Association for Written Language and Literacy
Ассоциация письменного языка и письменности
Ενωση για τη γραπτη γλωσσα και τη βασικη εκπαιδευση
书面语言和识字协会
Association for Written Language and Literacy

On distribution of thirteenth AWLL newsletter [Terry Joyce (newsletter editor)]

Owing to preparation delays (mea culpa), I am afraid that clear plans for AWLL14 have yet to emerge, but AWLL board will continue to explore the possibilities of convening during 2023. Naturally, as soon as firm information becomes available, it will be shared with this mailing list.

This thirteenth newsletter (NL13) features two reports. The first is from Yannis Haralambous about the third *Grapholinguistics in the 21st Century Conference,* convened in June as a hybrid-mode conference. The report includes the URL to the Conference's website, which provides links to recordings of all the talks. The second report is from Philippa Steele about the CREWS Project, which ended in September, and the new VIEWS Project. I would take this opportunity to again express AWLL's appreciation of the support from Pippa and CREWS Project to Anna Judson and Robert Crellin as AWLL12's local organizers and to point out that one of NL13's mini-book flyers is for CREWS 6! NL13 also includes the 11th installment of the *Introducing writing systems: Japanese* serialization and the second of the *Brahmic* serialization. And, while *Thought-provoking quotations and observations* has only one short item, it would be great if AWLL NLs could become more of a two-way conduit between community member with similar inquiry posts, as that from Daniel Harbour this time.

As always, I very much hope that AWLL NL13 might be of interest to you. Any comments, ideas, or items for future newsletters are always most welcome; just email them to terry@tama.ac.jp.

Past newsletters are available at http://faculty-sgs.tama.ac.jp/terry/awll/newsletters.html

Grapholinguistics in the 21st Century Conference [Yannis Haralambous]

The third assembly of the *Grapholinguistics in the 21st Century* conference, endorsed by the Association for Computational Linguistics and ATypI, convened in the Parisian suburb of Palaiseau over the 8-10 June, 2022. During its three days, the hybrid-mode conference brought together 69 registered participants from 19 countries across three continents, with approximately half of the participants joining online. The talks were given in the grand amphitheater of Télécom Paris; a building, constructed in 2019, for which its Irish architects, Yvonne Farrel and Shelley McNamara, won the Pritzker Prize (architecture's equivalent of the Nobel Prize) in 2020.

The conference program consisted of 37 half-hour talks (16 presented by on-site speakers and 21 talks online). The two keynote talks were given by Richard Sproat, who works for Google Japan and is the author of *A Computational Theory of Writing Systems* in 2000, and Nina Nørgaard from the University of South Denmark, the author of *Multimodal Stylistics of the Novel: More than Words* in 2019. The program also included a one-hour poster session with six presenters in total (three on-site and three online).

What distinguishes this series of conferences (first assembly convened in 2018 in Brest and the second in 2020 was conducted online) is its interdisciplinary nature: the series aims to function as a meeting point between various scientific, scholarly and artistic disciplines. At this third assembly, the participants represented linguists, computer scientists, historians, typographers, designers, paleographers, cognitive researchers, and artists. Accordingly, over the three days of *Grapholinguistics in the 21st Century 2022*, the participants were exposed to a diverse range of talks:

- High-level theoretical talks (including "Amodal Morphology: Applications to Brahmic Scripts and Canadian Aboriginal Syllabics", "The Chinese Script as a Self-regulating System. Applying Köhler's Basic Model of Synergetic Linguistics to Chinese Characters", "Sentence-final particle vs. sentence-final emoji: The syntax-pragmatics interface in the era of CMC" and "The akshara as a graphematic unit");
- Socio- and psycholinguistically motivated talks (including "Types of orthographic standardization: A sociolinguistic approach", "Does statistical learning, as a cognitive tool, determines the effectiveness of grapheme learning? evidence from typical and poor readers", "Perceptual disfluency through hard-to-read fonts: is there a satisfactory explanation?" and "Reading and Rating Monospaced Fonts: Empirical Studies on the Ergonomics and Aesthetics of Non-Proportional Latin Script");
- Linguistic-landscape oriented talks (including "Secrets Hidden in Commercial Names: A Case Study of Chinese Restaurant Names in Prague" and "Tracing the Breton landscape of Gouarec: Typographetics in the LL");
- Historically motivated talks (including "Life in the Six Scripts: A 12th-Century Chinese Scholar on Music, Magic, and the Morphogenesis of Writing", "'Let vs Inglish not be ashamed': Intellectual, Sociolinguistic, and Typographical Factors Behind Sixteenth-Century English Spelling Reform" and "From clay tablet to digital tablet: the diamesic variation of writing");
- Talks involving ethnology and interculturality (including "Qualitative and Quantitative

Validation of Rongorongo Glyph Strings on Easter Island Artefacts" and "Endangered Languages in the Digital Public Sphere: A case study of the writing systems of Boro and Manipuri");

- Semiotics-oriented talks (including "(Typo-)Graphic Knowledge: From 'Semiotic Resource' to 'Social Practice" and "Reinterpreting the semiotics of Glagolitic");
- Computer science-oriented talks (including "Computational Methods in the Analysis of Graphical Symbol Systems" and "Towards the Integration of Cuneiform in the OntoLex-Lemon Framework");
- Typography-oriented talks (including "Multi-Gender Hebrew: Creating a New Space in the Hebrew Language" and "The second life of Chaim");
- And last but not least, talks about sign language ("Designing a Transcription Font for Mouth Actions in Sign Languages: The Typannot Typographic System") and braille ("Blind Spots: On the Discursive (In-) Visibility of Braille as Opposed to Sign Language").

All the talks were recorded and can be viewed on Youtube from links available at the conference website: https://grafematik2022.sciencesconf.org/ hosted by CNRS.

The Proceedings will be published by Fluxus Editions in early/mid 2023, in OpenEdition mode (a PDF file will be freely distributed and printed copies will be available on Amazon for a moderate prize, on a print-on-demand basis).

The next assembly of the *Grapholinguistics in the 21st Century* conference is scheduled for June 2024, in hybrid form—the location has not yet been established.

From CREWS to VIEWS: Adventures in early writing systems [Philippa M. Steele]

In 2016 I began running an ERC-funded project at Cambridge, Contexts of and Relations between Early Writing Systems (CREWS), which has just ended in September. It is followed by a new project, again originally sponsored by the ERC (though now underwritten by the UKRI), Visual Interactions in Early Writing Systems (VIEWS), which runs from 2022 to 2027.

CREWS had two central research questions. The first, broadly, asks how we envisage relationships between different writing systems. It is clear that a family tree model would be an oversimplified way of looking at this problem. Consider, for example, the place of the Ugaritic cuneiform alphabet, which was influenced by two unrelated systems: wedge-shaped logosyllabic cuneiform on the one hand and the linear alphabet (which eventually developed into Phoenician) on the other. We cannot understand this particular writing system as a direct descendent of another single system, and we need to think more broadly about the context of its development and use – research conducted for CREWS by Philip Boyes. This brings us to a second problem, namely the fact that writing is not the same thing as language, and is strongly dependent on a range of contextual factors that interact with its nature and practice. It's very important to remember that writing is something that you do, and that it involves physical interaction with materials and implements, and a place in everyday society.

The regional Greek alphabets of the Archaic period are a good example of a set of writing systems that defy easy interpretation in terms of their relationship with each other: are they all descended

from a single Uralphabet or do they have more complex interactions with each other? Natalia Elvira Astoreca turned this question on its head by looking at the differences between the alphabets as potential solutions to linguistic problems, with the greatest differences lying in areas such as long vowel representation. Meanwhile Robert Crellin looked at word division in a range of writing systems (Ugaritic, Phoenician, Hebrew, Moabite and Greek – and a bit of Egyptian hieroglyphic), finding a strong relationship with the notion of the prosodic word reliant on accent patterns, showing an important interaction with orality. My own work has attempted to bring different disciplinary viewpoints into conversation with each other, for example finding the interactions between the way a script encodes language and the social and material context of its use, with a particular focus on the Bronze Age Aegean.

The VIEWS project now takes investigations into pre-modern writing systems in a new direction, seeking to understand visual aspects of writing in a more consistent way. What difference would it make to categorisations of writing if we used visual properties as a criterion, for instance, rather than mainly linguistic ones? And how do we understand writing as an element of visual culture? This will involve research on the ancient Mediterranean and Near East, Egypt and the Americas, but will look even more widely for parallels. Perhaps the most exciting aspect will be the new Endangered Writing Network, which aims to use research on pre-modern writing systems to help design strategies for the maintenance and revitalisation of endangered writing systems in the modern world. We will also continue the outreach work for which CREWS had become famous, bringing accessible information and resources to a varied global audience.

CREWS project: https://crewsproject.wordpress.com/
VIEWS project: https://viewsproject.wordpress.com/

The CREWS home page includes links to the project's published outputs and other resources and the VIEWS home page includes a link to the Endangered Writing Network.

Introducing writing systems: Japanese [11] [Terry Joyce & Keisuke Honda]

This installment concludes our mini-series of three pieces focusing on the Japanese writing system's two syllabographic components of 平仮名 /HIRA-GA-NA/ *hiragana* and 片仮名 /KATA-KA-NA/ *katakana.* The first piece outlined their historical developments to become complementary elements of the contemporary Japanese writing system and the second piece illustrated how both basic and extended signs correspond to mora; the core unit of Japanese phonology. This final installment turns to exemplify the basic graphematic conventions that guide the uses of hiragana and katakana. [As explained within the previous piece, most kana represent either a vowel or a consonant-vowel combination, but, for clarity, within the following phonological glosses, the segmentation of kana sequences is indicated by periods. Moreover, unless otherwise indicated, only the plain forms of verb and adjective examples are shown.]

Hiragana Strongly associated with the native-Japanese stratum of the lexicon, hiragana is used primarily to represent two kinds of functional morphemes: (1) a limited range of functional

elements and (2) the inflectional and derivational elements (送り仮名 /oku.ri.ɢᴀ.ɴᴀ/) of verbs and adjectives.

(1a) Two special verbs: (i) である /de.a.ru/ + だ /da/ *be (copula)* [formal + plain forms, respectively]; (ii) する /su.ru/ *do*, which combines with verbal nouns to form verbs, such as 説明 /ꜱᴇᴛsᴜ-ᴍᴇɪ/ *explanation* becoming 説明する /ꜱᴇᴛsᴜ-ᴍᴇɪ.su.ru/ *explain.*

(1b) Conjunctions: そして /so.shi.te/ *and,* しかし /shi.ka.shi/ *however,* けれども /ke.re.do.mo/ *but.*

(1c) Grammatical case markers: の /no/ *possessive,* が /ga/ *subject,* か /ka/ *question.*

Although kana-mora correspondences are highly consistent (as the chart of basic kana in the previous installment indicated), there are three notable exceptions. When は, へ and を graphematically represent the *topic*, *destination* and *object* case markers, respectively, as in, for example, 子供たちはサンタへ手紙を送った /ko.domo.ta.chi **wa** Sa.n.ta **e** te.gami **o** oku.t.ta/ *the children sent letters to Santa*, they are pronounced as /wa/, /e/ and /o/ rather than by their conventional pronunciations of /ha/, /he/ and /wo/ (an obsolete pronunciation).

(2a) Verb inflections: 読む /yo.mu/ *read*, 読まない /yo.ma.na.i/ *do not read*; 考える /kanga.e.ru/ *think about, consider,* 考えた /kanga.e.ta/ *thought about.*

(2b) Adjective inflections and derivations: 古い /furu.i/ *old,* 古くない /furu.ku.na.i/ *not old*; 古さ /furu.sa/ *oldness, age.*

Katakana The applications of katakana are somewhat more diverse in nature but, in descending orders of both type and token frequencies, the uses fall under three broad kinds: (1) foreign loanwords and foreign names, (2) native-Japanese mimetic words, and (3) forms of emphasis.

(1a) Foreign loanwords (外来語 /gai-rai-go/; this Japanese term is not, however, totally accurate because it excludes most loans from Chinese) suitably rendered according to Japanese phonology, such as /l/ → /r/ substitutions and ∅ → /u/ insertions: ミルク /mi.ru.ku/ *milk*; クリーム /ku.ri.i.mu/ *cream.*

(1b) Foreign names: アイルランド /a.i.ru.ra.n.do/ *Ireland*; パトリック /pa.to.ri.k.ku/ *Patrick.*

(2) Native-Japanese mimetic words, which either mimic sounds (onomatopoeia) or evoke sensations, are common in Japanese: (i) ワンワン /wa.n.wa.n/ *bow-wow*; (ii) チカチカ /chi.ka.chi.ka/ *flickering, twinkling*; (iii) イライラ /i.ra.i.ra/ *irritation.*

(3a) Emphasis of species reference (in contrast to more general meaning): ヒト /hi.to/ *humans (homo sapiens)* [not 人 /hito/ *person, people*]; サル痘 /sa.ru.ᴛᴏᴜ/ *monkeypox* [not 猿 /saru/ *monkeys*]; スギ花粉 /su.gi.ᴋᴀ-ꜰᴜɴ/ *cedar pollen* [not 杉 /sugi/ *cedar*].

(3b) Contextual emphasis, functionally similar to italicization for stress: おい、ウソだろ /o.i, u.so da.ro/ *hey, you're lying*; マジか /ma.ji ka/ *Seriously?!*

In concluding the mini-series of three instalments devoted to kana, this piece has tendered some illustrative examples of the different graphematic conventions that guide the uses of the two sets of syllabographic kana. Naturally, the usage conventions for hiragana and katakana do not exist in isolation, as they also interact with the conventions of kanji usage too; a fuller exposition of the graphematic conventions of the contemporary writing system and their interactions will be taken

up in a future installment of this newsletter feature.

Introducing writing systems: Bahrimi [2] [Anurag Rhimzim]

In the first installment, we discussed how the akshar can be conceptualized as [Cₙ]V and how the written consonant unit, the graphematic ‹C› akshar or letter, represents the syllable /Cə/ in Hindi. Because Devanagari omits writing the schwa vowel, which is considered inherent within ‹C›, Devanagari may appear to be syllabic in nature.   However, we also learned that the schwa vowel is deleted when ‹C› appears in the word-final position, meaning that it only represents /C/ phonemes. Moreover, we noted that in words where a consonant is followed by a vowel other than the schwa, ‹C› again only represents /C/ phonemes.   In this second installment, we will further elaborate on these notions within the broader context of explicating how the different written forms of consonants and vowels are concatenated in Devanagari.

Hindi uses two forms of written consonants and vowels.   That is, consonants can be graphematically expressed by either their *half* or *full forms* and vowels can be represented by either their *mātrā* (diacritic) or *full forms.*

In the case of consonants, half forms only represent a phoneme /C/, with the schwa being deleted, but the full forms, ‹C›, represent the syllable /Cə/ (unless appearing in a word-final position or when a vowel diacritic is added).   Half forms are dependent because they are never written on their own, always being attached to the left of a full or half consonant, apart from the exceptions of retroflex consonants, which only have full forms that are usually vertically stacked to represent consonant clusters.   The half forms of consonants are used to write words that contain onset consonant clusters, as follows: all preceding consonants, written in their half forms that appear in the same order as the spoken word, are appended to the left of the final consonant of an onset consonant cluster.   For example, ‹क्या›/kya:/ 'what' is written with the half form of /k/ (the full form being क) attached to the left of the full form ‹य› /y/, which, in turn, is followed by the vowel diacritic ा /a:/.[1]   Most half forms for consonants are easily discernable and, therefore, written alphabetically.

In the case of vowels, both the full and mātrā (diacritics) forms represent phonemes.   The full forms are considered independent units because they do not attach to other written units.   They are used when a vowel does not follow a consonant, either in the word-initial position, such as ‹ईशा› /i:.ʃa:/ [female name] (a concatenation of full-form ई /i:/, full-form श /ʃə/ and diacritic form ा /a:/) or after a vowel within a word, such as ‹आईना› /a:.i:.na:/ 'mirror' (a concatenation of full-form आ /a:/, full-form ई /i:/, full-form न /nə/ and diacritic form ा /a:/).   As most vowels follow consonants, they are written as diacritics, which are visually smaller than the consonant akshars. Diacritics attach to one of four locations around a consonant, either left, right, top, or bottom, as in the following attachments to the consonant क /kə/; left ‹कि› (/ki/), right ‹का› (/ka:/), top ‹के› (/ke/), and bottom ‹कु› (/ku/).   Naturally, as they cannot be written alone, diacritics are considered dependent forms.

There is, however, one important case; namely, in the placement of the short िॉ /i/ diacritic, which always precedes the graphematic consonant, as in ‹कि› (िॉ ‹i› + क ‹kə›), even though it follows the spoken consonant, as /ki/.   This feature, combined with the use of consonant half-forms, can result in substantial spatiotemporal disparities.   For example, taking the spoken sequences of /ʃaːn.t̪i/ 'peace', its written representation is शान्ति ‹shaːint› is a left-to-right concatenation of full-form श /ʃə/, diacritic ाॉ /aː/, diacritic िॉ /i/, half-form of न्[2] /n/, and full-form त /t̪/, where the vowel /i/ following /t̪/ in speech is written prior to the letter before the ‹t›, because the half form ‹nə› attaches before the /t̪/ and so /i/ comes before that ‹nt̪›.

There are also two unique cases in Hindi of composite akshar, ‹क्ष›/kʃə/ and ‹ज्ञ›/jɲə/, referring to a written unit which, like the units of a syllabary, represent CCə syllables that are not graphematically decomposable.

A common typological description of Brahmic writing systems is *alphasyllabary*, taken to imply that such writing systems mix the characteristics of a syllabary and an alphabet.   Over the first two installments of this series, we have shown that the syllabic feature of Brahmic writing systems stems from using the <C> akshar, which conventionally represents a /C-schwa/ syllable.   However, reflecting both schwa deletion, highlighted in the first installment, and the use of diacritics, as illustrated in this second installment, in many cases, <C> akshars effectively function as a phonemic writing system.   Moreover, another feature that is assumed to characterize the syllabic nature of Brahmic writing systems is their syllabic grouping of letters.   As this second installment has exemplified, there are two aspects that counter that interpretation.   The first is that all phonemes, apart from schwa, have distinct written representations, as both full and half forms of consonants or diacritics in the case of vowels.   The second point is that, when concatenated together in Devanagari, the syllabic grouping of letters is predominantly transparent, which lends a distinctly alphabetic characteristic to Brahmic writing systems.

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[1]The dotted circle indicated the consonant's position.

[2]Please noted that this is the full form of /n/; the half-form is not available as a separate character code

Thought-provoking quotations and observations [13]: Community interactions [1]

Before they were deciphered, Egyptian hieroglyphs and Mesopotamian cuneiform were thought by some scholars not to be writing systems.   The same claim has been made of the undeciphered script of Easter Island.   I believe that Kircher, frustrated at his lack of progress on staveless runes, made the same claim for that script.   And I'm trying to hunt down a quotation that Chinese characters were a giant hoax (please let me know if you know about it).   How common are such denials, both for now deciphered systems (e.g., Anatolian hieroglyphs, Aztec, Turkish runes) and for still undeciphered scripts or artefacts (e.g., the Indus Valley script, the Phaistos Disk)?

I would be grateful to receive any quotations and sources at d.harbour@qmul.ac.uk. I will provide a digest of responses in a future AWLL newsletter.

Miscellaneous matters

Information about ongoing projects, upcoming conferences, events, special issues

Crucial Issues in Orthography Development [Mike Cahill]

As previously announced (in NL10; 20210515), I have been developing a series of videos on developing orthographies for previously-unwritten languages, the series titled "Crucial Issues in Orthography Development." These are deliberately brief and aimed at non-native English speakers, so the pace is somewhat slow, and each video is 11-15 minutes. The previous announcement listed the first 8 and, here, are the next 6 in the series. I'm aiming at 22 videos, which are all at www.sil.org/orthography/videos.

Why people reject orthographies: Acceptability issues [What factors hinder, possibilities of dealing with them; https://vimeo.com/664919862/2210bb1ae1]

Phonological levels [Surface and underlying - which level to represent? Introduces lexical and post-lexical processes as helpful in decisions; https://vimeo.com/664907287/8226887ec8]

Word breaks [Principles of how to divide words, including compounds and clitics; https://vimeo.com/664908334/16a19ca59f]

Literacy factors [Ease of reading, transfer to other languages; https://vimeo.com/756533004/f00f4a4cd5]

Testing orthographies [Reviews why testing an orthography is very useful, and basics of setting up testing; https://vimeo.com/664909294/95a8739c21]

Orthography statements [Why write them, differing ones for different audiences; https://vimeo.com/733243425/aaf02364a5]

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Call for abstracts for a special issue of the Journal of Research in Reading
Learning to Read in a Digital Age: Children's Contemporary Reading Experiences
Deadline for summary of proposed paper: 31 October, 2022
https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/pb-assets/assets/14679817/Learning-to-Read-Digital-Age-Special-Issue-JRiR-1659426787373.pdf

7th Annual Conference for the Association for Reading and Writing in Asia (ARWA 2023)
Online from Hong Kong; 23-24 February 2023
Abstract submission deadline; 21 November 2022
https://www.arwasia.org/arwa-2023

Thirtieth Annual Meeting of the Society for the Scientific Study of Reading
Port Douglas, Queensland, Australia; 19-22 July 2023
Proposal submissions due date: 9 December, 2022
https://www.triplesr.org/

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## Recent publications by AWLL community members

The *Miscellaneous matters* section concludes with a list of recent publications (i.e., since the last newsletter) by AWLL community members, which is followed by 'mini-flyers' for two books.

> AWLL mailing list is open to anyone interested in receiving occasional information emails, but the core community is based primarily on participation at AWLL workshops.   All who participated at recent workshops are eligible to have a brief member profile at the community page and to include recent publications under this section of future newsletters.
>
> For further information, go to http://faculty-sgs.tama.ac.jp/terry/awll/community.html

Crellin, Robert. (2022). Word-level punctuation in Latin and Greek inscriptions from Sicily of the Imperial period. In Philippa M. Steele & Philip J. Boyes (Eds.), *Writing around the Mediterranean: Practices and adaptations* (pp. 195-219). Oxford; Philadelphia: Oxbow. https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:4bd03e69-81ee-41ea-aadc-fa7a4685903c

Neef, Martin. (2022). Satz für Satz: Wo liegt die Schnittstelle zwischen der gesprochenen und der geschriebenen Sprache? In Sarah Brommer, Kersten Sven Roth & Jürgen Spitzmüller (Eds.), *Brückenschläge: Linguistik an den Schnittstellen. Festschrift für Christa Dürscheid* (Tübinger Beiträge zur Linguistik 583) (pp. 65-88). Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto.
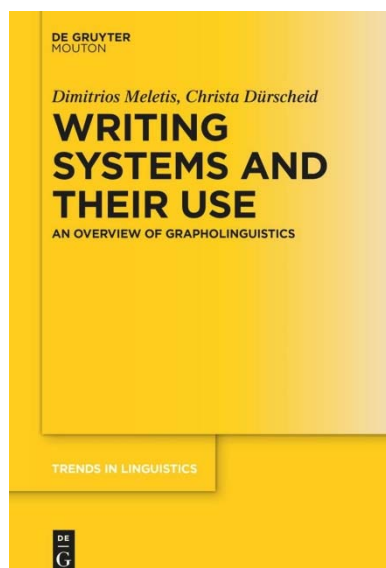
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Meletis, Dimitrios, & Dürscheid, Christa. (2022). *Writing systems and their use: An overview of grapholinguistics* (Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs [TiLSM] 369). Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110757835

Grapholinguistics, the multifaceted study of writing systems, is growing increasingly popular, yet to date no coherent account covering and connecting its major branches exists. This book now gives an overview of the core theoretical and empirical questions of this field. A treatment of the structure of writing systems—their relation to speech and language, their material features, linguistic functions, and norms, as well as the different types in which they come—is complemented by perspectives centring on the use of writing, incorporating psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic issues such as reading processes or orthographic variation as social action. Examples stem from a variety of diverse systems such as Chinese, English,

Japanese, Arabic, Thai, German, and Korean, which allows defining concepts in a broadly applicable way and thereby constructing a comparative grapholinguistic framework that provides readers with important tools for studying any writing system. The book emphasizes that grapholinguistics is a discipline in its own right, inviting discussion and further research in this up-and-coming field as well as an overdue integration of writing into general linguistic discussion.

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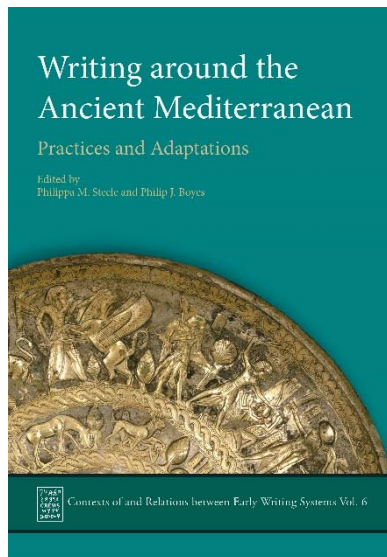
Steele, Philippa M., & Boyes, Philip J. (Eds.). (2022). *Writing around the ancient Mediterranean: Practices and adaptations* (CREWS 6). Oxford; Philadelphia: Oxbow Books.

It can be downloaded at:
   https://crewsproject.files.wordpress.com/2022/10/writing-around-the-ancient-mediterranean_contents_print_1.pdf
Publisher's website:
   https://www.oxbowbooks.com/dbbc/writing-around-the-ancient-mediterranean.html

      Writing in the ancient Mediterranean existed against a backdrop of very high levels of interaction and contact. In the societies around its shores, writing was a dynamic practice that could serve many purposes – from a tool used by elites to control resources and establish their power bases to a symbol of local identity and a means of conveying complex information and ideas. This volume presents a group of papers by members of the Contexts of and Relations between Early Writing Systems (CREWS) research team and visiting fellows, offering a range of different perspectives and approaches to problems of writing in the ancient Mediterranean. They focus on practices, viewing writing as something that people do within a wider social and cultural context, and on adaptations, considering the ways in which writing changed and was changed by the people using it.