

**Papers on History of Language Learning and Teaching at the Henry Sweet Society Colloquium 2022, 20–22 September, University of Leuven, Belgium (<https://relicta.org/hss/#>)**

HoLLT.net (<http://hollt.net>) has contributed to the organization of the following strand of papers on the second day of the conference, 21st September:

**Session 1 (9:00–10.30)**

Anneli Luhtala (University of Helsinki) - Language Education and the Advance of Humanism in Early Modern England

Raf Van Rooy (University of Oslo (& KU Leuven) - Contrastive grammar in the Renaissance as co-creation: Reconsidering the contribution of Greek migrant teachers and their Italian students to the history of linguistics

Cíntia Cardoso de Siqueira (Universidade de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro / Universidade de São Paulo) - *Grammatica Portugueza* and *Holmes Brasileiro ou Grammatica da Puericia*, by Julio Ribeiro: notes on the linguistic ideas in “doctrinal grammar” and “pedagogical grammar” of the late 19th century in Brazil

**Session 2 (11.00–12.30)**

Nicola McLelland (University of Nottingham) - Voices of the colonized in Benjamin Schultze's dialogue book *The Large And Renowned Town Of The English Nation In The East-Indies Upon The Coast Of Coromandel, Madras Or Fort St. George* (Schulze 1730, 1750)

Rebeca Fernández Rodríguez (Utrecht University) - The use of dialogues in teaching Spanish and Tagalog in the Philippines (ca. 1780)

Solanki Chakraborty (University of Hyderabad) - Language Learning as a Means of Effective Governance: Examining select Dialogue Books in 19th Century Colonized India

**Session 3 (14.00–15.30)**

Xi Li and Richard Smith (University of Warwick) - The work of John Fryer at the Shanghai Anglo-Chinese School (1865–68): Teaching English without a Mission?

Silvia Pireddu (Università degli Studi di Torino) - *Quaderni scolastici*. School memories, translations and note-taking to learn English at home.

Nicholas White (University of Portsmouth / University of Warwick) - Oral History of Language Learning and Teaching: An underexploited research method in the history of ELT?

#### **Session 4 (16.00-17.30)**

John Daniels (Independent Scholar) - Saussure and School Language Learning, a neglected voice: psychological elements in vocabulary learning and acquisition.

Irmina Kotlarska (University of Zielona Góra) - A textbook-based history of Polish language teaching in the English-speaking countries – the birth of a subject (1884-1939)

Robert J. Fouser (Independent Scholar) - Local Activism and the Evolution of Heritage Language Education in Japan: The Case of Yao City from 1970 to 2010

#### **Abstracts (in order of presentation)**

##### **Anneli Luhtala (University of Helsinki) - Language Education and the Advance of Humanism in Early Modern England**

The humanist movement initiated in the late fourteenth century in Italy gradually spread through Europe in the course of the 15th century, arriving in Britain relatively late. As regards language education, the first landmark was the textbook on Latin grammar entitled *Compendium totius grammaticae* (1483) and composed by John Anwykyll, Master of the school of Magdalen College in Oxford.

Unlike in Italy, the transition from a medieval syllabus to a humanist one went on smoothly in England. “That humanist learning came in with little fuss was very much due to the willingness of English grammarians to compromise” (Hellinga & Trapp, p. 333, 463-464). This is true of Anwykyll, who made use of Scholastic terms, condemned by the Italian humanists. However, in the two textbooks authorized for the English schools by Henry VIII in 1540-1542, the distinctly Scholastic terms no longer appeared. They were largely based on the treatises composed by John Colet, who refounded the school of St. Paul’s in London in 1512, and William Lily, the High Master of the school. Erasmus of Rotterdam was to some extent involved in producing these school texts and some of his educational works were included in the statutes of the school.

In my talk, I will introduce these grammatical works and relate their humanist orientation to Erasmus’s educational ideas, also considering his relationship to John Colet.

#### **Bibliography**

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##### **Raf Van Rooy (University of Oslo (& KU Leuven)) – Contrastive grammar in the Renaissance as co-creation: Reconsidering the contribution of Greek migrant teachers and their Italian students to the history of linguistics**

The crumbling apart of the Byzantine Empire engendered a steady influx of Greek migrants into western Europe, starting in Italy at the end of the Trecento. Many of these migrants were

welcomed with open arms, as westerners recognized that they carried an enormous cultural capital with them. Just how profound this change was appears from the fact that classical education, as we know it today, began to emerge in the wake of Greek migration movements during the Renaissance. This subject touches upon a larger question of wider concern: how is the migration of people related to the migration of knowledge? One major intellectual-historical consequence of the Renaissance Greek migration has thus far not been granted the meticulous study it deserves. The reappearance of Greek in the west gave rise to a contrastive approach to languages, which formalized as a separate genre in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. In my paper, I will offer new perspectives on the origins of this contrastive approach, locating it in the dynamic interactions between Greek migrant teachers and their Italian students. I will argue that the genre of contrastive grammar can in the end be understood as a product of co-creation by these two groups. The Greeks tailored their all-Greek manuals to their western students and commented upon them in Latin during their oral teaching, whereas their Italian pupils watched over their teachers' Latin and made new Latin versions of their manuals. I will support my argumentation with case studies involving the grammars of Manuel Chrysoloras, Constantine Lascaris, and Theodore Gaza.

**Cíntia Cardoso de Siqueira (Universidade de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro / Universidade de São Paulo) – *Grammatica Portugueza* and *Holmes Brasileiro ou Grammatica da Puericia*, by Julio Ribeiro: notes on the linguistic ideas in “doctrinal grammar” and “pedagogical grammar” of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century in Brazil**

In this study – which is part of our PhD research – we comparatively analyze the works *Grammatica Portugueza* (1885 [1881]) and *Holmes Brasileiro ou Grammatica da Puericia* (1903 [1886]) by the Brazilian grammarian Julio Ribeiro (1845-1890). Having been published very closely, both works present a declared didactic-pedagogical function, but are intended for different audiences – students of different levels of education – which justifies the investigation of their particularities. In order to describe the similarities and differences between Julio Ribeiro's grammars, we established a method of searching for the causes of the differentiation between the works and the resulting effects, having as categories of analysis: (i) paratextual data (included in the prologues, prefaces and introductions); (ii) the concept of grammar and (iii) the grammatical synopsis. When analyzing such categories, we consider the *climate of opinion* (Koerner 2014) at the time of production of the works, and we investigate, through the *horizon of retrospection* (Auroux 2008, 2009 [1992]) of the author, his theoretical affiliation, seeking to show how these aspects are reflected in the concepts of grammar presented, as well as the way the topics are organized and handled in each grammar, illustrating his linguistic ideas. The partial results indicate that the works under analysis have particular objectives and reveal differences in content, compositional form and style, thus representing individual *linguistic instruments* (Auroux 2008), which we call, for now, “doctrinal grammar” and “pedagogical grammar”, considering the more doctrinal or pedagogical character assigned by the author in each one.

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**Nicola McLelland (University of Nottingham) - Voices of the colonized in Benjamin Schultze's dialogue book *The Large And Renowned Town Of The English Nation In The East-Indies Upon The Coast Of Coromandel, Madras Or Fort St. George* (Schulze 1730, 1750)**

In 1750 a bilingual English-Telugu dialogue book, first produced in manuscript in India in 1730, was published in an English-only version by the returned missionary Benjamin Schulze in Halle, explicitly aimed at the growing market of learners of English in Germany. The original manuscript appears to be a very early example of such dialogues in the South Asian colonial context, although grammars of various Indian languages appeared both before the text's production and continued after it (e.g. Ketelaar 1698, Gilchrist 1798). The text is rich in cultural details and explanations: both explaining European customs, perhaps intended for Telugu speakers learning English who could perhaps be expected to become servants for the European colonizers; and explaining aspects of the local indigenous culture to make them more comprehensible to European outsiders. The dialogues make space for the perspective of the local population, and not only in their role of servants to the European colonizers. Five of the thirty dialogues are conversations that feature local men explaining or participating in their culture (not merely receiving instructions from a white interlocutor), and three of these five feature two local Gentou men in conversation with each other. This sympathetic material is nevertheless firmly embedded in a Christian and missionizing context. My paper will examine these dialogues to consider to what extent the voices of the colonized are audible in this unusual language learning material for a new audience of German-speaking learners of English in Germany.

**Rebeca Fernández Rodríguez (Utrecht University) - The use of dialogues in teaching Spanish and Tagalog in the Philippines (ca. 1780)**

Second language acquisition in the Philippines had a long tradition of using a combination of bilingual grammars and dictionaries as the most common method. Students, mostly missionaries at first, and later also Philippine population, had to learn the rules from the grammar and practice with the native speakers they could encounter. Translation was a common exercise too. Missionary grammars would not include the translation of examples so that missionaries could also exercise their vocabulary and grammar. However, in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century new methods were introduced. The Philippines attracted new businessmen and visitors who wanted to learn the languages and also many Philippine students were travelling to Spain to study at Spanish universities. There was an increased need of manuals of conversation. One of the earliest and most successful ones was *Vademecum filipino o Manual de conversación familiar español-tagalo* by Venancio M. Abella. Published in 1869 for the first time, by 1876 it had been reprinted fourteen times. Eligio Fernández published his *Nuevo diccionario o Manual de conversaciones en español, tagalo y pampango* in 1876. My presentation will put these two works in context. I analyse both manuals as hybrid methods that combine dialogues

and wordlists integrating linguistic and ethnographic information. Furthermore, I will try to offer an insight into how these publications became an important textbook to satisfy the demand both for primary schools and by the general public in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

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### **Solanki Chakraborty (University of Hyderabad) - Language Learning as a Means of Effective Governance: Examining select Dialogue Books in 19th Century Colonized India**

Dialogue books have been a popular means of teaching language in erstwhile colonized Countries, which were composed by various colonial educationists to train their colleagues in the language of the respective native speakers. An average Dialogue book highlighted peculiarities of the grammar of the language as compared to English, imagined situational contexts which would require an encounter between the Englishman and a native, identified dialogues for the same, and redacted those in both the native tongue and its English translations. However, instead of examining the methods employed to teach the said language, I would attempt to point out how the selection of this particular method was conducive for the Englishman in his larger project of colonial governance. I would be examining the Dialogue books that had emerged from 19th century colonized India, particularly those written by Reverend Carey (Bengali-English) and by John Gilchrist (Hindustani-English). By examining the content of these books, I would attempt to establish that language learning and teaching is not an autonomous process in itself but is a function of the wider political context. Further, I contend that apart from substantiating the pre-given hierarchized identities of the learner Englishman and the Native subject, these books helped forge relational identities among distinctly hierarchized social classes within the seemingly homogeneous category of the Native. This was achieved by identifying and inventing dialogues peculiar to specific classes of Natives that the English would encounter regularly. Thus, language learning acted as a means also to comprehend the peculiarities of the governed land and its people.

### **Xi Li and Richard Smith (University of Warwick) – The work of John Fryer at the Shanghai Anglo-Chinese School (1865–68): Teaching English without a Mission?**

In this paper, we contribute to tracing the neglected history of English education in Chinese missionary schools with a particular focus on English language teaching practices at the Anglo-Chinese School in Shanghai, which was the first missionary school to formally offer English language courses in mainland China. Our main sources for this paper are correspondence, reports, textbook catalogues and articles by John Fryer, headmaster of the school between 1865 and 1868. Fryer was subsequently one of the main editors of the School and Text-Book Series Committee which was founded at the first General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China in 1877. He also submitted a report to the second General Conference in 1890, outlining his unequivocal opposition to editing religious texts for schools and arguing that

English language teaching should contribute to general education rather than being tightly combined with religion. Throughout his tenure at the Shanghai Anglo-Chinese School, he remained committed to a secular and practical form of English language education. His approach succeeded in attracting a number of Chinese citizens interested in improving their own or their children's economic opportunities through English proficiency, and seems to have changed local perceptions and attitudes towards learning English.

We will examine Fryer's ideas in relation to other perspectives prevalent at the time regarding the role and nature of English teaching, both within missionary education and at the newly established government schools, and in relation to attitudes and ideologies concerning English in 19th-century and present-day China.

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## **Silvia Pireddu (Università degli Studi di Torino) – *Quaderni scolastici*. School memories, translations and note-taking to learn English at home.**

Recent interest in archival research and digital humanities has shed light on the importance of material culture and notably 'objects' to construe the pedagogy and school practices of the past: notebooks, exercise books, posters, booklets and instalments and other 'physical' resources have been digitalised and collected and are now accessible to integrate and develop what we know about the teaching practices of the past. However, more investigation is needed on the function of these materials in the teaching of foreign languages. So far, research has focused on the 'major' resources, i.e. grammar books, literary anthologies or personal and official accounts of teaching practice, while the 'minor' object received little attention even if, e.g. notebooks, show the learning perspective: the point of view of pupils.

In this perspective, the paper addresses this issue in relation to the teaching of English in Italian schools during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century by examining a small corpus of texts available at The Popular Writing Archive of Genoa (*Archivio della Scrittura Popolare di Genova*). This archive currently preserves about 1500 school notebooks written between the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and the 1980s displaying diverse subject areas, periods, and text types such as essays in Italian, Latin dictations, maths and grammar exercises.

The English notebooks will be examined by working on the paratext and the content. The pedagogy behind the texts will be discussed, adopting a bottom-up approach and in relation to contemporary grammar teaching methodologies. The paper will also focus on translation practices and the learning of vocabulary.

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## **Nicholas White (University of Portsmouth / University of Warwick) – Oral History of Language Learning and Teaching: An underexploited research method in the history of ELT?**

The purpose of this paper is to argue that, while recorded interviews have been previously used in HoLLT studies, the unique opportunities oral history offers research in the field have, to date, been underexploited. Here, oral history is understood both as a research method, one in which “not just what is said, but also *how* it is said, *why* it is said and *what* it means” (Abrams, p. 1, 2016, original italics) is integral, and as a genre of verbal communication (Linde, 1993). In this sense, it is argued that there may be a blind spot (dis)regarding the voices of oral accounts in which narrators can be heard *historicising* their own experience (Harris, 2004) during “the real-time production and processing of talk” (Couper-Kuhlen and Selting, 2018, p. 20). Such Aspects of oral accounts have been generally overlooked in favour of seeing the real value in the content of the interview transcripts. This paper therefore argues for the relevance

of oral history to what Smith (2016) has called ‘Applied Linguistic Historiography’, and will be supported by examples drawn from an ongoing doctoral research project into ELT centred around England and Spain after 1953. The latter is an oral history project which aims to consider how each ELT practitioner historicizes their involvement in ELT in the interviews and then the extent to which, collectively, these narrations can be contextualised in terms of a distinctive social movement, one whose influence on the development of ELT has so far been little recognised.

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## **John Daniels (Independent Scholar) – Saussure and School Language Learning, a neglected voice: psychological elements in vocabulary learning and acquisition.**

*Le signe ou unité linguistique [...] unit en effet non une chose et un nom, mais un concept et une image acoustique [The sign or linguistic unit [...] links in fact not an object and a name but a concept and a sound] (Saussure, 1916)*

A paper to examine how de Saussure’s view of language can be used to explore the nature of school language learning. How an emphasis in the early stages on vocabulary lists and a tendency to view French words as merely the name for an object with a direct English equivalent – ‘la maison’ is the word for house in French – omits the key psychological element ‘l’empreinte psychologique de ce son’ – ‘the psychological imprint of the sound.’

For Saussure language is not about a naming exercise but an understanding of the concept the sign represents, which may differ substantially from its English equivalent. While the question of language learning is hardly considered by Saussure (Bouquet, 1992), other sources will provide the necessary historical dimension to this paper, in particular, Bouquet who deals directly with this issue and Martinez (2021). I am interested in examining here, through experience as a language teacher and researcher, whether there is a link between vocabulary acquisition and the development of a deeper knowledge associated with the concept with which the word is endowed. Word acquisition would therefore be linked to the strength of this concept, the way it becomes more salient, loaded with cultural definition through experience of using the language in real or realistic situations.

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### **Irmina Kotlarska (University of Zielona Góra) - A textbook-based history of Polish language teaching in the English-speaking countries – the birth of a subject (1884-1939)**

Teaching Polish to foreigners began in the 16th century and was aimed at German speakers. Publications addressed to an English-speaking audience were not created until the 19th century. Their appearance was related to the studies of the Slavonic languages at Oxford University started by William Morfill and the growing presence of Polish immigrants in the United States. English textbooks of Polish published in the late nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century (until the outbreak of World War II) have not been analysed by researchers so far. The primary goal of this article is to add to the research on the history of teaching Polish as a foreign language. One key objective is to characterise selected textbooks for teaching the Polish language intended for English-speaking audiences. The text will draw attention to the historical, social and institutional contexts of their creation and functioning. It will also describe the structure of the textbooks, the content selection and presentation, and the type and quality of the examples used. The article will attempt to show how an analysis of old English-language materials for teaching Polish can supplement the knowledge of the history of the Polish language, especially the prestige of the Polish language in the past and its perception by the English-speaking foreigners.

### **Robert J. Fouser (Independent Scholar) – Local Activism and the Evolution of Heritage Language Education in Japan: The Case of Yao City from 1970 to 2010**

Regarding Spanish as a heritage language (SHL) in the US, Leeman and Martínez (2007) state that “there has been a shift in SHL from the construction of Spanish as rooted in the local community and linked to students’ identity, towards its construction as a commodity for economic competitiveness in a globalized world.” The change, however, is not unique to SHL in the US. In Japan, student movements in the 1960s stirred activism among marginalized resident (Zainichi) Koreans and outcast Burakumin. For Zainichi Koreans, heritage language education was integral to efforts to assert identity in the push for equal rights. A steady rise in overseas migrants beginning in the 1980s, coupled with successes in achieving equal rights, caused a shift toward a cosmopolitan vision of “multicultural co-existence” that emerged at the national level in the 1990s.

This paper investigates the evolution of social activism in promoting heritage language education in Yao, an industrial suburb of Osaka from 1970 to 2010. In particular, the paper focuses on the heritage language activities of the Tokkabi Association, a local NGO formed by Zainichi Koreans and Burakumin in the 1970s. The group first focused on Korean language but shifted toward Vietnamese as a heritage language in 1990s as the Zainichi population declined and the population of Vietnamese migrants increased. While responding to changes in local conditions, the shift also represented an embrace of the “multicultural co-existence” paradigm. Research for the paper is based on original NGO and government documents as well as secondary sources.