MUSEUM(S) OF A GLOBAL PHENOMENON. HISTORICAL MONUMENTS OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

Costel COROBAN¹ Costin-Valentin OANCEA²

Abstract

The scope of this paper is, first, to explain how language and identity are intertwined, how language came to be considered part of intangible cultural heritage, and how initiatives to preserve, present and display languages have evolved over time. In addition, we aim to discern how language museums evolved starting with the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, to provide examples where heritage institutions showcase the English language, and to discuss how English as an international 'lingua franca' provides opportunities and challenges from the viewpoint of heritage preservation.

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1. Preliminary remarks

Language plays a pivotal role in shaping cultural identity and preserving cultural heritage. It serves as a vehicle for transmitting traditions, beliefs, values, and knowledge from one generation to the next. This paper aims to map cultural heritage sites of utmost importance for the English language. English is a global lingua franca, being the preferred language of international business, diplomacy, and science despite falling behind Chinese and Spanish in terms of number of native speakers. As of 2019 enthusiasts such as Nicholas Lodge, Christopher Mulvey and Beryl Pratley were planning to open a Museum of the English Language in Winchester³ but the project has stalled. The leaders of the project pointed to a 2009 survey of the Norwegian Cultural Centre, which highlighted the existence of almost 70 such cultural establishments in Austria, South Africa, Denmark, Canada, Italy, Australia, Hungary and Brazil to name just a few. In the absence of such an establishment for the English language, its rich cultural heritage is transmitted through monuments such as the reconstituted Globe Theatre in London, William Shakespeare's birthplace in Stratford-upon-Ayon, the Brontë Parsonage Museum in Haworth or Westminster Abbey, where famous writers such as Geoffrey Chaucer, Charles Dickens, Rudyard Kipling, and Thomas Hardy are buried.

¹ Costel Coroban, Ovidius University of Constanța, coroban_costel@yahoo.com.

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² Costin-Valentin Oancea, Ovidius University of Constanta, oancea costin@yahoo.com.

³ http://www.englishproject.org/resources/english-language-museum-winchester

The research methodology for the present paper relies on secondary source analysis, data collection through observation and case studies. By conducting a comprehensive review of the existing literature on museums of intangible heritage, with a specific focus on those dedicated to language preservation and promotion, we hope to identify key themes, theories, and methodologies used in similar studies. This includes a review of academic papers, books, reports, and online resources related to intangible heritage and museum studies. The observation method is used for data collection as we will include museum publications, official reports, and museum platforms or databases in order to showcase important elements in our analysis. This will allow us to compile information on existing museums of intangible heritage that prioritize language as a focal point and to analyze this data, to identify trends, challenges, and successful practices. The case study approach entails the identification of specific museums of intangible heritage that highlight language preservation or promotion as a primary objective, the presentation of each selected museum's history, mission, exhibitions, programs, community engagement efforts, and impact on language preservation; finally, we shall endeavour to compare and contrast different case studies to identify commonalities, differences, and best practices, and to interpret findings in the context of existing literature and theoretical frameworks. We plan to consider the ethical implications related to data collection and interpretation, particularly when referring to minority communities and sensitive cultural topics.

2. Languages and linguistic identity

Language and linguistic diversity have also been objects of discussion across cultures, and it is ultimately such lines of inquiry that nourished the first safeguarding efforts and thus also lie at the foundation of the first language museums. As stated by the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, the words chosen by a speaker encapsulate and reflect their attitudes, values, and worldview, which in turn are shaped by their own cultural experiences (= linguistic determination, meaning that language influences the way we think, and through cultural relativity, each language encodes reality in a unique way (Coroban, 2019: 79).

In the literature, researchers often discuss 'primitive' languages spoken by tribes or so-called 'uncivilized' nations, but research into these languages reveals that they exhibit a complexity almost comparable to that of so-called 'civilized' languages (Kuper, 1988). Contrary to the myth of 'primitive' languages, there is the myth of 'excellent' languages (for example, Latin and Ancient Greek were long considered indispensable for approaching philosophy). The impression that some languages are superior to others is widespread but not based on scientific evidence (Coroban, 2019: 81). Some languages may be more useful or widespread at certain historical moments, but this is due to their speakers, who are more numerous, and not to any intrinsic feature of the language. If the quality of a language were to be judged based on the socio-economic prestige of its speakers, it would imply that seventeenth-

century English could be considered of lower quality than present-day English (Crystal, 2010).

Although language policy rarely makes headlines in the press, it represents the main tool for national consolidation and affects all the sectors of a society. Every state has official language policies established in the constitution, laws, and government decisions, as well as hidden policies that can only be inferred from practices (Coroban, 2019: 87). The language spoken by a person can identify them as coming from a specific geographic area (geographic identity). Every language is actually a dialect (a famous saying goes that 'a language is a dialect with an army and navy behind it'), which can be rural, urban, standard, non-standard, high-class, or from the lower or middle class. No dialect can be said to be linguistically superior to another, although some are considered prestigious socially. The issue of language/dialect often has a political substrate (Coroban, 2019: 81-82).

Language and linguistic diversity have been fundamental topics of discussion across cultures, laying the groundwork for the initial efforts in safeguarding heritage and the establishment of language museums. As we have seen, the words we use reflect our attitudes, values, and worldview, all of which are deeply influenced by our cultural experiences. This linguistic determination signifies that language shapes our thinking, while cultural relativity underscores how each language uniquely encodes reality. Debunking myths surrounding language, such as notions of 'primitive' or 'excellent' languages, reveals the complexity and richness inherent in all languages, irrespective of societal perceptions. The interplay between language and social dynamics is profound; language can express solidarity or distance within social groups and can even serve as a marker of geographic identity. The concept of diglossia exemplifies the coexistence of multiple language varieties, each serving distinct social functions and perceived values. Language policies, often overlooked in mainstream discourse, play a pivotal role in national consolidation and have implications across all facets of society. The multifaceted nature of language, ranging from its social functions to its political implications, underscores its significance within the broader context of heritage preservation and the mission of language museums.

3. Language as intangible heritage. Evolution

The International Network of Language Museums highlight that language museums represent an area of intangible cultural heritage that has been insufficiently studied and acknowledged. Although their numbers are growing, it is only recently that an association of language museums⁴ has been established to facilitate greater interaction and dialogue among them. Throughout history, languages have been

⁴ INLM, International Network of Language Museums, https://languagemuseum.org/international-network-of-language-museums-makes-its-debut/, accessed 1 May 2024.

esteemed as one of humanity's most precious cultural inheritances. Scholars like Plato, Aristotle, as well as ancient Indian, Roman, and medieval European writers such as Roger Bacon and Dante Alighieri, have recognized languages as fundamental to human nature and the foundation of civilization. Language is viewed as the medium through which human societies are constructed, preserved, and governed. Moreover, as presented in the last section of this paper, language plays a critical role in shaping our sense of human identity and is thus considered a significant aspect of our universally shared cultural heritage (Gahtan, Cannata and Sönmez, 2019: 1).

Recognizing intangible heritage as part of cultural heritage has opened up new research avenues in heritage studies and has resulted in significant UNESCO recommendations and conventions. Discussions regarding safeguarding language and folklore started with UNESCO's inception in 1948, with notable initiatives emerging in the 1950s. By the 1970s, efforts were underway to study oral traditions in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, firmly establishing the concept of intangible cultural heritage within UNESCO. The term "intangible cultural heritage" emerged during a 1982 UNESCO conference in Mexico, and in 1989, UNESCO published a comprehensive recommendation⁵ which was influential with policy makers in the field for several years. This Recommendation highlighted the importance of traditional culture and folklore for contemporary society and outlined strategies for their conservation, protection, and dissemination at national and international levels. UNESCO's definition of folklore includes language as one of the forms of heritage, alongside music, dance, rituals, customs, and other expressions of cultural identity and values transmitted orally or through other means (Gahtan, Cannata and Sönmez, 2019: 12-13).

According to the UNESCO 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, intangible heritage is defined as:

the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. (UNESCO, 2003)

The 2003 UNESCO Convention on Intangible Cultural Heritage represents a significant improvement over previous efforts by adopting a comprehensive definition that encompasses both entirely intangible cultural phenomena and tangible outcomes of traditional knowledge. The convention highlights the significance of

⁵ The Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore.

processes and traditional knowledge, merging tangible and intangible heritage and differing from anthropological views. While languages are not officially classified as intangible cultural heritage, their essential role in creating and preserving it is acknowledged. The convention explains that while specific languages cannot be nominated individually for intangible cultural heritage lists, they play a crucial role as vehicles for such heritage within communities (Gahtan, Cannata and Sönmez, 2019: 14).

As Amescua (2013: 126) argues regarding intangible cultural heritage, its dynamic nature, rather than its immateriality, defines its intangibility, and this principle also applies to language. It is widely recognized in language studies that all human languages inherently exhibit dynamism through variations and changes over time.

Living languages are therefore challenging to encapsulate or define as singular, static, codifiable, or exhibit-worthy entities. It is precisely this inherent dynamism that becomes constrained or lost in the process of attempting to make the intangible tangible, particularly in the context of observing and documenting languages. This challenge is particularly acute in environments where language standardization has been fully embraced or imposed on the linguistic consciousness of both observers (despite their objective aims) and the speech community, where the standardized form is perceived as the definitive representation of the language. This phenomenon is influenced by various factors, including the observer's paradox, where language behavior changes merely through the act of observation, as well as the inherent selectivity of observation and documentation methods. These complexities pose significant challenges for those seeking to describe, codify, analyze, or present language within a museum setting, as museums must translate intangible heritage into tangible forms for visitors, often through performances, art installations, audiovisual presentations, or written records (with written transcription historically being the primary accessible medium for collectors and language data appropriators until the mid-twentieth century) (Gahtan, Cannata and Sönmez, 2019: 10).

Early collections of written language had limited representations of everyday language forms and practices, while non-written languages were typically depicted through attempts at written transcription. Language standardization, historically and as a pervasive framework guiding language studies, is closely intertwined with the presentation of languages as cultural heritage. Over time, changes in social structures within communities can lead to the development and adoption of new language standards. The efforts during the Early Modern period to standardize language were closely tied to the emerging sense of national identity. The gradual evolution of English into a national and linguistic standard was highlighted in the public exhibition "Evolving English" (2010) at the British Library and the subsequent Winchester English Project that it inspired (Gahtan, Cannata and Sönmez, 2019: 11).

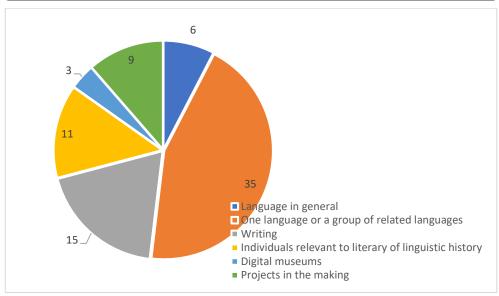
Language museums contribute to broader cultural and political discussions by depicting and explaining standardization and its impacts. Furthermore, stemming from anthropological collecting traditions, language museums can showcase non-standard language forms as integral components of a diverse linguistic heritage. Visitors are encouraged to appreciate the cultural importance of regional, social, and stylistic language variations. Through their inclusion in language museums, non-standard and regional language forms, from historical to contemporary contexts, can be preserved and safeguarded (Gahtan, Cannata and Sönmez, 2019: 11).



Figure 1. Evolving English Exhibition [Internet]. Blogs.bl.uk. 2024. (Retrieved from https://blogs.bl.uk/americas/2010/11/evolving-english-exhibition-.html, Accessed on 9 May 2024)

Language museums are increasingly valued as important venues for recognizing, documenting, and presenting the cultural heritage of diverse speech communities globally. The oldest language museum in the world was opened in 1898 in Norway (by Ivar Aasen, creator of New Norwegian - Nynorsk) and the oldest written culture museum dates from 1884 (the German Book and Writing Museum/ Deutsches Buchund Schriftmuseum in Leipzig).

Ottar Grepstad (2019) identifies around seventy museums worldwide dedicated to language or writing. These museums have diverse focuses, including specific languages or language groups, writing systems, and notable figures in literary or linguistic history. Additionally, there are digital language museums and ongoing museum projects. Although language museums have existed since the late nineteenth century, they have gained significant prominence in the twenty-first century, with slightly more than half established during this period.



Graph 1. Distribution of Language Museums Worldwide according to Topic Source: Grepstad, 2019

Several language museums are located across Europe, including Grimmwelt and Das Museum der Sprachen der Welt in Germany, Mundolingua in Paris, Taalmuseum in the Netherlands, and the Eurotales exhibition in Rome. The MEITS Museum of languages and multilingualism, based in the UK, operates pop-up museums in different cities. Outside Europe, notable language museums include the virtual National Museum of Language in Baltimore and Planet Word in Washington, DC. Museums dedicated to specific languages are primarily found in Europe, often focusing on minority or endangered languages and cultures. Examples include Museums of Celtic in Northern Ireland, the Museum of Gaelic in Blasket Island (EIRE), and various Italian museums dedicated to regional languages like Occitan and Ladin. Esperanto is represented by museums in Austria, Spain, France, the Czech Republic, and China, while Spain has a museum dedicated to Basque in Bilbao. Planning museums for widely spoken languages like French or Spanish has been less documented, although there are museums dedicated to German. Outside Europe, notable language museums include the museum of Afrikaans in South Africa and the 2021 restored Museu da Lengua Portuguesa in São Paulo, Brazil. The Canadian Museum and Museo de Lengua in Argentina, along with Eurotales in Europe, demonstrate universities' active engagement in promoting language knowledge and research through museum initiatives (Gahtan, Cannata and Sönmez, 2019: 18).

4. Museums and "Monuments" of the English language

The English language as we know it today has its origins in the migrations of Germanic tribes from Germany and Denmark, particularly the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, who settled in Britain after the Roman legions departed around 410 AD. This period marked the beginning of Anglo-Saxon England. The term "English" is derived from the Angles, who originated from the Anglian peninsula in Germany. Early forms of written English used runes, a script of vertical and diagonal lines also used in related Germanic languages like Old Norse, Old Saxon, and Old High German. The earliest known English language writings are runic inscriptions found on 5th-century cremation urns discovered at Spong Hill in Norfolk. These inscriptions, which simply read "alu" likely referring to "ale," highlight the cultural significance of ale even in death among the early speakers of Old English. Others have proposed that the "alu" inscription might mean "magic" or "extasy" and that it is suggestive of an Anglo-Saxon tradition related to death and burial practices (see Norfolk Museums. Shine a Light Project, 2014), which remains somewhat unfamiliar to us today⁶.



Figure 2. Anglo-Saxon burial urns with inscriptions. Castle Museum, Norwich *Source*: "Communicating with the Past: Anglo-Saxons, Runes and Ale". Shine a Light, Shine A Light, 11 Feb. 2014.

(Retrieved from www.shinealightproject.wordpress.com/2014/02/11/communicating-with-the-past-anglo-saxons-runes-and-ale/, Accessed on 10 May 2024)

⁶ "Communicating with the Past: Anglo-Saxons, Runes and Ale." *Shine a Light*, Shine A Light, 11 Feb. 2014, www.shinealightproject.wordpress.com/2014/02/11/communicating-with-the-past-anglo-saxons-runes-and-ale/, accessed 10 May 2024.

Additionally, a very interesting example is the Ashmolean Museum (one of the oldest in the world), where the Alfred Jewel is displayed. This exquisite object is thought to have been ordered by King Alfred the Great (849-899 AD) and experts believe it functioned as a pointer for reading.



Figure 3. The Alfred Jewel, believed to be a reading stick.
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

Source: Teaching History with 100 Objects – King Alfred's jewel [Internet]. (Retrieved from http://teachinghistory100.org/objects/for_the_classroom/king_alfreds_jewel, Accessed on 10 May 2024)

Oxford's libraries are renowned worldwide, not only for their unparalleled collections of books and manuscripts but also for their historic buildings, some of which have been in continuous use since the Middle Ages. Among these, the Bodleian Library holds a special position as the principal library of the University of Oxford. Originally opened to scholars in 1602, the Bodleian incorporates an earlier library established by the University in the fifteenth century to house books donated by Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester. The Bodleian Library brochure mentions that since its inception in 1602, the Bodleian has undergone gradual expansion, accelerating over the last 150 years to accommodate the ever-increasing volume of books and papers, while preserving the core of its historic buildings⁷.

In its early years, most of the medieval manuscripts acquired by the Bodleian Library were English, largely due to the dissolution of monasteries and their libraries by Henry VIII. According to the Bodleian Library brochure, Bodley's establishment of the library shortly thereafter was viewed as a way to safeguard this medieval written heritage, earning him the praise of Francis Bacon as a gentleman who preserved learning (Bacon famously said he "built an ark to save learning from deluge". Over time, the Bodleian's collection of English medieval manuscripts expanded significantly, with notable additions like the illuminated manuscripts donated by

⁷ "History of the Bodleian", *Ox.ac.uk*, 2015, www.visit.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/plan-your-visit/history-bodleian, accessed 10 May 2024.

⁸ Ibidem.

Francis Douce, including the renowned *Douce Apocalypse* (which includes texts in Anglo-Norman and Latin). Similarly, Richard Rawlinson's bequest greatly enhanced the Bodleian's collection of Irish manuscripts, which contain important sources for early and medieval Irish history, such as the *Annals of Inisfallen*⁹ (The Bodleian Library brochure).



Figure 4. "Douce Apocalypse - Bodleian Ms180 fol. 001r. Text in Anglo-Norman and Latin. Initial letter "S" with Edward I and Eleanor of Castille kneeling before the Trinity"

(Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Douce_Apocalypse_-_Bodleian_Ms180_fol._001r.jpg, Accessed on 5 May 2024)

The development of books such as grammars and dictionaries in the High Middle Ages in England were important steps in the formalization and documentation of the English language. The first grammars, including Bullokar's *Bref Grammar* (1586) and Mulcaster's First Part of the *Elementarie* (1582), aimed to provide structured linguistic knowledge for schoolchildren and those seeking semantic and orthographic references. Robert Cawdrey's *Table Alphabeticall* (1604) represented an early attempt at compiling a monolingual dictionary, serving as a reference for an expanding vocabulary associated with England's growing commercial influence. Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755) is considered a foundational work in English lexicography, incorporating a large number of definitions and quotations from general language use. Johnson's approach set a precedent for systematic lexicography by integrating real-world language usage into dictionary entries (Gahtan, Cannata and Sönmez, 2019: 4-5).

⁹ Ibidem.

The connection between language data collection and museum establishment was notably exemplified by Sir William Jones (1746-1794). Jones not only authored works on language and grammar but also amassed a significant collection of Sanskrit manuscripts. His involvement in founding the Asiatic Society of Kolkata and its associated museum highlighted the intersection of language scholarship and museum development during this period. The nineteenth century is recognized for its scientific approach to language study, emphasizing systematic methods for describing and preserving languages and their historical evolution. This scholarly era laid the groundwork for modern linguistic methodologies focused on understanding and documenting languages as dynamic cultural artifacts (Gahtan, Cannata and Sönmez 2019: 5).

The establishment and interest in language museums emerged notably in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, coinciding with the recognition of *intangible cultural heritage*. Dedicated language museums are increasingly valued as important venues for acknowledging, documenting, and showcasing the cultural heritage of diverse speech communities, both large and small, within the global museum landscape (Gahtan, Cannata and Sönmez, 2019: 15-17). In the UK, the rich cultural heritage of the English language is transmitted through monuments such as the reconstituted Globe Theatre in London, William Shakespeare's birthplace in Stratford-upon-Avon, the Brontë Parsonage Museum in Haworth or Westminster Abbey, where one can find the burial places of authors such as Chaucer, Dickens, Kipling, and Hardy. It is not a coincidence that two institutions were mentioned which are related to William Shakespeare (1564-1616), one of the greatest contributors to the development of modern English.

English language history textbooks universally recognize the profound impact of two key sources during the final decades of the Renaissance: the works of William Shakespeare (1564–1616) and the King James Bible of 1611. This influence is not solely attributed to the aesthetic beauty or memorability of their language. While famous quotations from these works are ubiquitous, they are less significant in discussions concerning the language's grammar or vocabulary development. For instance, phrases like "To be or not to be" are iconic but do not contribute directly to linguistic evolution. Instead, Shakespeare's linguistic innovations, such as using "obscene" to mean "loathsome" in Richard II, represent groundbreaking developments in English vocabulary. Though Shakespeare might not have been the absolute originator of certain words (like "puppi-dogges"), his usage contributed significantly to their popularization and increased circulation within the language. Shakespeare's primary impact on English language evolution was predominantly in the realm of expanding its lexicon (Crystal, 2019: 62). One of the frequently asked questions about Shakespeare's vocabulary concerns how many words he actually invented. This question is challenging to answer definitively because the basis for assessment relies solely on the "first recorded uses" (FRUs) of words in specific senses, as documented in the OED. These recorded uses do not necessarily reflect personal creative invention. For instance, the euphemistic swear "Sblood" (short for "God's blood") is first recorded in Henry IV, but it is an everyday expression rather than a novel invention. Shakespeare was simply the first person known to have used the word in print. In contrast, when encountering FRUs like "unsex"" (in Macbeth), "unshout" (in Coriolanus), and "uncurse" (in Richard II), we perceive a dramatic and deliberate use of the prefix. According to Crystal (2019: 65), the challenge lies in determining how many FRUs belong to the first kind (everyday expressions) versus the second kind (dramatically inventive usages).

A very interesting project, which unfortunately has not yet been implemented, is the English Language Museum project in Winchester¹⁰. The initiative belongs to Dr. Nicolas Lodge (innovator of media technologies), Professor Christopher Mulvey, and Beryl Pratley (experienced educationalist).

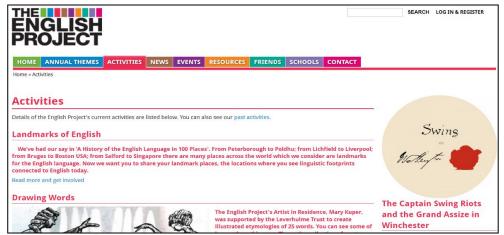


Figure 5. Screenshot of the website of the English Language Museum Project (Retrieved from http://www.englishproject.org/activities, Accessed on 5 May 2024)

The English Project for the English Language aims to showcase English not as a regional or national language but as a global language spoken by nearly two billion people worldwide. The project emphasizes the universal and conservationist aspects of a world-language museum, highlighting the diverse forms of English and the need to preserve endangered varieties spoken by small, isolated groups. The museum's physical presence allows for shared social experiences, enabling visitors to engage in listening and speaking activities, fostering a deeper appreciation for language. Winchester was chosen as the location for the museum because it has played a pivotal role in the history of the English Language, starting from the era when it was the capital of the Kingdom of Wessex, the most influential of the seven Anglo-Saxon kingdoms in the latter part of the heptarchy. The city's influence continued through figures like Jane Austen, who resided in Hampshire and was laid to rest in Winchester Cathedral.

¹⁰ http://www.englishproject.org/resources/english-language-museum-winchester

Another key reason for a physical language museum is the interaction between visitors, technology, and interpreters, exposing people to the fascination of language in ways they may not have previously considered. This engagement is crucial for educating and entertaining visitors while maintaining the museum's operational integrity. While a language website could convey information, a physical museum provides a unique and challenging platform to showcase the distinctiveness of English and its rich history spanning 1600 years.

In the view of the initiators, the presentation of English in this context should embrace its global nature and linguistic diversity, leveraging media technology to effectively convey the vast wealth of material associated with history and the evolution of the language. Through these efforts, the English Project seeks to celebrate and preserve the richness of English as a world-language with no singular national focus, promoting a deeper understanding of its global significance. They also plan to give every visitor the opportunity to directly contribute to the museum via an audio recording such as "My name is, I was born in ..., I am happy to donate this sound bite to the English Project. I will now tell you about the street in which I live...". On exiting the gallery, the visitors would go through a "tunnel" filled with thousands of donated voices, creating a unique and immersive experience.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, the historical narrative of the English language is intricately woven with significant landmarks and institutions that have shaped its evolution and cultural significance. From the migrations of Germanic tribes to Britain in the 5th century, which laid the foundation for Anglo-Saxon England, to the early use of runes and the emergence of written English, the development of the language reflects centuries of cultural interaction and adaptation. Institutions like the Ashmolean Museum and the Bodleian Library have preserved tangible artifacts and manuscripts that provide valuable insights into the linguistic and cultural heritage of early English speakers. The rise of grammars, dictionaries, and lexicography further formalized the English language, culminating in Samuel Johnson's seminal *Dictionary of the English Language*.

Language museums frequently rely heavily on written artifacts and explanations, leading to a crowded visual experience dominated by text. For visitors unfamiliar with the language displayed, translations and explanations provided by the museum in a second language become essential. Museums that exhibit multiple languages often accommodate international visitors by offering translations and explanations in several languages. In the context of language museums, the English Language Museum Project in Winchester exemplifies efforts to showcase English as a global language spoken by diverse communities worldwide.

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The authors

Costel Coroban is an associate professor at the Faculty of Letters of "Ovidius" University of Constanta, where he teaches Intercultural communication, international relations and communication and ESP. He holds a PhD in English Philology from "Ovidius" University of Constanta and a PhD in History from Valahia University of Târgovişte. In 2021 he obtained his habilitation in History, with a focus on cultural history, and joined the Doctoral School in Humanities of "Ovidius" University of Constanta.

Costin-Valentin Oancea is an associate professor at Ovidius University of Constanta. He holds an MA in Applied Linguistics from the University of Bucharest and a PhD in English Linguistics from the same university. He is currently teaching Contemporary English Language seminars, Contemporary American English, Academic Writing, Sociolinguistics and English Practical Courses. His publications include three books, articles published in national and international journals and contributions to conference proceedings. His main research interests include variationist sociolinguistics, sociophonetics, varieties of English, and language contact.