

# **BAAL News**

# Issue 101 Summer 2012



# **British Association for Applied Linguistics**

Promoting understanding of language in use.

http://www.baal.org.uk Registered charity no. 264800

# **Editorial**

Dear BAAL members,

Welcome to the 101<sup>st</sup> BAAL newsletter. The current issue includes reports from two BAAL/CUP seminars - one on new media, the other on adult ESOL - as well as the call for proposals for seminars next year.

You will also find the winners of our first ever Applying Linguistics fund, a welcome from our new Media Coordinator, Tony Fisher, and four book reviews. Please also have a look at the changes to the BAAL constitutions, which will be formally proposed at the AGM during our conference in Southampton in September. As before, reports from all Executive Committee members will be published in the members section of our website before the conference. This allows you to read EC reports before the AGM.

In the last editorial, I have commented on BAALnews being a forum for exchanging ideas and ongoing research - an issue that came up quite frequently in our survey on the future of the newsletter. I am therefore delighted to announce the first contribution of this kind: Ruth Finnegan's paper on 'Language as talisman: a story of dreaming and waking'.

With best wishes,

Sebastian Rasinger Newsletter Editor



# **BAAL constitution changes**

At the Annual General Meeting in September this year, the Executive Committee is going to propose two changes to the Association's constitution. Any proposed changes to the constitution have to be announced to the membership at least 14 days in advance of the AGM. The BAAL Executive Committee proposes two amendments to the BAAL constitution which relate to the need for a new post of Media Co-ordinator and a consequent reduction in the number of ordinary members. They relate to section 4c of the constitution. We propose the following two amendments.

# Amendment 1 - The sentence of 4c which currently reads:

The Annual General Meeting shall elect the following officers: a Chairperson, a Secretary, a Meetings Secretary, a Membership Secretary, a Publications Secretary, a Newsletter Editor, a Web Editor, a Treasurer, a Special Interest Groups Coordinator, a Seminars Co-ordinator and a Postgraduate Liaison and Development Officer (who must be a student at the time of election). The tenure of any Officer shall be three years, with the exception of that of the Postgraduate Liaison and Development Officer which shall be two years. An Officer shall be eligible for re-election but the continuous tenure of any Officer shall be limited to two terms of office.

should be changed to The Annual General Meeting shall elect the following officers: a Chairperson, a Secretary, a Treasurer, a Media Co-ordinator, a Membership Secretary, a Newsletter Editor, a Postgraduate Liaison and Development Co-ordinator (who must be a student at the time of election), a Publications Secretary, a Seminars Co-ordinator, a Special Interest Groups Co-ordinator and a Web Editor, The tenure of any Officer shall be three years, with the exception of that of the Postgraduate Liaison and Development Co-ordinator which shall be two years. An Officer shall be eligible for re-election but the continuous tenure of any Officer shall be limited to two terms of office.

# Amendment 2 - The sentence of 4d which currently reads:

(d) The Officers specified in (c), together with six ordinary members, shall constitute the Executive Committee. The ordinary members shall serve for two consecutive years, with three normally elected at each Annual Meeting. No Ordinary Member of the Executive Committee may serve as such for more than two terms consecutively. The Executive Committee shall manage the Association's affairs between Annual General Meetings and shall have power to co-opt up to three other members at its discretion to serve until the next Annual Meeting. should be changed to

(d) The Officers specified in (c), together with five ordinary members, shall constitute the Executive Committee. The ordinary members shall serve for two consecutive years, with three normally elected at each Annual Meeting. No Ordinary Member of the Executive Committee may serve as such for more than two terms consecutively. The Executive Committee shall manage the Association's affairs between Annual General Meetings and shall have power to co-opt up to three other members at its discretion to serve until the next Annual Meeting.

Caroline Coffin BAAL Secretary

# **Applying Linguistics Fund**

This year BAAL has launched the 'Applying Linguistics' fund, the purpose of which is to support activities which link research and application. In response to the inaugural grant call, 20 applications were received. The range of research users considered in these applications was impressive, and included medical practitioners, police authorities, school teachers and pupils, language impaired communities, community councils, multilingual communities, minority language users, and language learners and teachers. Applications were reviewed by members of the EC, and scored against the criteria in the funding call. From a field of very strong proposals, three emerged as best fitting the call criteria. We are therefore pleased to announce that this year, the fund will support the following projects:

- 'Linguistics Research Digest' (Jenny Cheshire and Sue Fox)
- 'Applying linguistics to police interviewing' (Kate Haworth and Nicci MacLeod)
- 'Improving communication between police and public' (Frances Rock)

We would like to take this opportunity to thank all members who submitted applications to the fund. The next call will be announced in the autumn, with a deadline for applications in spring 2013.

#### **Tess Fitzpatrick**



## BAAL 2012

## **Multilingual Theory and Practice in Applied Linguistics**

6 September, 2012 - 8 September, 2012 Centre for Applied Language Research, University of Southampton

Information (including provisional programme) and Registration:

http://www.llas.ac.uk/baal2012

# **BAAL Media Coordinator**

At the September conference BAAL will appoint its first Media Coordinator, and I am delighted to say that it falls to me to be the first person to take on this exciting new role within the association. That being the case, a few words of introduction are in order, although I will try to keep it as brief as possible.

I am currently based at Nottingham University, where I am completing a PhD and where I also teach in the School of English. Before that I taught English in Japan for six years, and have since taught EAP at Nottingham Trent University. But before any of this I spent a number of years working in television news rooms, at ITN and Channel 4 News, ABC (in their Moscow and London offices), and, briefly, at Reuters Television in London. Most of that time was spent at Sky News, where I worked at deputy News Editor on both the home and foreign desks, as forward planner, and also as producer on the overnight and early morning news bulletins.

As a result of all this, I have a good understanding of how newsrooms are structured, and how journalists and editors go about deciding which stories to cover and which experts to consult. I believe that this, in addition to my more recent experience as Media Officer for Nottingham University's Centre for Research in Applied Linguistics, places me in an excellent position undertake the role of Media Coordinator for BAAL.

This is, of course, a new role within BAAL, and precisely what the Media Coordinator is and does is something that it will take some time to establish. At its most basic, however, the role of the Media Coordinator must be to promote BAAL and the great variety of research carried out by its members, and to establish BAAL as a source of authoritative expert voices for journalists and news editors. This is a task which, with the help of the BAAL membership, I look forward to embarking upon in the coming months.

#### Tony Fisher

**BAAL Media Coordinator** 

#### **BAAL/CUP** Seminar

# Language and Social Media: New Challenges for Research and Teaching in Applied Linguistics

The seminar took place on April 26<sup>th</sup>-27<sup>th</sup>, 2012, at the Beyond Distance Research Alliance, University of Leicester. The seminar was coordinated by Ruth Page. Thirty-four people attended in person, and around 35 further people attended remotely via Adobe Connect. Delegates came from the USA, Poland, Germany, Austria, Spain and the United Kingdom, while remote attendance included delegates from Japan, Iraq, Canada, North America, Italy and Australia as well as other locations in the United Kingdom.

#### Introduction

The objectives of the seminar were:

 To bring together scholars whose research examines the language of social media texts.
To evaluate the challenges that social media poses for traditional methodologies and concepts used in applied linguistics.

3. To explore the potential of social media as resource for teaching in applied linguistics.

Over the last decade, social media genres such as blogs, wikis and social network sites have become the object of study across a wide range of subfields in applied linguistics (including CDA, corpus linguistics, stylistics, sociolinguistics, SFL, literacy, The texts produced in social multilingualism). media afford the opportunity to rethink key terms central to the study of language (such as context, interaction, variety, language, and community). Likewise, the rapidly evolving, multimodal, intertextual, and ephemeral characteristics of social media challenge the extent to which traditional research methodologies can be applied to the study of 'online' language. The resulting plurality provides a vital stimulus for debate and innovation in applied linguistics, but best practice(s) for studying the language of social media texts are still emergent and in need of clarification.

The use of social media texts to reflect critically on the concepts and methods used in applied linguistics also has relevance in pedagogic contexts. On one hand, social media are becoming a resource for exemplar texts used to teach applied linguistics, and offer popular material for undergraduate project work. On the other hand, while current undergraduates have clear expectations about the place of social media in their education (Hughes 2009), their knowledge about language and linguistics is in decline (Alderson 2010). This presents a timely opportunity to harness the engagement with social media in order to think creatively about how language and linguistics can be taught within Higher Education and other pedagogic contexts.

#### **Plenary speeches**

In his plenary talk, Dr Jannis Androutsopoulos (University of Hamburg) outlined a framework for the study of multilingual practice in social media and exemplified it with findings from a case study on facebook language practices. Multilingualism in social media encompasses everything language users do with their entire range of linguistic resources. mediated by keyboard-and-screen technologies, and oriented to networked audiences. In the framework Adroutsopoulos proposed, these practices were examined at three levels: a) properties of digital writtenness, including literacy competences, constraints of keyboard production, and visual language; b) access to the digital mediascape, including the ability to embed voices

on profile pages (for example by linking to online music recordings or video), copy-and-paste practices, and access to online translation services (which mix multilingualism with scriptswitching); c) participation in 'friends' networks, leading to increased common ground afforded by 'semi-public' audiences, language choice strategies resulting out of 'context collapse', and an increased performance quality of networked language. In their interplay, these resources and constraints were described as shaping linguistic heterogeneity in networked communication in specific ways, leading to multilingual practices that are individualised, genreshaped, and based on open-ended, but nonetheless stratified semiotic repertoires. As a result, networked multilingual practices are related to, but distinct from both multilingualism in offline communities and other domains of CMC.

The plenary talk from Dr Caroline Tagg (University of Birmingham) continued to explore the linguistic strategies that multilingual speakers use in the context of Facebook, focussing on the concept of addressivity. Social media sites like Facebook have been said to blur the interface between what is considered public and what is kept private. However, what we see on social network sites (SNSs) like Facebook is not necessarily an erosion of the value of privacy, but a nuanced response to a complex communicative situation of 'context collapse'.

Language choice – the decision to draw on the resources of one language or another at any one point in an interaction, as well as how and when to code-switch between them – is one strategy used in multilingual interactions to indicate the extent to which a posting is considered to be 'private' or that it is intended for more 'public' consumption. Tagg's talk focussed on the use of English (alongside other languages) by Facebook communities whose members share a first language, and its use as a lingua franca between groups who do not. For both

types of group, English extends the resources available to users in managing online conversations within the 'collapsed audience' of a semi-public SNS. Language choices made on Facebook are also shaped by users' responses to other features of the site, such as its asynchronous nature, the possibility of translocal interaction, the particular communicative dynamic that Facebook affords, and the norms that emerge around new practices.

Tagg's talk raised questions for understanding language use and interaction on social media: in what ways might a 'collapsed audience' shape what people say, how they say it, and the language they say it in? What linguistic strategies might users employ in negotiating the line between what is 'private' and what is 'public' – and what does their interaction reveal about what both public and private mean to people online? And how might users' language choices shape, and be shaped by, the type of interaction taking place on SNSs? The importance of these questions was highlighted for social media research particular, in and sociolinguistic study more generally.

The plenary talk from Ashraf Abdullah (University of Leeds) presented his research on a currently underscrutinised social media environment: the virtual world, Second Life. Abdullah focused on describing the word-formation processes identified in a 190,000 word corpus of English and Arabic Second Life (SL) language.

The neologism Slexipedia coined from the blending of SL (Second Life) and Crystal's lexipedia (Crystal, 2004) reflects the kinds of words and wordformation processes found in the vocabulary of the language of residents in the Second Life online virtual world. In addition to identifying and introducing a SL Glossary, Abdullah's paper identified the innovative word formation processes of SL vocabulary that has emerged ecologically, and the manner in which this language is used socially in conversational interaction. Empirical observation of the corpus employed two methods of analysis; computational (quantitative) using WordSmith Tools and CFL Lexical Feature Marker, and descriptive (qualitative) methods. Frequency counts and distribution of the use of the vocabulary items led to the results that showed that in addition to new words formed according to the processes mentioned in Stageberg (1981), there were new processes like acronym-word blending and acronym compounding that haven't been accounted for previously in linguistic studies.

#### **Papers and Posters**

Nine papers and eight posters were also presented at the seminar. John Caulfield (Cardiff University) presented research on Irish bloggers and Twitter users, describing the creative language use and interaction found to build a community of practice between minority language users in social media. Erica Darics (Portsmouth University) questioned the traditional distinction between synchronous and asynchronous social media genres, showing that the perception of appropriately timed responses is a crucial element in the perceived politeness and impoliteness of a group of IM business colleagues. Lieve Gies (University of Leicester) presented research on online communities who have debated the outcomes of the Meredith Kercher murder trial. using metaphor analysis to describe how the protagonists of the case have been represented. Johann Unger (University of Lancaster) closed the papers for the first day by critiquing the use of Critical Discourse Analysis in social media contexts and arguing that we need to pay more attention to the 'many small voices' of activism and resistance on sites like Twitter, rather than concentrating on hegemonic discourse.

The papers on the second day began with Frank Monaghan (Open University) documenting the use of social media by football activists and the interplay between online and offline forms of resistance to a major football club's activity. Stephen Pihlaja (also from the Open University) turned to You Tube in a discussion of arguments between atheist and Christian video-loggers. Tereza Spilioti (University of Kingston) used a corpus of text messages to show how the deictics used by participants varied according to their perceived situational context, and posed questions for future work on deixis in social media. The final two papers both returned to data taken from Ebtesam AlOthman (University of Facebook. Manchester) used a corpus of wall posts to examine code switching and script shifting practices in multilingual Arabic speakers. Mariza Georgalou (University of Lancaster) used an ethnographic approach to set out the creative ways in which multilingual Greek speakers enhanced the options to maintain privacy beyond those enabled by Facebook's infrastructure.

The seminar included two workshops. In the first workshop, delegates worked in small groups to address one of the following questions:

- How do social media genres help us rethink the central terms of applied linguistics (such as *text*, *context*, *variety* and *interaction*)?
- What challenges do the multimodal and dynamic nature of social media texts pose for traditional research methodologies used in applied linguistics? What solutions might be found?
- What forms of social media are currently under-researched from a linguistic perspective, why?

In the second workshop, delegates worked in small groups to design a small activity where social media could be used to teach a topic in applied linguistics. Examples included rewriting the lyrics of a popular song as a tweet, in order to examine which linguistic practices were most used to shorten texts; exploring World Englishes by asking students to take photographs of language use in their local

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environment, analyse the language choices and discussing this in relation to language policy; using revisions of a Wikipedia article to analyse modality, stance and point of view; asking students to construct a biography of their social media interactions in order to explore which kinds of texts tend to be used most often.

#### Outputs

All the presentations were recorded in Adobe Connect and will be made available to members of BAAL via the mailing list. The workshop discussions began before the face-to-face seminar with a wiki (http://languageandsocialmedia.pbworks.com),

which will remain online to build a resource of teaching materials on this topic. The discussions at the seminar, and in particular, the workshop on teaching Applied Linguistics with social media will inform a book proposal to be reviewed by Routledge for a text book: *Language and Social Media*.

#### References

Crystal, David (2004) *A Glossary of Netspeak and Textspeak*. Edinburgh University Press. Stageberg, Norman (1981) *An Introduction to English Grammar*, 5<sup>th</sup> edition. Holt, Reinhart and Winston.

# BAAL/CUP Seminar Adult ESOL in Multilingual Britain

### University of Leeds, Friday 13 July 2012

The purpose of the seminar was to bring together researchers, practitioners and policy-makers working in English Language Education for adult migrants in the UK. The aim was to encourage and develop mutual understanding of their respective perspectives on English Language Learning and Teaching for adult migrants in superdiverse multilingual contexts.

The time was ripe for such a seminar, as linguistic, political and pedagogic contexts of English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) are changing fast. Language and communication in urban Britain are increasingly suffused with the multilingualism associated with globalisation and superdiversity. At the scale of national policy, recent responses to superdiversity have been contentious: the imposition of language tests for migrants and successive cuts to the funding of Adult ESOL classes particularly so. ESOL practitioners are faced with the twin challenges of gaining deeper understanding of language use in today's Britain, at the same time as incorporating into their practice or resisting - the latest policy moves. Hence the desirability to gather together ESOL practitioners, policy-makers at local level and academic researchers for a focused discussion about the intersection of their concerns.

The 35 participants were from practice, research and policy backgrounds:

- researchers and postgraduate students working in areas relating to language, citizenship and migration;
- local government officials responsible for the coordination of ESOL provision;
- ESOL teachers;

- representatives and managers from ESOL providers in the FE and voluntary sectors
- materials developers.

The seminar was supported by NATECLA as well as a BAAL/CUP Seminar grant. Sam Shepherd of NATECLA began the day with a word about the workings of that organisation. James Simpson explained the benefits of membership and range of activities associated with BAAL, and welcomed the BAAL and NATECLA bursary winners.

The main activities were structured around five presentation/workshops, a group discussion session and a plenary discussion at the end of the day. We moved from *research* to *policy* to *practice* perspectives.

#### Research perspectives

Three researchers working in the area of language and migration began the day by sharing current understandings of language use in superdiverse urban contexts. The sociolinguistics of movements and flows of people works with the concept of superdiversity, or the 'diversification of diversity' (Vertovec 2008) in а globalized world. Superdiversity is implicated in a growing amount of research on language crossing, translanguaging, and other sociolinguistic phenomena that occur in migration contexts. This research is contributing to developments in sociolinguistic theory which suggest a move away from the notion of languages as discrete bounded entities, and towards ideas of an individual's communicative repertoire made up of a set of linguistic and semiotic resources. A key undertaking for researchers is to provide robust sociolinguistic descriptions of face-to-face and mediated language use in an age of superdiversity.

What is it to 'know' a language in contemporary multilingual Britain? And – central to the concern of this seminar – how does one communicate these new understandings of language use to audiences beyond universities?

Mike Baynham and John Callaghan (both University of Leeds) presented their current work on Multilingual Landscapes: ESOL and ESOL learners outside the classroom. Mike suggested that research into language learning has typically been insulated from the multilingual domains and contexts of everyday life, and that there is a need for research to encompass learners' lives outside the classroom. John described and illustrated with photographic and video data (from his recentlycompleted PhD) what happens when researchers follow ESOL learners outside the classroom into the multilingual landscapes of daily life. Next, Angela Creese (University of Birmingham), on Translanguaging in Pedagogy, explained how, in educational settings, multilingual speakers are often required to keep their 'languages' separate, yet beyond the classroom they are more likely to 'translanguage', using linguistic resources flexibly to make meaning. Angela's presentation raised questions in relation to the possibility of developing translanguaging as pedagogy. Her research has taken place mainly in complementary schools, and the discussion extended to how the complex linguistic repertoires of today's students might be incorporated into ESOL pedagogy.

#### Policy perspectives

We then turned to language and migration policy and its implications on language education. In recent years, policy at a national level concerning superdiversity and the learning of English for adult migrants has been both contradictory and problematic. Sustained rhetoric insisting that migrants have an obligation (rather than a right) to learn English, which grew in pitch under the New Labour Government, has continued under the

Coalition. At the same time, access to ESOL classes has become progressively restricted, curricula increasingly focus on 'employability', and there is an ever-tighter linking of competence in English with migration policy (e.g. a citizenship test which is a de *facto* English language test; pre-entry language testing for spouses wishing to join their families in the UK). In political discourse English alone – rather than as part of a multilingual repertoire - is frequently held up as essential for effective communication: for adult migrants, their other languages are presented as a problem, for which English is the solution. Such a stance is clearly at odds with both knowledge about the social and cognitive benefits of multilingualism, and the postmodern realities of daily life. This inconsistency presents huge challenges not only to practice but also to policy-makers locally. Since 2009, responsibility for the coordination of ESOL provision 'on the ground' has fallen to Local Authorities. How do local governments, working as they do in an increasingly complex ESOL landscape but with decreasing funds, execute this responsibility, if indeed they do?

James Simpson (University of Leeds) introduced a project about the need for, and availability of, ESOL classes in Harehills, Leeds, the *Harehills ESOL Needs Neighbourhood* (HENNA) project. James situated his presentation in a discussion of recent policy impacting on ESOL in England. He ended by highlighting issues of 'mainstream' and 'nonmainstream' as well as the importance of coordination of provision that emerged as findings from the project.

Before lunch, the participants discussed in small groups the themes that had arisen so far in the day:

- How can teachers involve students as coresearchers on the communication practices of their daily lives?
- How can student bilingualism be used in teaching and learning?

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- What might a curriculum predicated on translanguaging look like?
- Should the classroom reflect the realities of students' lives outside of the classroom?
- What are the benefits of coordinating adult English language classes at a local (e.g. city) level?
- What challenges are inherent in coordination at that level?
- How might these be overcome?

#### Practice perspectives

After lunch there were two practice-oriented workshops, the first focusing on a participatory pedagogy based on Freirean principles, and the second examining ways in which teachers and students can 'bring the outside in' using digital technologies.

In the decade from 2001, the task of coordinating and funding Adult ESOL in England was fulfilled by central government, as part of the Skills for Life policy, the national strategy for adult literacy, numeracy and ESOL. Under Skills for Life the space between ESOL policy and classroom practice was mediated 'top-down' via a national curriculum, the Adult ESOL Core Curriculum (AECC). Applied Linguistic and Literacy research throughout these years consistently demonstrated the importance of encompassing a concern with multilingualism and non-standard varieties of English in pedagogy, to avoid, in Jim Cummins' words, 'squandering our bilingual resources' (Cummins 2005). This work has had little impact on mainstream ESOL practice: the AECC unquestioningly promotes standard English and privileges only certain genres. In addition, monolingualist notions such as the prohibition of translation have persisted in ESOL pedagogy. The Coalition Government has relinguished responsibility for funding ESOL under Skills for Life, and thus spaces are emerging for the development of new types of socially- and sociolinguisticallyaware curricula, pedagogies and resources. There remains a gap, however, between academic and practitioner knowledge. A central question for practice is: how can changes prompted by findings from academic research and by an increased awareness on the part of students of their own contexts be effected in classroom practice?

Becky Winstanley (Tower Hamlets College) and Melanie Cooke(King's College London), in their workshop Participatory Approaches to ESOL, explained how participatory approaches critically explore the shared concerns, issues and resources that learners bring along to the classroom. Becky and Melanie drew on observations from a recent action research project at Tower Hamlets College, London, which looked at the impact of participatory approaches on traditional ESOL teaching and learning. They exemplified the approach with data from students and teachers that demonstrated the potential this pedagogy has for working with the resources and repertoires of multilingual learners, as well as the problems which arise for teachers and students - when working with their expert languages in ESOL classrooms.

The final workshop was led by Richard Gresswell (University of Leeds), on *Class blogging with young adult ESOL learners*. Richard examined a class blog project with young adult ESOL learners. The focus was on the affordances that blog media present in providing learners with a classroom environment that prioritises meaningful activity. Richard argued that blog media can be utilised in the ESOL classroom in ways that are socially contingent with the lives of the learners.

The day ended with a plenary discussion which revolved around the central question: *What might a curriculum predicated on translanguaging look like?* 

The event provided a rare opportunity for networking across the ESOL research, policy and practice communities, and was very well-received by participants. There are publication plans for the presentations, including:

- a chapter by Richard Gresswell and James Simpson in a forthcoming volume on Innovations in teaching English to migrants and refugees (British Council)
- a chapter by Melanie Cooke and Becky Winstanley in a forthcoming collection on adult migrant language education around the world, co-edited by James Simpson.
- a paper by James Simpson on ESOL provision in community settings, forthcoming in *Language Issues*.

One further, immediate and welcome outcome was the instigation of a follow-up event in Leeds in September 2012 to discuss the coordination of ESOL classes in Leeds beyond the 'mainstream', i.e. in the voluntary and community sectors. This will involve ESOL 'stakeholders' from across the city, including local council representatives. Finally, this seminar was the second on the topic of English language education for adult migrants to be held in Leeds in consecutive years. It is possible that such an event will become a regular feature. Papers relating to the presentations are available on the seminar website:

http://www.education.leeds.ac.uk/about/events/a dult-esol-in-multilingual-britain

One participant, Sam Shepherd from Kirklees College, Dewsbury, has also blogged interestingly about the seminar:

http://samuelshep.wordpress.com/2012/07/16/refl ections-on-the-adult-esol-for-migrants-seminar/ and

http://samuelshep.wordpress.com/2012/07/19/refl ections-on-the-adult-esol-for-migrants-event-part-2/

Seminar coordinator: James Simpson, University of Leeds

# BAAL/CUP Seminar Series Call for Seminar Proposals

As part of its commitment to research in Applied Linguistics, BAAL is pleased to announce that financial support from Cambridge University Press and BAAL will be available for up to three seminars in 2013. Cambridge University Press with its interest in promoting <u>Applied Linguistic research</u> has generously sponsored the annual BAAL / Cambridge University Press Seminar Programme for many years. BAAL now invites proposals for the 2013 seminars, in all areas of applied linguistics, to be submitted to Caroline Tagg (Seminar Organiser) by 17th October 2012 (email address below).

These notes are intended as guidelines for the submission of proposals by seminar co-ordinators. They outline the sort of meeting that BAAL is particularly keen to encourage and the support that BAAL can offer.

#### **Financial template**

Applicants will need to follow (with modification if necessary) the financial template available on the BAAL website at

http://www.baal.org.uk/seminars/seminars\_finance.pdf

#### Structure

BAAL is interested in promoting in-depth discussion of research topics in a format which is different from the opportunities provided at the Annual Meeting and in other seminar programmes.

Members preparing proposals for BAAL / Cambridge University Press seminars should bear in mind the following:

- 1. Proposals should investigate emergent, timely or relevant methods or topics.
- Seminar meetings should be small enough that all the participants can interact with each other. We recommend meetings of ideally 15 – 25 people.

- 3. They should be held in a place accessible to the majority of members (i.e. they should normally take place in the UK).
- 4. At least two of these places should normally be reserved for student members of BAAL.
- Seminar meetings should include an opportunity for people to meet informally. For this reason, two- or even three-day meetings are preferable to one-day, nonresidential meetings.
- 6. Interdisciplinarity is valued as evidenced, for example, in meetings organized across special interest groups or which are jointly organised with another learned society.
- 7. Seminar organisers might want to restrict invitations to participate in the seminar to invitees with special expertise. However, if this is the case, then care should be taken that the seminar does not become accessible only to those with detailed specialist knowledge. Organisers should specify whether they plan attendance to be by invitation only and if so should provide reasons for this choice.
- 8. The co-ordinators should liaise with the BAAL Seminars Organiser to ensure that a representative from the BAAL Executive Committee can attend in some capacity for at least part of the event to present on the work of BAAL. The costs should be considered in budgeting for the event.
- 9. Innovative formats are welcome.
- The time allocated to papers / presentations should be long enough for useful discussion to take place afterwards. This probably means not all participants will be able to present papers, and organisers will need to select.
- The seminar may have concrete academic outcomes – e.g., formation of a group, publication of a monograph. Please specify if you think this will be the case.



**Please note** - an institutional department is not normally able to apply for funding until two years have elapsed since its last award.

#### **Financial support**

Financial support for 3 seminars which are successful in the competition takes the following forms:

- a) a repayable float of £500
- b) a non-repayable grant of £750

In addition, 2 runners up in the competition for the main funding may be awarded BAAL support:

• a repayable float of £500 (These additional awards will be made at the discretion of the BAAL Executive Committee.)

These grants are intended to be used towards the costs of bookings, insurance, invited speakers, support for postgraduate students and so on. The grants will automatically be made on request to the BAAL Treasurer (Michael Daller at Michael.Daller@uwe.ac.uk) by any seminar co-ordinator whose proposal is adopted for the BAAL / Cambridge University Press seminar programme.

#### Organisation

Once accepted for BAAL / Cambridge University Press sponsorship, seminar co-ordinators will receive guidelines on the organisation of seminars. At this point, the following should be noted:

- BAAL will advertise any seminars adopted for the programme in its own national publicity. Any local publicity should state that the seminar is supported by BAAL and Cambridge University Press.
- BAAL does not expect to make a financial profit out of the seminars, and will not cover any loss made by a seminar. Proper accounts explaining how BAAL grants have been spent will need to be provided to BAAL treasurer Michael Daller.
- Report on the seminar will be required for publication in Language Teaching and in the

BAAL newsletter within 4 weeks of the seminar having taken place.

#### **Seminar Proposals**

The seminar programme is the subject of an open competition. BAAL members are invited to submit proposals for seminars for the 2013 programme by **17th October 2012.** All bids will be scrutinised by the Executive Committee. The results will be announced by January 2013.

Please submit proposals by email. They should not exceed 2000 words in total and should include the following information:

- Seminar Title
- Date
- Place
- Name / Institution of Seminar Coordinator(s) (only proposals submitted by BAAL members can be considered)
- Full contact details (email and postal addresses and telephone number)
- Objectives of the seminar
- Rationale
- Organisation
  - numbers organisers are encouraged to be realistic about likely numbers and particularly to avoid over-estimating likely interest
  - participants e.g., by invitation or application, keynote speakers, etc.
  - length of event / sessions, number of papers, discussion groups, workshops
  - projected costs to participants (if any)
  - Co-operation with other learned societies or interest groups
- Proposed use of sponsorship money, including projected costs where possible

Proposals or enquiries to: Caroline Tagg c.tagg@bham.ac.uk

# Language as talisman: a story of dreaming and waking

#### **Ruth Finnegan**

The subjects of language and imagination have long been popular topics within both cultural anthropology and the social study of language. And yet, strangely, they have never attracted the interest they deserve. This paper, in poetic and personal language, sketches some pertinent dimensions to such subjects, illustrating them with reference both to the comparative work on the subject and a personally experienced - unusual or is it?- case study of my own which presents a challenge to linguistic research and analysis.

#### Key words:

language nature and origin; poetry; narrative; dreaming; writing.

The subjects of language and imagination have long been popular topics within both cultural anthropology and the social study of language. And yet, strangely, they have never attracted the interest they deserve. This paper, in poetic and personal language, sketches some pertinent dimensions to such subjects, illustrating them with reference both to the comparative work on the subject and a personally experienced - unusual or is it?- case study of my own which presents a challenge to linguistic research and analysis.

The paper presents a view of language which, as in my earlier writings (e.g. Finnegan 1970, 2011), treats it as pragmatic, social, and, as illustrated up to a point in this paper, multisensory. This brings it broadly in accord with the approach of the so-called generative anthropologists such as Eric Gans (e.g. 1981, 1993, 1997, 1999, 2011) who see the origin of language neither as the result of evolutionary forces nor of Chomskyan judgement, but a singular event of hominid creation and imagination. For how could language have been created through blind evolution, deliberate design - or haphazardly either? It is too fitted for communication, for expression, for representation – for love and oppression too! – for it to have come about without human action.

This is an approach to language that, I now realise, I have in practice long held (Finnegan 1967, 1970, 1998, 2003, 2011) but did not fully recognise until I joined the 'Language as Talisman' research group headed by Kate Pahl and read some of the generative anthropology work (supplemented by my long inspiration from such texts as Bakhtin 1981,1986, Bauman 2001, 2004, Burke 1941, Duranti 1997 Harris 1998, Hill and Irvine 1993, Hymes 1996, Irvine 1996, Ricks 2002, Silverstein and Urban 1996, Urban 1991). So dear reader bear with me – and with what you know of yourself already – and allow me to explain.

First, I have indeed long been fascinated by issues around language, imagination and their uses, starting, I hope, to be aware of their many ramifications. The subject attracts immense interest and in some ways a vast literature surrounds it, with constant stream of compilations а and commentaries. A series of literary, historical and anthropological studies have examined aspects of the use or collection of language in particular places or periods - and, especially, of guoted language from the generated heritage of the past - linguists and philosophers have engaged in technical analyses, literary and cultural scholars developed a variety of approaches to allusion, citation or creativity and the topics of intertextuality, originality and appropriation become a focus of interest to, among others, cultural historians, educationalists and postmodernist scholars (see among others references in the paragraph above).



But amidst this profusion there seemed no direct treatment of the questions teasing me: about just how language and imagination are linked and constructed as a human talisman and, above all, how such a wondrous gift could have arisen in the first place.

That question demands a wider perspective. The conventional ethnographic viewpoint privileges a short-scale, local, focus. So too, surprisingly, do studies of the Chinese or the ancient classical world where I tried to contextualise contemporary snapshots by a longer vision. For though there is now some general interest across the better informed social sciences in psychiatric perspectives and 'the imaginary' much is still aligned towards the hard sciences rather than the 'liquid' and dreamed knowing that demands exploration..

Like the beautiful jade pendant given me by my husband, language is at once carved-out and natural, from the material world but created by human hand, a precious heirloom from the past, in a way eternal but shaped by earthly love. How much we owe to that small human band, the first. How could language, like them, not have been formed just the once? And if, as now seems agreed, there was just one original human group destined to spread in amazing ways across Africa, across Europe and, before the breakage of continents, into Australia and the Americas, carrying, as we anthropologists know so well, their cultural heritage with them how could language, that originary imaginative creation of speech not have travelled with them?

Consider the beauties of poetry and verbal art. Whence could have come the sonnet form, or Shakespeare's play with it? Surely he *found* it, then used it in his artistry of words, sparked – is it overromantic to see this as the eternal human ingredient? – by love? Or the rhymes and rhythms, already there, with which, from outside herself, the poet is inspired? When I wrote – no, was given – a poem as the sun rose over the beautiful Hauraki Gulf and its surrounding mountains outside I did not search for rhymes, they were there waiting for me. The form was waiting too – I did not know until much later that it was a sonnet of - of 19 lines! (I do not think my love minded when I sent it him...)

#### "Search by the Dawning Star"

Through mountain dawn and gentle breeze By starstream lit and breaking heart O'er highland pass and tossing seas To seek again by craft or art A love long caught and scattered fine In dust and spume and foam of grieve--ing heartbreak, in the sands of time ...

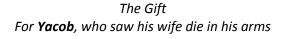
Left here to weep and sink amid Tsunami billows, lost, a-fear'd Where love's once gleaming joy was hid. Alas it's left me, lone and drear With heart and self adriften'd, dear'd

Oh come my love, my only dear In scattered winds, my once-loved whole My heart, my self, my only soul

With steadfast heart and quiet tread In winter's peaks and pathways led I pass through present, future, past To lay me in your arms at last

Auckland, autumn, 28<sup>th</sup> March, as the morning star fades into the dawn

The same was so of a later verse about a close friend's loss, much wept-over, arriving with me between sleep and waking in June 2012. Here was no rhyme (mostly – I was not conscious of what there was till much later) but with rhythm and cadence already in place when I looked to write it down the next day.



You have been given a great gift.

The gift of steadfastness to see her die love to hold her through the night and close her eyes. sorrow to see her gone courage to travel the hard death road with her and then without her impossible courage - to return return to those who called you, to live alone, fortitude to find your friends and Friends, again, grief and pain and more-more pain living a lone soul's earthly life, light of the ocean beloved wife star of the sea For aye

> The Lord hold you in his hand and bring you rest

We humans have resources, handed down from our ancestors, for the generating and utterance of beautiful poetic and loving words. As the ancients knew well, here is a a miraculous gift, from the past, from the creation of the seers and poets of old.

From where comes this wondrous resource have come in the first place? Whence the origin of the generated miracle of language? A question indeed. How can we know?

For me? I have found it in my dreams. I do not know the name, the place the time. But I know it is somehow from beyond myself, outside even of earthly mortal creation. But without our human creativity, our very own action, our very selves it could never have come to be. This must seem – as it does, indeed, to myself – the product of religious or mystical ideologies, paranormal, hallucinatory certainly not the scientific hard evidence expected of linguistic analysis. And yet – it is indeed languagein-use – perhaps more commonly occurring than we realise and certainly recognised by the ancients (see for example Harris 2007) – not to be denied just because it has seldom been fully described or taken seriously

So let me move now to my dreams and their outcomes - or rather my 'Dreams', or what I have come to refer to as 'power dreams'.<sup>1</sup> They are not so much 'miraculous' (though 'gift' and 'miracle' are apt descriptions). This example is an authentic one and not, to my surprise too, in any way a hoax. It is also an experience new to me, now approaching my 80<sup>th</sup> year, and to many will seem deluded (though less so, I will claim, than my later experience of telepathic communication - on which more in another place (Finnegan 2012)). But if so it is a sustained delusion, a kind of myth of symbolic worth, true, I believe, to itself. Remember too that anthropologists, and linguists too, have long held a reputation for giving credence, pro tem at least, to the beliefs and language practices they find, and listen to them tenderly.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The anthropological analysis of dreams and dreaming is limited. Relevant works include, among a few others, Abraham 1979, Basso et al., 1992, Bulkley et al. 2009, Burke 1997, Devereux 1969, Edgar 1995, 1999, 2000, 2003, 2004, 2008, 2009, 2011, Harris 2009, Jedrej and Shaw 1992, Kracke 1987a, b, Lohmann 2003, Tedlock 1986; allied to this are the stimulating if often challenging insights of psychologists, chief among hem of course Freud and Jung. Recently there has been some revival of interest, going along with the increasing interdisciplinary focus on psychotherapy, practical prophecy, and self-help manuals.

The stories <sup>2</sup> that then followed on my dreams came as I visited, unplanned, a dream world of others' experiences – my own too, and those of my culture. Transformed into words they carried, no question, that familiar narrative- experience of human living, the form in which we shape our lives and being - a form in which, perhaps not fortuitously, I already had an interest (Finnegan 1967, 1998, see also Bauman 2004). Over the last few months, since a neurological illness in the summer, stories have been told to me, unexpected, unsought, in a series of dreams, later viewed, differently, as a series of quasi-visions revealed between sleeping and waking. They existed already – as do, miraculously, the events and practices of the field, situation for fieldresearchers: waiting there for me, for us. They were there before I knew it: independent of my thoughts or actions, enlarging as I struggled, as in the field, to note and record them and as my observations grew, uncovering themselves before my watching eyes.



THE LITTLE ANGEL, SUBJECT OF CATHERINE'S DREAM STORIES

They came so fully formed that I sometimes wondered if they were truly mine or plagiarised from another's hand (readers are welcome to their own interpretations: I am after all interested in quotation as well as dreams). Anthropologists and socio-linguists will scarcely be surprised to hear that much was generated in the culture of present and past literary creation and its artful words – and, as I know well, its familiar sights and sounds.

But I know that ultimately my dreams do not come directly from any of those – unless perhaps from some unknown hand in some other century or galaxy past or to come. My trade is words and listening to words so I have worked, hard, at revising and crafting the tales and how they might sound in the reading. This could be painful, though sometimes more in the later reading than the first writing; funny too, specially some of God's antics (I hope they don't offend) and parts of Sophy's story in Farrar 2012a - to tell the truth I rather hope they *do* offend university folk (more likely and equally good they'll make them laugh). All in all it has been a surprisingly happy experience transforming my power dreams into verbal narrative.

The stories came as visually communicated scenes fully formed, gradually unveiled as I walked further in that strange land. Not dynamic, as is the way of language, or at that stage narrative, they were static tableaus rather than dreams in the usual narrativised - sense. Things fell gradually into place as I learned their detail: Anne the defrauded mother - only after I had written the small scene in The Little Angel when Fionnuala brings her child did I realise that he was Anne's own son; and that she was also St Anne who comes not in nativity scenes but with her own recent-born son in Virgin-and-Child pictures. Francis and his birds, and Athene's grey eyes (born fully formed from the head of Zeus, I recall) also came later. And Sophia - by day in Sir Wulfram's cottage (her nights have not been shown to me): I need not after all have been so exercised about whether palace sleeping-arrangements would permit Corin and Fionnuala's eventual union.

And the little cat – it was only late on that I noticed him (except he was all the time a she!), hiding behind the coal scuttle in God's study as he and



 $<sup>^{2}</sup>$  The stories are too long to retell here so for this paper I make do with illustration and the occasional excerpt. Some have been published under my dream name of Catherine Farrar Farrar (2012a, b, c, d, e).

Sophia talked wisdom together, trying to overhear them so as to pass it on, suitably edited, to her kittens. Unlike God she hadn't had a private education or learnt Latin (God said it didn't matter but *she* knew better: wisdom might not be everything – she knew that well from chasing the palace mice - but even in heaven it was *something*!). Near the start of Sophia's story the cat had all the time been chasing sunbeams in the corner, it was just that I hadn't looked that way. So too with the scene when he leapt to Sophy's so-unexpected rescue. My sympathy for *her* came late for though I knew that story ended in her redemption, I wrote it unwillingly.



THE LITTLE CAT SAVING SOPHY

The first intimation came one or two years ago (I don't recall exactly when - was it the hidden start of my now recovered illness?) when I saw the dreamvision that ended that first four-stage tale: the most powerful experience of them all, and one that remains strongly with me. In it I saw a vivid image of two cloaked figures (male I think, perhaps angels or maybe God and Christ - even dreams, as anthropologists well know, are shaped by cultural traditions), bending over a motionless body on the ground at the top of the grassy slope. I know it is Sophia's and also mine too, also at the same time Soa's and Sophy's (the other dimensions of 'wisdom') even as they struggle up the slope and are weighed in the balance. The little angel stands on one side: their conscience, I think, less tender than the more understanding advocate sitting opposite. The winged figures repeat tenderly, in words with overtones for most Western readers, Christian or other, of the wonders and dangers – and unavoidable necessity- of humans' free will:

Why should she not walk where she wants? What matter if she loses her way? Are we not here to bring her home on our shoulder And lead her in the soft primrose glades

The pain is unbearably there too - violence, war, the cross. By the end God bitterly regrets creating men and women, and snakes and apples, the scene with which the story began. But he eventually decides it was right, for all the pain, above all that of his dear son (Mary wasn't of so much account – quite helpful, spiritual, but only a girl!).He realises he has to go through that pain of creation and its results again, and again, and again. And that only humankind, not himself, can ever end it despite all the emails carrying his love stories that he eventually manages, with the help of the younger generation, to dispatch through the ether.

Next, and while, I think, I was already into my period of illness when I found myself unable for a time to voice the words in my mind, I perceived the dreamlike experience, out of normal consciousness, as representing not so much heaven as a setting of passive acceptance, as I had pictured it, or of listening to already-perfect heavenly choirs (I am after all a (rather poor) choral singer myself) but of widening and deepening experience, both known and untried. That image does not figure directly in the stories but forms their background. And the last dream tableau for that first story (Farrar 2012a) the folding of Francis and Sophia in the safety of his wings followed by his betrayal and his gift - is the pivot of the whole, and (with some help from the angel and the little cat) gives structure to the overall narrative.

We also see the angel developing from an anxious little figure into something more like the senior experienced personalities he'd secretly hoped to



emulate (ideally St Michael whose trumpet, perhaps mistakenly, he secretly coveted). He was one of those few who learned from participating not just (as he was supposed to) by standing back: he too easily became the participant, not just the observer (was this a reflection of the tensions, not fully appreciated at the time, of the fieldworking participant-observer, anthropologist or linguist?). Perhaps he had read Aeschylus, though I doubt if ancient Greek tragedy was on his syllabus, for his experience again recalls those strains of detachment together with participation. Gradually, as in Greek drama, he learns from suffering, his own and others', and grows older in wisdom and experience.

Some might think, with me, that he was excessively tender to Sophia, the Virtuous One of the three wisdoms (if he'd taken 'The Virgins' option in the heavenly Diploma programme, he reflects, he might have coped better and noticed her failings, but it had sounded too scary!). But with his foundation in Transferable Skills he was quite good on Soa the self-trumpeting slut, specially on her Witchiness which he focused very hard on recording for St Peter and the heavenly archivists. He was less good on other dimensions so she got away with a lot. In the end he makes not too bad an overall assessment, and at least her 'sins' were properly recognised ones: on St Peter's list.



SOA IS ALSO EVE, THE TEMPTED AND TEMPTRESS. BEAUTIFUL IMAGE BY A TOO LITTLE KNOWN INDIAN CHRISTIAN ARTIST: FRANK WESLEY (WWW.FRANKWESLEYART.COM)

He had more trouble with Sophy (originally Safia but she wasn't going to accept someone else's identity was she!). There hadn't been a Feminist module on offer or if there was he had accidentally-on-purpose missed it, so was a bit lost. He wasn't so bad at spotting the bluebells that she'd wanted to pick and so destroy or, more obvious, the music, and warmed to her childhood aspirations. But he'd been brought up to respect Authority so was flummoxed. He couldn't find any proper 'sins' (he'd also been frightened off the Advanced Terran Crime diploma, but why hadn't his tutors warned him about the confusions allowed on earth?). Yes he knew St Judas had kept telling him with that twinkle that Sinning was more complicated than the elementary syllabus made out, and Job would do a little dance and agree. He was planning to take the 'Sinn-ology Theory' course sometime ('the Sink') - rather a demanding module he'd heard and he hadn't come across anyone who'd stayed the whole way. He'd opt for the 'Theory' dissertation of course, distance mode, he'd had enough of the in-service bit.

He went on being confused by Sophy and only finally got through with the help of the little cat's leap and, to his surprise, his trumpet.

Without consciously thinking about it I too had been dissatisfied with Sophy (the activist-feminist)'s ending. The little cat saved her eventually – late to appear (cats don't come to order don't you know!) – but it was only on a sleepy autumn morning in late September that I saw that an angelic trumpet player had already fixed it and on a later night that I saw that God's boredom and the creation of free will was both the beginning and end.

In the concluding section the angel's little sister peeps in, tut tuts at the tumbled bedclothes, and rescues the trumpet just starting to slip off the bed. She takes away his filthy wings to wash. We only get a glimpse (that comes in the third tale), just a fleeting impression of a mischievous character who

Baal



gets away with anything and is adored by her big brother who in the later is prepared to sacrifice everything for her.

By the end the once-little nervous angel has got more ambitious and wonders about the programme on Higher Design they were hoping to put Steve Jobs onto when he'd recovered from his unapple-y bumpy trip to heaven. They were in a hurry for by now it was past time for them to catch up with the latest technology and extra-territorial comms. But – typical! – open only to A\* Star students.

The three Sophia's? I only realised in the final weeks

read before sleeping (sleeping –I begin to see the connection). The dreams themselves came, as I say, as static non-narrative tableaus, not linguistic, so transforming them in story was a work of art, drawing on crafts I had spent my life polishing. The voice I came to develop, was at first (as one perceptive friend observed) uncertain and uneven, but eventually clear and sustained.

What I failed to realise at the time – as with so many elements in these stories - was that Sophia, my heroine, was also in some sense the Virgin Mary, and Francis the Father God who Zeus-like exploited as well as loved the daughters of earth, fathering his

of writing (from a friend's discovery that he apparently had a twin), that they were of one womb but separated bv the experiences of their lives (not altogether of their own making) and by their contrasting routes to heaven. They are finally

united, in death. I was reminded by this that



IBEJI TWIN. (C) AUTHOR.

sons upon them and cuckoo-like passing them on to others to rear. The whole might be called a religious-Christian allegory – except that 'allegory' gives too literal an – 'myth' might be a better term for these stories. Like so much lyric poetry and

narrative they were also in a yet deeper

sense – and again I failed to recognise this until I read them, complete - ultimately about myself.

The pictorial images in my eventual texts came later— or rather the illustrations that I found for them, not through my dreams directly but following their inspiration and thus discovering them in Google. They added a deeper meaning, symbolic, grasping at reality, in the way words can not do. This symbolic dimension was markedly there in the merging of the three Sophias (at the end of Farrar 2012a) but also with flashes elsewhere. There was the dazzling Envoy, the instant when Soa suckles her child and looks forward so vainly and pathetically to family life, or Sophy's brief glimpses of beauty, even

the language, cadences and images of the narratives cannot avoid being biblical, though in ways I was not aware of when I was writing them down –

Baal

sometimes, as it felt, from dictation. I worked – hard – at trying to put the dreams into the narrative language in which I grew up, influenced I know not how many novels, both high- and low-brow that I

in many African narratives the heroes are twins

(sometimes three twins), chained in life but not, I

presume, in death, and endowed with the 'four

Given the tradition in which I grew up, and the

biblical and Bunyan-rich Quaker school I attended,

eyes' that give them insight into the spirit world.

her lukewarm kindness to the old king and, later, to Fionnuala and Corin – but *not* Sophia's union with Corin: *their* love was mortal not eternal. Much else has gradually emerged from the strange mistshrouded land of my fieldwork between sleeping and waking.

The stories then, like an anthropologist's perceptions in the field and, indeed, like language and communication, are, as I had glimpsed earlier (2003), strikingly multi-dimensional. They can only be fully realised, perhaps, through the full sensorium of sounds and touches and sights - landscape, sea and sky; birds both strong and weak (devouring eagle as well as 'my little thrushlet'); trees and their traceries of branches; wild flowers and their fragrances, streams and still waters - and the glowing light of pearl catching pearl, threatening sword dazzling eyes, whirling timeless skies and great oceans, the pain of birth, separation, and sacrifice. And the breeze ever so gently stirring the cloaks of the two forms bringing comfort and understanding at the heart of the first narrative.

I wrote down the stories (not 'up' I now realise) while they were still fresh for fear the vision might fade, most lately the Prelude which arrived on the night of September the 29th, further extended into God's Creation and Design in late October, and finally (finally I hope), the little cat's role, more central than I could possibly have imagined at the outset (strange - I am not a cat person!). By now I am also intrigued by the at-first undifferentiated allencompassing devils gradually getting transformed into shaped attacking demons with a name, a label those quintessential entities of linguistics - and a means of capture and control, finally separating into a confrontable and quietening (but thankfully for human will and personhood never fully conquered) external and visible Dragon, to be further personalised in the final tale of what has now become, as dictated by my dreamed list, Catherine Farrar's 'Self Quartet'.

The words sometimes still expand in my dreaming and waking – but not in mortal time as my clock winds backwards. Anthropologists of all people are sceptical of the boundaries between fantasy and reality so not be surprised that the stories are clear and present in my memory. They are abidingly true and real, given to me to reveal through my own imperfect voice.

The scenes were often balletic as I dreamed them, pictorial and stylised tableaux, taking me beyond the here and now. This was especially so in the 'United' act as the king enfolds Sophia majestically in his cloak and on a breath lays them softly down and Francis' deep bass dissolves into the Sanctus from Bach's *B Minor Mass.* That scene came early and was among the most powerful, one of the central narrative cores.

I have come to realise, from direct reflection on the puzzle and from/in my dreams earlier that the words I draw on to transform my wordless dreamed tableaus, and then my crafted words, into stories, are giving me a glimpse of a milky fluid way made up of the gathered created constellations that they are set into around the universe. It is as if the sky, and edges of my brain wherein they reside, or rather float, and that I must select from, are making up the words and stories: they start from constellations of stars as it were, imagined and real, drawn into images and then, later, my words. And all those beautiful words from throughout the universe and the centuries, and the precious prayers that circulate and cultivate the globe of our - and my own – existence. Not the least of these experiences is the emotion that someone should be speaking prayers for me, and the lullabies and cradling in my mother's womb. Fanciful? And yet this is now the lived experience of my narrative language uses. Is this the beginning of human verbal creation?

Music came later. This surprised me as I had always seen music and cadence as if anything prior to, and underlying, speech. But perhaps indeed it does lie

deeper and my imagination had, unknowing, to dig further.

The carol in the story is one I have sung and loved since we sang it in a wonderful four-part choir during my schooldays.

The angel Gabriel from heaven came ... *Most highly favoured lady Gloria* http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xKQlomtXXkc

I woke one morning with it in my head and was amazed how, as with so much else, it was already there in the tales. The lovely hymn 'Amazing Grace' came later but even more powerfully, with its wonderful locally composed words (were they dreamed too?) and its negro-spiritual melody.

#### http://www.sheetmusicplus.com/title/Amazing-Grace/19410846

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f3G2wC\_fe0s

Amazing grace! how sweet the sound That sav'd a wretch like me! I once was lost, but now am found Was blind, but now I see. ...

The earth shall soon dissolve like snow, The sun forget to shine; But God, who call'd us here below, Will be forever mine. (John Newton, *Olney Hymns*, 1779)

It was constantly there in the background, the words coming through audibly by the end.

And there, later, were the words and tune of the 'Three Kings' carol ('Three kings from orient lands afar') which I woke with one morning during an autumn Dartmoor holiday, as so often between dream and waking. My first reaction was that here at last was an *irrelevant* piece, hoping indeed it would prove so: I resented its apparently glib intrusion and the labour of introducing it. But that

too turned out to belong to the story, it was just that I hadn't seen it before.

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Lx35\_DRIZ8g

And then most recently (for now?), drifting up from deep sleep on the night of 24<sup>th</sup> September with *Deo* gratias ringing in my head, unwinding its words backwards, finding the long-sung traditional 15<sup>th</sup>century 'Adam lay ybounden' with its near-heretical conclusion, words and tune that usually I think about only at Christmas. Again it seemed at first irrelevant, but I soon realised, sleeping and waking through the rest of that night, that it was in Soa (the vixen harlot)'s story which before had seemed, though completed, so thin and uninteresting. And I saw that the 'Blessed be the day / That apple taken bin', with its stunning and, to me, new theological message was after all central to the tales. How could I have known that or transferred it into verbalised text without inspiration from some external (on unconscious?) source?

#### http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\_vb\_r41eOu4

The abiding theme of the whole, then, is both musical *and* verbal, prime among the expressive arts of our culture. For me and for the stories this was the more resonant for the local associations of the erstwhile slave-trader composer of the words, and the African connections of the tune, both deeply expressive for my own personal - but shared - background.

Can that it be that here is some original form of language, denied in our waking hours but be recovered and recoverable in song and dream? Listen to the beautiful declaimed words of lovely poetry, think of Shakespeare's or Elizabeth Barrett Browning's love poems: can they be seen to originate in the trial-and-error endeavours of earthly concerns? Or the sonnet form itself? Petrarch hardly constructed it from nothing – so where did he find



it? Can not dreams and imagination be seen as, whatever the proximate causes, the ultimate generating force of human language?

There may still be more stories and songs – sequels with some of the very same characters - waiting to show themselves as I wake from sleep and dream. And might such an experience – not mine alone but the many instances given us in our literature - not give us pause to consider new insights into the nature and processing of language? A talisman, like my jade pendant, wrought by men's hands, a product of the earth and of art – but surely of divine origin?

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## **Book Reviews**

Biber, D & Conrad, S. (2009) *Register, Genre and Style;* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ISBN 978-0-521-86060-4. 344 pp.

First of all, there are two things to be said about Biber and Conrad's Register, Genre and Style: It is primarily aimed at undergraduate students (and as a source book for those who teach them) and it is very good at being a textbook. It is good, to start with, because CUP are very professional: the layout and editing is clear and solid. It is good because the authors' teaching experience permeates the style of the book: few things are taken for granted, terms and procedures are explained in an easily understood, non-patronising way. This is the textbook that stems from earlier work the authors have published (cf.1998, 2000 and 2002). Good use of tables gives a clear overview of many of the issues discussed. At the end of each chapter there are Activities boxes, with straightforward exercises, starting with comprehension questions leading all the way up to project ideas. Similarly, the reader will find, in Appendix B, text excerpts for such activities. Though not named amongst the authors, Federica Barbieri's Annotation of major register / genre studies (Appendix A) is a valuable resource for anyone who wants to do more intensive research in this field - though, it must be said, this covers only publications between the early 1980s and 2007.

The book has a clear introduction on pages 1-25, highlighting that *textual tasks become more (...) demanding as a student progresses* (p.3) and this textbook reflects just this. The basic premises, starting with *variability is inherent in human language* (p.4) and the definitions of *register, genre* and *style* are given, elements that differ described and their respective uses located. As part of this, Biber and Conrad compare *register variation* to *dialect comparison* and link their discussion of

genre to work done as part of literary criticism. Any student who wants to write on the topic will be thankful for section 1.4.3 (p.21) which gives a brief, commented, overview on previous research.

Part I deals with the Analytical Framework. It starts with the situational characteristics of registers and genres (summarized in Tables 2.1 (p.40) and 3.1 (p.55)), before the authors moving on to *analysing* linguistic features and their functions. While Biber and Conrad make very clear throughout the book that spoken English differs from the written form on many levels, this is underpinned by in-depth comparison between occurrences that are intuitively seen as similar: textbook and classroom teaching or textbook and lecture. As corpus linguistics is a widely used tool for this type of research (in particular by Biber & Conrad) a short introduction to CL is given on page 73. Part I ends with an Appendix to Chapter 3, listing linguistic features (vocabulary, word classes, phrases, structures etc.) one might want to investigate as part of a register analysis.

Part II gives *detailed descriptions of registers, genres and styles* and makes up nearly half the book. Chapter 4 focuses on the spoken form: *informal conversation, university office hours* and *service encounters* which are analysed both separately and in comparison, using extracts from the T2K-SWAL (*Spoken and Written Academic Language, 2000*) corpus. While this can be seen as limited - I missed a section on doctor-patient exchanges and there seems to be little reference to differences in different cultures - it appears to be suitable for undergraduate study.

The rest of Part II is given to written texts, with a general discussion of *registers, genres and styles*, their *historical evolution* and, in chapter 7, a look at electronic communication. As before, types of text

are compared: *newspaper writing* with *academic prose* and, moving to sub-registers, *research articles* with *textbook entries* in chapter 5 and texts of the same genre (novels or academic texts) but written in different epochs are compared in chapter 6. The disappointment is, however, chapter 7 (e-communication). The authors use corpora of e-mails, online-forum discussions and SMS exchanges that make their claims very open to challenges as the corpora are very small and homogenous.

Part III is the densest and by far most demanding section: it deals with larger theoretical issues and is equally useful for final-year undergraduates, postgraduates and academic researchers in the field. Only here do Biber and Conrad address whether their claims are relevant outside North America (both Korean and Somali data, based on earlier work by Biber, indicates an astonishing degree of convergence), and it is at this stage that the authors make very clear where they situate their approach within the different schools of linguists. Biber and Conrad introduce the multidimensional approach to their analysis and, what was two-dimensional in Part II, is being refined accordingly in Part III. Chapter 9 delights by its firm and radical assertions as to the importance of register studies, in particular as an (underdeveloped) side of dialect studies.

To conclude, this book can be only recommended. It allows a student who buys it in year 1 to grow with his / her academic development well up to advanced postgraduate level. It gives an important dimension both to corpus linguistics and literary studies and very firmly asserts the place of register studies. It easily complements a number of more general works like O'Keefe *et al.* (2007). There is little wrong with this book - apart from a single paragraph that is almost verbatim repeated on a following page and chapter 7's issues are better dealt with by Beers Fägersten (2008) and Crystal (2008). Whenever I felt "but they have omitted to say this", it *is* said shortly after. When it comes to more serious research into the subject, Biber and Conrad provide, in Part III, an intellectually challenging and sound argumentation, which links well to Mahlberg's (2008) work that can only be highly commended.

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#### Brice, I. (2011). *Theory and Concepts of English for Academic Purposes.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. ISBN: 978-0-230-24974-5. pp.240. £55.00

Theory and Concepts of English for Academic Purposes consists of twelve chapters which are divided into three inter-related parts: the first part focuses on the theoretical basis for English for Academic Purposes (EAP), the second on the principles and approaches for the design of EAP courses, and the third on the implementation of EAP courses.

The three chapters in Part I establish a theoretical foundation for the design and implementation of EAP courses. Chapter 1 introduces and defines key terms and concepts that are essential to EAP, among which the importance of context and needs analysis is highlighted. The author also delineates the metaphorical role of EAP courses as "a bridge" or "a path" (p. 9) which leads students into "the academic discourse communities they want to join" (p. 14). Chapter 2 examines some of the conceptual frameworks and research approaches for the investigation of academic contexts. More specifically, three approaches (speech communities, discourse communities and communities of practice) are reviewed for theorizing academic community, and three methods (ethnographic, genre-based and corpus-based approaches) are examined for researching academic knowledge and practice in academic communities. Chapter 3 outlines three interrelated stages of the design process of EAP courses - needs analysis, formulation of course aims and objectives, and selection and sequencing of course content, with a focus on the first step. Important questions for needs analysis of the learners' present and target situation are summarized. The author also proposes several potential areas and topics for investigation along with methods of data collection.

Part II of the book focuses on the design of EAP courses, drawing on the results of needs analysis and theories of discourse. Chapter 4 underpins four principles for the development of an EAP syllabus: (a) a focus on procedural as well as declarative knowledge, (b) a holistic approach to the framing of aims and objectives, (c) a focus on top-down (as well as bottom-up) processing, and (d) a genrebased analytic syllabus (p. 59). An illustration of the application of these principles is provided with a step-by-step process of developing a pre-sessional EAP course for international students in universities. Chapter 5 considers the identification and integration of subject discipline knowledge into EAP courses. А genre-based approach (social/cognitive genre) to the classification and analysis of disciplinary discourses is proposed, and teachers, themselves as discourse analysts, are supposed to train their EAP students as discourse analysts so as to facilitate the development of the latter's discourse competence. Chapter 6 discusses the development of discourse competence through linguistic knowledge in an EAP curriculum. EAP course designers and teachers are provided with illustrative examples of a holistic approach to the deconstructive analysis of three areas of linguistic knowledge: textual grammar, metadiscourse and vocabulary.

The six chapters in Part III examine practical issues involved in the implementation of EAP courses. Chapter 7 presents an overview of the knowledge and skills that are required by teachers of EAP on the basis of the *Competency Framework for Teachers of English for Academic Purposes* (CFTEAP). Four areas of teacher competencies are outlined according to the CFTEAP document competencies relating to academic practice, EAP students, curriculum development and programme implementation. It is highlighted that EAP teachers need appropriate pre-service training and ongoing professional development within the EAP discourse community. Chapters 8 to 11 focus on the four basic skills of writing, reading, listening and speaking. The structure of these four chapters is more or less the same, each with a review of the processing strategies and types of knowledge that are required in that skill in an EAP context and then a discussion of practical issues that are related to the development of that skill in an EAP course. In terms of academic writing (Chapter 8), the author reviews four main pedagogical approaches to writing instruction and concludes that genre-based instruction is an efficient, systematic way to meet the students' need in an EAP context. In terms of academic reading (Chapter 9), the author highlights two major challenges faced by EAP students—those of reading speed and vocabulary knowledge—and proposes practical pedagogical strategies for dealing with these two issues. In terms of academic listening (Chapter 10), a variety of possible tasks and activities that can be employed in relation to the development of the listening skill is provided with special considerations of both top-down and bottom-up approaches. In terms of academic speaking (Chapter 11), mini-oral presentation and peer feedback are recommended as effective strategies for developing students' oral communication skills in an EAP setting.

The final section of Chapter 11 focuses on the critical thinking (CT) skill and its development among EAP students. The development of CT is considered part of the process of gaining discourse competence into the academic community in which it is embedded. Two approaches to teach CT—the teachable skills approach and the cognitive apprenticeship approach—are reviewed and compared.

Chapter 12 reviews some key concepts that are relevant to the design and implementation of the assessment of discourse competence in an EAP context. The four principles laid out in Chapter 4 are reiterated, and performance assessment for speaking and writing and analytic scoring of productive tasks are advocated to support the development of students' discourse competence.

In summary, I believe that this book will be a valuable resource for EAP course designers and practitioners with its provision of a theoretical and conceptual framework for developing EAP courses as well as practical considerations for the design and implementation of such courses. The chapters are generally well-balanced and highly interconnected. One suggestion I would like to make is that the discussion of critical thinking skills deserve more attention and preferably a more appropriate place. The development of CT is, as the author admits, more closely related to the development of the writing skill. In addition, CT is, as the author states, "commonly identified as an important academic skill" (p. 190); therefore, the current discussion of CT as a section within a chapter which focuses on the speaking skill seems to be a little too short and out of the place. A separate chapter on the concept of discourse community and the development of CT within such a discourse community that EAP students aspire to join might serve the purpose better.

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Coleman, H. (ed). 2011. Dreams and Realities: Developing Countries and the English Language. London: The British Council. pp.386 pages. ISBN: 978-086355-659-3

Free to download at: <u>www.britishcouncil.org/new/learning/</u> Available to buy in book form from www.bebc.co.uk

This edited volume contains fifteen papers, an editorial chapter, and supporting appendices, all relating to the broad theme of English in developing countries. Aspects of the theme are discussed in reference to six Asian countries (Bangladesh, China, India, Indonesia, Pakistan and Sri Lanka) and nine African countries (Cameroon, Democratic Republic of Congo, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Malawi, Rwanda, Uganda, and Zambia). Chapter authors either originate from or are spending/have spent considerable time in the countries they discuss. The papers are divided into five thematic groupings: Policy planning and implementation; Perceptions of English; Social and Geographic mobility; Developing English in Development contexts, and English in Fragile Contexts.

The purpose of the book is stated as being: "to examine the claims that have been made for the importance of English in development ..... and to formulate recommendations" (p. 11) and the introductory chapter teases out some of the main themes running through the chapters and summarises recommendations made. In addition to the usual introductory chapter, the editor has also provided very helpful appendices to the book (e.g. derived from the UNDP's chart Human Development Index, 2010, which includes the ranking of countries discussed in the book; and a summary of the Millennium Development Goals).

This is a vibrant tapestry of a book. It is coloured not only by the contexts it discusses, or the different voices that any edited volume contains, but by the depth and originality of many of the contributions. As in any edited volume, some chapters feel more useful (to me) than others, and some are, in my judgment, better written than others. However, as a less well written chapter about a particular country will nonetheless be of most interest to someone about to go to take up an English-related post in that country than any other, and as its inclusion allows for further comparisons within a single continent, its contribution to the tapestry is justified.

Issues addressed in the book are current, and the topics of individual chapters range from the new gate-keeping role given to English by recent immigration legislation in the UK and the impact this is having in Pakistan (Capstick, p.213); or the role of English in Eritrea as a conduit for cultural flows (Hailemariam, Ogbay and White. p.235) to descriptions and evaluations of aspects of programme policy, design or implementation for teaching English in particular Asian or African contexts (e.g. Coleman, p.89, Kennet, p.319, Wedell p.275). Clearly my choice of which chapters to mention here is subjective and related to personal professional interests, but any reader interested in any of the issues described by the thematic groupings mentioned above, or any of the contexts depicted, will not be disappointed.

On completing the reading of this book, I am left with an impression firstly that English *is* playing a range of roles, which are often, but not always, positive ones in the lives and development of individual citizens and countries. Secondly, it is clear that ensuring that decisions taken about when, where and how English is used and taught result in positive outcomes is both complex and context dependant. [I am defining 'context' in terms of the integration of three aspects - place, time and people, and both 'used and taught' as referring to (particular kinds of) interactions between people in a place over time].



The research and scholarship presented in papers in this book succeed in illuminating and bringing into focus some of the many factors contributing to the utility (or otherwise) of English in development terms (where 'development' is understood as people-centred and extends from ideas of economic development to 'a process of expanding the real freedoms people enjoy' Sen, 1999 p.3). It does this, in my view, not only through the variety of themes, topics, authors included, or contexts depicted, but also through the predominantly qualitative methodologies employed in the studies described methodologies which can reveal those all-important human details too often obscured by numbers and the search for simple generalisable 'truths'.

Does the book achieve its purpose? Are claims about the importance of English examined and challenged? Certainly they are. This book goes a long way to raising some of what may turn out to be 'the main issues', as well as, crucially perhaps, many 'minor', more context-specific ones too. Informed recommendations are also made, and summarised on page 21.

I would therefore highly recommend this publication for anyone involved in, or studying, the planning or implementation (including training and teaching) of policies relating to English in contexts where it is seen as or intended to serve as a tool for the development of the country.

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Rosenhouse, J. & Kowner, R. eds. (2008) *Globally Speaking: Motives for adopting English vocabulary in other languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters. ISBN: 978-1-84769-051-7 (hbk). xii + 337 pages.

This volume contains an interesting selection of case studies which each consider the motives for, and determinants of, the borrowing of English lexis into specific languages. Rosenhouse and Kowner have been engaged with this topic for many years and the introduction (pp. 1-3) draws attention to the assistance that each of the contributors has provided to the editors' ongoing research. There are twelve case studies in the volume, drawn together to at least partially address the problem that there is 'no comprehensive cross-cultural comparative and systematic study' (p. 11) of the topic. In chapter one, the editors provide a useful historical summary of the global development of English and of previous research on the spread of English lexis. They underline that the volume covers a range of language families and subgroups, and state that comparison of these case studies should allow identification of the 'major common (universal) sources' (p. 18) of the linguistic processes involved.

The case studies are presented in chapters 2-13 and some consider English influence on languages rarely examined from this perspective before, notably those by Teferra on Amharic in Ethiopia and Shahavar on Persian in Iran. Chapters which discuss languages that perhaps need more introduction (e.g. Icelandic, Hungarian, Amharic) provide useful summaries of linguistic and historical information, whereas those dealing with 'better known' languages (e.g. French, Dutch, Russian) cover this more briefly. While the studies are not uniform (as discussed below) they contribute useful information to the overall debate on the spread of English lexis.

Unsurprisingly, the 'threat' of English lexical 'penetration' (a rather unfortunately loaded term) and the correlation between the spread of English and globalisation dominate a number of discussions. Lai examines the political use of English in Taiwan as a weapon against the cultural dominance of China, often associated with the dominant Taiwan Mandarin lingua franca. Ben-Rafael revisits the 'franglais controversy' and argues that English borrowing into French attests to the 'innovativeness and dynamism' of French language and culture. De Vries views the influence of English Dutch as enriching and advantageous; on Yelenevskaya views English borrowing into Russian as indicative of the latter's 'vitality and coherence' (p. 120); Kowner and Daliot-Bul regard English loan words in Japanese as 'crucial to the contemporary construction of "Japaneseness"' (p. 275). Besides globalisation and modernisation, other cultural issues are explored. Gombos-Sziklainé and Sturcz (with Rosenhouse and Kowner) review the relationship between cultural attitudes to English and patterns of borrowing in Hungarian. Rosenhouse finds American English more pervasive than British English in Colloquial Arabic in Israel. Kurzon focuses on contact with Britain as the key to English influence on Indian languages, noting its status as a lingua franca across cultures in India.

The production quality of the volume is generally of a high standard, though there are some oddities of expression and typographical errors that can be distracting, e.g. 'contact with English as well as with British or Americans' (p. 2); 'understanding of the meaning of **word'** (p. 12); 'more commonly **is** may be due' (p. 13); 'the languages ... are only a tiny proportion of the **world** languages' (p. 18).

In chapter fourteen, the editors revisit their assumptions and draw some of the broad strands of the research together, noting some important caveats regarding the parameters and determinants of borrowing. They state that 'some of the determinants we and others ... have proposed are perhaps confusing and their effect is complex', as demonstrated by the example of the relationship between GNP and lexical borrowing. While countries with a low GNP may have 'a greater need for lexical borrowing to facilitate modernisation', those with a high GNP are typically modern capitalist democracies which are therefore likely to borrow English lexis on account of their 'open borders, frequent travel abroad, access to mass communication and high consumption of the products and popular culture of Anglophone countries' (p. 279). The volume encourages debate on the complex social and linguistic mechanisms involved in the borrowing of English lexis, which the editors regard as 'natural and inevitable ... driven by psycholinguistic, sociolinguistic and sociohistorical factors' (p. 294). Rosenhouse and Kowner's discussion usefully points the way forward for further research by highlighting the shared features and notable differences in the findings of the case studies.

The volume does achieve some of its stated aims, but the editors' assertion that the case studies are 'structured in a similar fashion, in order to facilitate a thematic comparison' (p. 18) is somewhat problematic. While each case study comments on the historical relationship of the borrowing language(s) with English, and discusses previous relevant lexical research, the methods and approaches adopted by each researcher differ quite considerably. Looking at the first two chapters as indicative examples, Sapir and Zuckermann's case study of Icelandic focuses very specifically on the phenomenon of phonosemantic matching. While this is interesting and deserves attention, it is only one component of a complex process. In contrast, Ben-Rafael's chapter on French looks at borrowings that have occurred as a result of various different processes: 'some have undergone semantic shifts,

while others have formed the basis for neologisms; some are loan-blends, while others are pseudo-English terms' (p. 51). Unlike Sapir and Zuckerman, who discuss specific examples of data from the Icelandic language as a whole, Ben-Rafael's data-set is very specifically drawn from five different sources collected in 2001-2004: television programmes; French newspapers on the Internet; a rather puzzling 'random collection of utterances ... from French speakers living in France'; word-lists supplied by informants; and English borrowings noted in French dictionaries (p. 51). Given the editors' assertions about the similarity of the case studies, differences such as these stand out rather awkwardly. More significantly, the task of identifying universal phenomena by comparing the twelve studies is inevitably encumbered by the disparity of approaches employed.

Despite these concerns, the case studies are individually valuable, and the overviews presented by the editors move us closer to a detailed understanding of the spread of English lexis. Given the relative academic neglect of lexis in favour of other levels of language, such investigations are to be welcomed. This volume successfully demonstrates the value of examining English lexical borrowing from multiple perspectives, and will help to bring much needed attention to issues which are directly relevant to languages, cultures and societies across the world.

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The following books have been received for review. If you would like to review one of these books, or any other books of your interest, please contact Dr Guoxing Yu, the Reviews Editor, Graduate School of Education, University of Bristol, 35 Berkeley Square, Bristol, BS8 1JA. Your review should be submitted as an email attachment in MS Word to <u>Guoxing.Yu@bristol.ac.uk</u> within two months of receiving the book.

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The aims of the Association are to promote the study of language in use, to foster interdisciplinary collaboration, and to provide a common forum for those engaged in the theoretical study of language and for those whose interest is the practical application of such work. The Association has over 750 members, and awards an annual Book Prize. Individual Membership is open to anyone qualified or active in applied linguistics. Applied linguists who are not normally resident in Great Britain or Northern Ireland are welcome to join, although they will normally be expected to join their local AILA affiliate in addition to BAAL. Associate Membership is available to publishing houses and to other appropriate bodies at the discretion of the Executive Committee. Institution membership entitles up to four people to be full members of BAAL.

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