Bocconi's Language Centre to offer support to students who need to or have chosen to present their thesis in English[1], rather than their mother-tongue. And yet, the planning and construction of the workshop rested on the answer to three "unsimple" questions:

- What is the nature of a workshop, and how is a workshop different from traditional language courses?
- Which elements of writing a thesis should be prioritized?
- Which classroom or self-study activities should be included in the workshop?

Discussion

What is a workshop?

Organizationally, the Language Center needed to offer the thesis-writing support outside of curricular courses, which at the master's level focus on Business English and Professional Development. This requirement was an important element in the initial decision to use the 'workshop' label. Within, the university structure, however, 'workshop' is not a term of art, and so there were no preconditions for defining what a workshop could,

1. Bocconi students studying in English must submit their thesis in English, while students studying in courses taught in Italian have the option of English or Italian.

or could not, be. This gave the workshop designers (including the author), in consultation with university administrators, the flexibility to define the parameters that best matched the university's objectives and conditions.

While 'workshop' does not have a precise meaning at Bocconi, the university – as one of Italy's most important business universities – is well-familiar with management techniques such as running workshops for employees. Bocconi's sense of the characteristics of a workshop was confirmed by the use of the term at other universities throughout the world. While individual universities certainly use the term to suit their own needs, three common themes emerge:

• Workshops are of short duration (for example at Oxford University "The workshops are short-term, structured and agenda led", https://www.ox.ac.uk/students/welfare/counselling/workshops?wssl=1 and University of Sydney "Workshops are intensive two-to-three hour sessions, with some running over several weeks", https://sydney.edu.au/students/learning-centre/learning-centre-workshops.html),

• Workshops focus on the development of specific skills and knowledge (University of Manitoba: "Improve your research and writing skills with free workshops from the Academic Learning Centre", http://umanitoba.ca/student/academiclearning/workshops/ and University of Cincinnati "Success Skills Workshops are one-hour sessions that focus on skills students need to be successful in college (study skills, note-taking, motivation, etc.).", https://www.uc.edu/learningcommons/successskillsworkshops),

• Workshops center around attendee interaction and participation (University of Leicester "Full of useful information, tips and practical exercises", https://www2.le.ac.uk/offices/ld/workshops and University of Houston "Active learning environment – allows interaction between classmates and peer facilitators", https://www.uh.edu/nsm/scholar-enrichment/workshops/workshops-faq).

Each of these themes coincided with Bocconi's goals for the project.

The first condition established for the project was that the offering needed to be short. At Bocconi, language courses are either semester-long or year-long courses, but as the project was conceived to be extra-curricular, there was little support for such an extended commitment on the part of either the Language Centre or the students. The short-term nature of workshops made the label attractive right from the beginning.

As the offering was targeted at a specific audience – L2 students writing their master's thesis in English - the characteristic of focusing on specific skills and knowledge also appealed. There was no necessity (nor desire) to create a broad "Academic English" syllabus; the designers could target specific areas of thesis writing for development, consistent with the available time.

Finally, the teaching staff at the Bocconi University Language Center has been committed for years to promoting student-centered learning, and the hands-on nature of workshops made the adoption of a workshop framework a natural extension of the language center's teaching practices.

Choosing the Objectives

Writing a master's thesis is a complex enterprise, requiring an array of language skills, organizational skills, and critical thinking skills. As it was not possible to design a program that would provide practical experience in all of those skills while at the same time respecting the limited duration of the workshop framework, we began to look for ways to prioritize and select the skills we would address in the workshop.

We began first with an informal assessment of what Bocconi master's students already knew of the thesis-writing process. As the workshops would be open to both first-year and second-year students (of a two-year programme), it was assumed that not all the attending

students would be familiar with all that is involved in writing a master's thesis. Thus, we felt it important to give students experience with the structure of a thesis, and the various sections they need to produce in the course of writing their thesis. Consultation with the staff of the university library highlighted the fact that very often Bocconi students are not aware of the importance of the Literature Review to their master's thesis, and that they do not always recognize the amount of time needed to read through the necessary research.

One objective of the workshop, therefore, was to give the students familiarity with the principal sections of their thesis (Abstract, Introduction, Literature Review, Methodology, Results, Discussion and Analysis, and Conclusion). A second objective was to give them exposure to the type of academic reading they would be doing during their research, and to use samples of this academic reading as models for the type of writing expected in their thesis. The third objective given was experience with producing Academic English.

In the initial planning stages, the duration of the workshop had not been finalized, and it was felt that these three goals offered the flexibility to expand or contract the activities done in the workshop to match the chosen timeframe. In the event, Bocconi decided to schedule three two-hour sessions.

Structuring the Workshops

In the course of determining the structure of the workshop, one characteristic that was notable was the emphasis on the student-centered nature of good workshops. The designers were not interested, therefore, in simply telling students how to structure their thesis. One blog post by author Scott Berkun (2013) became a touchstone in the development of the workshop program, in particular Berkun's Rule #3 — "Work the triad:

explain, exercise, debrief". This rule will not be new to most teachers, of course, but was a clear reminder that most of the limited time available for the workshop had to be taken up with the students doing things and then reflecting on them, and not on teacher talk.

That limited amount of time also made it important to send the message that these sessions were not like typical lectures where students would be absorbing knowledge. The first step therefore was to construct an introductory student-oriented activity, even before the instructors began talking about the thesis-writing process. We decided to address head-on the question of familiarity with what is entailed in writing a thesis, inviting students to discuss with their partners their experience with writing academic papers in English, reading academic articles in English, whether they had started to develop the research question they would attempt to answer in their thesis etc. The students were then asked to present what they had learned about their partner to the class.

It was decided to model the overall structure of the workshop around the venerable 'Hamburger Method' of essay writing. More metaphor than method, the hamburger method asks students to imagine the body of their writing as the meat in a hamburger, and the introduction and conclusion as the buns (Beare, 2018). In addition to adding a visual element to the thesis-writing process (most Bocconi students can readily picture a hamburger in their minds, and 'Hamburger Method' graphic organizers are plentiful on the Internet, this metaphor offered three advantages. First, it allowed us to divide the various sections of the thesis into three categories: top bun (Abstract, Acknowledgements, Contents, Lists, Introduction) meat (Literature Review, Methods, Results Discussion & Analysis) and bottom bun (References / Bibliography, Appendices, Glossary, Conclusion). Second, it allowed instructors to make the point that while the meat is the most important part of a hamburger, a poor bun can lower the quality of an otherwise

good hamburger. Finally, the metaphor afforded us the possibility of organizing the sessions around the meat (two sessions focused on the Literature Review and the Discussion and Analysis) and the buns (one session looking at the Abstract, the Introduction, and the Conclusion).

In choosing to organize the workshop around the structure of the master's thesis, we were confronted with the question of how to integrate into that structure work in Academic English. As noted above, Bocconi students attending degree programs taught in English must submit their thesis in English, regardless of mother-tongue. In order to enroll in these programs, students must demonstrate that they have, at minimum, "a B2 general level in English" (English Entry Requirements...). But, while many of the students in Bocconi's English-Language Master's of Science programs have prior experience studying in English, such experience is not a prerequisite for participating in the program. Indeed, given the extra-curricular nature of the workshop, an informal assumption was that many of the students choosing to attend would be students without much prior experience in the extended research and writing required to prepare a master's thesis. And while the English-language skills of the students enrolled in the Master of Science programs ranged from that "B2 general level in English" to mother-tongue, it was also assumed that a certain percentage of students attending the Thesis Writing Workshop would be students looking to improve their English-language skills, as well as learning how to write a thesis.

At the same time, students in Italian-Language Master of Science programs also have the op tion of submitting their thesis in English, which reinforced our belief that we could not take for granted students' prior experience in academic research and writing in English, nor could we ignore that for at least some of the students this workshop represented an opportunity to expand their ability to use Academic English.

For these reasons, we were determined to include elements of Academic English in the Thesis Writing Workshop. As noted earlier,

along with work on Academic English and on the major structures found in a master's thesis, another objective of the workshop was to give the students exposure to the type of academic reading they would be doing in the research of their thesis. Structurally, it was easy to connect this exposure to the goal of exploring the sections of the thesis by simply matching sections and samples and excerpts. (In other words, during the discussion on abstracts, students would be asked to interact with abstracts from a variety of authentic texts etc.)

By using the same strategy, we were able to use samples and excerpts to highlight the elements of Academic English we had chosen to include in the workshop. The workshop would be organized around the sections of a thesis, with Academic English "interludes" woven in that would focus on a single aspect.

The first element of Academic English included in the program was vocabulary. Students in the workshop, after all, would be encountering and producing tens of thousands of words in the writing of their thesis. The limited time available and the fact that Bocconi offers 13 different Master of Science programs made it unfeasible to include targeted work in the domain-specific vocabulary the students would need, but we could target a generalized, productive, list of academic vocabulary.

Returning to the concept of a workshop teaching participants to do something, we thought it was important to 1) show students that there is a group of vocabulary items repeatedly found in academic writing and 2) show them resources they could refer to after the workshop had ended. Averil Coxhead's Academic Word List (AWL) satisfied both conditions. Through a series of cloze and other vocabulary activities using the samples and extracts of authentic academic writing chosen to highlight the sections of a thesis, we were able to demonstrate to student how often words from the AWL are used in Academic English. Through Dr. Coxhead's resource page (https://www.victoria.ac.nz/lals/

resources/academicwordlist) students have ready access to the word list; there is also a wide range of AWL activities available on the internet, which allows students to practice and increase their familiarity with the list outside of the sessions of the workshop. Thus, while there are valid alternatives to the Academic Word List, we felt that it was the most appropriate source for explicit vocabulary work in the workshop.

The second element chosen was signposting. In deciding which signposts to focus on – given the time available there was no question of guiding students through a comprehensive survey – we started by dividing the signposts into two general categories: organizational signposts and logical signposts. In the organizational signpost category we included not only concepts such as sequence (*first*, *next* etc.) and conclusion (*In conclusion*, *finally* et al.) but signal phrases (phrases used in citation, such as "*Conroy (1945) illustrates that …*"). In the logical signpost category, we included concepts such as cause and effect, concession, comparison, explanation, to name but a few. We then looked to identify those concepts with two characteristics: they were pertinent to the process of thesis writing and they were concepts that students would plausibly not have as much experience working with in English.

In the end, we identified three areas of signposting to include in the workshop: signal phrases, which we included in the section on Literature Reviews, and two broad logical areas which we felt integral to the higher-order critical thinking skills necessary for an effective master's thesis. The first, which we labeled "E3", focused on signposting examples, explanations, and elaboration. Elaboration, a somewhat more abstract concept than the other two, is the movement from general to specific, the exploration of a point in more detail. (*Australia is trying to kill you. And it is coming to get you from more than one direction. In fact, it is home to gigantic crocodiles and killer jellyfish, poisonous snakes and even more poisonous octopuses, deadly spiders and nasty bull sharks.*)

The second broad area was labeled "C/cr", and focused on two areas of counterargument: concession (nevertheless, still etc.) and rebuttal, which often relies on a contrastive turn (*However, the opposite is true*). Both E3 and C/cr were included in the Discussion and Analysis section of the workshop.

The third element chosen was paragraph development. Each of the workshop designers has more than twenty years' experience teaching ESL/EFL at university level. One constant in our experience has been the very different ways students approach paragraphing. And, from the number of references to paragraphing found in university writing guides targeted at native-tongue writers, it seems evident that this variation is not limited to L2 writers.

In "*Style: Lessons in clarity and grace*.", Joseph M. Williams (1990, p. 92) talks of paragraphs as a discussion of an issue. In the workshop, we used that imagery to highlight that well-structured paragraphs are more than a collection of sentences grouped around a topic. There are different models of paragraph development, but as we had limited time to explore and practice, we chose to introduce students to the TEXAS model. Here, students are presented with a model paragraph containing a Topic (which is the same as Williams's 'issue'), Evidence & eXamples, Analysis and So what (sometimes referred to as 'summary').

One point about paragraphs often overlooked by Bocconi students is that the complement of the paragraph is the paragraph break. So care was taken to include model TEXAS paragraphs that were relatively short, demonstrating to students that it was not a necessary component of academic writing that the discussion part of the paragraph stretch over what Steven Pinker (2014, p. 145) has referred to as "massive slabs of visually monotonous text". We also included prompts in the debriefing activity connected to the paragraph-development activities that encouraged students to consider the effect of overly-long paragraphs on their readers.

Conclusion

The workshop described above was eventually packaged into four 90-minute sessions (see appendix). As the workshop has only been run once since its development it is too soon to judge its impact on the English-language theses submitted to Bocconi's Master of Science program. But anecdotal responses from the students involved in the workshop have been positive, and there are plans to make the Effective Thesis Writing Workshop a regular offering of Bocconi's Language Center.

Appendix

Effective Thesis Writing Workshop Program

Session 1

- Warm Up - Discussing Your Thesis
  - a conversation on your experiences with your Thesis and with academic reading and writing in general
- Part 1: Structuring Your Thesis
  - a look at the different sections of a master's thesis
- Part 2: Developing Your Paragraphs
  - exploring TEXAS

Session 2

- Part 1: Reporting on your research — Literature Reviews
  - how to concisely report what you found in your research on the topic
- Part 2: Academic Vocabulary — The Academic Word List
  - Becoming familiar with the words you will be using

Session 3

- Part 1: Discussion and Analysis
  - Talking about what you found and what you think of it
- Part 2: Signposts

- Connecting your ideas

Session 4

- Part 1: Writing your Abstract
- Part 2: Writing your Introduction
- Part 3: Writing your conclusion

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International ELT Conferences and Professional Development

Abstract: Teachers are the cornerstone of the education systems of the countries; hence teachers' continuous professional development has become vital for innovative pedagogies. Almost all countries have regulated their national level laws, policies, and procedures with little input from teachers to develop teacher education curriculum. Regardless of how carefully they have developed their new curriculum, effective teaching still depends on teachers' knowledge, skills and professional development since teachers are at centre of achieving quality education. It is therefore essential that ELT teacher candidates understand and share examples of practice in continuous professional development (CPD). Academic conferences provide excellent opportunities for teachers and teacher candidates to gain fresh insights into the world of education beyond their school walls. Thus, the aim of this study was to find out teachers' and teacher candidates' views on the activities carried out during the conference and on CPD. The results of the quantitative data revealed the overall description of the conferences as positive and encouraging events. The qualitative data supported the positive feelings about the conference and revealed teachers' and teacher candidates' positive and negative thoughts and feelings about CPD.

Key words: ELT Conferences, teachers, teacher candidates, continuing professional development

Introduction

In the 21st century, teachers are not only considered to be one of the stakeholders that must be changed in order to improve their education systems, but they are also key to the success of reform initiatives. This makes teachers significant change agents to enact these initiatives in and out of the classrooms, which has made teacher professional development a growing and challenging area. There has been a tremendous interest emerging especially from governments that update the programs of educational institutions towards demonstrating a significant return on the investment in teacher education in order to improve quality. The requirements of meeting the challenges of the 21st century have highlighted the need for developing the skills and competencies teachers must have to face the unknown future. Darling-Hammond and Bransford (2005), suggest that the quality of teaching depends upon the quality of teacher training which enables teachers to contribute optimally to their learners' academic achievement. However, the quality of education can be achieved with improving teachers' knowledge, skills and professional development. Teacher professional development events should start as early as it is possible, hence teacher candidates should make a habit of developing their professional and personal skills throughout their careers though they have a comprehensive quality preparation with insufficient training at their institutions. The Turkish teacher education curriculum has gone through substantial reforms in recent years.

Everything is rapidly changing, which requires teacher candidates to update their knowledge on materials and method, the syllabus, characteristics of the learners and working conditions that are not covered in the teacher training period. Richards and Farrell (2005)

define the term professional development as "the general growth aimed at reaching a longer term-goal and which often involves examining the different dimensions of the teachers' practice in order to improve their performance in the classroom" (p. 4). Professional development could occur in many ways and be achieved through journals, action research, team teaching, portfolios, mentoring coaching and reflective teaching. These options provide teachers with opportunities to grow during their teaching careers. There seem to be a number of reasons to pursue professional development; for instance, to acquire new knowledge and skills, to keep pace with change, to increase the income or/and prestige, to add an impressive line to our curriculum vitae, to increase the power by increasing knowledge acquired, to avoid burnout, to combat negativity (Bailey, Curtis, & Nunan, 2001, pp. 6-7).

Teachers' continuing efforts to develop and maintain efficiency in and outside the classroom are necessary to ensure a sustainable teaching quality. They also must have the opportunity to modify their existing beliefs and develop their practices by gradually incorporating new ideas and ways of working. In addition, a substantial amount of study maintains that change of attitudes and beliefs are not considered when introducing pedagogical innovations, teachers may resist, re-interpret, misinterpret, revise, refine and/or alter the new principles using their own theories (Orafi, & Borg, 2009). Hattie (2009) carried out a meta-analysis over 800 studies on factors affecting the students' achievement reported that of the ranked 138, in the top 30 most effective factors, 19 are associated with teachers or teaching with a size above 0.5. Thus, there is a rapid change throughout the world to meet the changing needs of learners in the modern world in that teachers have to pursue professional development. It is, therefore, essential that ELT researchers and teachers, especially teacher candidates understand and share examples of practice for CPD.

Teacher Professional Development

A substantial number of studies have reported that rapid technological changes have affected almost every area of economy, society and culture which requires people to be lifelong learners since teacher training programs are not sufficient enough to meet the challenges of the future. There is an agreement on the statement that the quality of an education system cannot exceed the quality of its teachers (Barber, & Mourshed, 2007). Keeping this in mind, more and more countries are renewing their teacher education policies involving lifelong learning opportunities for their teachers as a major source to develop both teacher knowledge skills and values and student achievement (Darling-Hammond et al., 2010). A major challenge for effective training programs for teachers is the development of their dispositions toward teaching. Reiman and Johnson (2003) assume that the development of the teacher dispositional characteristics takes time and effort which is covered by attending professional development programs.

Different terms used for professional development (PD), and distinctions between these terms are not exactly marked in the literature since quality of teaching is the single most important factor which contributes not only to professional but also to personal development of the learners. In this sense, PD can be defined as the process aiming to provide teachers with innovative tools and skills as well as updating the existing ones. Mann (2005) claims that professional development is "career orientated and has a narrower, more instrumental remit" (p. 104). In line with PD, the term "sustaining professional development" is also used in teacher education since it covers both informal and formal approaches to PD. Myers and Clark (2002, p. 50) define PD as "ongoing, coherent, and continuous, rather than unrelated and episodic" and Edge (2002) called it as continuing professional development or lifelong learning. For the aim of this study the working definition of PD is given by Avalos (2011, p. 10) as

> *[…] professional development is about teachers learning, learning how to learn, and transforming their knowledge into practice for the benefit of their students' growth. Teacher professional learning is a complex process, which requires cognitive and emotional involvement of teachers individually and collectively, the capacity and willingness to examine where each one stands in terms of convictions and beliefs and the perusal and enactment of appropriate alternatives for improvement or change.*

The concept of professional development especially for teachers has developed into continuing professional development (CPD) or lifelong learning rather than mere training and qualifications. The term 'continuing' is often used in the literature after the 2000s to stress professional development as being ongoing, lifelong oriented in the process of 'ongoing' change process (Curtis, & Cheng, 2001). It is suggested that teachers seek the CDP opportunities to update and develop their knowledge, skills and values to fulfil different needs and goals in their careers (Day et al., 2007; Day, & Gu, 2010). Borg (2015a) suggests that CPD be based on a model of teacher education aiming to professionally develop teachers through a "development-constructivist" (process-product), approach rather than a "training-transmission" (input-output) model. He also claims that CPD should enable teachers to become aware of their "own professional learning, although the need for the availability of expert support is acknowledged. This could be in the form of "courses led by external trainers who provide teachers with knowledge and ideas" (p. 542).

Academic conferences and seminars are likely to enhance teachers' professionalism to bring about innovative changes in their theoretical knowledge and instructional methods. When they are organized at higher education institutions, researchers and teachers and teacher candidates can obtain the opportunity to attend and listen

to others, individuals present papers and acquire understanding of various areas. The dealing and communication of the individuals with each other enable the participants to acquire immense knowledge regarding important areas. Teacher candidates can also obtain the opportunity to improve their leadership skills and organize various events and functions. Attending conferences and gaining some insights in the wider profession has been considered to be a form of the formal and centrally-managed CPD activity. Academic conferences provide excellent opportunities for participants to gain fresh insights into the world of education beyond their school walls. Borg (2015b) maintains that researchers and teachers can develop their knowledge and experiences continually by attending conferences and presenting papers since they feel a sense of achievement when they actively participate in the conference; they have the opportunity to compare their professional experience with that of other ELT professionals; they become more aware of their own potential; they develop their self-confidence and credibility in the eyes of their colleagues.

International English Language Teacher conferences provide an opportunity for participants to gain powerful and refreshing experience and to become aware of the current trends in the field (Crandall, 2001). According to Borg (2015b), there is a growing number of ELT professionals around the world, attending various conferences each year; and, by participating in such events teachers can develop positive impacts upon their careers and practice. Thus, Çukurova International ELT Teacher Conferences (CUELT) comprise a consecutive set of academic and social activities which aim to foster collaboration among academics, researcher's teacher and teacher candidates studying in various sociocultural contexts. Since 2015, the CUELT conferences have provided a communication platform for scholars, professionals, academics and graduate students, ELT teachers and teacher candidates.

CUELT Conferences have also paid considerable service to extending practical information about novel ways to handle various challenges of authentic teaching practices in the 21st century classrooms. Moreover, the conferences have given the participants ample opportunities for sharing expertise, exchanging opinions and gaining new perspectives about teaching/learning practices. Finally, the social activities (like the gala dinner, sightseeing tour etc.) enabled teachers and teacher candidates to meet ELT practitioners/academics from different parts of the world and thus, contributed to furthering collaboration among people with similar research interests. Besides, the conferences have offered four workshops, which specifically intended to inform the participating pre-service teachers about the current trends in pre-service and in-service teacher education. Thus, this study aimed to find out teachers' and teacher candidates' views on these conference events and their impact on their professional development. The three research questions guiding the study were as follows;

1) What are the teachers' and teacher candidates' views on International ELT?

Conferences?

2) What are their views on Continuing Professional Development (CPD)?

3) Do they think conferences have an impact on their teaching practices?

Significance of the Study

This study is significant since it first broadens the focus of previous studies investigating whether attending academic conferences provides an excellent platform for professional development. It also looks more closely into both teachers' and teacher candidates' views on cognitive,

behavioural and affective outcomes of international conferences. Lastly, it strengthens the idea that academic conferences provide excellent opportunities for both ELT teachers and teacher candidates to gain fresh insights into the world of education beyond their school walls (Borg, 2015b).

Methodology

This design of the study followed a "sequential explanatory strategy" to investigate and explain teachers' and teacher candidates' views on International ELT Conferences as continuing professional development using quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis procedures. Creswell and Creswell (2018) states that "the quantitative results typically inform the types of participants to be purposefully selected for the qualitative phase and the types of questions that will be asked of the participants" (p. 304). The study initially utilized quantitative data collected from the ELT teachers' and teacher candidates' views on the conferences. Open-ended questions were preferred for the next stage of the study to obtain qualitative data from both teachers and teacher candidates regarding professional development. Finally, some of the teachers and teacher candidates were interviewed in order to obtain a better interpretation of the results of the questionnaire and open-ended questions.

Approximately 600 participants – consisting of Academics, English Language Teachers and Teacher Candidates – participated in the conferences. Of the participants, 230 were the registered presenters, 126 were ELT teachers teaching at different levels state schools and the 144 were ELT teacher candidates.

The data were obtained from the teachers and teacher candidates attending the CUELT conferences held in 2018 and 2019 as three-day-professional development events. They were collected through an evaluation survey consisting of five point Likert scale (Strongly Agree,

Agree, Neutral, Disagree, and Strongly Disagree) and eight free response questions investigating more views on the sessions developed by Bedir (2018). In addition, semi-structured interviews were conducted with the participants to support the collected data.

Findings

The study sought to determine teachers' and teacher candidates' views on international ELT conferences as a professional development. A total of 58 teachers and 134 teacher candidates responded to the survey and 24 of them were informally interviewed. The majority of the responses indicated a positive, enriching experience at the conference. The man and St.Ds of the items are presented in the tables.

Teachers' and teacher candidates' views on conferences

Statistical analysis of the data obtained from 58 teachers with a five point Likert scale evaluation survey provided valuable information about their views on the sessions. The overall description of the conferences suggested a positive and encouraging conferences though the mean (3,0698) of the satisfaction with the conferences is lower than the other means. Table 1 displays that, except for the "I am satisfied with the sessions" the teachers were commonly pleased about attending conferences. For example, "The presentations were well planned and interactive" had a mean of 4,0698, "I would recommend the session to colleagues" had a 4,3256 mean. In addition, there seemed to be a consensus among the participants on "The atmosphere was enthusiastic, interesting and conducive to a collegial professional exchange" since it had a mean of 4,000 and St.D was 1,00. In addition, "Presenter(s) spoke enthusiastically" had a mean (3,8245) lower

almost all of the items after. The informal interviews with the teachers revealed that the negative feelings about presentation resulted from some of the plenary sessions.

Table 1. Teachers' views on the conferences

Items	**Mean**	**St. D**
1. I am satisfied with the sessions.	3,0698	,9359
2. Time in the presentations was sufficient to allow learning and practicing new concepts.	4,0240	,7683
3. The presentations were well planned and interactive.	4,0698	,6689
4. The presenters delivered the ideas clearly, using brief notes.	4,2558	,5386
5. The atmosphere was enthusiastic, interesting, and conducive to a collegial professional exchange.	4,0000	1,000
6. I understood and learned several things from the presentations.	4,0698	1,142
7. The presenter(s) spoke enthusiastically.	3,8245	,7986
8. I would recommend this session to colleagues.	4,3256	,6063

Source: The data from five point Likert scale

A substantial number of teacher candidates – 134 – responded to the survey including Likert scale items and eight free response questions. Sixteen of the respondents were also informally interviewed. Survey findings indicated that the majority of teacher candidates found the conference fruitful (Table 2). For example; "I am satisfied with the session" showed a mean of 3,0698, "The presentations were well planned and interactive" had a mean of 3,9075 and "Presenter(s) spoke enthusiastically" had a mean of 4,4176. In addition, "The atmosphere was enthusiastic, interesting and conducive to a collegial professional exchange" was highly preferred (M = 4,3587) and the highest ranking item with a mean of 4,6021 was "I would recommend the conference to colleagues."

Table 2. Teacher candidates' views on the conferences

Items	Mean	St. D
1. I am satisfied with the session	4,4501	,9027
2. Time in the presentations was sufficient to allow learning and practicing new concepts.	4,4074	,8543
3. The presentations were well planned and interactive.	3,9075	,8345
4. The presenters delivered the ideas clearly, using brief notes.	4,4188	,7712
5. The atmosphere was enthusiastic, interesting, and conducive to a collegial professional exchange	4,3587	,9471
6. I understood and learned several things from the presentations.	4,4426	,8878
7. The presenter(s) spoke enthusiastically.	4,4176	,8196
8. I would recommend the conference to colleagues.	4,6021	,8476

Source: The data from five point Likert scale

In addition, the free response questions shed lights into the strong and weak points of the presentations, thereby the conferences. The most frequently used words for the conferences were "beneficial", "motivating", "innovative and "engaging". The only potentially negative words with any prominence were "time" allotted for the presentations and "crowd" for the two halls physically small for the audience. The positive comments for the sessions were derived from the words like "interesting", "beneficial", "interactive" "innovative". However, there were negative perceptions of the conference; it was likely associated with sessions, time issues and two of the rooms used for presentation. Teachers used the terms "sessions" "concurrent" "small", "size", all of which suggested that overlapping sessions with similar content were problematic for some attendees.

The interviews, on the other hand, revealed that the majority of the participants were truly satisfied with the conference venue, as well as time of the year the conference was organized; although there

were also a few negative comments about the structure of two of the rooms where the sessions were held. The informal interviews with the teachers and teacher candidates revealed that the negative feelings about presentation were resulted from two of the plenary speeches though they wished to attend more related conferences to raise their awareness on current teaching and learning practices. This is in line with the benefits of ELT conferences, stated by Crandall (2001) in that "there is perhaps no single experience with more potential for educating and refreshing a professional than an international English language teaching conference" (p. 536).

The positive comments for the sessions were derived from the words like "interesting", "beneficial", "interactive" "innovative". However, there were negative perceptions of the conference; it was likely associated with sessions, time issues and two of the rooms. The potentially negative words with any prominence were "time" – allotted for the presentations – and "crowd" for the two halls physically small for the audience. Teachers used the terms "sessions" "concurrent" "small", "size", suggested that overlapping sessions with similar content were problematic for some attendees. Teacher candidates who articulated negative words were observed to hold the views that attending the conferences or workshops which do not meet their needs and interests was time-consuming and irrelevant. This is in line with Richards and Farrell (2005) who suggests several professional development strategies among which attending conferences is not mentioned. In addition, Smith (2010) suggest the shift from traditional workshops and conferences to professional learning resulted from active involvement of the teachers, taking longer term and intellectually nourishing activities. However, attending academic conferences can be more rewarding for teacher candidates in order to be with experienced and expert practitioners in the field of ELT and be an effective teacher, which has already been

associated with professional development. Silverman et al. (1992) suggest that teacher candidates must have the opportunity to bridge the gap between theory and practice to become an effective teacher, so they must be equipped with the skills such as being critical and creative thinkers and problem solvers.

Attendance rates varied across sessions although an overwhelming majority of the participants were pleased about attending the presentation and workshop conducted by the plenary speakers. The teachers and teacher candidates were asked to reflect on the practicality of the conferences and their relevance to the classroom situations. The majority of the responses focused on building a bridge between theory and classroom applications. The following excerpts are examples of some of the common responses:

I gained some insights from the sessions which I would use in my classes.

Academics came here from different parts of the world and shared their ideas with others, so I tried to benefit from them since they presented some practical things from the classrooms.

Attending professional conferences motivates me to do my best work as a teacher. When they are over, I always think over I want to do more. Why can't I make a presentation in the next conference?

I got bored of listening to the people telling me what to do in class in a slideshow. What I need is innovations which make us more than being more standard.

Teachers' and teacher candidates' views of CPD

The respondents' views about what they understood from the term "continuing professional development" was also a concern for the study, one additional free response question was asked. "What is your

understanding of the term 'continuing professional development'?" The words and phrases both teachers and teacher candidates used showed that they were almost all aware of what professional development meant. Based on free response responses, it was interpreted that teachers' and teacher candidates' perceptions of CPD and participation in CDP events evolved four categories as Definition of CPD, CPD Experiences, Reasons for participating in CPD and Impact of CPD. The categories, themes and common emerging ideas are presented in Table. The themes were carefully selected because they served as "the basis upon which the argument, the data extracts and the discursive commentaries are organized" (Holliday, 2007, p. 90).

Table 3. Teachers' and teacher candidates' views of CPD

Categories	**Themes**	**Common emerging ideas**
Definition of CPD	· Participation of professional events · Becoming qualified teacher · Updating and developing pedagogical knowledge skills and practices. · Life-long learning	· Seminars, conferences, and workshops · Becoming aware of weaknesses and strengths · Becoming a better, effective and sophisticated teacher · Improve instructional strategies, develop teaching methods · Keep up passion of learning
CPD Experiences	· Attending professional events · Professional organization · Pedagogical Knowledge	· Seminar conferences, and workshops · English teacher association (INGED, TESOL Turkey) · Reading, finding sources, and developing methods · Examiner and teacher trainer

Reasons for participating in CPD	• Teachers' self-awareness • CPD as a means to enhance teachers career • Exchange information and expertise among teachers • Becoming aware of the resources available for CPD • Improving confidence about innovative pedagogies	• Personal goals for knowing more about the profession • Career promotion, teacher certification, better career prospects • Participating in CPD provide idea sharing Improve collaboration and communication skills • Gaining ideas for improving classroom instruction • Improving research and presentation skills • Using the resources to access the necessary information • Feeling better prepared to teach a lesson using new technologies to further students' achievement
Impact of CPD	• Impact of CPD on classroom practices	• Both on personal and professional development • Learning about new teaching methods, ideas, assessment and innovation for classroom practices. • Sharing CPD experiences with colleagues in the same district

Source: The date from free response questions.

This study also highlights both teachers' and teacher candidates' views on CPD provided with the annually conducted international conferences Teacher professional development is very broad and involves improving knowledge, skills and values. Table 3 displays that many of the teachers and teacher candidates voiced concerns corresponding with the definitions in the related literature. The majority of the teacher candidates expressed the term "being an effective teacher" as a response to the questions. On the other hand, several of them defined the term professional development as "developing teaching skills." It is clear that the concept of CPD is well perceived by many teachers and teacher candidates. However, some teachers seemed to perceive CPD as a programme for new teachers, whereas teacher candidates thought it was a program for all to learn technology only.

The survey data indicated that teachers mostly participated in seminars, conferences, and workshops and that some of them were the members of English Teacher Associations. Some attended in-service teacher training activities, yet the content of the activities carried out were either not interesting at all or rarely associated with CPD. In addition, teachers, during interviews, indicated that attending such events raised an awareness of their weaknesses and strengths in their profession Interview data obtained from the teacher candidates, on the other hand, revealed that very few of the were holding the idea of experiencing CPD activities. It was also interpreted that more attention was devoted to quantity of these activities than on their impact on the quality of teaching.

Table 3 also shows the emerging issues about the purpose of attending CPD events. It was obvious that both groups share similar ideas such as professional development, sharing of good practice, more so than being a classroom observation exercise However, further inferential analyses did reveal some differences between two groups in that teachers were observed to be more passionate about career enhancement. Professional development was believed to be something they seek and educate themselves for in the hope they would be recognised by Ministry of National Education (MoNE) so that they could work in prestigious schools. The majority of them also believed that communication with one another could enhance their professionalism. The teacher candidates, on the other hand, mostly commented that attending conferences provide them with the opportunity to improve their professional knowledge by listening to others even presenting papers and acquiring understanding of various areas.

Teachers and teacher candidates were then asked how the outcome of the conferences would contribute to the quality of their teaching. Both of the groups agreed that the conferences contributed to

their personal life with meeting and interacting with ELT researchers, as well as to their professional life with increasing motivation, enthusiasm and commitment to the teaching profession. Teacher candidates also commonly used the words and phrases as "developing new teaching and assessment methods," "sharing ideas with the colleagues."

Discussion

Both teachers and teacher candidates seemed to be eager to attend conferences for certain incentives such as better career prospects, certificates, etc. Teacher candidates, especially, believed that attending CPD events provided the recognition of outstanding teachers at district, regional and inter/national levels. These observations are in line with previous studies. For example, Borg (2015b) claims that attending academic conferences participants can have the opportunity to build networks which help them increase their awareness on changes and innovations in their area of interest. In addition, OECD (2009) reports that education conferences and seminars are the most commonly attended events by 68% in Lithuania, 75% in Slovenia and 68% in Turkey (cited in Bedir, 2018). That said, attending conferences is more likely to be professionally rewarding experience and to affect teaching practices if teachers can relate the content of the presentations to their everyday work in their schools.

However, teachers complained about the workload and the attitudes of the school managers, which prevented them from attending the conferences; although the MoNE supports teachers' professional development. Teacher candidates articulated that they did not have adequate time for professional development interventions since they had to study for high stake examination to become a teacher though they seemed to be eager to attend professional development events. However,

they must seek opportunities which "help them develop their image as future teachers and conferences enable them to make connections between their knowledge base (pedagogy, methodology, classroom activities and etc.), practice (their practicum, the implementation of a pedagogical project and etc.) and develop empathy towards a social and critical way of teaching" (Castellanos, 2013, p. 202). Making a connection between theory and practice grow from transmission perspective to a mixture of the developmental and the nurturing perspective, hence the impacts of such kinds of events in early years of teachers' careers can bring up the most significant change (Popova et al., 2016).

The majority of both the teachers and teacher candidates articulated that the knowledge, skills and values they gained during conferences would positively impact their professional development and their teaching practice. However, the implementation of knowledge skills and values should be fostered to see the impact of the CPD sessions. In line with the previous literature, which has reported that teachers should work collaboratively to trigger changing teaching practices and improving student learning (Avalos, 2011), the teachers seemed to be willing to share CPD experiences with colleagues. Teacher candidates, on the other hand, reflected on the knowledge, skills and values they gained during the three days of the conference events and their teaching experiences during their micro. Murphy et al. (2015) suggested that teachers could sustain the knowledge, skills and values they have gained when they try out new activities and methods demonstrated during the CPD programs. Teachers also talked about many obstacles they faced when they intended to implement what they experienced. Therefore, they were suggested that they become a teacher as a researcher and present the results of their classroom research in the conferences. This activity corresponds with the claim that any programme of professional learning should be self-directed and aim to make changes in teachers'

knowledge and practices, and improvements in student learning outcomes (Kennedy, 2016).

In planning for the future professional development activities, one free response question asked was: "In your opinion, what should be the purpose of professional development"? The most frequently used phrases were to become "aware of weaknesses and strengths", and "a better, effective and sophisticated teacher." Cochran-Smith (2003) suggests that professional development which can equip teachers with the knowledge to meet the demands of students in the twenty-first century should be included in the teacher education curriculum. In addition, individual professional development has been considered as a useful tool since it enables individuals to monitor the growth of competences on a problematic field (Zepeda, 2012; European Commission, 2013). Teachers and teacher candidates also highlighted that university level professional development event such as seminars, workshops, conferences greatly their teaching practice more than other professional development, which is in line with the findings reported by (Shiel, Perkins, & Gilleece, 2009).

CPD activities require the evaluation programme outcomes rather than extrapolate from ideals, effective CPDs; hence Guskey (2002) suggested five levels of evaluation (1) Participants' reactions: the participants' responses to survey revealed positive reactions towards the quality of presenters, materials, the context and organization; (2) Participants' learning: qualitative data obtained with open-ended questions and interviews served as reflections. As shown in Table 1 and 2, both teachers and teacher candidates gained good insights from the presentations, created a positive sense of community and shared ideas which could initiate change in knowledge or skills due to their experience during the conferences; (3) Organization support and change: The interviews with the teachers and official contact with the local office of

MoNE shed lights into the support in creating change. The majority of the teachers agreed that there was no organization's advocacy, support, facilitation, and recognition of change efforts. However, teacher candidates overwhelmingly favoured the support they received from their institutions; (4) Participants' use of new knowledge and skills: During the practicum, we had the chance to observe some of the teachers and teacher candidates participating in the conferences. We observed that they were in the tendency of implementing the experiences they gained by attending the conferences. (5) Student learning outcomes: The data we were able to use for learning outcomes were the results of high stake examinations, and the teachers' comments on how much the new teaching strategies or practices they were implementing made a difference. The data helped us interpret that teachers attending conferences were implementing the innovative pedagogies in their classrooms due to the noteworthy scores of the high stake examinations their students have taken.

Conclusions, implications and suggestions

This study addressed some issues related to the international ELT conferences and continuing professional development among EFL teachers and teacher candidates. The research has contributed to studies expertise among teachers; conferences with regard to CPD in the context of academics presenting papers and conducting workshops with teachers and teacher candidates attending as audiences. Within this broad perspective, the study aimed to explore the views on the sessions evaluated by both the teachers and teacher candidates. The purpose of the investigation was to develop a better understanding of the relationship between International ELT Conferences and professional development. Compared to overall conference satisfaction, results

suggested that the respondents had a very positive view of the sessions and conferences as professional development events in general; although the participants' ratings varied.

In addition, the analysis of the data from the survey questionnaire, free response questions and focus group interview has let some characteristics of CPD emerge. Generally speaking, the findings showed an overall enthusiasm and commitment among teachers towards conferences. While the questionnaire data showed enthusiasm, the free response questions and interview provided an additional insight into the various factors attributed to congruence between teachers and teacher candidates. However, it was observed that teacher candidates were using positive expressions about some workshops whereas teachers, especially older ones, seemed to be bored with their topics, and vice versa. The emerging patterns in terms teachers and teachers' candidates' participants' highlighted on the impact of conferences were mostly on the implementation of and sharing the knowledge, skills and values gained. That said, both groups seemed to have gained insights which could shape the way they would be teaching resulted from their commitment, motivation and the satisfaction of attending conferences as CPD.

The results implied that some of the more experienced teachers, who spent more years in service, voiced concerns about how the older teachers in their schools. They articulated that older teachers opted to see professional development events as a burden and unnecessary intrusion, whereas the majority of novice teachers and teacher candidates were eager to participate in any CPD events available. This lack of interest might derive from the fact that CDP events do not contribute to the advancement of teachers' career in Turkey. Thus, CPD events must be more personalized as suggested by UNESCO (1990, p. 58) "teachers should be involved in the identification and articulation

of their own training needs and growth experiences for teachers should be individualized" since teachers could be at different stages of their career. Their perceptions of professional development events can be extremely different even though they may be working at the same institution. It is likely that "young teachers might find certain workshops extremely useful while more experienced teachers may feel bored with topics they already know, and vice versa" (Novozhenina, & López Pinzón, 2018, p. 126). In the current study, for instance, teacher candidates were more inclined to specifically integrate technology than many of the teachers who seemed to incorporate it into their lessons due to the pressure coming from the students.

Teacher CPD is a very broad and diverse field of knowledge. There is no single approach to develop the quality of teacher and teaching, which is fundamental to guarantee quality in student learning. However, studies have reported that a substantial number of teachers are ill-prepared (Bold et al., 2017; OECD, 2009). In this study, volunteer teachers' and teacher candidates' concerns were highlighted. The study also examined the possible cumulative and residual effects of the CUELT Conferences in the university context on teachers' and teacher candidates' professional development. A more in-depth study would be necessary for a more detailed examination of the different contexts and processes which can improve teachers' knowledge skills and values to practice better.

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Language Difficulties in the Eyes of Polish Teenage Brokers Living in the UK

Abstract: The paper presents a short history of translation theories of the 20th century and the roles of community interpreters. It also discusses the concepts of non-professional translations (brokering), with particular attention paid to difficulties that Polish teenage brokers face in the UK regarding the processes of translation and interpretation as evidenced in the 2016-2018 study on 55 Polish bilinguals. It focuses on selected settings that child brokers enumerated in the interviews, to show that all the participants undertake the task on a daily basis, and their language assistance tends to be provided in particularly linguistically challenging contexts (i.e. medical, legal or financial) which per se put additional burden on the young bilinguals. Finally, the study sheds light on the possible impact that lack of knowledge of specialized vocabulary and translation/interpretation skills might have on the personality of the young mediators.

Key words: language brokering, bilingual, non-professional translation, context

Introduction

The definition of translation, according to Kelly (2005), perceives this act as the skill of understanding the source text and delivering it to a reader in the target language by applying the register, the background knowledge, and other language resources according to the intended aim. We can draw a general conclusion that the task of the translator (equipped with specific, desired knowledge, experience and techniques) is to convey the message while maintaining the author's intent, register and style. Interpretation, however, is often viewed as a seemingly less demanding process, and as Tseng (2000) points out there is a common misconception regarding interpreting, viewing it as "an effortless activity that can be done by any bilinguals". He explains that interpreters are frequently perceived as "machines that do code-switching automatically from one language to another", and concludes that "only when clients have no clue on which to base their evaluation of the interpretation can interpretation evoke any sense of awe among clients. This is detrimental to professionalization" (Tseng, 2000, pp. 465–476). The questions posed in the paper are: "What, if this task of translating/interpreting is being undertaken by a non-professional, i.e. a bilingual teenager, who does possess natural, inborn translation abilities, though has not been trained as a professional, and to make matters more strenuous and complex, is trying to help their parents in cross-cultural communication? What impact can it possibly have on their personality and relationships within the families?" The study carried out by the author shows that this is a prevailing practice in many Polish families living in the UK, where children become language brokers within their communities and take on the role of community translator/interpreter1, irrespective of their age, linguistic abilities, knowledge, life experience, complexity of the task, severity of possible mistakes, and in turn consequences. The paper discusses merely an

excerpt from the study and a more comprehensive view will be shown in the next articles[1].

Selected translation theories - a brief summary of literature findings

The twentieth century brought about a number of translation theories and approaches. To Bensoussan (1990) translation is closely related to the reading process and Picken (1989), perceives it as a method of decoding oral and written messages (from writing to speech or vice versa) from one language to another. Hatim and Mason (1990), mention the significance of negotiation of meaning between the speaker and receiver, while Larson (1984), underlines the importance of delivering the same message. She points out that both parties or speakers (through an intermediary or a written text) must comprehend the same meaning, preserving the pace of the original source language text. She points out that the goal of a translator should be to produce a new text that would maintain the same meaning as the original, yet still sound natural to the receiver (thanks to the appropriate register, for example). Similar opinion is expressed by Bell (1991), who explains that translation is merely the replacement of a text in one language with an equivalent text in another. Similar views are presented by Newmark (1981), who states that translation encompasses elements of science, art and a craft. The job of the craftsman, he claims, is to replace a message and/or statement in one language by the similar one in another. Having assessed the facts and used the appropriate language (scientific element); the artist has to be creative and able to differentiate good writing from bad one using their intuition. The final product of the skillful translator is to be a well-designed, yet close to the

1. When considering the definition of a language broker, both terms (translator and interpreter) are used interchangeably.

original text. In practice, as translators differ in taste and vocabulary and/or techniques choice, the outcome, Newmark says is (1981) unique, and contains characteristic features of the particular person, the more when done orally, and performed ad hoc.

Translators/interpreters and their role in community translating/interpreting

Hale (2008, 101–119), presents five interpreter roles that have either been "openly prescribed" or "deduced" from the performance of interpreters. She describes the first one as similar to that of an advocate, who often represents the minority language speaker. The second, she claims provides services to an office or institution and the third, supervises the flow of information, i.e. between a lawyer and a defendant. Finally, Hale (2008) says that interpreters take responsibility for the smooth flow of communication and consequently the failure or success of the interaction, and faithfully deliver the messages to the receiver. Depending on the task assigned, circumstances, time frame and other factors, interpreters adopt the role most appropriate from their perspective. She maintains that the higher their interpreting skills, and the better their working conditions are, the more chances the interpreters have of translating accurately (Hale, 2018). However, only few of the aforesaid elements are present in the case of community translation/interpretation[2] or brokering – the representation of the client and responsibility of the interpreter for the success of interaction. As for the conditions of the mediations undertaken, these are often governed by the sheer need of interpreting and the non-professionals have no awareness of the roles they would

2. Here community translation and interpretation is used interchangeably as both professional translators and brokers often provide oral and written services at the same time.

need to adopt. Surely, their main concern is to preserve the accuracy of the meaning conveyed, simply for fear of being misunderstood or the possible negative consequences of their inexperience which could lead to misinterpretation. In difficult language settings (i.e. parent-teacher meetings, doctor's or legal/financial advisor's appointments, police encounters) brokers tend to get anxious and frustrated that they may fail. According to Hale (2007) other often discussed and quoted types of oral translation are dialogue interpreting, informal 'liaison' interpreting[3], cultural interpreting, escort interpreting or ad hoc interpreting. What is more, Pöchhacker, (2000) claims that community/public service/liaison, interpreting is sometimes referred to by its particular setting, thus it can be referred as i.e. healthcare interpreting (or medical interpreting, or hospital interpreting), legal interpreting (or court interpreting or police interpreting), social interpreting. Kościałkowska-Okońska (2010) is one of the scholars who states that court interpreting is sometimes regarded as a distinct field with different role perceptions and expectations of the participants. Naturally the parties engaged in official community translation/interpretation are adults, yet it is children who tend to participate in pre-interrogations, hearings or court procedures. Among other more prevailing situations that child brokers find themselves in are: driver's license tests, school interactions, GP's or hospital appointments, dietician-client consultations, job interviews, or social worker-client encounters (Kościałkowska-Okońska, 2010).

3. Liaison interpreting is the most informal form of interpreting, typically performed during visits of delegations or at small business meetings. The interpreter accompanies the whole group or the person in question and interprets whenever required. It is also the most similar in terms of mode of interaction/modality to language brokering.

Child language brokering as an example of community interpreting

All the aforementioned are present in child language brokering (the place, participants and modality[4]), however, there seem to be at least three major differences which can have a significant impact on the quality of the translation, the interpreter's well-being/self and relations with the participant who is assisted. The first and most essential difference is the person who provides the language services – the child. Their lack of professional translation/interpretation skills and/or professional/specific/technical vocabulary required in the particular, context-specific situation, is of key importance in language mediations[5]. Additionally, the fact that it is often the parent, whose language skills are insufficient to hold the conversation alone and requires the assistance of the child may lead to a role-conversion. Children brokers tend to take over the responsibility for the severity of the situation and success of the linguistic exchange, often stress-triggering. Next, as these brokers are children, they are still unfamiliar with the intricacies of the adult world, lack experience in certain situations (bank, law, medicine) and often do not know how to conduct themselves in these situations. Moreover, despite being able to comprehend the language (they understand the general meaning of what is being said), the interpretation of the message is beyond their cognitive abilities. Being bilingual does not mean they possess the same vocabulary repertoire in both language systems, or share the same social experience (i.e. they had not seen an official letter from a Polish bank nor been to a doctor or legal advisor in Poland) This can lead to confusion, self-consciousness, and additionally, lower quality of the message conveyed.

4. By modality we shall understand the way interpreting is undertaken. Language brokering is done by a child who wants to help their client (most frequently a parent) in the linguistically challenging interaction with a third party, either in a face-to-face oral exchange or/and while translating a written message, i.e. a formal letter.

5. In literature the term 'language brokering' tends to be used interchangeably with the term 'language mediations'.

In the study on Polish brokers carried by the author it was confirmed that domestic-related situations (i.e. translating text messages, during friends or neighbours' visits, while watching a film, etc.) were among the very few that children brokered in, and the prevailing ones were the aforementioned formal settings (Żytowicz, 2017). Finally, the stress of being exposed to a delicate situation per se may additionally suppress the child's performance, i.e. when a broker is expected to assist an ill or disturbed parent in a hospital, meeting with a teacher, clerk or a legal advisor. In these contexts the young brokers can feel anxious, embarrassed and stressed. Though, according to the report launched by the *2020health* organization in 2013, the government of the United Kingdom spends nearly 23 million pounds on public-service/community interpreting in health settings annually, still it is young brokers who are heavily relied on when interpreting is needed *ad hoc*.

The study – brokering and difficulties

Altogether 55 Polish bilinguals aged 8–18, living in the United Kingdom, and undertaking language mediations for third parties (in vast majority for their parents) were interviewed. All the interviews were semi-structured[6], face-to-face, video-recorded and carried out either in focus groups[7] or individually. To ensure the validity of the research,

6. Semi-structured interviews are characterised by topic guides containing major questions that are used in the same way in every interview, although the sequence of the questions might vary as well as the level of probing for information by the interviewer.

7. The main purpose of focus group research is to evoke a level of respondents' attitudes, feelings, beliefs, experiences and reactions otherwise not available when using methods, such as observation or individual interviewing. Grouping additionally aims at triggering all the participants to join in the discussion, having heard others' experiences. In this research grouping respondents was necessary due to time constraints, as their parents expressed their consent for 1h interviews only, to be done after the school hours. Given that, to talk to everyone the author would need two months.

maximum comfort of the respondents, secrecy and confidentiality, all the interviews were carried out using the same procedure and following the rules (i.e. ensuring a safe place, allocating time frame, preserving the same method of recording and manner of posing questions) described by John W. Creswell (2014) and Earl R. Babbie (2007). The interviewees answered a number of pre-designed questions, among others those regarding brokering situations and translation difficulties encountered. The choice of the language of the interview depended on the respondents as at the beginning of the conversation the interviewer would ask in Polish and English which one they would prefer. Additionally, the study found no correlation between the age of the respondent, length of stay in Britain or age of onset/language immersion, so it was impossible to state that those who had lived there longer found themselves more comfortable in English.

The analysis of the interviews revealed that one of the most prevailing and at the same time challenging brokering contexts (out of 20 different settings provided) was medical, with 20 examples of brokering during appointments with a doctor and 7 in hospitals, followed by formal letters (19 examples), at the bank interpreting (12 examples) and police encounters or lawyer meetings (4 each). It also confirmed that while all the respondents would comprehend the message which was to be translated from English into Polish, they would predominantly struggle with finding the equivalent vocabulary in the latter language. It cannot be attributed only to higher proficiency in English as also those respondents who had stayed in the UK for merely two years gave similar accounts. The author believes that no prior experience in a particular situation (reading a legal letter or talking to a doctor about the specific disease) and as a result lack of vocabulary (in books, films or other media) in Polish is to be responsible for the differences between the linguistic aptitude in the two languages of the bilingual

brokers. Some children also suggested that apart from not knowing the equivalents of the words choosing proper syntax often turned out to be a true challenge. Also, when asked about any translation/interpretation techniques used or what they do if they do not know what or how to say something, they were confused and unable to provide examples. When looking for possible solutions which might facilitate translation/interpretation, the brokers admitted that facing difficulties, they would simply look for help in 'Google translate', simplify or omit problematic phrases, and try to explain the meaning with other words, adapting the difficult vocabulary item or making it sound more 'Polish'. The excerpts below are just a few examples of difficulties Polish brokers encounter (INT stands for the interviewer, while the initials represent the coded name of a particular respondent):

Dcsf2018

INT: ***So what makes translating difficult:*** *words, grammar structures or the whole syntax?*

D: ***I think that just words.***

K: ***I think that putting it all together in a sentence is a bit weird, different.***

D: In my opinion it's not. ***It's more words as sometimes I don't know what they mean.***

Dscn 0008

INT: Let's go back to brokering, please. ***If you don't understand something than what do you do?***

Sz: ***I would say that if I don't understand a word I check it on the Internet or ask a teacher in English what it means and she explains it to me.***

G: ***I mostly ask my friends and yes, check on the Internet.***

INT: And if you are brokering and there is no Internet access, then what?
Sz: ***Sometimes there is a problem, that when I have to translate something into Polish I don't know how to say it.***
INT: You don't know the vocabulary?
Sz: Yes and then ***I am trying to explain it, what the word means in Polish. But sometimes I can't manage to.***
G: ***I get stuck and then I think hard for 5 minutes and I recall it.***

Dscn006

A: ***The thing is that I understand these letters in English but it seems to me they are different in English, they mean something else.. it's like... I kind of think in a different way when something is in Polish or in English. I think it's easier for me if it's in English.***
INT: More natural?
A: ***It comes more natural in English. Whereas in Polish, I have focus more on what I am writing, well... to make it right.*** *And to be honest I have a problem with that.*

Dscf2025

INT: Listen what makes these translations difficult? Vocabulary or gram mar? Is it hard to broker?
We: I was to help my step-father when he had to fill in some online questionnaire and he didn't understand everything. ***So it was hard for me to find the right words in Polish as there were a lot of English words that were long and I don't know them, I mean I don't know their meaning in Polish.***
INT: So it was vocabulary?
We: Yes
D: In my case it was similar.
INT: Vocabulary? And for you Ewa? [she only nodded yes]

INT: Have you ever translated a very complicated sentence? Is grammar difficult for you or easy? Can you understand it from the context?
Si: ***Usually there are some words that I know in English but I cannot translate them into Polish so at that moment I reach for the Internet.*** **Dscn1949**
INT: Ok, what about feelings? How do you feel when you translate? Try to tell me.
Pat: Bored. ***I don't like translating. It's hard for me because I understand the English but when I try to translate it in Polish it's not quite right.*** *So my mum just uses Google Translate almost all the time.*
Wic: I am used to it. I am used to it. Every time, every single day.
INT: Every single day…?
Wic: Not every single day cause my dad never goes outside the house because he has to look after our two dogs but if he does… I am doing it mainly for them. I mean... when he first time like here he didn't know how to speak English. I learnt how to speak English in six or five months… Then I was like, then I helped my dad speaking and I'd teach my dad and I would sometimes teach my dad.
INT: So you're used to it.
Wic: Yeah…
INT: Are you proud?
Wic: Shaking his head - half side yes, half side… no
Paulina: Sometimes ***I am just nervous, I don't know if I am gonna translate it right.***
INT: So nervous…
Aleksandra: ***Like confused… because sometimes I don't know how to say a word in Polish.***
Patryk: ***Yes, sometimes it's challenging because there might be like a long paragraph that I have to translate and then there might be like.. all of the words might be hard and I might not know them and I just get stuck…*** *[…]*

Having analyzed the few examples of the accounts given by the young Polish brokers in the interviews it can be noticed that language mediations come to them naturally, yet not effortlessly, as they underline the fact of not feeling nervous while translating if the topic seems familiar. Despite the negative emotions mentioned in the interviews, these young brokers do not view brokering as a negative experience (which has been confirmed by the aforementioned studies). These excerpts also show that the major hardship children face is finding the appropriate terms (equivalents) which would ensure a good quality of translation, and in turn possible parental approval. They admit that they understand the message, however, due to lack of vocabulary and the complex structures which have to be handled, feel apprehensive and unable to manage the job at the standard expected by their parents. This triggers stress and other negative emotions to be discussed in detail in the next papers. When they are assigned an easier task of translating text messages or brokering in a shop, for peers at school or while assisting their parents with their language learning, they tend to recall positive emotions such as pride, and happiness to be able to help.

Conclusions

The paper presented a short review and analysis of the history of translation theories of the 20th century, and in brief mentioned such aspects as the services provided by non-professional, community translators and children-brokers, with regards to the notions of interpretation and translation skills and role of professional vs. non-professional translators/interpreters, and child brokers play in a community. Finally, it also showed the possible relations between them and their clients (in the study predominantly the parent), in particular focusing on the stress encountered while brokering. The paper is based on the accounts given

by Polish bilingual brokers in interviews (the study carried out by the author in the years 2016-2018). By addressing the role of teenage language brokers as examples of non-professional, community interpreters, and showing the examples of the phenomenon in challenging linguistic settings (i.e. medical, legal, financial) the possible detrimental impact on the broker's personality, and the quality of the service, caused mainly by stress, insufficient language skills and lack of, experience, was brought to light. Although the article presents merely a piece of the study comprised of 19 interviews carried out with 55 participants, of a total length of 6h 45 minutes, the major challenge, posed by lack of specialized terminology, that young brokers face, cannot go unnoticed. Finally, it shows that children far too often broker in challenging settings and tend to struggle with the complexity of the utterance being exposed to the vocabulary comprehensible to them in English, however, unfamiliar in Polish. These young brokers are capable of decoding the message and often comprehend its general meaning, nevertheless, subject to a combination of factors, i.e. lack of vocabulary equivalents, no trained translation techniques, pressure of the responsibility entrusted in them by their parents, time constraints, and many others, find the message difficult to deliver. It is an attempt to shed new light on the reality of Polish child brokers' lives in the UK and the concept of brokering in particularly demanding linguistic contexts.

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Problems EAL Professionals Face when Teaching Roma Teenagers

Abstract: The aim of this study is to investigate the problems English as an Additional Language (EAL) professionals face when providing English support to Roma teenagers in secondary schools in Derby in North England. In addition, this study aims at finding out how intercultural awareness can help those professional overcome these potential issues. There is a limited research on Roma teenagers and English language learning. Thus, this may cause great difficulties to EAL professionals who offer English support to Roma students. Roma culture is very unique and shows many aspects which other societies may not relate to, for example social exclusion, Special Educational Needs, English as a second language and challenging behaviour. A potential solution to this problem may be intercultural awareness and its value in teaching minority groups. The method for this study is quantitative. The questionnaire of 16 questions with open, closed and rating scale questions along with an opportunity to add additional comments was used. The study highlights the factors of challenges and issues EAL professional face when teaching Roma teenagers, for example low ability and level of literacy skills, behavioural issues and poor attendance. The study confirms that intercultural awareness can

help when providing English support to Roma teenagers. In addition, the study highlights the importance of trainings and workshops.

Key words: second language acquisition, culture, intercultural awareness, education, English language teaching

Introduction

A significant amount of research has been undertaken on Roma, Gypsies and Travellers considering education, aspects such as social exclusion, achievement, behavioural issues and culture. However, it is believed that not enough research has been done regarding this minority group which has settled in the United Kingdom. English language professionals should be equipped in knowledge and strategies regarding the support of English as a second language effectively. They should be aware of students coming from different and culturally diverse environments. Finding straight forward strategies on how to teach English as a second language to Roma teenagers appears to be a challenge. Some of those learners may have never been to school before; they may have different values and beliefs about education and some others may have no motivation in learning English.

The aim of this study is to investigate what problems EAL support professionals face when teaching a minority group of Roma teenagers in secondary schools and how intercultural awareness can help them overcome these identified issues.

Review of the Literature

According to Cemlyn and Clark (n.d.) Gypsies and Travellers have been in Britain for at least 500 years. As Lloyd and McCluckey (2008) suggest, there are different groups that fit under one term of Gypsies

and Travellers such as English Gypsies and Travellers, Romanichal, Irish Travellers, Scottish Gypsies and Travellers, Welsh Kale and European Roma. This study concentrates on European Roma coming mainly from Czech Republic, Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria. According to Fremlova and Anstead (2010–2011) the majority of Eastern European Roma migrated to the UK in the 1990's to seek freedom and escape racism against them. Fremlova and Anstead (2010–2011) suggest, the minority of Roma population settled down in the East Midlands, Kent and London. In addition, there are Roma communities in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.

There are some key features this group represents. According to Drakakis-Smith (2007) the Roma minority group may lead a nomadic lifestyle. As Cemlyn and Clark (n.d.) suggest, the group is family orientated and also has strong and at the same time different values and authorities at home rather than at school. Experience of financial poverty may make them more socially excluded from the majority of the society. According to Lloyd and McCluskey (2008) they are more likely to pass their low skills or occupations from generation to generation. Consequently they may not be interested in learning new skills provided by education system or learn English to improve their potential. Being provided with skills and occupations by their relatives, they tend to mix only with people of the same ethnic background. Thus, this may also suggest they exclude themselves from interacting with wider society.

It may be often the case that secondary Roma pupils go to school for the first time in their teenage age so it makes it more difficult for teachers to plan lessons. Roma students may often struggle with writing and reading as there is no such academic culture of learning for them. They seem to communicate better in spoken language with support of visual objects.

This review has sought to establish the potential problems EAL support professionals face when supporting English learning of

Roma teenagers. It was found that Roma culture is very unique and the professionals may experience issues such as, for example, social exclusion, behavioural issues and low level ability skills. It was also found that there are as well different values to Roma learning processes.

Moving further the term 'culture' needs to be explained. According to Cortazzi and Jin (1997, cited in McNamara, & Harris, 1997) culture can be divided into three subcultures such as Academic Culture, Culture of Communication and Culture of Learning. It is worth considering all three when it comes to providing English support to minority ethnic groups. Culture is strongly connected with intercultural awareness; thus, it is crucial for EAL professionals to understand and appreciate different cultures represented by their learners in order to make intercultural communication easier (Gillett, 1997; Holiday, Hyde, & Kullman, 2010). The Acculturation Model introduced by Schumann in 1978 is crucial for EAP professionals. They have to be aware of culture changes learners may go through when learning a second language (L2).

Methodology

The study consisted of both quantitative and qualitative methods. The questionnaire consisted of 16 open, closed and rating scale questions. In addition, because there were open questions included it can be said the data was also qualitative. Although there are other ways of collecting data, they were rejected due to this research to be taking place within only three months, therefore there was not enough time to carry, for example the interviews.

There were thirty questionnaires sent out or handed in to participants. There were nice 'White British' participants and four 'White Other' respondents who had various years of experience of providing English support to Roma teenagers. Five participants had from 0–2 years

of experience, four participants had from 2–4 years of experience and finally the last four respondents had between 4 and 6 years of experience.

Results

100% of participants answered that they are aware of the term 'Gypsies and Travellers'; everybody was aware of the term 'Roma'. Moreover, 100% EAL support professionals answered that they are aware of similarities between 'Roma' and 'Gypsies and Travellers' groups. However, when it comes to the differences between these groups the answers varied. Hence, 62% gave a positive answer to the question, so they are aware of these differences; nevertheless, 38% said they are not aware of any differences between these two minority groups.

77% were aware of the cultural awareness between these two groups; however, 23% indicated that they are not aware of these differences. 31% respondents mentioned a different attitude towards education and its value; 30% indicated a first difference of traditional culture and another 30% said there are differences in attitudes to relationships and 9% indicated Roma's very positive attitude towards music and dance.

85% of participants were aware of the term 'social exclusion', but surprisingly 15% were not. 85% said that they noticed forms of social exclusion in schools they work in; however, 15% have not noticed any forms of social exclusion in their schools.

36% identified both attendance and behavioural issues as problems they often face when supporting EAL to Roma teenagers. 12% identified value of education as a common problem Roma teenagers show. 4% of participants indicated other problems such as Roma teenagers being uncomfortable with a school's and/or lesson's structure, language barrier, low ability and financial situation. What is more, 100% indicated low literacy skills in their first language (L1) as well as the same problems, as the outcome of L1, in their second language (L2).

Regarding the methods and strategies when providing English support, 15% of EAL professionals used games as one of the most popular strategies. 10% of participants used drama and role play with their learners and another 10% used flash cards and visuals. Participants also mentioned using debates, brainstorming, pictures, films, repetition, toys and internet. Significantly, only 5% of respondents mentioned the Presentation, Practice and Production (PPP) method.

46% of respondents rated the effectiveness in methods using as 4 on a 5-point scale; 1 meaning 'not effective' and 5 meaning 'very effective. Moreover, 23% participants rated it as 3 and another 23% as 2. Finally, 8% said the use of methods is not effective, which left them with 1 on a 5-point scale measurement. However, from the gathered questionnaires, it was observed that 1 participants out of 13 made additional comments that the effectiveness of methods as well as strategies really depends on an individual's ability and willingness.

Regarding the effectiveness of strategies, it is seen that 38% rated their answer as 4, another 38% as 3, 15% as 2 and only 9% rated as 1. In addition, 23% of respondents stated they were provided with very limited training. 77% of participants indicated that they were not provided with any training that could help them to approach this group of learners. What is more, 92% agreed that intercultural awareness can help them when providing EAL support to Roma learners; however, 8% stated that they do not believe this can help them.

Some participants spoke about their experiences in the open questions from the questionnaire.

'Supporting these students can be very challenging at times. Due to the inconsistent attendance of some of them, a lot of learning opportunities get missed and the continuity of support is lost. Unfortunately, very often, their frustrations of lack of understanding manifest themselves as bad behaviour. Sustaining the motivation of such

learners is in my opinion the greatest challenge facing the professionals supporting this group of EAL learners'.

'I have observed that Roma teenagers struggle with autonomous learning and hardly depend on teachers and TAs support... gaps in education and low ability skills, especially literacy and numeracy skills, are the outcomes of not being able to learn independently. The lack of skills in comparison with their peers often causes low self-esteem which also impacts on their difficulties with autonomous learning'.

The participants spoke about experiencing issues with behaviour, attendance and motivation when providing EAL support for Roma learners. In addition, it was suggested the problems of EAL support staff are related to Roma teenagers' low literacy skills, autonomous learning as well as self-esteem and confidence of these learners.

Analysis and discussion

36% of EAL professionals identified attendance problems and behavior management issues as two of the most common issues they face in secondary schools. According to Derrington (2005) irregular attendance of these students may cause serious problems in relation to their achievement, relationship with others and sense of belonging to a school.

Surprisingly 4% of participants identified low ability (low literacy skills in L1 and L2 and language barrier) as one of the issues they face. This could be explained by Lloyd and McCluskey (2008), who suggested that Roma are more likely to pass their low skills or occupations from generation to generation. Consequently, if this happens they may not want to learn new skills provided by education system or simply learn English to improve their potentials. It has been observed that Roma students may often struggle with reading and writing as there is no such culture of learning for them. When the participants were asked about

what academic problems they recognize when providing EAL support 100% indicated low literacy skills in their L1 and L2.

From the questionnaire it was established that EAL teaching staff are using different methods and approaches to their teaching. These findings are supported by Scrivener (2011) who affirmed that teachers seem not to have one favorite method and/or approach of their own. That should be due to learners' ability, cultural background and learning styles.

The most common answer to the question on usage of methods and strategies in ELT to Roma teenagers was using games (15% of participants). As Scrivener (2011) suggests the use of games can have a wide application not only with small groups, but also as pair work. Only 5% of respondents mentioned debates as a teaching tool. Group work and peer learning were mentioned by again only 5% of participants. This may indicate how difficult it is to apply strategies and/or techniques according to learners' culture and ethnic background.

10% of participants use drama and role play with these particular learners and others use flash cards, music and visual materials. As Scrivener (2011) suggests when EAL teachers use flash cards, learners can visualize the images or words and hopefully remember them better. Drama, music and visuals may be very popular when working with Roma learners as these factors are shared with their culture.

The majority of participants, 77%, stated that they are aware of the differences these learners may have. However, 23% of respondents were still not aware of these differences.

Finally, majority of respondents, 92%, agreed that intercultural awareness can help professionals when providing English support to Roma students. Culture is strongly connected with intercultural awareness; thus, it is crucial for EAL professionals to understand and appreciate different cultures presented by their learners in order to

make intercultural communication easier for both professionals and learners (Gillett, 1997; Holliday, Hyde, & Kullman, 2010).

Theme 1 – low ability and low literacy skills

It is clearly seen that 100% agreed on Roma learners having low ability and literacy skills which often happen in both L1 and L2 due to their lack of education in home countries. Low ability leads to not being able to learn independently by these students. As mentioned, Roma learners lack literacy and numeracy skills and may have difficulties with autonomous learning. As Smith (1997) suggests, Roma students may often struggle with reading and writing as there is no such culture of learning and communication for them.

Theme 2 – challenging behavior and attendance issues

The study found that 36% of participants pointed out the attendance as one of two main issues they face. The second problem was behavior issues and that was pointed out by another 36% of respondents. Attendance issues might be related to gender differences where girls are often asked by their parents to babysit younger siblings. Moreover, behavioral issues may link to more freedom being allowed at home by parents and as a consequence lack of respect and authority in a school (Darrington, 2005; Cemlyn et al., 2009).

Theme 3 – motivation

Motivation of Roma learners was mentioned by one participants in their additional comments. Nevertheless, it is a valuable point to be mentioned. Motivation of these learners might be affected due to different factors, for example cultural differences that involve different values, family commitments and needs.

Conclusion and recommendations

Significant problems EAL professionals face when teaching Roma teenagers in secondary schools were identified. Almost 100% of

participants agreed that intercultural awareness can help when teaching minority groups, in this case Roma learners. There were four objectives formulated before the study was conducted namely:

1) To investigate what teaching methods these professionals use and if they are effective.

2) To investigate if these professionals are aware of cultural differences learners may have.

3) To find out if these professionals were provided with any training that may have helped them to deal with this particular group of students.

4) To investigate whether intercultural awareness can help when teaching this particular minority group of learners.

EAL professionals face many challenging issues related to both academic and non-academic factors. Attendance and behavioral issues were the major problems EAL teaching staff face. Due to inconsistent attendance, a lot of learning opportunities can be missed and the continuity of EAL support may be lost. Behavioral issues may have a significant influence on students' learning processes. Challenging behavior may exclude them from school life which again leads to an interrupted continuity of EAL support.

One of the main solutions and recommendations would be provision of a training and/or workshop so EAL professionals, other teaching staff and all students in a school could benefit from that. Roma Support Group, according to their web site (2012) has been empowering Roma communities since 1998. This group offers both trainings and workshops. One of the trainings they deliver is training for those who work in education.

In addition, schools should engage parents in everyday life and events so that parents could get that identity of belonging to a wider community. It is important that parents of Roma teenagers are offered

some support courses such as English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) so they value the language learning first and they can pass this value to their children.

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Reviews

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Review: BABEL: Around the World in Twenty Languages

Babel: Around the World in Twenty Languages by Gaston Dorren (Atlantic Monthly Press, 2018)

Gaston Dorren gained recognition with his *Lingo: Around Europe in Sixty Languages* (2015). It is quite a feat to make a general public interested in matters of language, apart from those who deal with it professionally. Mr. Dorren, a Dutch linguist, whose native tongue is Limburgian, has done that by developing a formula in which a reader is caught by a catchy title, expecting a rather lighter fare, and then is slowly drawn into quite arcane linguistic considerations on such a familiar phenomenon. Encouraged by the success of his first book he ventured into a global dimension and came up with the *Babel: Around the world in twenty languages* (2018). But his choice of those languages in dictated by the number of users they enjoy. There are at least several thousand languages functioning in the world today. His European tour involved sixty tongues, so why there are only twenty on a global excursion. He chooses to discuss only the

twenty languages with the highest number of users. To make matters even more intriguing he starts with the tongue that has the least number of speakers in the group, Vietnamese, and thus starts with chapter 20 in order to reach the end with chapter 1, English. In the process, when we are drawn into the matter by a rather unsystematic discussion of each language, the author manages to focus on the less obvious purpose of his presentation. The reader slowly discerns that the main theme of the book is to show that intrinsic nature of the language, be it simple or complex, does not determine its potential as a lingua franca. The spread and use of the language is a multi faceted phenomenon, much more related to non-linguistic factors associated with the activities and dynamics of the group that is the language user. That approach combined with the insights offered by Jared Diamond in his *Of Guns, Germs and Steel* (1996) shows the potential of the language spread, as a means of communication, being an element of a larger cultural complex. One important but not a decisive factor is the population size of the language users and their geographic location, i.e. ease of communicating across physical distance and the frequency of contact. The author has chosen to use the language popularity expressed by the number of users and therefore he demonstrates, that the most used ones (i.e. having the greatest number of those speaking it), do not correspond to the development level of those societies today, but have historic relevance as to their position in the past. Henceforth, the ubiquity of English is the result of the influence of the Anglo-American civilization rather than the characteristics of the English language. The book is constructed in a manner that, by reversing the numerical order of chapters, starting with the number 20 and going to 1 shows the developmental character of the process. Some of the influential languages in the past are no longer spoken by many, while others gained in popularity. As Latin has split into a number of its varieties with the development of the Roman empire,

consequently a continental language, Latin, remained a language of the Roman-Catholic Church and science, while the community of users split into a number of offspring tongues. That might happen to English in the future, when the local variants become less and less comprehensible to each other. Potentially, English may remain the language of airlines, space programs and AI because of the traditional use (view the failure of the French to francophonize computerese), but no longer a communicating tool for billions of users (similar to the use of Latin in medicine). It is probable that with the global reach of Chinese civilization, the everyday communication will be a basic Chinese, aided by the digital communication revolution, when the 'smart-phone' will take care of the problems associated with Chinese script (as it is already evident with the native Chinese use of the technology). Therefore the book should not be treated as a superficial treatment of the linguistic matter, but rather a cultural theory approach to the way the basic, and 'all too human' tool of communicating, is shaped by the changing way humans function in their environment. This is most probably the reason, why after reading the first, i.e. the 20th chapter of the book, a linguist might be disappointed with a fragmentary description of the given tongue (Vietnamese in this case). However, it is enough to delve into a few more chapters and the design reveals itself and we get more and more involved with the plodding to Chapter One, and the 'post-preface' discussion of the English language phenomenon, in comprehending the author's ploy. In effect Gaston Dorren achieves his goal of informing a public in the Western world, which produced linguistic theories from brothers Grimm, through de Sausurre and Chomsky to corpus, that only a fourth of global population is using the languages that were the basis for those concerns. There is a lot food for thought and a galore of intriguing details that the book is packed with and thus provides us with more afterthought than it promises.

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A review of Nurulhusna Mohd-Jamal's Doctoral Dissertation

Objectifying Thoughts and Feelings An Intercultural Study on Conceptual Metaphors in Malay and English Poetic Texts 2019, Berlin; © Nurulhusna Mohd-Jamal

The main purpose of the dissertation is to comparatively explore the nature of metaphors in poetic texts in English and Malay (Austronesian language), two very distant languages. The major cognitive interpretation of metaphors in the few past decades has been based on English examples, or, at best, other Indoeuropean languages. One of the few exceptions has been Chinese (Sino-Tibetan language) with a number of publications in English (e.g. Chung and Yu 2008; Leung 2008, or Wang, Wang and Xing 2011). In addition to the choice of language from outside the Indoeuropean family, with only a handful, standard studies on Malay metaphors, Husna

Jamal has reached for the newest interpretations of the nature of metaphor, basing her study on the Objectification Hypothesis (Szwedek 2000; 2011; 2014) derived from Franz Brentano's empiricism and Kotarbiński's reism. The combination of the new, interesting language data with a new theory produced a fascinating and outstanding piece of scholarship.

Before discussing those substantive issues, I will traditionally present briefly the formal aspects of the dissertation. The 'first glance' impression is truly imposing. The language of the work is impeccable, showing total native-like control of language. But it is not only grammatically error-free form, but what struck me as worthy of special mention, are the remarkably rich and precise vocabulary (how very refreshing in the traditional academic style) and amazingly flowing style, showing the ease with which the Author uses the language discussing very difficult matters.

As to the overall structure of the dissertation, the Introduction lays out the aim of the work and its layout, outlining the issues to be discussed in each chapter. Such a clear, well-written introduction makes it easier to read the rest of the book. Chapter Two lays foundations to the Author's investigation and, as she herself writes, is "dense with diverse ideas, arguments and assumptions about metaphor from various theoretical and methodological camps". However, it is not a mere 'dense' presentation of those divers positions which have flourished in the last two or three decades. Each position is critically reviewed, its merits and failures duly accounted for, followed by appropriate conclusions for the Author's own work.

Chapter Three is devoted to the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, dominant in the last two or three decades, exposing its weaknesses, such as lack of falsifiability and predictive power, post-hoc explanations and circularity of arguments. It also addresses one of the most controversial aspects of the Cognitive Metaphor Theory, that is, its

notable failure to introduce a sharp distinction between the physical and metaphysical worlds, despite introduction of the embodiment hypothesis which should solve or at least illuminate the problem. It has been almost universal to use the terms "more concrete" and "more abstract" domains (see, for example, quite odd, unprofessional remarks made by Gibbs in his 1996 paper). This is a crucial issue. Concrete objects in this world can not be more or less physical (independent of the degree of their density), like a woman cannot be more or less pregnant. Husna Jamal proposed here an interesting and significant refinement of the Objectification hypothesis, adding yet more human aspect, basing on the embodiment theory and the different nature and function of senses in our cognition relative to language.

Chapter Four begins with a brief introduction on the Malay language and some cultural and historical notes on its people. In order to present the material clearly, a few paragraphs are devoted to the clarification of such vague traditional categories of metaphors as conventional and unconventional vs dead and novel (alive) metaphors. I fully agree with Husna Jamal's position that conventional and novel metaphors employ the same cognitive mechanisms and therefore, such distinctions are amiss and judgements subjective. It would mean that when a 'novel' metaphor is absorbed by the everyday language, it becomes dead, with the logical conclusion that it actually stops being a metaphor. From the point of view of the very nature of metaphor such a distinction makes no sense. This is a necessary terminological and material digression in view of some confusion still present in the literature. In the second part of that chapter, the Author deals with research preparation and research materials, including the native Malay speakers' judgment of metaphoricity, as part of the preliminary analysis of data.

Quantitative analysis and classifications of metaphors are presented in Chapter Five in support of the new typology proposed

by Objectification. The second part of the chapter discusses a qualitative presentation of the conceptual metaphors in poetry that the Author chose for analysis.

The next chapter provides a recapitulation of the results of the study and contains a crucial proposal of how the Author's findings can be integrated with the Conceptual Metaphor Theory modified so significantly by the Objectification Theory. The Author also ventures a few remarks as to the prospects of further research in that still evolving and expanding field, although, it seems with, only temporary, "short of breath" period in the theory of metaphor. Her work clearly shows how much has been done in discovering the nature of human thought and language, and yet, how little we still know about that relation.

Objectification and Husna Jamal's continuum

I wish to discuss the theses propounded in Chapter Three in more detail, as it contains an original, ingenious and significant modification of the Objectification Theory in terms of the relation between the various types of metaphor and the various natures of bodily senses in their experience of the world. This is particularly important in view of the fact that scholars have been very unclear about that relation. For example, Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p. 19) wrote that: "We do not know very much about the experiential bases of metaphors. Because of our ignorance in this matter..." and Grady (1996, p. 179) admitted that "there is no clear understanding of what counts as experiential basis, nor what the typology of experiential bases might be." The Objectification theory, ontological in nature, answered the first part of the question – it is the world of physical objects that is the primeval and ultimate experiential basis. In brief, it proved that when based on density as the main feature of objects, a radical and clear distinction is made between the physical (material objects)

and metaphysical worlds (mental and emotional phenomena), and the most reliable test for that distinction is based on the sense of touch the earliest sense to develop in the prenatal period. The sense of touch is different in many respects, but simply speaking, its unique character can be described in the following way: we can 'switch off' sight by closing our eyes, we can "switch off" hearing by plugging our ears, and "switch off" smell by plugging our nose, but there is no way that we can switch off touch whether we stand, sit, lie or even levitate naked in the air. In that last case the surrounding air touches our skin, which results in various tactile sensations.

Husna Jamal answered in her dissertation the second part of the question, epistemological in nature, the question of typology of experiential bases in terms of a hierarchy of senses as translated onto metaphors. Following a certain hierarchy of senses based on their different characteristics, Jamal discovered that these different natures are correlated with different subtypes of metaphors. Not abandoning the crucial distinction introduced by Objectification Hypothesis, she characterizes the essence of each sense on the grounds of their different physical (biological) and experiential correlations. Thus, touch correlates with direct, one might say, intimate contact, taste is confined to a limited area and correlates with different sensations. The other senses are, what Pöppel and Edingshaus (1994) call telecommunicative/distal senses; smell, correlated with taste, requires a rather short distance between the experiencer and the experienced, sight needs a further distance between the experiencer and the object, and hearing does not require visibility. It has to be emphasized, however, that these distinctions are not clear cut, but rather interact with each other. For example, we understand spoken language easier when also seeing the movement of the lips and the facial expression of the speaker. On this basis, Jamal proposes a certain continuity of

metaphorical expressions. Such a decision is well justified on the grounds that our experience is multimodal and our sensory and perceptual systems clearly display interconnectivity (Chamberlain n.d.). Thus, as has been said above, touch can be regarded separately, though still interconnecting with the other senses, while the other, perceptual senses show some continuity which Husna Jamal arranged in the following sequence of perception: gustatory => olfactory => auditory => visual, corresponding to taste => smell => hearing => sight. Her hypothesis is soundly grounded in current research in biology and perception psychology, for example, Macpherson's (2008) idea that the differences between senses are more a matter of degree rather than of kind. On the basis of all those considerations and evidence from various disciplines, Jamal puts forward a very bold and interesting generalization of entities in this world correlating with various types of metaphors. Her final proposal is presented in Table 3 with four categories: Strictly concrete (tactile), loosely concrete (other senses), low abstract (imaginable) and highly abstract (mental). It is obvious to me that those categories would correspond to everyday human perception of categories in the world, which is what cognitive science is about.

The four categories of sensory experience, correlating with types of metaphors are:

- Strictly Concrete – including all physical objects (humans, animals, plant and inanimate things);
- Loosely concrete – with the source of experience coming from a physical object (taste of food, music from instrument, colour of an object, etc.);
- Low abstract – abstract entities with some concrete elements (argument, love, war, which cannot be touched, but contain physical objects, for example, discussants, lovers, weapons, etc.);

• Highly abstract – abstract entities to which no physical properties pertain (for example, mental entities and states like thought, joy, kindness, etc.).

It is obvious that, from the epistemological point of view, categories are fuzzy and we cannot expect clear-cut boundaries as Jamal's hierarchy clearly shows.

I will not discuss Chapter 4 and 5 in detail, as they are more technical, devoted to data collection, quantitative analyses and interpretations. But it needs to be emphasized that in comparison with many earlier studies, the Author has been particularly careful in avoiding the pitfalls of former studies such as the sources of metaphorical expressions, inconsistent methods, confusing terminology and overgeneralizations. The procedures adopted by the Author are meticulously balanced, the collected data fully sufficient, and their ratings presented clearly and completely in the form of tables. One of the interesting findings is that mapping patterns of metaphors in poems are more varied than those of metaphors in songs, which, as the Author correctly observes is due to a higher degree of 'novelty' feature in poetic metaphors.

Chapter 6 shows how all those views, findings, data and ratings interlock with each other, forming a coherent whole. In other words, the Author demonstrates the merit of the conceptual and procedural stances that she has taken in her research, namely the integration of Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Objectification, resulting in her original proposal of a scalar model on the one hand, and metaphor identification procedure based on three mismatch principles, on the other hand.

In short, to the Objectification Theory, based on the analysis of selected data and resulting in a radical physical-metaphysical distinction, Husna Jamal added a more psychological element of human perception.

Chapter 7 summarizes the main contributions of the dissertation. One of them is a confirmation of the validity of the distinction between

concrete (physical) and abstract (metaphysical) concepts, which the Author buttresses successfully by interesting data from English and Malay. Another one is the introduction of the scalar model of sensory perception in conjunction with the above-mentioned distinction. It is this proposal that I particularly appreciate because, to the radical concrete-abstract distinction, it introduces the aspect of human non-radical identification of metaphor, which, disregarding a few vague mentions, has been largely ignored. The Author's original contribution is the introduction of three principles of metaphor identification: Value Mismatch, Empirical Mismatch and Contextual Mismatch concerning the structure of metaphors in terms of co-occurrence or contrast of concepts from two different domains.

At the cultural level, the Author's analyses exhibit an interesting difference between Malay and English. While in Malay the HUMANS/PERSONS domain is prevalent as the source domain, in English it is the domain of INORGANIC OBJECTS (cf. THOUGHT IS AN OBJECT metaphor).

However, one must remember that this interesting observation was made on a specific category of texts, poems and songs. The possible universality of this reflection is yet to be shown on other text types.

The dissertation closes with some suggestions for future research, some already in dynamic progress, such as metaphor perception by visually- and hearing-impaired persons, behavioural experiments and brain imaging.

In conclusion I wish to say that, without doubt, Husna Jamal's original work is the first holistic study of senses in the context of metaphorical mappings. It adds a new subtle, more human approach to metaphor interpretation and sheds new light on our understanding of the two worlds we live in, the world of abstract metaphorical thought and the world of embodied experience, bridging the gap between them. All those issues are discussed and presented in perfect linguistic

and structural form. Husna Jamal's work is a truly mature, excellent piece of scholarship.


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