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## Notions of Utility: Construction of the B2 foreign language level of competence in Europe and France

*Laura M. Hartwell*

For the last several decades, the Council of Europe has encouraged foreign language learning. Beginning in the 1980s, the Council of Europe's stated political objectives link language teaching and learning to greater respect, tolerance, mutual understanding, as well as independence of thought, judgment, and action. Today, Räisänen and Fortanet-Gomez (2008) comment that the *Common European Framework* established the definition of language competence to include linguistic, sociolinguistic, and pragmatic aspects within the four language activities of reception, production, interaction, and mediation, and this within personal, occupational, and educational domains.

Although the Council of Europe's language objectives extend beyond questions of language competence, an essential outcome is the ubiquitous *Common European Framework of Reference* (CEFR). The CEFR has become a source of reference for numerous institutions in primary, secondary, and higher education across Europe. The six levels of competence described in the CEFR were created by inventorying evaluation criteria gathered from teachers from several European countries and have in turn influenced new language teaching and assessment projects. Jones and Saville (2009) underscore the impact of the movement over the last decade:

Certainly the publication of the CEFR and the subsequent preliminary pilot version of a manual for relating language examinations to it (Council of Europe, 2003) has stimulated a great deal of work by language testers. It has led to increasing insistence by governments and other test users on proof of alignment, and a rush on the part of testers to provide it. This influence is set to increase. (Jones and Saville, 2009, p. 53)

The CEFR model divides foreign language knowledge and use into six categories ranging from basic (level A1) to near-native proficiency (level C2). The focus of this study is the construction, across Europe, of an ensemble of descriptors and characteristics of the fourth or B2-level of language competence or above. In France, the CEFR has been integrated into the programs of the *Éducation nationale* and has served as a reference for the creation and implementation of the *Certificat en langues de l'enseignement supérieur* (CLES). Future

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primary and secondary school teachers in France will be required to obtain this certificate at the B2-level before attaining the status of a civil servant (*cf.* JORF n°0123 du 31 mai 2010).

The aim of this paper is, given the stated political objectives of the Council of Europe, how do the criteria of European CEFR-based assessment projects and the CLES fulfill Mill's objectives of Utility. According to Mill's theory of life, as described in his seminal work *Utilitarianism*, pleasure and the absence of pain are the only desirable ends of any action. Desirable things are those that lead, either directly or indirectly, to pleasure. This, with the absence of pain, is at the heart of his view of moral standards:

The creed which accepts as the foundation of morals, Utility, or the Greatest Happiness Principle, holds that actions are right in proportion as they tend to promote happiness, wrong as they tend to produce the reverse of happiness. By happiness is intended pleasure, and the absence of pain; by unhappiness, pain, and the privation of pleasure. To give a clear view of the moral standard set up by the theory, much more requires to be said; in particular, what things it includes in the ideas of pain and pleasure; and to what extent this is left an open question. But these supplementary explanations do not affect the theory of life on which this theory of morality is grounded—namely, that pleasure, and freedom from pain, are the only things desirable as ends; and that all desirable things (which are as numerous in the utilitarian as in any other scheme) are desirable either for the pleasure inherent in themselves, or as means to the promotion of pleasure and the prevention of pain. (Mill, 1863)

In this paper, we will first describe the Council of Europe's stated political objectives and examine how they correspond to tenets of Utility. Second, we will examine how CEFR-based descriptors of foreign language competence sidestep the questions of justice or tolerance that are found both in Mill's theory of life and the Council of Europe objectives. Then, we will consider how the CLES occasionally addresses issues of justice or tolerance, but does not incorporate literary aspects of language, which are integral to pleasure and hence Utility. The aim of this study is not the *validity* of language teaching or assessment based on the CEFR, but the theory of life or moral standards, as Mill evoked, that transpires through its descriptors and in turn impacts teaching and assessment. In other words, the very question of what one does or is expected to do with foreign languages.

### **Pleasure within Mill's definition of Utility, or the Greatest Happiness Principle**

In 1828, the *Webster's Revised Unabridged Dictionary* defined *utility* as "Usefulness; production of good; profitableness to some valuable end; as the utility of manures upon land;

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the utility of the sciences; the utility of medicines” (Webster’s Revised Unabridged Dictionary, 2011). This definition highlights the immediate and long-range positive aspects of utility. However, the examples given within the domains of agriculture and the sciences do not foretell the notion of morals and justice that Mill would link to this term in his work *Utilitarianism* (Mill, 1863). For Mill, this definition is inadequate in that the notion of pleasure is absent:

Having caught up the word utilitarian, while knowing nothing whatever about it but its sound, they habitually express by it the rejection, or the neglect, of pleasure in some of its forms; of beauty, of ornament, or of amusement. Nor is the term thus ignorantly misapplied solely in disparagement, but occasionally in compliment; as though it implied superiority to frivolity and the mere pleasures of the moment. And this perverted use is the only one in which the word is popularly known, and the one from which the new generation are acquiring their sole notion of its meaning. (Mill, 1863)

Mill’s notion of Utility is broad as beauty, ornament, and amusement are integrated and not superfluous components of Utility. The popular conception of the word *utility* associated with the practical advantages of manure or medicine is a restrictive one. Mill conceives of pleasure to be a desirable objective, for his notion of Utility is also that of the Principle of Greatest Happiness.

## **The Council of Europe’s objectives**

The 2001 book, *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment* clearly states that the Common European Framework of Reference is not set out to be a “normalization” of language teaching. The Council of Europe objectives are more far-ranging. There is a political agenda of cohesion behind the recommendation of teaching foreign languages. During a First Summit of Heads of State, xenophobia and ultranationalism were singled out as threats to European mobility, integration, stability, and democracy. So, the promotion of greater respect, tolerance, and mutual understanding became stated objectives as necessary to the construction of Europe. During a later Summit, Heads of State continued to link foreign language teaching to the construction of Europe by giving priority to promoting independence of thought, judgment and action, as well as social skills, through modern language teaching.

Along with multilingualism and plurilingualism, the Council of Europe recommends that national and regional literatures be protected and developed. It lists the many educational purposes to teach these literatures, including aesthetic, but also intellectual, moral, emotional, linguistic, and cultural. Aesthetic uses of oral or written language include a range of activities,

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such as singing pop songs, rewriting stories, performing scripted plays, and listening to opera. The Council of Europe's seminal book recognizes that national and regional literatures have traditionally been a major aspect of modern language studies in upper secondary and higher education and considers them "a valuable common resource to be protected and developed". The respect of identities and cultural diversity is equally a stated objective (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 56).

As we will see, a commonly mentioned objective is "to equip all Europeans for the challenges of intensified international mobility and closer co-operation not only in education, culture and science but also in trade and industry". This objective is of particular concern in higher education where professional objectives are of immediate interest for many institutions and students.

## **European conception of the B2-level**

New European language assessments are generally based on a six-level framework. The beginning level is A1, followed by A2. The highest level approaches a native level and is called C2. In France, teachers and counselors will be required to be certified at a B2 level, which is also the level that students are expected to attain when leaving lycée. The levels are based on a collection of various assessment projects found in Europe and are not based on any given theory of language acquisition. According to Fulcher and Davidson (2009, p. 126), the CEFR is one of the most well-known models and it "attempts to be encyclopaedic, by adding details of possible contexts for communication and sometimes performance conditions". Today, many language assessment organizations claim that their certificates are benchmarked on this Common European Framework, such as the *Test of English for International Communication (TOEIC)* (Chauncey Groupe Europe, 2001) or the *The International English Language Testing System (IELTS)* (Cambridge University, British Council, and IELTS Australia, 2011)

David North has compiled the descriptors of high-level language performance (B2+ to C2) from 13 European projects or guidelines of language assessment (Appendix A). Some are from specific countries, including France, but other projects are the result of the participation of members from multiple countries. Certain projects are called *Portfolios* and are collections of language artifacts and summaries of performances. Among the 13 projects we find a total of 304 descriptors, such as "Can follow the essentials of lectures, talks and reports and other forms of academic / professional presentation which are propositionally and linguistically complex"

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or “Good grammatical control; occasional "slips" or non-systematic errors and minor flaws in sentence structure may still occur, but they are rare and can often be corrected in retrospect” (CEFR).

The majority of the descriptors are clearly identified in categories such as oral or written comprehension and oral or written expression. As can be seen in Table 1, oral interaction is more frequently mentioned than written interaction, but in general, there is a fairly equal attention given to both oral and written language skills. This approach of separating language into competencies has become a very standard approach to language assessment, especially task-based assessment (see: De Ketele, 2006).

	<b>304 Descriptors</b>	<b>Subtotals</b>
Oral comprehension	45	156
Oral interaction	55	
Oral expression	56	
Written comprehension	59	127
Written interaction	17	
Written expression	51	
General	21	21

**Table 1. B2+ to C2 Language descriptors found in 13 European projects.**

In order to evaluate language skills, evidence is most often collected from candidates following a task or a set of tasks. A score or label is then determined so that others, such as university admissions offices or human resource services, can easily compare or categorize language skills. The definition of an ability and how the score is derived is the *construct*. According to Bachman and Palmer (1996, p. 21), the term *construct validity* refers to “the extent to which we can interpret a given test score as an indicator of the ability(ies), or construct(s), we want to measure.” Selected tasks linked to the language competencies mentioned in Table 1 can be tested via different constructs and correspond to the European objective to reduce linguistic barriers among European citizens.

McNamara (2000) explains that validation is a question of whether a test score actually reflects what it was meant to evaluate:

The empirical validation in language testing is to ensure the defensibility and fairness of interpretations based on test performance. [...] Validation of the evidential basis of test-score interpretation involves thinking about the logic of the test, particularly its design and its intentions, and also looking at the empirical evidence – the hard facts – emerging from data from test trials or operational administrations. (McNamara, 2000: 33)

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The issue raised by this paper is how the “design and its intentions” of certain European language descriptors and the CLES correspond to stated European political objectives and Mill’s Theory of Utility.

Language assessment is comprised of several characteristics that Bachman and Palmer (1996) regroup under the concept of *usefulness*. They posit that the notion of overall *usefulness* should be maximized over the test’s individual interrelated qualities. These qualities, including reliability, construct validity, authenticity, interactiveness, practicality, and impact, should not be evaluated independently, but should be determined related to the specific testing situation. Although these authors concentrate more specifically on how a specific testing context may impact students, they posit that testing impacts societal and educational value systems. The focus of this paper is the impact of how Mill’s theory of Utility and the Council of Europe’s value systems are manifested within the descriptors of thirteen European projects and the French CLES.

It is important to examine testing criteria as the *washback* on teaching may include the impact on teaching method, curriculum, and materials, and remains “a far more complex and thorny” issue than simply the effect of testing on teaching (Bachman and Palmer, 1996, p. 31)

## **The Construction of context within European descriptors**

We have already seen that the descriptors of high-level competencies from the thirteen evaluation projects are fairly evenly distributed between oral and written competencies. However, these descriptors also refer to the context or type of language use targeted. In order to examine the context of how language is used, keywords related to context were pulled from the 304 descriptors (Appendix 2). Some descriptors contained more than one keyword, such as “I can readily appreciate most narratives and modern literary texts (*e.g.*, novels, short stories, poems, plays)” (CERCLES).

Keywords or expressions found in the descriptors and the descriptor titles were analyzed in order to identify the context of purpose of language use. The descriptors were then classified in one of four categories: academia and the professions, literature and culture, pragmatic, and finally aesthetics. Some descriptors include more than one keyword. If a keyword was found more than once within one descriptor and its title, it was only included in the analysis only one time. Certain keywords or expressions, such as *style* or *keeping the floor* (*i.e.* maintain attention when speaking) could be listed in more than one category, as appropriate style can be, for

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example, an advantage within the professional realm. In this case, the keyword or expression was coded in the most applicable category.

Table 2 displays the number of descriptors per category, the number of keywords per category, the number of times keywords are mentioned per category, and the top five keywords per category in order of frequency. We see that academia or the professions are represented by the greatest number of keywords. That is to say that the seventeen keywords are cited 134 times within 86 descriptors. Second, literature and cultural are evoked in greatest frequency, these descriptors are of high-level language performance, so among the forty-two keywords, we find references to idioms or colloquialisms that are not present at a B2 level or lower. The language descriptors studied here include a limited range of keywords related to literary realms, such as “short story” cited three times and “novel”, cited only once (Appendix 2).

The descriptors of the thirteen evaluation guidelines catalogued by North include some 67 references to twenty keywords related to pragmatic issues in a wide range of contexts and this category includes the greatest range of different keywords, including *announcements, health, legal, pain, show visitors, and useful*, which is cited five times. This word selection directly reflects the objective of the Council of Europe to develop the ability of Europeans to communicate with each other across linguistic boundaries. Finally, the smallest category “aesthetics” includes notions of style or humor, especially as it relates to oral or written expression.

<b>Domain</b>	<b>Number of descriptors</b>	<b>Number of keywords</b>	<b>Number of citations</b>	<b>Top five keywords in order of frequency</b>
Academia and professions	86	17	134	report, lecture, field, work, profession/al
Literature and culture	42	12	79	literary, idiom/atic, colloquial, culture/al, film
Pragmatic	40	20	67	service, instructions, conclusion, announcement, legal
Aesthetics	35	8	45	style, allusion, humour, elaborate, pun

**Table 2. Descriptors and keywords related to language use context.**



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Although there are domains as heteroclit as *tenancy* or *exports*, keywords such as *respect*, *tolerance*, or *identity* are absent. The linguistic and cultural complexity of Europe is alluded to in the thrice-mentioned term *socio-inter-cultural*. Issues of social, personal, cultural, or intercultural are evoked, as in the following descriptors:

Can converse comfortably and appropriately, unhampered by any linguistic limitations in conducting a full social and personal life. (CEFR, 2001)

I can participate effectively in extended discussions and debates on subjects of personal, cultural, intercultural or social interest (Ireland: European Language Portfolio. Model for learners in post-primary education, 2001).

However, the capacity to converse does not imply the capacity to respect others or to be tolerant.

The stated European objectives of respect, tolerance or mutual understanding are not reflected within these descriptors. These themes may – or may not – be found in the materials chosen by the instructor, the educational institution, or the certification establishments. However, it should be noted that these themes are not reflected in the assessment criteria of the descriptors of the thirteen European projects. Although descriptors evoke the necessity to adopt an appropriate or flexible manner, these remain limited to more pragmatic or undefined circumstances:

Can write a letter dealing with financial matters in an appropriate manner which will encourage a positive outcome, *e.g.* write a letter to a bank complaining forcefully yet tactfully about a delay in transferring money. (C2-level, ALTE, 2003)

I can present ideas and viewpoints in a very flexible manner in order to give emphasis, to differentiate and to eliminate ambiguity. (ELP: Switzerland: *European Language Portfolio. Version for Young People and Adults* (15+), 2000).

Mill posits that the “entire history of social improvement” is an evolution in increments, for which an awareness of injustice is a mandatory first step:

All persons are deemed to have a right to equality of treatment, except when some recognised social expediency requires the reverse. And hence all social inequalities which have ceased to be considered expedient, assume the character not of simple inexpediency, but of injustice, and appear so tyrannical, that people are apt to wonder how they ever could have been tolerated; forgetful that they themselves perhaps tolerate other inequalities under an equally mistaken notion of expediency, the correction of which would make that which they approve seem quite as monstrous as what they have at last learnt to condemn. The entire history of social improvement has been a series of transitions, by which one custom or institution after another, from being a supposed primary necessity of social existence, has passed into the rank of a universally stigmatised injustice and tyranny. So it has been with the distinctions of slaves and freemen, nobles and serfs, patricians and plebeians; and so it will be, and in part already is, with the aristocracies of colour, race, and sex. (Mill, 1963)

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In other words, an attention to social inequalities is necessary before their eradication. Other notions related to the stated linguistic and political objectives of the Council of Europe could be added to our assessment criteria, such as:

Can write a letter dealing with social matters in an appropriate manner which will encourage a positive outcome, *e.g.* write a letter to a newspaper complaining forcefully yet tactfully about an issue of inequity.

I can present respect and tolerance in a very flexible manner in order to give emphasis, to differentiate and to eliminate ambiguity.

### **A French interpretation of European guidelines: The Certificat en Langues de l'Enseignement Supérieur**

Based on the CEFR, the CLES is not based on any language acquisition theory, but encompasses a range of languages, including, at the B2-level: English, Spanish, German, Italian, and Portuguese. Despite a massive increase in the number of candidates passing the CLES at the B2-level, English remains the language chosen by over three-quarters of the candidates (Table 3).

	<b>English</b>	<b>Spanish</b>	<b>German</b>	<b>Italian</b>	<b>Portuguese</b>	<b>Passage rate</b>
2007-2008	5246 (79.6%)	672 (10.2%)	596 (9%)	59 (0.9%)	17 (0.3%)	(Approximate) 43%
2009-2010	7320 (83.1%)	837 (9.5%)	494 (5.6%)	139 (1.6%)	13 (0.2%)	3435 (39%)

**Table 3. Number of CLES2 (B2-level) candidates by language and success rate.**

The CLES exam covers four language competencies: listening, reading, writing and oral interaction. Each section is eliminatory, which makes the certificate especially difficult. Nationally, less than half the candidates obtain the certificate. However, there are differences according to language chosen, year of study, and academic program (see: Olive, 2008 and 2010).

The CLES includes general or academic topics, such as electronic games, traffic signs, or waste management and requires the candidates to defend a point of view based on information from oral and written sources about the given subject (Official CLES website, 2010 and Hartwell, 2010). These topics are not directly linked to reflecting on greater respect, tolerance, mutual

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understanding as evoked by the Council of Europe's stated political objectives. However, the CLES subjects, such as the *Glass Ceiling* or *Homophobia in Schools*, touch upon notions of respect and tolerance. The CLES requires students to "use information from the documents [they] have been studying to discuss, negotiate, and reach a compromise according to the role assigned" in ten minutes (Official CLES website, 2010). The CLES topics are questions of society that have yet to be resolved despite years or perhaps decades of public debate. A candidate who feels strongly about the topic may find it very difficult to negotiate a compromise or defend a point of view that is contrary to their own.

Before the introduction of the CLES, the competitive exam to become a state-employed primary school teacher included a language exam for which a low score could be compensated by a high score in another subject, such as mathematics or history. That is no longer the case. The first effect of introducing a language certificate is the transfer of the cost of the exam from the *Éducation Nationale* to the university-funded CLES center or, in some cases to the candidates. Second, it has the capacity to reduce the number of permanent primary school teachers, as candidates may pass the state competitive exam, but without obtaining the necessary CLES certificate. Furthermore, although the former competitive exam included a section on language didactics, this is not present in the CLES. Therefore, students preparing to become primary school teachers may privilege the language capacities necessary to pass the CLES, before studying foreign language didactics or foreign language and literature for young learners.

All notions of beauty, ornament, amusement, common qualities of literary works and also components of Mill's Theory of Utility, are absent from the CLES. Furthermore, Mill offers a definition of a "cultured mind" that comes from "being taught". He posits that teaching leads to an endless intellectual attraction to many subjects, from natural phenomena to historical events:

A cultivated mind - I do not mean that of a philosopher, but any mind to which the fountains of knowledge have been opened, and which has been taught, in any tolerable degree, to exercise its faculties- finds sources of inexhaustible interest in all that surrounds it; in the objects of nature, the achievements of art, the imaginations of poetry, the incidents of history, the ways of mankind, past and present, and their prospects in the future. It is possible, indeed, to become indifferent to all this, and that too without having exhausted a thousandth part of it; but only when one has had from the beginning no moral or human interest in these things, and has sought in them only the gratification of curiosity. (Mill, 1863)

The CLES culminates with a task constructed on negotiating a compromise, which is a social language-related skill encouraged by the Council of Europe's stated political objectives for

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Modern Language teaching. But primary school teachers would be better equipped by foreign language classes that are oriented toward “fountains of knowledge”, including the “imagination of poetry” and the “achievements of the arts” as Mill evoked. Yet, literary or fictional texts are completely absent from the CLES assessment project

Approximately 80% of candidates passing the CLES at the B2-level chose English. So, in practice, general or communication skills in English centered on general topics are likely to come to the forefront in many language learning settings for future teachers. The transversal nature of CLES subjects are intended to be accessible by candidates emanating from a range of academic fields, but primary school teachers also need to be introduced to literary works in a foreign language. Literature and fiction have traditionally offered a commentary on current issues. Incorporating literary works into the CLES would broaden the scope to include beauty and ornament, elements of Utility.

The capacities to synthesize and negotiate in a foreign language are important skills and reflect stated Council of Europe objectives. However, these capacities are not those most needed by future primary school teachers whose mission should include “cultivating minds” as Mill insists, and, as part of foreign language teaching and learning, greater respect, tolerance, mutual understanding, and independence of thought, judgment, and action as recommended by the Council of Europe.

## **Conclusion**

According to Mill, the creed of Utility, or the Principle of Greatest Happiness, deems that actions are right if they tend to promote happiness and prevent pain. Mill links this not with greater professional efficiency, but equality of treatment, justice, and a cultivated mind. The stated political objectives of the Council of Europe also point to these objectives. In practice, though, there is a discordance between stated Council of Europe objectives and the manifestations found in both the language descriptors found across Europe and the French *Certificat en Langues de l’Enseignement Supérieur*.

Foreign language assessment projects are and should remain under constant scrutiny in order to correspond to evolving stakeholder and societal needs and objectives. Notions of tolerance, respect, and justice could be added as a criterion to CEFR-based teaching or assessment projects, alongside existing pragmatic, occupational, and educational considerations.

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Preserving pluriculturalism could be supported by the incorporation of documents written in English in non-anglophone countries or translated documents within the English classroom. This type of integration, of course, would go against English teaching as it is known in France and as it is embodied in the CLES, the CAPES or the Agrégation. It would mean conceiving of English teaching, at least at the university level, as having a much wider perspective, such as that of *Lettres Modernes*, instead of the current concentration on British and US documents.

The risk is that an orientation towards professional and pragmatic topics do not necessarily lead to greater respect, tolerance, mutual understanding, and independence of thought, judgment, and action. Furthermore, a narrowing of foreign language study to English reduces the scope of cross-cultural awareness, unless English studies are conceived of as a language of communication, but also a path to accessing literary and cultural works from across Europe. It is worth taking a step back to examine the new road that we and our students are undertaking.

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## **Appendix 1 : List of the Thirteen European projects consulted by D. North (Eurocentres) for B2+ to C2 Descriptors**

- Common European Framework of Reference, 2001 : illustrative descriptors
- ALTE Can Do Project, November 2002 (Booklet)
- DIALANG in CEFR Appendix
- Cambridge Common Writing Scale project - reformulated by BN in CEFR style.
- Switzerland : *European Language Portfolio. Version for Young People and Adults*
- Germany : *European Language Portfolio (10-15)*
- France : *Portfolio européen des langues (lycée)*
- Ireland : *European Language Portfolio. Model for learners in post-primary education*
- Sweden : *European Language Portfolio 16+*
- European Association of Language Centres in Higher Éducation (CERCLES) : *European Language Portfolio for University Students*
- European Language Council (ELC) : *ELP Higher Éducation*
- France : *Portfolio européen des langues (collège)*
- The Bergen *Can do Project*, supported by the European Center of Modern Languages in Graz



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## Appendix 2 : Keywords related to context or Language use

Category or language use	Keyword	Quantity
Academic and Professional	report	24
Aesthetic	style	22
Academic and Professional	lecture	21
Academic and Professional	field	19
Culture and Literature	literary	17
Culture and Literature	idiom /atic	16
Academic and Professional	work	14
Academic and Professional	profession/al	13
Academic and Professional	academic	11
Culture and Literature	colloquial	11
Pragmatic	service	11
Culture and Literature	cultur e/al	10
Pragmatic	instructions	10
Academic and Professional	technical	9
Pragmatic	conclusion	9
Culture and Literature	film	7
Pragmatic	announcement	6
Aesthetic	allusion	6
Aesthetic	humour	6
Academic and Professional	meeting	5
Pragmatic	legal	5
Pragmatic	useful /ness	5
Culture and Literature	play	4
Academic and Professional	scientific	3
Academic and Professional	colleague	3
Academic and Professional	vocational	3
Culture and Literature	short stories	3
Culture and Literature	context	3
Culture and Literature	socio-inter-cultural	3
Pragmatic	keep the floor	3
Pragmatic	tenancy	3
Aesthetic	elaborate	3
Aesthetic	pun	3
Academic and Professional	expertise	2

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Academic and Professional	specility	2
Academic and Professional	research	2
Culture and Literature	satirical	2
Culture and Literature	sociolinguistic	2
Pragmatic	task	2
Pragmatic	manual	2
Pragmatic	bank	2
Aesthetic	irony	2
Aesthetic	variation	2
Academic and Professional	occupational	1
Academic and Professional	client	1
Academic and Professional	superior (atwork)	1
Culture and Literature	novel	1
Pragmatic	advertisement	1
Pragmatic	commercial	1
Pragmatic	contract	1
Pragmatic	export	1
Pragmatic	health	1
Pragmatic	hire	1
Pragmatic	insurance	1
Pragmatic	pain	1
Pragmatic	show visitors	1
Aesthetic	memorable	1
Pragmatic	introduction	0