

THE HENRY SWEET SOCIETY

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EDITOR'S NOTE

This issue of the bulletin is again in part a themed issue, this time on the subject of language reform, guest edited and introduced by Andrew Linn (Sheffield). We hope to make this a regular feature of the bulletin, alternating between a themed issue in May and a general issue in November each year, and we would be very pleased to hear from anyone interested in guest editing future bulletins on a theme of their choice. Please just contact the editor by email to make a proposal.

There are a number of important points to note in this bulletin. First, please note the conference programme for the Henry Sweet Society Colloquium, this time being held jointly with our German sister society, the SGdS, in July in Helsinki. We look forward to seeing many of you there!

Secondly, please consider the invitation to nominate yourself (or someone else!) to join the Executive Committee of the Henry Sweet Society. Elections will be held as usual during our Annual General Meeting, on Friday, July 20th, 2007 in Helsinki. As you will see from the formal announcement on p.63, a number of committee members will be standing for re-election at the meeting, and there are also vacancies on the committee. The committee meets two to three times a year, and being a member allows you to help promote our discipline by contributing to the running of the society. It's also an excellent way to make contacts outside one's immediate research area, often the most stimulating kind! We look forward to receiving your nominations (of yourself or of others!), or contact Andrew Linn to find out more about what is involved.

Third, let me remind you again of the Vivien Law Prize (p.76): the deadline for submissions is 30th September, 2007. Do encourage your students to enter their work for this prestigious prize.

Finally, an error in copy-editing meant that we wrongly attributed a translation of Comenius' *NOVISSIMA LINGUARUM METHODUS . LA TOUTE NOUVELLE MÉTHODE DES LANGUES* to Werner Hüllen, who is, as he was very quick to point out, merely the reviewer. My apologies to all concerned, and we reprint the review, this time with the translators correctly noted, in this issue.

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GUEST EDITORIAL

Language reform

One of the reasons we have such a rich legacy of work on language to look back on is the desire people have had throughout history to intervene in language and to change it.

Reforming zeal has many causes. One potent motivation for language reform is dissatisfaction with existing spelling systems. This is a constant theme in the history of English, a particularly striking example of a language whose spelling conventions have been left behind by change in the spoken language internationally. The first grammar of English, William Bullokar's 1586 *Pamphlet for Grammar*, was written using what Bullokar called 'tru orthography', and proposals for spelling reform have come and gone ever since. Serious spelling reform proposals are not just a feature of earlier centuries, and indeed some of the best known and most vigorously pursued proposals for reforming English were the product of the twentieth century, such as the Shavian Alphabet, devised according to the terms of the will of George Bernard Shaw, Cut Spelng, and NuEnglish. Spelling reform has often been pursued by enthusiastic amateurs (as in the three examples just given), and in the absence of official backing has not achieved widespread acceptance. Exceptions do exist, however, such as the 1911 reform of Portuguese orthography and the 1996 official reform of German spelling. There are persuasive arguments for reforming orthography, principally pedagogical and economic ones, and these will continue to be invoked as new proposals are put forward across a range of languages into the future.

More ambitious reform programmes have been adopted and continue to be adopted across the world. Here I am referring in particular to language planning enterprises. The classical example of a planned language, and one particularly close to my own research heart, is Norwegian, but official and semi-official intervention in the language, how it is taught, what variety is taught, and what varieties and forms are granted official status, is not only widespread, but the study of it has really entered the mainstream of Applied Linguistics. Recent years have seen journals, textbooks, themed conferences and so forth emerging in ever-increasing quantities, sure signs that language policy and planning (LPLP) studies have come of age.

More ambitious still is the proposal of entirely new language systems, and members of the Henry Sweet Society have been particularly active in researching 17th-century attempts to create a new universal language, notably in England and France. As with long-established orthographies, most of us are aware of the challenges faced by natural languages in doing what they are supposed to do, communicating clearly and effectively, and the history of our efforts to make sense of natural languages has been the richer through the efforts of those who have sought to introduce what H. Jacob calls in the title of his 1947 book 'a planned auxiliary language'. In his introduction to that book, Sir Richard Gregory (1864–1952) wrote, "In the interest of international communication and the free expression of ideas, it is to be hoped that academic as well as scientific and commercial organizations will assist in the movement towards an agreed auxiliary language". This has not happened, but the

work of reformers continues to enrich the process of linguistic enquiry, despite the fact that it is an enterprise rather outside the mainstream tradition of linguistics.

Other types of reform have attracted the interest of historiographers of linguistics too. The history of language teaching has been particularly thoroughly charted in recent years, not least thanks to the publications of society-members Tony Howatt and Richard C. Smith. Phonetic transcription, often linked to orthographic reform, is another corner of language to have attracted reformers over the centuries (see Kemp 2006 for a summary).

It is a pleasure to be able to introduce two articles in this issue of the *Henry Sweet Society Bulletin*, which have been invited because they add a different dimension to the current body of work on the history of language reform activity. Martin Findell discusses the angelic language of the Renaissance mathematician John Dee (1527-1609), who claimed to have been in communication with angels and to have received revelation in a previously unknown language. This is a would-be universal language, but not one, Dee claims, created by human beings. Findell discusses Dee's angelic alphabet in some detail in an attempt to understand where it is derived from.

Henry Sweet is a more mainstream figure in the history of linguistics, indeed so mainstream that our society is named in his honour. He is well known for his phonetic work, for his work on Anglo Saxon and as a leading figure in the institutionalisation of language study in Britain in the later nineteenth century. In researching his biography of Sweet, Mike MacMahon has unearthed much about the man and his work that has not before been widely recognised, including his work on a new system of musical notation, presented here.

I hope that we will be including articles on the Dutch language-teaching reform movement and on reform in 19th-century Icelandic in future issues of the *Bulletin*. The history of language reform endeavours is endlessly fascinating, as we witness figures from the past really engaging with language, often with passion and commitment, and sometimes not a little eccentricity. We would certainly welcome further contributions on aspects of language reform in the pages of the *Bulletin*.

Kemp, A. 2006. 'Phonetic transcription: history'. In: *The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*. 2nd ed. Ed. by Keith Brown. Oxford: Elsevier. 9: 396-410.

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SPECIAL SECTION: LANGUAGE REFORM**The “Book of Enoch”, the Angelic Alphabet and the “Real Cabbala” in the Angelic Conferences of John Dee (1527-1608/9)****Martin Findell**

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1. Introduction

Despite the wide range of his scholarly interests, John Dee is probably best known (at least in the popular imagination) for a series of seances or magical “actions” conducted during the 1580s and possibly earlier, in which he believed himself to have established contact with angels. The angels entrusted him with esoteric truths in order that he might play a crucial role in the coming Apocalypse and the subsequent redemption of mankind. Vital to this project was the revelation of a holy book written in a previously unknown language (supposedly the language of the angels and of Adam), as well as a magical alphabet into which the text of the book was to be transcribed. The book was supposed to contain prophecy, the interpretation of which would restore human knowledge to the state from which it had fallen over the course of human history.

Dee kept meticulous records of his actions, some of which were published by Meric Casaubon in the mid-seventeenth century (Dee, 1659), probably with the intention of discrediting Dee as either a conjuror of demons or the dupe of his medium, the disreputable Edward Kelley (French, 1972:4-19). Diaries covering an earlier period (March 1582-May 1583) were subsequently discovered hidden in a chest along with several other works, and eventually came into the possession of Elias Ashmole (1617-1692) (Harkness, 1996:717-718; Peterson, 2003:48-49). These are bound in Sloane MS. 3188, an edition of which was recently published by Joseph Peterson (2003). The present discussion is based primarily on this manuscript, as it is here that Dee relates the revelation of the “angelic book” and the first part of its contents (the remainder, written up by Kelley at a later date, is in Sloane MS. 3189). A series of prophetic “calls” known as the *48 Claves angelicæ* (Sloane MS. 3191) form a further important source of material in the angelic language. Because the *Claves* are accompanied by an English gloss, they seem to offer a key to the mysterious language of the angels, and have consequently been of particular interest to later generations of magicians (Magickal Review website). Donald Laycock’s (1994) “dictionary” of angelic words and their English equivalents is based exclusively on the *Claves angelicæ*, rather than on any analysis of the unglossed material. It is not my intention here to fill this gap by analysing the angelic text in detail, and I restrict my comments about the language to the first part of the “angelic book”. The early text is of especial interest because it differs in nature from the later material (i.e., the contents of Sloane MS. 3189) and reveals the process of development of the work. This

material and the angelic alphabet – which are analysed in more detail below (sections 4 and 5) – yield valuable insights into the nature of Dee’s language project and its relationship to other Renaissance magical movements, in which the imminence of the Apocalypse and the urgent need to regain lost knowledge emerge as key themes.

2. *The “Book of Enoch” or Liber Logaeth*

The holy book dictated to Dee by the archangel Raphael is composed of 49 leaves, each folio of which contains a table or grid of 49x49 cells. The diaries in Sloane MS. 3188 describe and record the contents of the first leaf (two folios, i.e., a total of $(2 \times 49 \times 49) = 4802$ cells). Here, each cell was to be filled with a number of letters, usually representing a word (although in some cases a cell contains two words, or a word may be spread across several cells). In the diaries, however, the lines are simply written out “at large” as they were dictated. The pattern changes in the last 9 lines of the second folio; these have only one letter per cell and are laid out in a grid in the manuscript (Sloane 3188 fol.85v; Peterson (2003:343) has not drawn the grid).

The first leaf is far from perfect in its structure. For each folio, 12 of the 49 lines contain more or fewer than 49 words; the shortest has 35, the longest 59. Leaves 2-48 (leaf 49 was never revealed to Dee) are written in table form (Sloane MS. 3189), with one letter per cell, like the final lines of the first leaf. All of the material is written in the Roman rather than the angelic alphabet. Despite repeated admonitions from the angels to “lerne those holy letters ... in memory” (Peterson, 2003:274), neither Dee nor Kelley seems to have been willing to do so, let alone to undertake the laborious task of transcription.

The identities of the book and of the angelic language are rather complex and warrant some discussion at this point. Both are associated with the prophet Enoch and the lost book of scripture attributed to him, the text of which was known in Dee’s lifetime only through a quotation in the New Testament:

Enoch the seuenth from Adam prophesied before of such, sayinge. “Beholde, the Lorde shall come with thousands of saynetes, to geue iudgement against all men, and to rebuke all that are ungodly amonge them of all their ungodly dedes, which they haue ungodly committed, and of all their cruell speakynges, which ungodly sinners haue spoken against hym. (Jude 1:14-15¹)

The book quoted in the Epistle to Jude is known today as *I Enoch*, an Ethiopic version of which was “rediscovered” by European scholars in the eighteenth century (Barker, 1988:5-16). According to tradition, Enoch was able to communicate with the

¹ I have quoted the text from the 1539 Great Bible. Dee preferred to read Scripture in Latin; he did not own an English Bible, and when he cites Scripture in English, the translation is his own (Roberts and Watson, 1990:27). The Vulgate text (VulSearch 4.1.5 electronic edition) reads:

¹⁴Prophetavit autem et his septimus ab Adam Enoch, dicens: Ecce venit Dominus in sanctis millibus suis ¹⁵facere iudicium contra omnes, et arguere omnes impios de omnibus operibus impietatis eorum, quibus impie egerunt, et de omnibus duris, quae locuti sunt contra Deum peccatores impii.

angels; he was translated to Heaven without dying (Hbr. 11:5); and he is supposed to be one of the two prophets who fight against the Beast in Revelation (11:3-12), the other being Elijah (the prophets are not named in the text of Revelation itself). Later commentators often refer to Dee's angelic book as the "Book of Enoch", an identification which is not clear from the early diaries. Dee was certainly aware of the lost scripture, about which he questions the spirit called Il in the action of 18 April 1583 (Peterson, 2003:354-355). The references to Enoch and his book in this conversation are ambiguous, however. Clearer evidence can be found in a diary entry from 10 April 1586 (Josten, 1965:247-255), written during Dee's travels on the Continent, when he and Kelley enlisted the angels' help in avoiding the unwelcome attention of the Catholic authorities. In a list of notebooks and manuscripts which they were instructed to destroy (some of which were miraculously restored at a later date), Dee mentions one that "contained that wisdom and science, with which Enoch (by God's will) was imbued" (Josten, 1965:249 – according to Josten, the item in question is Sloane MS. 3189). Later, Dee refers to another document (which he was instructed not to burn), as "a small part of the book of Enoch which Thou [Dee's unidentified divine interlocutor] hast given me" (Josten, 1965:254). These references imply that Dee did believe that he had in his possession at least a part of the lost *Book of Enoch*, which can be identified with the angelic book revealed in 1583.

To complicate matters further, the book is referred to elsewhere by titles in the angelic language. In the action of 6 April 1583, Kelley is shown the book with a covering of blue silk, upon which in gold lettering is written *Amzes naghézes Hardeh*, which apparently means, "the universall name of him that created universally be prayed and extolled for euer." (Peterson, 2003:325). Ashmole inferred that this was the title of the book (Peterson, 2003:x), although this is not clear from the diary itself. The title later given (at least, to the material contained in Sloane MS. 3189) by the angels themselves is *Logaeth*, "which in your Language signifieth *speech from GOD*" (Dee, 1659:19).

Since the book is identified with Enoch, the angelic language is often referred to by later writers (though never by Dee) as "Enochian". Confusingly, Peterson (2003:37) calls the language of *Logaeth* "Enochian", but elsewhere implies that this label should be applied to a distinct language which appeared in later works (2003:32). Laycock makes a clearer distinction between the earlier angelic language of *Logaeth* and the "true" Enochian language of the *Claues*, which he suggests is somehow generated from the earlier material (1994:29-35, 39-44). He does not suggest any mechanism to link the two, however, and his criteria for distinguishing them from one another are largely impressionistic.

3. Cryptography and Cabbala

The practice of manipulating the alphabet for magical purposes has a history stretching back into antiquity, but in the sixteenth century it gained new impetus from the adaptation of Jewish Cabbalistic techniques by Christian writers like Johannes Reuchlin (1455-1522) and Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa (1486?-1535) (Scholem, 1974:196-201; Maxwell-Stuart, 1999; Léon-Jones, 2006:149-151). These techniques,

which are themselves at least partly based on Greek alphabet-magic, promised access to higher knowledge through an understanding of the correspondences between letters, numbers, and elements of the natural and supernatural worlds. Names and sounds were central to magical operations, the principle being that by discovering the name with which a thing was originally created by God, it was possible to influence that thing (be it a part of the natural world, a human being, or a spirit). In his *Conclusiones sive theses DCCCC* (1486; Kieszowski, 1973), Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494) included 26 conclusions on magic, in which he stated that “Sounds and words have efficacy in a magical operation because that by which Nature works magic ... is the voice of God” (translated by Maxwell-Stuart, 1999:147).

Magical writings of the Renaissance period contain an abundance of letter-tables, many of which employ shifts or specific permutations of the alphabet based on Cabbalistic techniques for discovering holy names (Reeds, 2006:196-201). Dee’s interest in alphabetic gymnastics of this kind is well known, and forms part of the background to his ambitious *Monas Hieroglyphica*, published in 1564 (Josten, 1964). In this highly influential work he asserts that there is, beyond the Hebrew Cabbala, a “real Cabbala” based on the pure quality of number. This is applicable not only to Hebrew but to all languages and scripts; a fact which Dee offers as proof that “the same most benevolent God is not only [the God] of the Jews, but of all peoples, nations, and languages” (Josten, 1964:133). He claimed that his “monad” (a complex figure based on the symbol for Mercury – see fig.1) could be used to demonstrate that the forms and sequences of the letters of “all three” alphabets (Latin, Greek and Hebrew), as well as the symbols and concepts of astrology and alchemy, had a rational basis. What Dee claimed to have achieved, some fifteen years before he began trying to contact angels, was a means of unifying all knowledge based on a Pythagorean understanding of number as “the indisputable, fundamental component of what exists” (Léon-Jones, 2006:150). This mystical fascination with number was well established in Renaissance occult philosophy – among his conclusions on mathematics, Pico asserted that “Through numbers is to be had a way to the investigation and understanding of all knowable things” (Kieszowski, 1973:74; my translation). Agrippa was similarly enthusiastic:



Figure 1: Dee's monad

The Doctrines of Mathematicks are so necessary to, and have such an affinity with Magick, that they that do profess it without them, are quite out of the way, and labour in vain, and shall in no wise obtain their desired effect. (Agrippa, II.i (1650:167))

The manipulation of letters on mathematical principles naturally calls to mind the art of cryptography, and it is no surprise to find Dee taking an interest in texts which deal with ciphers as well as magic. In 1563 he went to considerable lengths to obtain a manuscript copy of Trithemius’ *Steganographia*, a work written c.1500 but first published in 1606 and placed on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* shortly afterwards because it (apparently) advocated the practice of angel-magic (Bailey, 1879; Reeds, 1998). The work outlines procedures for sending secret messages by

invoking certain angels with formulae written in what appears to be an unknown language, e.g. “Padiel aporsy mesarpon omeuas peludyn malpreaxo...” (Caramuel, 1635:24). As many readers realised, these formulae contain ordinary texts hidden steganographically, with the names of the angels (or rather, the order of these names in a list given in the first chapter) providing the key to the recovery of the text. In the above example, Padiel is the second of the angels listed, and the hidden message is revealed by reading every second letter of every second word. So, from “padiel aPoRsY mesarpon oMeUaS peludyn mAlPrEaXo...” we can extract the Latin plaintext *primus apex*. Some of the hidden messages also use simple substitution ciphers (Reeds, 1998:3).

There has been much debate about the true nature and purpose of *Steganographia* – whether it is “really” a treatise on cryptography disguised as an occult work, or a manual of angel-magic disguised as a book of cryptography. The former position is generally favoured by scholars, perhaps under the influence of Juan Caramuel (1608-1682) and other seventeenth-century redactors of the work, who were keen to dissociate Trithemius from the practice of sorcery. Many modern writers have followed Walker (1958:86-90) in arguing that the presence of the cryptograms in books I and II of *Steganographia* demonstrates that the author’s purpose here was cryptological, while the third book is genuinely occult as it does not contain this kind of material. However, more recent work (Reeds, 1998) shows that book III does in fact contain ciphers, although the key is based on a table of numbers rather than on the names of angels; Walker’s position is therefore no longer tenable.

It seems to me that there is little point in being dogmatic about Trithemius’ intentions; I see no reason why the work must be understood to be about either cryptography or magic, but not both. As has been mentioned, Renaissance magic utilises Cabbalistic techniques of letter substitution and transposition – the same operations used in cryptography – for generating magical names, words and formulae. It must also be remembered that in the sixteenth century, mathematics (which underlies all such techniques) was viewed with deep suspicion – at least by the uneducated (French, 1972:5) – and it was regarded by magicians as fundamental to their operations, as the quotes from Agrippa and Pico illustrate. Furthermore, there was in this period no formal division between the occult sciences and what we would now regard as “modern science”: the boundaries between alchemy and chemistry, astrology and astronomy, mathematics and mathesis (the number mysticism which fascinated Dee) were blurred or absent. The impulse of scholars like Dee was not to discriminate but to synthesise, and ultimately to uncover the mystical key which would unite all the sciences.

There remains an unanswered question in respect of the invocations in *Steganographia*: What is the source of the nonsensical text which covers the hidden message? Regardless of whether it functions purely as “noise” to conceal a message or is intended to have some genuine magical effect, it must have been generated somehow; perhaps it is connected with the angel-names themselves, or with the numbers appearing alongside them in the list indicating the times and seasons governed by those angels. Trithemius makes no special claims about it (e.g., that it is the Adamic language); but the fact that he uses this sort of material to conceal the message, rather than an innocuous-looking piece of Latin, would seem to suggest that

this pseudo-language is considered to be an appropriate form for magical incantations (see section 5, below).

Given Dee's interest in the book (which is evident from the great effort which he undertook to obtain a copy (Bailey, 1897:402)) and the superficial resemblance between his angelic texts and Trithemius' invocations, it is conceivable that there is some link between the two. Admittedly, the resemblance does not necessarily go any further than that both are ostensible nonsense purporting to be some kind of special, magical language associated with angels. Laycock states that Trithemius' mystical language "in some ways resembles Enochian" (1994:57), but he does not elaborate. The possibility naturally presents itself that, if messages are hidden in the invocations of *Steganographia*, perhaps *Logaeth* also contains cryptograms. The general consensus is that this is not the case. Laycock alludes to unfruitful attempts by modern occultists to apply Trithemius' methods to Dee's angelic text, though again he does not go into any detail. Reeds (2006:197) notes that the tables of *Logaeth* do not conform to any mathematical pattern (in contrast to those of *Steganographia* and other magical texts). Moreover, the evidence of the diaries suggests that Dee was entirely sincere in his belief in *Logaeth* as a text of prophecy written in a genuine "angelic" language; it is not simply a "noise" channel concealing a message. Finally, the diary entries indicate that the book was dictated spontaneously by Kelley while in a trance, so any secret messages hidden within it would be Kelley's, not Dee's, and the ciphertext would have to have been either prepared and memorised in advance of the action or else generated *ex tempore* during it. I hesitate to suggest that either of these feats is impossible, but they would certainly require some prodigious skill on Kelley's part. On balance, it is probably safe to reject the idea of *Logaeth* as cryptography.

4. The angelic alphabet

The alphabet revealed by Raphael on 26 March 1583 (Peterson, 2003:268-271) does appear to show signs of deliberate organisation:

Letter	Name	Roman value	Letter	Name	Roman value	Letter	Name	Roman value
V	PA	B	ϵ	TAL	M	Γ	PAL	X
⊖	VEH	C	⌒	GON	I	⌒	MED	O
⊖	GED	G	∞	NA	H	ϵ	DON	R
∞	GAL	D	ϵ	UR	L	⊖	KEPH	Z
⌒	OR	F	⌒	MALS	P	⌒	VAN	U
⌒	UN	A	⌒	GER	Q	⌒	FAM	S
⌒	GRAPH	E	⌒	DRUX	N	⌒	GISG	T

Slight modifications to the letter-forms (though not to the names, the values or the order) were made in subsequent actions. (The forms in the above table are the later, modified versions, displayed in a font downloaded from the Magickal Review website). The values of the letters (that is to say, their equivalents in the Roman alphabet) were not given directly to Dee by the angels; at the end of the diary entry in

which the letter-names and the first line of the text are dictated, Dee writes out the angelic letters with their Roman equivalents and a marginal note “Thus I deciphred them after a day or two or three” (Peterson, 2003:271). He does not explain how the deciphering was carried out. The first two lines of the text were dictated letter by letter, then read out in full; Dee could have deduced the letter values from the pronunciation, as all of the letters except Q are present in these two lines. He would have to have overcome some discrepancies between spelled and pronounced forms; when Dee points these out to Raphael, the archangel becomes decidedly peevish (Peterson, 2003:288-296).

Laycock does not have a great deal to say about the alphabet, though he makes much (far too much, in my view) of a slight stylistic resemblance to Ethiopic, and even goes so far as to speculate that Dee might have had in his possession a copy of the Ethiopic *Book of Enoch* (Laycock, 1994:28) – a suggestion for which there is no supporting evidence whatsoever. This text was scarcely known outside Ethiopia until the mid-eighteenth century – not, as Laycock states, the seventeenth. Here Laycock has confused the “discovery” of the Ethiopic Enoch by James Bruce with the publication of fragmentary quotations from a Greek version of *1 Enoch* by J. Scaliger in 1658 (Barker, 1988:8-11). There are earlier reports of contact with the Ethiopic text – Guillaume Postel wrote in his *De originibus* (1553) that in Rome he had met an Abyssinian priest who showed him a copy and explained its contents (Schmidt, 1922:50). Pico is said to have owned a copy of the book of Enoch, though there is no direct evidence that this was the case, and Schmidt’s claim (1922:46-47) that this might have been the Ethiopic rather than a Hebrew or Greek version is unfounded. It seems highly unlikely, therefore, that even so remarkable a library as Dee’s would by chance have contained a copy which mysteriously made its way from Africa to England and of which there does not appear to be any trace in Dee’s writings, the (admittedly incomplete) catalogues of his books (Roberts & Watson, 1990), or in fact anywhere else. He may well have been aware of Postel’s anecdote about the Abyssinian priest, since Dee did own a copy of *De originibus* (no. 868 in Roberts and Watson’s edition of Dee’s catalogue).

With regard to the inventory of letters, the angelic alphabet is simply an alternate Roman alphabet (although there are only 21 characters, in comparison with the usual 23-letter Roman alphabet – the redundant letters K and Y are omitted). Dee reports that after Raphael dictated the letters by name, “there cam two lines and parted the 21 letters into 3 partes, eche being of 7” (Peterson, 2003:270). Each of these groups of 7 letters is a reordering of the equivalent sequence in the 21-letter Roman alphabet, with one exception – O is in the third group and Q in the second²:

Roman (with O/Q exchanged)	ABCDEFGH	HILMNPQ	ORSTUXZ
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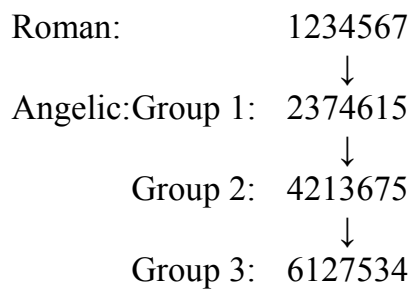
² Given that Q is the only letter not present in the first two lines of the text, this discrepancy may be significant. If we hypothesise that the threefold division of the Roman alphabet is to be preserved and that Dee made an error in his decipherment, groups 2 and 3 of the angelic alphabet would read MIHLPON and XQRZUST. Translated into numbers, as on the following page, the order of group 3 is unaffected and group 2 would have a sequence 4213765. Even with this alteration, the hypotheses presented below would still be unproductive.

Angelic	BCGDFAE	MIHLPQN	XORZUST
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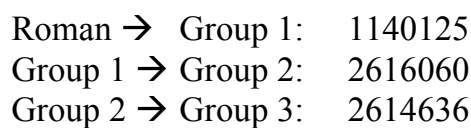
This correspondence suggests that the angelic alphabet may have been generated algorithmically from the Roman alphabet in some way dependent on the threefold division. As a first hypothesis, let us suppose that each group of seven Roman letters undergoes some specific permutation in order to generate the equivalent group of angelic letters. If this is so, when we replace the letters of the groups with the numbers 1-7 (based on the conventional order – A=1, B=2...G=7; H=1, I=2...Q=7; O=1, R=2...Z=7), the number sequence should be the same for each of the three groups. It is immediately apparent that this is not the case:

	Group 1 (A-G)	Group 2 (H-Q)	Group 3 (O-Z)
Roman	1234567	1234567	1234567
Angelic	2374615	4213675	6127534

Another possibility is that each of the three group orderings is generated from the preceding one, the first group being generated from the Roman ordering, i.e.:



The progression from one sequence to the next can be expressed in terms of the difference between the input and output for each number in the sequence (in other words, by subtracting modulo 7). For example, the first digit of group 1 is 2, while the first digit of the Roman ordering is 1, which gives us a difference of 1. The results of this procedure are as follows:



If this hypothesis were correct, each of these three sets of differences should be identical, since the algorithm governing the procedure would be the same in each case. Although the hypothesis as it stands is evidently false for the whole set, it does appear to work for the first three letters of the transitions between the groups (though not for Roman → Group 1). The transition BCG → MIH is, in terms of modular arithmetic, equivalent to the transition MIH → XOR. It is highly tempting to conclude that this correspondence has some significance; however, it is equally plausible (and, since I have been unable to develop any consistent solution on this basis, perhaps more so) that it is merely a chimaera.

The division of the alphabet into three produces another noteworthy feature which might be the result of deliberate organisation. Within each group of 7 letters there is one which occupies the same ordinal position in both the Roman and angelic alphabets. These are D (group 1, position 4), I (group 2, position 2), and U (group 3, position 5). These three letters together spell the Latin word *diū* “by day; for a long time”. If the pattern is intentional, *diū* could perhaps be a reference to the coming of the day of redemption after long ages of mankind’s suffering; though this connection is tenuous at best. A more promising alternative would be to construe the “stationary” letters as D and the Roman numeral IV – D being the fourth letter not only of the Roman and angelic alphabets, but also of the Greek and Hebrew; and, of course, Roman D is homophonous with the philosopher’s name. In his diaries, notes and elsewhere, Dee usually signs his name with a Greek Δ. His letter to Emperor Rudolf II (17 August 1584) mentions that “[I am symbolized by] the fourth letter of each of the three [*sc.* the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin] alphabets” (Josten, 1964:93, n.50), which Dee links to the fact that Rudolf is the fourth Holy Roman Emperor with whom he has been involved.

A further possibility is that all three letters are supposed to stand for Roman numerals, giving DIV = 504. This number has various properties that might appeal to a student of mathesis. It is the product of 7 and 72, both of which are prominent in mystical and occult tradition (for example, Cabbalists say that God has 72 names, of which 7 are especially important; the Septuagint (the Greek translation of Hebrew scriptures) was supposed to have been produced by 72 scholars; there are 7 planets in astrology, with whose influences the 7 metals of alchemy are associated, and which are said to be governed by 7 angelic intelligences; and, of course, the angelic alphabet contains groups of 7 letters). 504 is also a multiple of the total number of letters in the angelic alphabet ($21 \times 24 = 504$), and a multiple of the Pythagorean sum of 7 ($1+2+3+4+5+6+7=28$; $28 \times 18 = 504$). A set of 7 elements, such as the letter-groups of the angelic alphabet, can be combined in 5040 different ways, or 504 multiplied by the Pythagorean sum of 4 ($1+2+3+4=10$), which plays an important role in the *Monas Hieroglyphica* (Josten, 1964:209). It is doubtful whether Dee would have been aware of the general principle that a set of n elements has $n!$ permutations; work on permutations and combinatorics had been done by Chinese and Indian mathematicians, but was not known in the West until the publication of Leibniz’ *De arte combinatoria* (1666) (Cooke, 2004:215). On the other hand, it is no accident that the *Monas* contains 24 theorems; these are based, according to Léon-Jones (2006:150) on the 24 Metatheses (i.e., permutations) of the Pythagorean Quaternary ($4! = 24$). Dee may have also known, therefore, that the Septenary has 5040 Metatheses.

A further connection between this number and the numerology of the *Monas* can be found in that work’s seventeenth theorem (Josten, 1964:172-175; Léon-Jones, 2006:154). Here Dee synthesises the conclusions of earlier theorems to produce the significant number 252, which he associates with the philosopher’s stone and “which number we recommend beginners in the cabbala to explore, for we can deduce it from our premises in yet two other ways, here omitted for the sake of brevity” (Josten, 1964:175). This number, which was evidently of considerable Cabbalistic value, can be doubled to produce 504.

These and other correspondences are terribly beguiling, and are precisely the sort of thing that would have appealed to Dee, with his love of number and his belief in it as the key to the “real Cabbala”. The letters DIU offer us an opportunity to link Dee’s own name and identity to his earlier work in the *Monas Hieroglyphica*, to the Pythagorean Quaternary, to the *lapis philosophorum*, and to the holy alphabet and the revealed book of prophecy itself, the book which Dee believed was to play a crucial role in the coming Apocalypse. Entertaining as it is to speculate that these letters form a key to the ordering of the alphabet, I have had no success in identifying any way to use this hypothetical key to link the 7-letter groups either to one another or to their corresponding groups in the Roman alphabet. If the patterns identified here are genuinely involved in the construction of the angelic alphabet (and I doubt that this is the case), I am forced to admit defeat, at least for the time being, in my efforts to determine the method used.

The ordering of the angelic alphabet does have some similarities to the “three alphabets” known to Dee. The sequence BCGD at the beginning is reminiscent of the Greek and Hebrew ordering BGD (ΒΓΔ, בגד); the final pair ST is also final in Hebrew (שׂת); and the vowels appear in the same order as in the Roman alphabet, AEIOU. That the alphabet begins with B, the second letter of the Roman, Greek and Hebrew alphabets, may be connected with the Cabbalistic significance of this letter (*bet*) as the first letter of Genesis 1:1 (*bereshit elohim* “God created”); in this connection, Léon-Jones notes that from a Pythagorean perspective, “two is the first number, since one is the basis of number” (2006:151). There is clearly some common ground, but no systematic relationship with any of the three “natural” alphabets is evident.

In summary, the angelic alphabet contains various patterns which appear to suggest some method in its arrangement, but I have been unable to uncover any consistent organisation. The patterns may simply be consequences of the fact that Dee and Kelley were working in an environment filled with alternate alphabets of various kinds. Surrounded as they were by tables of commutation such as those found in Agrippa’s *De occulta philosophia* (1650 [1533]) or the anonymous *Soyga* (Reeds, 2006), it is quite plausible that they might unconsciously have produced an alphabet with structural similarities to others, natural and artificial. The DIU pattern is harder to explain. I suspect that it is no more than a happy coincidence or an artefact of the transposition; but it may yet turn out to have some greater significance.

Much as Dee loved magical alphabets and alphabet-manipulation, he was not necessarily always committed to the complete exposition of an idea. For example, in the preface to the *Monas Hieroglyphica* he asserts that “Reasons must be given for the shapes of the letters, for their position, for their place in the order of the alphabet ..., for their numerical value” (Josten, 1964:123) and goes on to discuss the mysteries of the alphabet at some length, claiming that his theorems justify the forms and positions of the letters. In the body of the work, however, he offers explanations for the letters X and V and L only (Josten, 1964:159, 169-173); since these explanations rely on the values of the letters as Roman numerals, it is difficult to see how the principle might be extended to the rest.

5. *The angelic language*

I do not propose here to present a detailed analysis of the angelic “language” itself. From my examination of the first leaf of the *Liber Logaeth*, I am inclined to agree with Laycock’s conclusion (1994:29-35) that it displays a number of features characteristic of glossolalia (Goodman, 1972; Williams, 1981:169-191). Firstly, the phonology and phonotactics of the angelic utterances present few difficulties to an English speaker. This behaviour conforms to what we would expect from an English-speaking glossolalist. (The text does contain a few unusual consonant clusters (e.g. *excol-phagmartbh* (Laycock, 1994:33; Peterson, 2003:315); note that <ph> is pronounced [f], as in English and Latin, and is used interchangeably with <f> in several places). Secondly, the angelic text exhibits repetition, rhyme and alliteration throughout. Some lines are highly repetitive, e.g. *umas ges umas umas ges gabre umas umáscala um’phazes umphagám* (Laycock, 1994:33; Peterson, 2003:312-313). Others contain “paradigmatic” variation of the sort found in glossolalia: compare Kelley’s *quamsa ol danfa dot santa on anma* (Laycock, 1994:33; Peterson, 2003:339) with patterns like *sante...shante...sante...kante*, observed by Williams in the utterances of a modern glossolalist (1981:170).

Over the course of the revelation, the individual utterances (the lines of the angelic book) become noticeably briefer. The second page of the first leaf contains many places where a single word is spread across several cells (indicated by underscoring in the manuscript), and later lines are composed largely of monosyllables. In the last 9 lines of the second page, polysyllabic words reappear, but there are fewer of them as the lines fall into the pattern of one letter per cell, with word boundaries indicated by commas in the manuscript. The final line consists of only 6 words, *ganfúmarabómonah, gástages, órdolph, naqas, orgemvah, noxad* (Peterson, 2003:343). One is left with the impression that Kelley’s utterances became gradually more like fluent glossolalia and less like (simulated or real) language; or perhaps he was simply tiring of the exercise and eager to reach the end.

Occasionally, the angels offer a tantalising glimpse into the meaning of the text by revealing the translation of a word or phrase. English or Latin equivalents (often complex phrases) are given for just 28 words of the first leaf, e.g., *argedco* “with humility we call you, with adoration of the Trinity” (Peterson, 2003:310, n.266). Only one piece of explicitly grammatical information is given – the word *Befes* is supposed to represent the vocative case of *Befafes* (the name of an angel mentioned earlier in the diaries). Throughout the process of revelation, hints like these are dropped from time to time, with nothing of substance ever being revealed. The information given is enough to persuade Dee of the book’s importance, and to encourage the expectation that the full meaning would be made known when the time was right.

Another of the many unanswered questions surrounding Dee’s angel-magic is that of why angels should be expected to speak a tongue unlike any human language. Most Renaissance authors on the subject of communication with angels and demons assumed either that it was silent (impressions being transferred directly between minds) or that the spirits used the languages of their mortal interlocutors. In the sixteenth century it was widely believed that the language of Adam and of God was Hebrew, “because that was and came from heaven ... and seeing all tongues have, and

do undergo various mutations, and corruptions, this alone doth alwaies continue inviolated” (Agrippa, III.xxiii (1650:412-413)). This belief is implicit in Cabbalistic magic, an axiom of which is that any created thing (including angels) can be influenced by invoking its original name. Angel-names in Jewish Cabbalistic texts (carried over into Christian Cabbala) usually consist of the Hebrew word for whatever power or quality is the angel’s province, with the suffix *-el* “God”, e.g. *Raphael* “physician (or medicine) of God”, cf. Heb. *rafa’* (רפא) “to heal”.

On the other hand, there does seem to have been an established practice of using exotic pseudo-language in magical incantations such as those found in *Steganographia*. In his 26 conclusions on magic, Pico states:

21. Meaningless sounds have more power than meaningful.
22. No significant names, in as much as they are names ..., can have power in a magical operation unless they are Hebrew or closely derived therefrom. (quoted and translated by Maxwell-Stuart, 1999:147).

Pico’s comments suggest that in magical operations it was not unusual to intermix Hebrew names with nonsensical or pseudo-linguistic utterances. Perhaps this is why Dee was so ready to accept the notion of a mysterious angelic language, rather than expecting or requiring the holy book to be written in Hebrew. He may well have been relieved, since by his own admission he was “not good in the hebrue tung” (Peterson, 2003:112; for bibliographical evidence of Dee’s limited grasp of Hebrew, see also Roberts and Watson, 1990:29).

6. *Dee and the Rosicrucians*

Dee’s concerns and his hope of discovering the key to forgotten knowledge continued to appeal to subsequent generations of scholars. The anonymous Rosicrucian manifestos (*Fama Fraternitatis* (1614); *Confessio Fraternitatis R.C.* (1615) - both published in English translation by Yates, 1972:235-260), which sparked a ferocious controversy in the early seventeenth century, were strongly influenced by Dee’s ideas. The *Confessio* was published together with a Latin tract entitled *Secretioris Philosophiae Consideratio brevis* “A Brief Consideration of More Secret Philosophy”, which quotes the *Monas Hieroglyphica* at length (Yates, 1972:30-40); the “secret philosophy” to which it refers is Dee’s “real Cabbala”.

Dee’s angelic conferences were not widely publicised until the appearance of Casaubon’s *True and Faithful Relation* in 1659, although his activities were certainly known to scholars and occultists who encountered him and Kelley during their adventures on the Continent between 1583 and 1587. There is, however, no mention of angel-magic in the manifestos and no indication that their authors had any particular interest in contacting spirits. They did, however, share Dee’s enthusiasm for magical language and the rediscovery of books of wisdom. The secret knowledge of the Rosicrucians was supposedly contained in volumes such as “the book M.”, which were found in a secret vault where they had been placed by the order’s founder, Christian Rosencreutz (Yates, 1972:245-249).

Though the authors of the manifestos identify their philosophy with the wisdom of Adam, Moses and Solomon, the magical language which they claim to know is not that of Adam and Enoch, but a new one constructed by the members of the Fraternity. The authority claimed by the Rosicrucian authors for their books and their secret language is based on an appeal to logical and philosophical perfection, rather than to divine origin. The Rosicrucian notion of a “magical language” expresses an idea more closely related to other seventeenth-century language projects like those of George Dalgarno (c.1616-1687) or John Wilkins (1614-1672) (Salmon, 1979:97-126; Shumaker, 1982:132-172). Nevertheless, the influence of Dee is evident, and he was believed by many seventeenth-century occultists to have been a member of the (probably fictitious) order. In 1652 Ashmole received a communication from a Mr. Townesend who claimed that Dee was a member of “y^e Brotherhood of y^e R. CR.” (quoted by French, 1972:14), and that he “was accused to haue stoll’n the booke he owned called Monas Hyeroglifica out of All Sowles Colledg in Oxford” (quoted by Josten, 1966:603, n.2). Townesend’s allegation of theft is intended to imply that the *Monas* is older and therefore more distinguished than if it were accepted as Dee’s own work. It is not impossible that, in Townesend’s mind or perhaps even in those of the manifesto-writers, the *Monas* is to be identified with the mysterious “book M.,” said to have been written by the founders of the Fraternity some time in the fifteenth century (Yates, 1972:242). If this was Townesend’s belief, then it would have been necessary for him to deny Dee’s authorship.

7. Conclusion

Much as I would like to be able to claim a breakthrough in “deciphering” the alphabet or the text of *Logaeth*, my explorations have led me to conclude that there is probably no cipher to be broken. Beguiling as they are, the structural patterns in the angelic alphabet lack consistency, and I suspect that they reflect the organisation of other alphabets with which Dee and Kelley were familiar in the writings of magicians and occult philosophers such as Agrippa. Given the method of revelation, it is to be expected that the alphabet would emerge from Kelley’s subconscious (unless we choose to ascribe it to a genuinely supernatural source), and so would bear similarities to other alphabets without having any coherent structure of its own. The DIU pattern is highly attractive; nevertheless, I suspect that it is nothing more than an illusion, albeit an extremely fortuitous one. If it does represent a key to the arrangement of the angelic alphabet, I am at a loss to explain how it might work.

Although Dee’s actions have parallels with earlier magical operations, his acquisition of what he believed was a book of prophecy in a special holy language stands out from the activities of other occult philosophers of his day, and forms a vital part of his lifelong search for the “real Cabbala” of the *Monas*. It was a commonplace of Renaissance theology that the state of human knowledge had been in continuous decay since the Fall (Harkness, 1996:727; 2006:277-278), and students of the occult sciences hoped to rediscover what had been lost in order to hasten the redemption of mankind. Dee, like many of his contemporaries, believed that the last days of the world were at hand – a belief expressed frequently in the pronouncements of the

angels. The revelation of the *Liber Logaeth* made Dee the custodian of precious knowledge and confirmed his central role in the eschatological drama presented by the angels (Harkness, 1996:732-733). In the action of 5 May 1583, Uriel explains the significance of the book in terms that leave no room for doubt:

Oute of this, shall be restored the holy bokes, which haue perished euen from the begynning, and from the first that liued. And herein shalbe deciphred perfect truth from imperfect falshode, True religion from fals and damnable errors, With all Artes; which are propre to the use of man, the first and sanctified perfection: Which when it hath spred a While, THEN COMETH THE ENDE. (Peterson, 2003:395. Dee's emphasis)

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- only to the diary entries. The pages of Casaubon's lengthy preface are not numbered.]
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Online Resources

The Magickal Review (contains online facsimiles of Sloane MSS.3188, 3189, 3191, as well as a facsimile of Dee 1659; the “Kelley Enochian” font used in the text; and other invaluable resources, for which I am grateful to the site’s creator, Ian Rons): <http://themagickalreview.org/enochian/mss/>, last accessed 06/02/07.

For the Vulgate text, the version used was VulSearch 4.1.5, last updated from <http://vulsearch.sf.net> 14/12/06.

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Using Phonetics in a New Musical Notation: *Henry Sweet's manuscript notes of 1904 and 1908*¹

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1. Sweet's interest in music

According to Charles Onions (1873–1965), ‘late in life... [Sweet] took to music, and was at one time busy with a new system of musical notation’ (Onions, 1927: 520). Sweet himself, in his *Who's Who* entry for 1905, lists music as one of his interests in ‘old age’ (Sweet, 1905: 1565). The only extant evidence for these remarks is the manuscript material to be described below (and published here for the first time).

There are some earlier, passing references to musical matters in Sweet's published work, which perhaps indicate more than a superficial knowledge of the subject. For example, in a paper read to the Philological Society in June 1876, and later published under the title ‘Words, Logic and Grammar’, Sweet noted that:

In the ordinary musical notation the bars are divided by vertical lines or bars... [M]y own practice has been for some time to discard the lines, &c., entirely, and write each bar simply as a word with nothing but a space between each group, thus (aa aa aa) (aaa aaa). With the help of a few simple signs for pauses and for holding or continuing a note, and a few diacritics to indicate fractions of notes (which often need not be expressed at all), music can thus be written almost as quickly as ordinary writing’ (Sweet, 1875-1876: 481).

This clearly indicates that Sweet had experimented with an alternative (or alternatives) to Western staff notation, including Tonic Sol-fa. He might have composed music as distinct from ‘translated’ it from staff notation into his own personal system. Music could have been one of his childhood past-times. He was, after all, from a middle-class Victorian family where learning to play a musical instrument or to sing would have been regarded as a predictable social accomplishment.² Alternatively, an interest in

¹ I am grateful to colleagues at the HSS Colloquium, University of Sheffield, September 2006 and the Research Seminar, Dept. of English Language, University of Glasgow, December 2006, for comments on earlier versions of this paper. I am particularly grateful to Professor Marjorie Rycroft of the Dept. of Music at Glasgow for discussing with me the interpretation of one particular part of Sweet's manuscript.

² Manuel Garcia (1805-1906), the famous singing-teacher and the inventor of the laryngoscope, lived for many years a few hundred yards from the Sweet family home in Kilburn in north London (Mackinlay, 1908: opp. 278), but there is no evidence from the registers of the Royal Academy of Music (where Garcia mainly worked) that any of the Sweet family had singing or any other sort of music lessons there. (I am grateful to Bridget Palmer for this information.) There is always the possibility, of course, that Sweet may have had private lessons with Garcia. He mentions Garcia's invention of the laryngoscope in the *Handbook of Phonetics* (Sweet, 1877: vi).

musical notation may have been triggered by the views of one of his mentors, Alexander John Ellis (1814-1890). Ellis had chaired one of the early meetings of the newly-formed Musical Association (later the Royal Musical Association) in April 1875 in London. At this meeting, John Stainer (1840-1901) (later professor of music at Oxford, and the composer of the *Crucifixion*, etc.) read a paper on the ‘Principles of Musical Notation’ (Stainer, 1874-1875), in which he drew specific attention to, for example, the connections between music and the analysis of intonation, as well as to at least some of the issues connected with staff notation:

The problem, how to write down graduated musical sounds, is not half so difficult as that of writing down spoken language...[T]he intonation of the speaking voice, or its elevation and depression in pitch, is one of the most subtle characteristics of different languages. If you give the subject consideration—and it is a subject worthy [sic] the study of musicians—you will find that not only are words altered as to their meaning and force by the relative pitch of their component syllables, but the whole gist of sentences often depends upon it. Yet we have no signs of intonation in our language (Stainer, 1874-1875: 88-89).

Stainer considers various alternatives to Western staff notation, including alphabetic systems such as Tonic Sol-fa and numerical systems. He offers various suggestions, such as a system for indicating the duration of a musical note: a large D could be a semibreve, a smaller D a minim, and an italic *d* a crotchet.³ (The difficulty with this proposal, of course, is that there are eight different durational values between the breve and the hemi-demi-semiquaver;⁴ something Stainer did not address.) Stainer queries whether a letter notation would not be better for singers — confronted, for example, with musical items written in seven sharps — whilst instrumentalists would preferably continue to read from staff notation (and seven sharps). He even suggests notating pitch so that round notes would be used for ‘naturals or normal sounds’, diamonds for sharpened sounds, square notes for flattened sounds (*ibid.*: 104).

Sweet may well have heard about Stainer’s ideas from Ellis, or from Stainer himself.⁵ Yet another possibility is that his young Irish phonetician friend, James Lecky (1855-1890), who was also a keen musician (cf. MacMahon, 1979), discussed it with him. Some of Stainer’s ideas resonate with Sweet’s own work on musical notation, albeit some 30 years after the 1875 paper.

In print there are two further references to musical notation. Both occur in a paper that Sweet read to the Philological Society in May 1884, on ‘The Practical Study of Language’:

³ The North-American equivalents of these three durational values are ‘whole note’, ‘half note’ and ‘quarter note’.

⁴ ‘Double whole note’ and ‘sixty-fourth note’.

⁵ From 1888 to 1901, Stainer and his wife lived a short distance from the Sweets in Oxford. Stainer died in 1901, and Sweet’s first extant foray into musical notation was not until 1904. But this does not preclude the possibility of discussions between the two men sometime up to 1901.

Experience has certainly shown that a class of children taught reading fonetically will master both fonetic and ordinary reading quicker than a class taught unphonetically will master the latter only. Similar results are obtained in music by the use of the Tonic Sol-fa method' (Sweet, 1882-1884:582-583).⁶

[The musician's] scales and exercises correspond to the linguist's sound-exercises and first sentences (*ibid.*: 588).

If a serious interest in music developed only late in Sweet's life, then a specific circumstance in the early 1900s which persuaded him to devise a new form of musical notation is likely to have been the publication in 1903 of Charles Abdy Williams' *The Story of Notation* (Williams, 1903). Williams (1855-1923) provides a long and detailed survey of the many musical notations that have been used since the time of the ancient Greeks. He uses the expression 'phonetic' notation to refer to sounds 'represented by alphabetical letters, arithmetical figures, or by words' (1903: 11). Williams also contributed the entry for musical notation to the second edition of *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (Williams, 1907). Like his 1903 work, it contains much information about alternatives to staff notation, both past and contemporary.⁷

2. *The Tokyo Manuscript*

After Sweet's death in 1912, his widow handed over a bundle of manuscript material to Otto Jespersen (1860-1943) for his views on what it contained. Almost all of it was written in Sweet's 'Current' shorthand (cf. MacMahon, 1981), which Mrs Sweet had apparently never mastered. Jespersen was conversant with the system, and added a few annotations to the papers. The bundle then came into the possession of Thomas Satchell (1867-1956), a newspaper editor and teacher in Japan and an admirer of Sweet's work, especially his shorthand system.⁸

In 1942, at the age of nearly 75, Satchell intended to donate the material to the Bodleian Library in Oxford, but wartime conditions made this impossible. Instead, he

⁶ Sweet uses the reformed spelling 'aproovd' by the Philological Society. Tonic Sol-fa was devised by John Curwen (1816-1880), but was based on the ideas of Sarah Anna Glover (1786-1876). It was first published in 1842. An indication of its wide popularity is that by 1890 more than 39,000 copies of the Tonic Sol-fa edition of Handel's *Messiah* had been sold (Rainbow, 1980:65). Certain resemblances are noticeable between Sol-fa and Sweet's musical notations.

⁷ On Williams, see Maitland & Warrack (1980), and *The Times* 1 March 1923, p. 10. Further information about the extensive variety of alternatives to Western staff notation can be found in Wolf (1919).

⁸ Satchell was born in London, the son of a civil servant. In 1899 he was appointed to the staff of an English-language newspaper in Kobe, Japan. Three years later, he became editor of the *Yokohama Japan Herald*. For the next 40 years he pursued his newspaper career alongside EFL teaching and translation work in Japan. During World War II he was interned in Japan. In 1953 he proposed the formation of a Current Shorthand Society — to no avail. He died in Kobe in 1956. His translations include the famous Japanese 'comic novel of travel & ribaldry' by Ikku Jippensha (Jippensha, 1929/1960), and a biographical study of the Christian Socialist, Tokohiko Kagawa (Kagawa, 1924). See also MacMahon (1981:277) for details of Satchell's experiences of teaching Current shorthand in Japan.

asked the Library in Tokyo Imperial University (as it then was) to care for it. Its recent whereabouts have been unclear.⁹ It will be referred to in this paper as the ‘Tokyo Manuscript’ (TM).¹⁰

More than half of the bundle of 175 pages consists of the draft of Sweet’s book on his ‘Current’ Shorthand (Sweet, 1892). In addition, a long section of more than 30 pages illustrates the adaptation of the shorthand system to French; it includes lengthy transcriptions of passages in French.¹¹

Some of the other 175 pages deal with experimental shorthand characters: it is known that Sweet had been considering making some changes to the system after 1892 (cf. MacMahon, 1981: 272, 274). The material on musical notation is just seven of the 175. I have paginated it so that these seven pages form pages 48 to 54 of the Tokyo Manuscript. An initial glance at the material shows that Sweet was not trying to adapt his shorthand to the writing of music: instead, he was devising a different notational system using phonetic and other characters. However, the basic shorthand principle of ‘shortening’ of words, etc, is used extensively so that the resulting notation is terse, yet meaningful. All his comments are written in Current; some of them are cryptic and not immediately interpretable.

The material falls into two time-frames: February 1904, and February and June 1908. There is no mention of this work on musical notation in any of Sweet’s publications, even those after 1908, and nothing about it is mentioned in his extant correspondence.

3. Deciphering the notation(s)

Page 48 is a page in Jespersen’s handwriting, with a further note at the bottom by Thomas Satchell. Jespersen, despite his familiarity with Current Shorthand and hence in a good position to decipher Sweet’s material, nevertheless noted that the entire section on musical notation was ‘utterly unintelligible’.

Page 49 contains only the shorthand forms for the words ‘musical notation’ (in Phonetic Current).

Page 50 (reproduced here as Figure 1) is dated February 1904, and, from the way the material is laid out on the page, it is clearly a summary of Sweet’s ideas thus far. (Portions of the later material, from 1908, are in the form of jottings.) No evidence can be found that Sweet intended to publish any of this material, and so one must assume that it represents ideas solely for his own personal use.

⁹ The entry in the University of Tokyo Library catalogue reads: ‘Shorthand Manuscript/Henry Sweet’. I am grateful to colleagues in the University of Tokyo Library and in the Dept of English for their assistance in accessing the MS.

¹⁰ Satchell’s request to Prof Sanki Ichikawa (1886-1970) that Tokyo should be responsible for it constitutes page 3 of the Tokyo Manuscript.

¹¹ See MacMahon, 1981:273-274 for details of the adaptations to Old English, Norwegian and German. Navarre (1909) provides an extensive survey of the hundreds of shorthand systems that have been published, particularly during the 19th century.

C by means of height and position. On the third line down in this section, there are glyphs for the treble and bass clefs — both simpler and faster to write than the traditional ones. In addition, there are symbols for lengths, rests, grace notes, stress and syncopation.

The bottom four lines of page 50 contain explanations in Current alongside the glyphs. Many of them have to do with tempi ('speed', 'very slow', 'moderate', 'quick', etc), and with what Sweet calls 'force': for example, 'very weak' and 'weak'. There are glyphs for loudness, and others for notes that are detached, staccato, played with wrist staccato, and notes that are repeated, including a very simple one to show that an entire chord is repeated: namely, the | glyph on the right-hand side of the last line.

On the top left of page 50, to the left of the vertical line, are three blocks of horizontal lines; each consists of four lines. The top block, like the other two, consists of a series of glyphs and phonetic symbols: e.g. the second row reads <k t s f n l r>, with glyphs above them. The first item on lines 1 and 2 represents the note C, and the line reads from left to right as an ascending scale: C D E F G A B. Thus, there are two ways of notating the scale: either glyphs which have only a marginal connection with phonetic symbols, or else IPA symbols. There is logic in the shapes of the glyphs: those for C, D and E have a backwards-facing loop; F faces both backwards and forwards; and G, A and B face forwards.

One question is why Sweet should have chosen to use the symbols <k, t, s>, etc, instead of <c, d, e>, i.e. the conventional musical symbols. The symbols may be completely arbitrary, in the sense that he wished to break away consciously from the conventional 'A to G' lettering system in order to see how symbols which are not used in staff notation might be employed, or else their choice is motivated. If the latter, then a mnemonic factor could lie behind the choice of characters. The note C would be written as <k> because phonetically there is a degree of connection (velar plosives) between the <c> of, say, CAT (phonetically [kat]) and the IPA's use of [k]. Similarly, <t> can be interpreted as a 'voiceless' version of D. The symbol <s> for E may have been motivated, since, in Current, the symbol for /s/ (as in CITY or SIT) is the lower-case <e>. The symbol for G, Sweet's <n>, is also probably a mnemonic: in the shorthand, the symbol for /n/ is precisely the glyph he uses on the top line. The <l> for A could be from Tonic Sol-fa, where <la> is the equivalent to A.¹⁴

The traditional symbols for a sharp (#) and a flat (b) guide the interpretation of sets 2 and 3. Set 2 reads C# D# F# G# A#. The 'missing' items E# and B# are handled as F and C respectively. Sweet's choice of phonetic symbols is not easy to explain, however. Perhaps <j> for C# because it is like his glyph for C, but with a dot on top? The 'thorn' symbol <p> for D# could be associated with a front consonant in the same way that his <t> for D is alveolar: the next place of articulation further forward from alveolar is dental, i.e. where 'thorn' would be articulated. His <p> for F#, <m> for G#, and <j> for A# may be purely arbitrary choices.

¹⁴ In Tonic Sol-fa, the notes I am writing for the scale of C major (C, D, E, F, G, A, B, C) are written as <d r m f s l t d>. To avoid confusion, I shall consistently refer to the first note of this scale in Tonic Sol-fa as 'Doh'.

In the third set (the symbols for flats), the use of <g> for *Cb*, alongside <k> for *C*, may be phonetically-driven (voiced instead of voiceless); similarly, the <d> for *Db* paralleling the use of <t> for *D*. <z> for *Eb* may link to <s> for *E*. Alternatively, Sweet may have been thinking of the use of *Es* for *Eb* in the German musical notational system. The <ŋ> for *Gb* is probably because of <m> for *G#*: both are nasals. This would then explain <ʒ> for *Ab* alongside <ʃ> for *A#*. for *Bb* may again to have to do with the German use of *B* for *Bb*.

Much less problematic is the pattern of glyphs for the naturals. In the line above the vowel symbols, the first of the series is based on the hyphen, the next is a convex shape, then a concave shape. *F* is a hyphen at 45 degrees to the left, *B* the same at 45 degrees to the right, and the two intermediate notes, *G* and *A*, are the curved versions, as for *D* and *E*. On the line of sharps, a small straight tick is placed at the beginning of each glyph. On the line of flats, the tick is placed at the end of all the glyphs, except for *Bb* (at the end of the line).

The phonetic symbols associated with all three lines are, perhaps, less easy to explain. Firstly, a note which is a natural is shown by a single vowel. If it is a sharp, a <i> is added to it; if a flat, a <u> is added. The explanation may be phonaesthetic: an [i] sound is a bright sound; [u] is a duller, darker sound. In Tonic Sol-fa, the sharps are written as <de> (*C#*), <re> (*D#*) etc, where the <e> is pronounced as /i:/ — a certain parallel to Sweet's <i>. But such an explanation will not hold for <u> for flat sounds. In Tonic Sol-fa, the symbol is <a>, pronounced /ɔ:/ — unless, of course, Sweet was thinking of his <u> and the Tonic Sol-fa /ɔ:/ as back vowels.

Sweet's choice of particular phonetic vowel symbols, instead of the letters *C* to *B*, is not entirely obvious. Five of the symbols, <i>, <e>, <æ>, <o> and <u>, are non-problematic: the first three are front vowels, the other two back vowels. But less obvious is the reasoning behind the choice of italic <a> and the <œ> digraph. For one thing, the symbol <a> was used with different articulatory implications at different points in Sweet's career: in 1877 and the *Handbook of Phonetics*, it was used for the vowel of HEART; 30 or so years later, in 1908, and the *Sounds of English*, for the vowel of HUT. The <œ> digraph was not used at all by Sweet for a phoneme in English: instead he reserved it for a French, German or Scandinavian phoneme. Its articulatory value is shown by Bell's Visible Speech symbol next to it on the page, namely a front open-mid rounded vowel (such as the stressed vowel in the German word GÖTTER). The reason for using these two symbols may again be purely mnemonic: the italic <a> is the first letter in the alphabet, and *C* is the first note in the scale of *C* major. [œ] is a rounded vowel; its unrounded equivalent is [æ], which can be equated with the note *A*.

In each of these three blocks (naturals, sharps and flats) there are consonant and vowel symbols, as well as glyphs. Sweet is experimenting with two optional forms of notation: the glyphs are quicker to write than the phonetic symbols, and can be considered equivalents of shorthand strokes. The consonants and vowels are slower to write, and not always as logically structured as the glyphs. But an explanation has still to be found for this dual notational system: i.e. each note is represented twice, either as two glyphs or as a consonant and a vowel.

omits to put a C at the beginning of it. (And the bottom line C#/Db should be in the right-hand side section — ascending in fourths.) The significant item is the hyphen-derived glyphs on the top. The straight hyphen is on C in C major, and on D in D major, and so on. In other words, Doh is moveable. In Sweet's notation, then, there is no need for a key signature: the hyphen shape (or the equivalent vowel) provides the information, and so either device can be used. The consonant glyph and the symbol equally reveal the note's position in relation to the 12-semitone scale.

Sweet's choice of roman letters may have been motivated simply by the patterns of phoneme symbols in English. For the consonant letters corresponding to the notes C and D, he uses two plosives; for E and F two fricatives; for G and B three 'liquids': <n, l, r>. With the other notes, he is using all six plosive symbols, all three nasals, and seven out of the eight fricatives. The 'extra' sound and symbol is <j>.

Page 51 (Figure 2) is dated June 1908, and is very different from the 1904 material.¹⁵ It consists of jottings with totally new glyphs. Sweet has seven 'wine glass' shapes in the first section, followed by another seven using stems and circles. In both cases, one sees a logical progression from one glyph to the next in the sequence. Some of the glyphs resemble the symbols Joshua Steele (1700-1791) employed in his analysis of rhythm and intonation in the 1770s (e.g. Steele, 1775: 40, 47, 87), although the resemblances may be accidental.

In the remainder of the page, Sweet appears to be experimenting with alternative modes of writing the glyphs, including using some which bear a certain resemblance (though not in phonetic interpretation) to some of Bell's Visible Speech symbols. There are also some runic characters near the bottom right-hand edge of the page.

Page 52 (Figure 3) could be Sweet's last, perhaps definitive, version, again from February 1908 — despite his later (June 1908) jottings. It is based on the 1904 version, but this time using only roman characters, not the glyphs as well. There are two columns: in the left-hand column, the scale ascends through an octave; and in the right, it descends through an octave. Within each column, Sweet writes out chromatic scales starting on each of the 12-semitones in the scale. (The second line down on the page, with the wavy line beneath the Current forms, reads /krmæ sklz/ in Current.)

But there are inconsistencies. The first line in the left-hand column beginning with <ka> then <jæ> starts on C in the scale of C — hence <ka>. The next two symbols ought to be <jai>, not <jæ>: in other words, they represent simultaneously C# and D. The following two are for D and D#. But the next pair, <p> and <æi>, are both the expected forms for D#. And so on. One possible view is that Sweet is indicating microtonal intervals. If so, he omits to produce a special symbolization for notes slightly divergent from E, F, F#, G, A# and B. A more likely explanation is that he has altered the value of some of the phonetic symbols between the 1904 version and this one (1908). One notes, too, that he introduces the symbol <y> instead of <ui> in his symbolization of F#.

¹⁵ This page, dated 'VI 08', is undoubtedly out of sequence and should follow page 52, dated (in Current) 'fri '08' (i.e. February 1908).

6 u. 6 '08
 dh p
 uui
 kajetipresepunomeloifæiri karibiuloiznogoufæe zentaidæuka
 namælaifæirekujytopæsoifæipi napifiusitizstodoukurebealaizæuna
 fapænaimæilebrykojætoipæisi fasiziutoidækorouibulezænaiæzæufa
 tapæaifæipenunmyofæroikæiji tajikiuroibælozon^{nu}pæfæusaizæuta
 barækajæitezæyfoænoimæili baliziu noigæfosouæte deukairæuba
 lafæraikæijetipyoæpoinæimi laminuipoiæsoæouæyækauræibæula
 zææfæipæimezulyborækoijæiti zatidiukoiræbolæzunegeufæisæuza
 sææpæinæimelufyrokæjoitæipi sæpitæijoiææroæoulumeneupæisæusa
 zææbairæikædutyæææfoipæimi zæniæufoisææotædukeræubæilæizæ
 rakæjæitæipesufyponæmoilæifi rafiliu moinsæofæusæpetæujæikæura
 { gææzæilæibærukædotæzoisæifi gæfæisæuæoiæædokouæubæuæzæinæuga
 { pææmæilæijærukæjæotæpæisæifi pæfæisæuæpoiææjoækouæuæjæuæmæinæuæpæ
 { datæzæisæifegunyzolæboiræiki dækiæuæbriææzonæugæfæesæuzæææudæ
 { jææpæisæifepunymolæfoiræiki jækiæuæfoilsæmonæupæfæesæupæitæujæ

Figure 3: TM page 52, February 1908

The order of the lines is also initially puzzling. Behind it, though, a strict logical progression can be inferred, though Sweet does not spell this out. One starts on C on the top line left; on the next line down, one goes up a 5th to G; and then back down again to C — but this is not specifically indicated. From the starting-point of C, one then goes down a 5th to F (on the 3rd line); then back up again to C. Then up a second to D (4th line); back to C; then down a second to Bb (5th line). And so on.

There is an oddity near the end involving the last four lines of this left-hand column. Firstly, there is a mistake in the first letter: it should be the velar nasal <ŋ>, not a <g>; in other words, Cb, not Gb. The second bracket is Db, i.e. a minor second up from C; this compares with B, a minor second down from C. It then finishes with Cb, i.e. the same as B.

The right-hand column shows descending chromatic scales, beginning with <ka> then <ri-> (i.e. C B) on the first line.

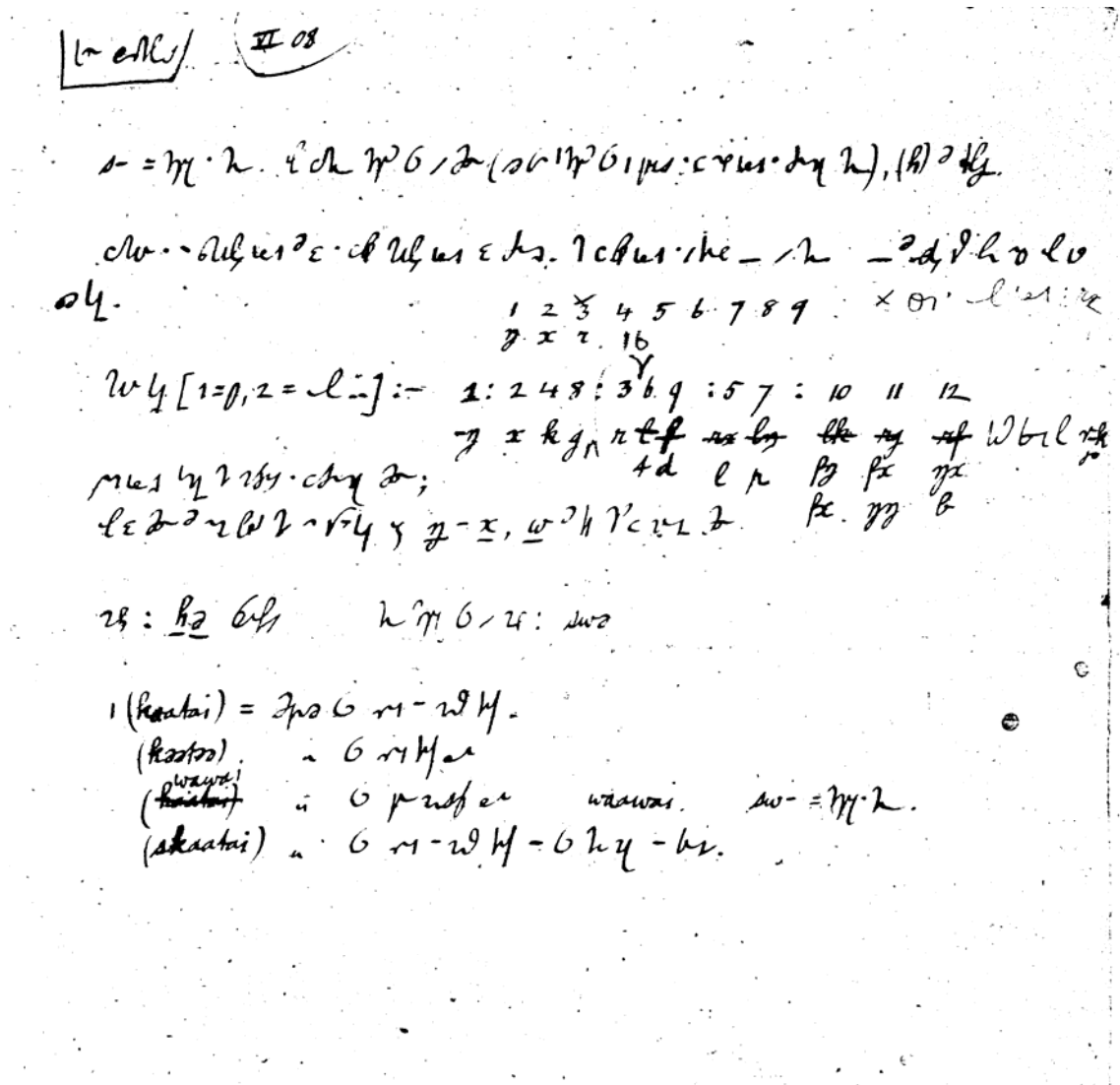


Figure 4: TM page 53, June 1908

Page 53 (Figure 4), from June 1908, is noticeably less organised. It appears to be jottings and half-formed ideas. Thus the first line in the shorthand reads:

s- beginning of the bar. If the bar begins with a vowel, you are as well to begin with two [?]: the last notes of the preceding bar, (h) is prefixed.

The remainder of the page consists of similarly opaque comments. The transliteration from Current reads:

- ‘the quantity of an unquantified note is that of the first [?] note that precedes. But the first note of a piece and a bar is assumed to be full length if not other[wise] marked’
- ‘quantity marks whole half’

- ‘held notes indicated by repetition of the preceding vowel’
- ‘if that vowel is long followed by a time mark except η -x, w is put before the repeated vowel’
- ‘rests: hə whispered’
- ‘bar beginning with a rest: swə’
- ‘(kaatai) = vocals with alt [=?alto] and relative pitch’
- ‘(kəətə) vocals with alt[] pitch only’
- ‘(wawai) vocals with key relationship only waawai. sw- = beginning of bar’ ‘(skaatai) vocals with alt[] and relative pitch and with ring [?an error in the shorthand for ‘rhythm’] and metre’

The final page, page 54 (Figure 5), again from June 1908, seems to be a collection of jottings on yet another possible notation. The first line reads ‘ha, hai, he... = purely a rise of pitch [= do, re, mi...]. Directly beneath [do re mi...] it says ‘Please see’. The next two lines in IPA notation may be connected with the acoustic structure of the vowel, although the precise connections remain uncertain.

There then follow some words at the end which are not fully interpretable, with the expression ‘kəə = alt. Pitch’ — which could be alto (but not alter) pitch.

Figure 5: TM page 54, June 1908

4. *The purpose of the notations*

A question still remains as to why Sweet should have spent time devising a new musical notation or notations. We cannot be certain if he was reacting directly to the comments in Williams (1903) or to some other publication, possibly connected with Tonic Sol-fa, or if he had been influenced by Stainer's paper to the Musical Association in 1875.

A quite different explanation which I would like to propose is that Sweet saw his ideas not as a contribution to musicological theory or to the further practical development of Tonic Sol-fa, but instead as a relatively straightforward intellectual challenge: to assemble the evidence for using phonetic symbols and shorthand-like glyphs for notating music. In other words, given his life-long interest in notational systems, especially alphabets, he wished to see if yet another species of notation could be added to the long series of systems with which he was very familiar — and some of which he had created himself. That list includes Broad and Narrow Romic, Bell's Visible Speech alphabets, Sweet's own reworking of parts of Visible Speech to form the Organic Alphabet, two versions of Current Shorthand (the phonetic and the orthographic), adaptations of Current Shorthand to German, Norwegian, Old English and French, as well as the writing systems of several non-Latin-based alphabets, for example Russian, Sanskrit, Arabic and Mandarin Chinese.

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GENERAL SECTION

English in the mirror –

*How the Germans characterized the English language in the 17th to 19th centuries.**

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For many centuries, speakers of (probably) all European languages have appreciated and scolded, praised and denounced ‘foreign’ languages, after the Greeks had called every language but their own ‘barbaric’. General assumptions about the relations between a language and the properties of its speakers were used as the underpinnings of these statements; ‘barbaric’ languages were expected to come out of the mouths of barbaric human beings. So far, little historiographical research has been done on the history of this kind of language evaluation, although, once you think about it, it discloses itself as a frequently occurring and almost popular topic.¹ The following paper presents this topic with the focus on what the Germans thought about English as a national language, i.e. on one single case among many possible ones. Some era-dependent works, from the 17th to the 19th centuries, will be discussed. Most certainly, not all relevant sources have been found and interpreted so far. My own endeavours on the topic² are therefore bound not to be free from serious gaps.

Besides its many intellectual and artistic innovations, the European Renaissance was marked by a growing awareness that many vernaculars were spoken (written and eventually printed) in Europe – a fact which had hitherto been hidden behind the all-powerful use of Latin in intellectual discourse. Authors like Dante Alighieri (1265-1321), Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484-1558), or Conrad Gessner (1516-1565) explored their historical interrelations as far as their knowledge allowed them to do this.³ In many countries of Europe this led to what could be called a national linguistic consciousness. It goes almost without saying that ‘national’ has none of the semantic overtones which the word adopted in the 20th century.

* Paper read at Bailliol College, Oxford, on 7 March, 2007.

¹ For a political perspective see Römer (1989).

² See Werner Hüllen, “On Calling Languages ‘Foreign’”, orig. in: John L. Flood et al. (eds.), *Das unsichtbare Band der Sprache. Studies in German Language and Linguistic History in Memory of Leslie Seiffert*. (Stuttgart: Akademischer Verlag Heinz, 1993), 393-410; “Good Language - Bad Language. Some Case-Studies on the Criteria of Linguistic Evaluation in Three Centuries”, orig. in: Klaus D. Dutz and Kjell-Åke Forsgren (eds.), *History and Rationality. The Skövde Papers in the Historiography of Linguistics* (Münster: Nodus, 1995), 315-334; and “Some Yardsticks of Language Evaluation 1600-1800 (English and German)”, orig. in: Vivien Law and Werner Hüllen (eds.), *Linguists and Their Diversions. A Festschrift for R.H. Robins on His 75th Birthday*. (Münster: Nodus, 1996) 275-306. All these papers reprinted in Isermann (ed.) 2003, 187-200, 201-218, and 219-246. For an earlier discussion of the topic, see Hüllen (1999).

³ For the linguists mentioned, see the relevant entries in Stammerjohann (1996); for early comparative linguistics, see Robins (1990:114-115, 180-187).

At that time, the most important languages on the continent were French, Spanish, Italian, and German, each of which thrived for some time on a regionally influential cultural, political, or commercial superiority. English was not among them. It had some influence in the area around Antwerp and Bruges which was adjacent to the British Isles across the Channel, but otherwise it had the status of a language spoken on an island off Europe. This started to change in the first third of the 16th century, as can be shown by the two most popular books for foreign language teaching on the continent: *Introito e porta*, first published in German and Italian in 1477, presented English for the first time in 1535; *Colloquia et dictionariolum*, first published in Flemish and French in 1530, did this in 1576.⁴

In their interest in English today, German scholars are guided by their historiographical hindsight and the knowledge that, for cultural and political reasons, English developed into a very important foreign language in Germany during the 18th century, that it gained more and more weight among the European languages, parallel to the extension of the British Empire in the world, and that it finally arrived at its position as the medium of world communication in which we know it today.⁵ But the origins of this development were quite humble.

Justus Georgius Schottelius (1612-1676) is the first scholar to be mentioned in the present context. Escaping from the evils of the Thirty Years' War with the help of his sponsor and friend, Duke Anton Ulrich of Braunschweig-Lüneburg in Wolfenbüttel, he devoted his scholarly life to demonstrating that German, at that time existent only in its various dialects, was, like the other European languages, of capital importance and prime standing and deserved more acknowledgment from and care by its speakers. He worked for the development of a national standard which would, first of all, end the intrusion into German of foreign elements, mainly French words and phrases. His main work is the *Ausführliche Arbeit Von der Teutschen HauptSprache* (1663), in whose ten introductory so-called eulogies (*Lobreden*) he laid the theoretical foundations of his grammar of the German language.⁶ He does not deal with English in any detail, but mentions it in a significant context.

It is in the third eulogy that Schottelius explains an argument of great importance which was generally accepted at his time. This is how the argument reads: There was perfect linguistic communication between God and Adam in Paradise and even later, conducted in Hebrew. After the flood, Noah's four sons migrated to the four points of the compass, i.e., according to the geography of time, to the various continents of the earth, but before doing so their language was confused in Babel. It was not that new languages came into existence then, but the old perfect one became unintelligible, because of the inversion, transposition, addition or deletion of its signs. Consequently, the language of the post-Babylonian era that is the most valuable is the one which can claim to be nearest to the pre-Babylonian state. This claim was indeed made for the Germanic language and its later branches. Its founder was supposed to be

⁴ For details see Hüllen (2006), chapters IV and IX.

⁵ This long historical development was analysed from the point of view of language learning and general reading culture in Klippel (1994); there are plenty of references for further reading in this book.

⁶ For a concise introduction see the entry by Dieter Cherubim in Stammerjohann (1996:838-841). There is a reprint (facsimile) of Schottelius' main work, 1967.

Ascenas, a direct descendant of Japhet, the son of Noah, who migrated towards the West, i.e. Europe. The claim could be upheld only because the Germanic peoples, who included the Celtic tribes, were supposed to never have adopted any different language in the course of history or to have mixed their own with others.⁷ Contrary to this, all non-Germanic languages were said to have either become mixed with other ones or to have been lost altogether.

English, however, although a Germanic language, has none of these merits. With reference to the grammarian Valentin Ickelsamer (c.1500-c.1540)⁸, Schottelius criticises his German countrymen for their eagerness to find foreign elements in their own language and to introduce new ones into it. This, he says, makes the German *HauptSprache* '[...] as if it were English': 'Was man von der Englischen Sprache zuschertzen pflegt / *quod sit spuma linguarum* [...] Den[n] als in einem Topfe / wie man sagt / alle Sprachen gekocht worden / were der Schaum davon die Englische Sprache geworden: weil dieselbe ein lauter Geflick und Gemeng / wiewohl im Grunde Teutsch ist.'⁹ This is, Schottelius continues, why people travelling to the British Isles find the English language useful only for their communication with servants and labourers (*serviteurs ou facteurs*¹⁰) about the more practical necessities of life, but for nothing else. In his text, Schottelius is obviously thinking of the well-known facts of language contacts and language mixture in the history of English. He shows himself to be informed about these processes, above all when speaking about the acceptance of structure-words, prepositions, prefixes and rules of word-composition from other languages, mainly from Greek and Latin, by English.

But Schottelius did not always follow the theories of other linguists without criticism. For example, he has his doubts whether Hebrew really is the original language of mankind. But in the case of English, he agreed with the mainstream: the admixture of linguistic elements alienates a language from its origins, and this is *per se* a bad thing. It is this kind of 'purity' which increases the value of German and decreases the value of English. In time-dependent garbs, this idea will later be presented again. And so will the other idea, that an interest in English as a language is, if at all, grounded in the practicalities and necessities of everyday life, and not in more ambitious endeavours like those in theology.

The ducal court at Wolfenbüttel, where Justus Georgius Schottelius had found a home and splendid conditions for his work, actually played an important role in Germany for the cultural exchange on a European scale at that time, i.e. under the reign of the Dukes August and Ferdinand Albrecht. Foreign languages were taught to the ducal children, foreign books were bought for the library. So it is almost natural

⁷ 'Ist also die uhralte Sprache bey den freyen Teutschen vornemlich nach dem Grunde geblieben / auch ihren Nahmen von den Teutschen / als dem vornehmsten Hauptgeschlechte der Celten / hernachmals behalten.' Schottelius (1967:35).

⁸ First German grammarian, or rather phonetician, famous for his ideas about how to learn and to teach reading. He was a teacher in Rothenburg and in Augsburg. See Stammerjohann (1996:457).

⁹ When all languages were cooked in one kettle, the suds became the English language: because it is nothing else but patchwork and mixture, although in its nature German. (This and all following translations are mine.) See Schottelius (1967: 35).

¹⁰ For this verdict, which would develop an afterlife of its own, Schottelius goes back to Claude Duret (1565-1611) and his *Tresor de l'histoire des langues des ces univers* [...]. See Stammerjohann (1996:162-163).

that at least one voice is to be heard which rings a more sophisticated tone without flatly contradicting the authority of Schottelius. Karl Gustav von Hille (c.1590-c.1647), *Haushofmeister* to the Duke's mother Sophie Elisabeth, had an important share in these endeavours. He knew England and the language from his travels and was well read in contemporary English literature. In his book *Teutscher Palmenbaum* (1647) he argues that in spite of its mutilated and mixed character, English has enough pleasantness and elevated word meanings for the printing of spiritual as well as of worldly books.¹¹

Ob nun wohl die Englische / vor eine aus vielen zusammengesetzte und verstümelte Sprache gehalten wird; so ist sie dennoch mit Wahrheit nicht eine so gar geringschätzig und schlechte / wie sich solches dieselbe Unverständige einbilden: Sondern sie bestehet in einer solche Lieblichkeit und hohe Sinnbegriff / dass auch die allerwürdigste Geist- und weltliche Bücher / nicht von ihnen in der Lateinischen; sondern viel ehe in ihren eigenen Muttersprache beschrieben / zu lesen seynd: [...].

This means that von Hille does not doubt the common verdict of *spuma linguarum*,¹² but he counterbalances it with the simple statement that the English language has all the means to express the most dignified spiritual and secular thoughts of the time. A secular, in fact a functional viewpoint, corroborated by experience, is thus introduced instead of Schottelius' theological one, which was only theoretical.

In the course of the 18th century, the convincing power of theological argumentation became weaker, which entailed that criteria like the age and purity of a language lost their hold on linguists. In the article *Sprache* of Zedler's *Universal-Lexicon* (1732-1750), the German counterpart to the French *Encyclopédie*, for example, the author Samuel von Pufendorf (1632-1694)¹³ floated the idea that, contrary to the concept of a perfect *lingua adamica*, the oldest human language must have been quite imperfect and the idea of the holiness of Hebrew was a myth.¹⁴ This brought the enlightened notion of historical improvement – not deterioration like in Babel – into play, with new functional criteria of evaluation. They were quite international in reflections on the nature of languages during the Enlightenment.¹⁵ In the case of English this meant that the admixture of linguistic elements now appeared in a new light.

At the end of the 18th century we know of Daniel Jenisch (1762-1804), a court preacher living first in Braunschweig and then in Berlin who worked as a stylist, historian and translator of Greek, French, and Polish texts and published a

¹¹ There is a reprint of Karl Gustav von Hille's *Der Teutsche Palmbaum*, 1970; quotation 123-124. See also Bepler (1988: 96-97, and *passim*).

¹² The translation of *spuma linguarum* 'Sprachenschaum' appears in the works of other German writers of the time, for example that of Georg Philipp Harsdörffer (1607-1658).

¹³ Mainly known as a lawyer and historiographer of the Prince Elector Friedrich III of Brandenburg, the so-called *Grosse[r] Kurfürst*. He also published on theology and philology. Zedler integrated an older paper of Pufendorf's, together with those of other authors, into the article on language.

¹⁴ Zedler 1744, vol. 39. On the article '*Sprache*' see Wichter (1996).

¹⁵ Brigitte Schlieben-Lange (1992), moreover Lieve Looken and Pierre Swiggers, unpublished.

considerable poetic oeuvre.¹⁶ He brought the description and evaluation of English (and other languages) to a first scholarly perfection. He did this in a *Preisschrift* advertised by the *Königlich Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften* in 1794.¹⁷

Jenisch's merit is to have clearly defined the yardsticks for measuring languages. They are functional to the general task of language, namely communicating concepts (*Begriffe*) and emotions (*Empfindungen*). These yardsticks, taken from classical rhetoric, are: (i) 'copiousness' (*Reichtum*), i.e. the number of words for the denotation of objects (*sinnliche Gegenstände*) and abstractions (*Reflexionsbegriffe*), and also the potential of word-formation (*lexikalische Bildsamkeit*); this is a semantic criterion. (ii) 'effort' or 'energy' (*Nachdrücklichkeit, Energie*), i.e. the directness of expressions which is achieved by the fullness and range of concepts as well as by the intensity of emotions; this is a stylistic criterion operating on the lexical and the grammatical levels, where it shows in the brevity of expressions. (iii) 'clarity' (*Bestimmtheit*), i.e. the non-ambiguity of word-meanings and the nature of grammar; this is again a semantic, but most of all a syntactic criterion. And (iv) 'euphony' (*Wohlklang*), i.e. the interplay of vowels and consonants; this is an aesthetic criterion on the phonotactic level. These criteria gave Daniel Jenisch the opportunity for almost excessive praise of the English language which turns old verdicts into their opposite. Phenomena which caused the derisive description of a *spuma linguarum* are now regarded as linguistic merits.

English is the most 'copious' of all European languages – and hence of all languages in the world – because of the happy mixture of its vocabulary and the generally favourable conditions for language development. For Jenisch, this is also true for the potential of word-formation in English.¹⁸

In semantic 'effort' or 'energy' Jenisch finds a generally superior character in the Germanic languages compared to the Romance ones. But he praises the Latinate English vocabulary highly because the words have not only their special Germanic character but also the more general meanings of their Latin origins. Jenisch thinks that this is particularly propitious for poetry. His praise of the grammatical 'effort' of English is almost enthusiastic:

Alle Sprachen Europens überraget durch die bewundernswürdige, und doch zugleich dem Ausdruck jeder Feinheit dieser Art vortheilhafte, Einfachheit ihres grammatikalischen Baues — die Englische. [...] Man könnte von der Englischen Sprache beinahe rühmen, daß sie von einer Gesellschaft von Philosophen erfunden worden, welche sich von alle dem entledigten, was Zufall und Eigensinn allen andern Sprachen anheftet [...].¹⁹

¹⁶ For more biographical details, see Brekle et al. (1997:50-53).

¹⁷ Jenisch 1796. See Schlieben-Lange and Weydt 1988, moreover Isermann (2002:234-238).

¹⁸ 'alles dies zusammengenommen, welches sich bei keiner Nation jemals vereinigt hat, noch jetzt vereinigt, [...] möchte ich fast behaupten, (so viel Anmaßung auch eine solche Behauptung voraussetzen scheint) daß die Englische Sprache unter allen Europäischen Sprachen, d.h. unter allen Sprachen der Welt, den größten extensiven Reichthum hat.' Jenisch (1796:62). Note the considerable degree of eurocentrism in the assumption that European languages are in any case superior to other languages of the world.

¹⁹ 'The English language outdoes all European languages because of the admirable simplicity of its grammatical structure which is, at the same time, advantageous to expressing every shade [of

Jenisch's arguments with reference to 'clarity' are similar to those with reference to 'effort'. Only as regards 'euphony' is Jenisch's judgment full of reserve. Besides a happy mixture of consonants and vowels which is pleasant to the ear, he generally favours a distinct pronunciation of all syllables, which however is lost in the English habit of truncating endings and contracting two or more syllables into one.

The beginning of the 19th century saw new thoughts in linguistics and language philosophy. They are usually said to cover two domains of the wide field, *firstly* historical linguistics pertaining to the Indo-European languages, and *secondly* ethnic linguistics.²⁰ The one group of linguists²¹ was devoted to establishing genetic dependencies with the help of sound laws, syntactic affinities and etymology. The second²² was devoted to defining the interrelations between national cultures and languages. Their work was carried on as ethnic psychology (*Völkerpsychologie*).²³

There are two methodological features which these two groups of linguists have in common. The *first* is its universalism. National languages are seen as tokens of higher ranking types, they are part of a typological classification. The *second* feature is the comparative method. It is constitutive for the Indo-European group of linguists in any case. This is why they have been labelled 'comparative philologists'. But the ethnolinguistic group was also devoted to comparing languages, if not for their own sake then for establishing the historical process by which national individuality in languages manifests itself as the linguistic form of *menschliche Geisteskraft*.²⁴

From this follows: Characterisations of the English language in the Romantic period are located in a complex situation of a linguistics with diverging tendencies. The historical linguists and Neogrammarians use English to support their ideas on language typology. The ethnolinguists use it to show their ideas on the national spirit of a language.

The various language typologies of the time were not only descriptive but also evaluative. August Schleicher (1821-1868), for example, differentiated between monosyllabic, agglutinative, and inflectional languages. For him the latter represented the highest rank of linguistic and cultural development. Only in inflectional languages

meaning]. One could almost say of the English language that it was founded by a society of philosophers who avoided everything that accident and idiosyncrasies added to all other languages.' See Jenisch (1796:331-332 and 384).

²⁰ See Gipper & Schmitter (1975); there is a separate edition of this essay with the same title, Tübingen: Narr, 1979 (sec. edn 1985).

²¹ - embracing names like Rasmus Rask (1787-1832), Franz Bopp (1791-1867), and Jakob Grimm (1785-1863), furthermore August Schleicher (1821-1868) and, later, the *Junggrammatiker*.

²² - embracing figures such as Johann Georg Hamann (1730-1788), Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803)²², and above all Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835), furthermore Heymann (Hajim) Steinthal (1823-1899) and Wilhelm Wundt ((1832-1920). As can be seen from their life dates, Hamann and Herder precede the linguists of the Romantic era with their works. This is particularly true of Herder's seminal *Preisschrift* 'Über den Ursprung der Sprache' (1771). A number of remarks made by Jenisch can be understood as being influenced by Herder, in particular by his idea that, in their early stages, languages are more marked by 'poetic energy' than later, when they show more intellectual 'clarity'.

²³ See Davies (1975:607-716).

²⁴ Wilhelm von Humboldt (1968:VII, 15). His essay 'Über die Verschiedenheit des menschlichen Sprachbaues und ihren Einfluß auf die geistige Entwicklung des Menschengeschlechts [1830-1835]' is probably the most influential essay in this context.

is a word considered to be a linguistic unit composed of various parts and therefore comparable to an animate organism.²⁵ This not only places the languages of the Indo-European group above all other languages of the world, it also places those highest among the Indo-European languages which have a rich inflectional morphology. In consequence, Schleicher's evaluation of English is negative: Schleicher says: English has kept its Anglo-Saxon type, but is one of the most truncated ones and the poorest regarding grammatical endings. Most of the originally Germanic words have sunk to monosyllability – at least in pronunciation, which is the only relevant part here.²⁶

Franz Misteli (1841-1903)²⁷ developed a system of six language types, one of them being *flectirende Sprachen*. He is much more reluctant than other historical linguists and Neogrammarians to attribute a value to a language type *per se*, and looks upon language change as something occurring naturally in history rather than by deterioration. Yet, he argues, of the modern examples of Indo-Europeanism the Baltic-Slavonic languages are the most genuine old ones, while the Germanic and Romance languages are now very distant from the original type, in particular English which outdid all other branches of the stem in the reckless curtailing of forms and inconsiderate treatment of syntax.²⁸

These two applications of the Romantic language typology to English show various degrees of appreciation of inflecting languages. There can, however, be no doubt that the high degree of acknowledgment of inflecting languages with its preference for the Indo-European, the European, and finally the Germanic languages was widely accepted and adhered to in the following century. It was not only the linguists of the first group who did this. Wilhelm von Humboldt (17767-1835), for example, saw the *Geistesarbeit*, incorporated in languages, most clearly expressed in their grammatical systems. He maintains that there are more and less perfect languages in the world and that the inflecting ones, compared with the incorporating and agglutinative ones, belong to the most perfect. For him inflection is an ingenious principle emerging from the true intuition of language.²⁹ Most criticism of the

²⁵ 'Die flectirenden Sprachen stehen somit am höchsten auf der Skala der Sprachen: erst hier ist im Organismus des Wortes eine wahrhafte Gliederung entwickelt, das Wort ist die Einheit in der Mannigfaltigkeit der Glieder, entsprechend dem animalischen Organismus, von welchem dieselbe Bestimmung gilt.' Schleicher (1983:9).

²⁶ '[...] die Sprache hat den angelsächs[ischen] Typus zwar bewahrt, ist aber eine der abgeschliffensten, an grammatischen Endungen ärmsten Sprachen unseres Sprachstammes. Die meisten ursprüngl[ich] deutschen Wörter sind sogar zur Einsylbigkeit herabgesunken — wenigstens in der Aussprache, die hier allein massgebend ist.' Schleicher (1983:231).

²⁷ There is no entry on Misteli in Stammerjohann (1996).

²⁸ Franz Misteli starts the chapter on Indo-European (he says Indo-Germanic) languages with the sentence: 'Unter den Völkern, welche die indogermanischen Sprachen reden, befinden sich unläugbar die begabtesten Völker der Erde: Inder, Griechen und Römer, Germanen. Aber nicht alle Völker, welche indogermanische Sprachen reden, sind besonders begabt [...]'. 'So sind von den modernen Vertretern des Indogermanismus die baltisch-slavischen Sprachen wohl die altertümlichsten, während die germanischen und romanischen sich weit vom Urtypus entfernten, besonders die englische Sprache, welche in rücksichtsloser Beschränkung der Formenmenge und in souveräner Behandlung der Syntax alle andern Glieder des Sprachstammes überholte.' Quotations from Misteli (1893:487 and 489).

²⁹ Verglichen mit den einverleibenden und ohne wahre Worteinheit lose anfügenden Verfahren, erscheint die Flexionsmethode als ein geniales, aus der wahren Intuition der Sprache hervorgehendes

grammatical structure of languages is a direct corollary of this viewpoint and led to many cases of unfavourable judgements concerning English. In popular pedagogical thinking, for example – in particular by classicists – Ancient Greek ranked higher than Latin, Latin higher than French, and French higher than English. Slavonic languages were simply ignored.

However, the picture would not be complete if the ideas of Jakob Grimm (1785-1863) were left unmentioned. As is well known, Grimm subsumed Anglo-Saxon, and consequently English, under *deutsch*, which made Rasmus Rask speak of “his [Grimm’s] patriotism”.³⁰ In spite of this, Grimm’s high evaluation of Anglo-Saxon and the later English is obvious in many comparisons when, for example, he says that the ‘Low German’ dialects split up and their noblest part went away from the continent with the Anglo-Saxons. Out of the womb of Anglo-Saxon, he says, the English language emerged rejuvenated and mighty.³¹ Although the admixture of languages is even for him ‘against nature’, Grimm finds in the case of English that the inevitable loss of concrete word meanings under French influence is counterbalanced by a gain in abstract ones.³² This means that, in order to understand the English language, the French and (Germanic) English parts must be seen as fully integrated. This is also important for understanding the English people.³³ The climax of these thoughts is the well-known passage from Grimm’s ‘Über den Ursprung der Sprache’. The passage is famous and deserves full quotation.

keine unter allen neueren sprachen hat gerade durch das aufgeben und zerrütten alter lautgesetze, durch den wegfall beinahe sämtlicher flexionen eine grözere kraft und stärke empfangen als die englische und von ihrer nicht einmal lehrbaren, nur lernbaren fülle freier mitteltöne ist eine wesentliche gewalt des ausdrucks abhängig geworden, wie sie vielleicht noch nie einer andern menschlichen zunge zu gebote stand. ihre ganz überaus geistige, wunderbar geglückte anlage und durchbildung war hervorgegangen aus einer überraschenden vermählung der beiden edelsten sprachen des späteren Europas, der germanischen und romanischen, und bekannt ist wie im englischen sich beide zueinander verhalten, indem jene bei weitem die sinnliche grundlage hergab, diese die geistigen begriffe zuführte.³⁴

Prinzip.’ (Humboldt, 1968:163). The idea is mentioned time and time again, so many quotations could be given.

³⁰ For the problem of this terminology see Sonderegger 1989.

³¹ ‘aus dem schosz der anglesächsischen sprache aber erhob sich, mit starker einmischung des romanischen elements, verjüngt und mächtig die englische sprache.’ Jakob Grimm (1970:580).

³² Grimm’s adjectives are ‘sinnlich’ vs ‘geistig’.

³³ See Sonderegger (1989). For Grimm’s attitude towards indigenous and foreign words in a language see Grimm (1965:5).

³⁴ None of all the modern languages has gained more power and might than English, precisely by abandoning and disregarding old phonetic laws [and] truncating almost all inflectional endings; and its unteachable, but learnable, richness of central [vowels] has become the essential strength of its expression as perhaps no other language ever had. Its perfectly spiritual and miraculously felicitous design and structure emanated from a surprising marriage of the two most noble languages of the later Europe, the Germanic and Romance ones; and it is well known how the two are related to each other, the one providing the sensual foundation, the other adding the mental concepts. See Grimm 1965, 293.

For Grimm, who can scarcely be reproached for a lack of German national feelings, these features gave the English language a chance to become *the* medium of world-wide communication. However, Grimm was not the only German to have this foresight.³⁵

As concerns the ethnolinguist group, Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814) and Wilhelm von Humboldt show conceptual affinities.³⁶ Fichte's *Reden an die deutsche Nation*, held in 1807-1808 enjoyed great public acceptance. They exercised a strong influence, for good or ill, in shaping the German national mentality until the middle of the 20th century. At a time when all of Europe was occupied by Napoleonic forces and when there was no German nation, Fichte aimed at a pedagogical programme of national self-determination. The role of German as a national language in this process is explained in the fourth *Rede*.

According to Fichte, the origin of language is not only determined by man's free will to use sounds as the signs for something, but also by man's lack of free will in the choice of these signs. A language comes into being neither by the act of an individual nor by any convention established between several individuals but by a national principle which Fichte calls a *Grundgesetz* (basic law). Fichte says that just as objects are mirrored in the senses of the individual with a certain figure, colour, etc., so they are mirrored in language, the instrument of man in society, with a certain sound. It is not man who speaks, but human nature which shows itself to others as of the same kind.³⁷ It is an idea which was later much more often attributed to Humboldt than to Fichte, according to which language appears in history not as such ('nicht die Eine und reine Menschensprache') but as a deviating national type ('eine Abweichung davon'). Of course, all languages change in the course of time, but they nevertheless remain identical with themselves when used by one indigenous linguistic community. The language of this people is something determined, and it is not the people which expresses its knowledge, but knowledge expresses itself in it. However, the condition for a speech community to enjoy this development is that they never adopted a different language or that its own language was never mixed with another one. Fichte claims that the Germans are the only people in Europe to fulfil this condition. It is obvious that the verdict of having lost or polluted their own tongues is addressed to the speakers of the Neo-Latin (i.e. Romance) languages and of English, whereas the

My translation. The passage was translated into English as early as 1853 in *Notes and Queries* 7 (1853), 294.

³⁵ See reference to K.M. Rapp in Sonderegger (1989:30).

³⁶ They share the concept of 'transcendentalism' in the way in which Immanuel Kant understood the term, i.e. they reflected on the conditions of the possibility ('*die Bedingungen der Möglichkeit von [...]*') of human existence, concentrating however, contrary to Kant, on the role of language. The most important feature of this is grammar, a statement which proves the ideas of the two Romantic thinkers to be dependent on the idea of a universal human grammar in the preceding century. See Müller-Vollmer (1981), also Ziegler (1997:101-119).

³⁷ 'So wie die Gegenstände sich in den Sinnenwerkzeugen des Einzelnen mit dieser bestimmten Figur, Farbe, u.s.w. abbilden, so bilden sie sich im Werkzeuge des gesellschaftlichen Menschen, in der Sprache, mit diesem bestimmten Laute ab. Nicht eigentlich redet der Mensch, sondern in ihm redet die menschliche Natur, und verkündigt sich andern seines Gleichen.' All quotations from Fichte (1997:595-612).

speakers of the Scandinavian languages are subsumed under German(ic) and the speakers of Slavonic languages are excluded from these deliberations altogether. According to Fichte, it does not matter which language mixes with or replaces one's own; it is the incompatible foreignness of a different language (or of different languages) which does the damage.

The philosopher, who actually had little expertise in linguistics, pursued his ideas on another, more concrete level of deliberation. Denotation of what he calls 'das Übersinnliche', i.e. abstract (mental, spiritual, moral, ideational) concepts, is achieved by a metaphorical transposition of the denotation of concrete referents. Fichte's example is the Greek lexeme *idea* which can only be understood properly if the original meaning, i.e. 'vision', 'dream', is known. Without this background the word remains dead. In a language mixed with foreign elements (or in a foreign language altogether) people do not understand these transpositions intuitively but must learn them as something external to their genuine linguistic habitat. The 'foreign' part of the language no longer follows its own *Grundgesetz*. Such languages appear to be alive on the surface, but are dead in the depths and cut off from their own roots. From this hypothesis, Fichte explains – in words which have readily lent themselves to later political exploitation – why Germans, if guided by their own language, are (supposedly) superior (in education, in culture, in morals) to everybody else in Europe. They have their own genuine language. He maintains that speakers of French and other languages do not understand their own idioms because they cannot follow the genuinely Latin processes of denotation and the shifts of meaning. If at all, it is only the educated who are able to do this. But this has serious consequences, because it creates two kinds of nations. The first kind is of course the *deutsche Nation* as Fichte wants to shape it by his public speeches. Here people use their language according to its national *Grundgesetz*. The second kind are the neo-Latin nations France, Italy, and Spain. Here people use their language blindly unless they are highly educated and understand its linguistic origins. Fichte never mentions English, but his ideas can be (and were) readily applied to the English language as a blend of Romance and Germanic elements and to the estrangement between the educated and the non-educated members of the speech community that is said to follow from this.

For linguists towards the end of the 19th century interested in the languages of their own days, the question arose of how the Humboldtian individuality and Fichte's basic law of a language could be proved, for example for English. Apart from analysing the grammatical structure and allocating a language its place in the current typologies, cross-linguistic semantic investigations obviously seemed appropriate. They provided an opportunity for pinning down the *Weltansicht* (or *Innere Form*) of a language in a concrete domain of its lexis. A generalisation might then be possible. Such investigations could theoretically be based on many of Humboldt's statements, for example:

Denn der Zusammenhang aller Theile der Sprache unter einander, und der ganzen Sprache mit der Nation ist so enge, dass, wenn einmal diese Wechselwirkung eine bestimmte Richtung angiebt, daraus nothwendig durchgängige Eigenthümlichkeit hervorgehen muß. Weltansicht aber ist die Sprache nicht bloss, weil sie, da jeder Begriff soll durch sie erfasst werden

können, dem Umfange der Welt gleichkommen muss, sondern auch deswegen, weil erst die Verwandlung, die sie mit den Gegenständen vornimmt, den Geist zur Einsicht des von dem Begriff der Welt unzertrennlichen Zusammenhanges fähig macht.³⁸

This notion stimulated an abundance of investigations which were to come into their own only in the first half of the following century when Humboldt's ideas were re-introduced into linguistic thinking by the so-called neo-Humboldtians (e.g. Leo Weisgerber) and when the idea of the semantic field (*Wortfeld*) was coined and gained wide acceptance. One of the first people to do this was the philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860). In his essay 'Über Sprache und Worte', for example, he compared a series of related words in several languages, among them *ingénieux*, *sinnreich*, *clever*, *esprit*, *Geist*, *wit*; and *malice*, *Bosheit*, *wickedness* in order to show that they are not interlanguage synonyms in the strict sense.³⁹ For foreign language learning this means that one must delimit several new concepts in the mind; conceptual areas come into being where there were none so far. One does not learn just words but acquires concepts. This idea corresponds to Humboldt's statement that learning a foreign language should mean finding a new hold in the old view of the world. This is so because every language contains the whole texture of concepts and imaginings of some part of mankind.⁴⁰ Schopenhauer goes on to explain that the sum total of all concepts expressed in the lexis of a language constitutes the spirit of the language to be learnt. A national language is related to this spirit of a nation in the same way in which a personal style is related to the spirit of an individual. We find a clear parallelism here between the individual and the nation as a kind of super-individual. This (pseudo-)psychological idea will gain much ground in the following century, and there will also be much criticism levelled against it. Not surprisingly, it is

³⁸ 'For the interconnection of all parts of the language and the language as a whole and the nation is so strict that, once this interconnection points towards a certain direction, a general individuality must necessarily follow. Language is not only a world view because it must encompass the whole world, as any term must be expressed [in it], but also because it enables the spirit [of people] to recognize the inseparable interconnection with the world only by the individualisation of things.' See Humboldt (1968:V, 387) ('Grundzüge des allgemeinen Sprachtypus'). There are also statements in which Humboldt warns people not to try and describe the individuality of a language because the task is too complex. Note, for example: 'Die Untersuchung dieser Individualität, ja sogar ihre genauere Bestimmung in einem gegebenen Falle ist das schwierigste Geschäft der Sprachforschung. Es ist unleugbar, dass dieselbe, bis auf einen gewissen Grad, nur empfunden, nicht dargestellt werden kann, und fragt sich daher, ob nicht alle Betrachtung derselben von dem Kreise des wissenschaftlichen Sprachstudiums ausgeschlossen bleiben solle?.' (IV, 421) ('Über den Nationalcharakter der Sprachen').

³⁹ Schopenhauer (1965:667) ('Parerga und Paralipomena', Paragraph 298-303a). Schopenhauer also mentions *comfortable*, *disappointment*, *gentleman* as untranslatable.

⁴⁰ 'Die Erlernung einer fremden Sprache sollte daher die Gewinnung eines neuen Standpunkts in der bisherigen Weltansicht seyn und ist es in der That bis auf einen gewissen Grad, da jede Sprache das ganze Gewebe der Begriffe und der Vorstellungsweise eines Theils der Menschheit enthält.' Humboldt (1968:VII, 60) ('Über die Verschiedenheit des menschlichen Sprachbaus').

above all the theory of foreign language teaching that is interested in such concrete applications of abstract ideas.⁴¹

The foregoing historiographical overview leads to some noteworthy, if preliminary, results. Although the three periods under analysis are, of course, quite different in their basic assumptions, there is an astonishing parallelism. In the Romantic period, the theological argument of Schottelius and others is repeated in a national (political) variant. Whereas in the 17th century the originally divine quality of human language was the starting point of linguistic evaluation, this was in the 19th century its originally ethnic quality. Fichte's *Grundgesetz* takes the place of the *lingua adamica*. Consequently, the argument leads to similar results, viz. the critical rejection of English as a mixed language and a language with a poor inflectional system. The rational and, in the historical sense of the word, enlightened method of linguistic analysis by Daniel Jenisch got lost, at least in what would today be called the mainstream linguistics of the 19th century. It had its somewhat timid forerunner in von Hille. The way in which von Hille contradicted Schottelius in the earlier century is also repeated in Jakob Grimm's even more impressive praise of English as a contradiction to mainstream linguistics in the later period. The underlying historical pattern, as far as it is discernible now, is that an ideological approach moves from theology to ethnology and politics, and that a functional approach runs alongside. It remains to be seen what happened to this competition during the 20th century. Here the ideological approach was certainly adopted by the followers of Neo-Humboldtianism, and the functional approach, for example, by Otto Jespersen (1860-1943) who was, of course, not German but very influential among German scholars.

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⁴¹ After all, Humboldt was *ex officio* the reformer of the *Preußisches Gymnasium*. Pedagogical reflections on how to apply the results of the new linguistics to foreign language teaching started quite early. Note, for example, Asher (1859) and Bernhard Schmitz (1859). The latter book is very rich in reports on philological and pedagogical literature. It points out the importance of *Volkscharakter* for the teaching of foreign languages (mostly French), but the author also has his doubts concerning this vague term: 'Es gibt immer noch Menschen genug, denen solches Gerede imponiert und Wunders tief klingt' (1859:28).

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REVIEWS AND BOOK ANNOUNCEMENTS

Fredericka van der Lubbe

Martin Aedler and the ‘High Dutch Minerva’. The First German Grammar for the English. Frankfurt: Lang, 2007, 312 pp.

(Duisburg Papers on Research in Language and Culture, vol. 68.)

Reviewed by: Werner Hüllen, Düsseldorf.

The “first German grammar for the English”, i.e. written in the English language, has had a curious fate. When it appeared in 1680, it was the only book of its kind on the market. There was one reprint in 1685. But this unique position lasted for only one year. Heinrich Offelen’s so-called double-grammar for the learners of English in Germany and German in England appeared in 1686/1687. Reviews by Johann Christoph Gottsched in 1733 and 1736 and by Johann Christoph Adelung in 1784 show that Aedler was known in Germany at least by experts, among them Theodor Arnold, the successful author of English grammars for Germans. The book then disappeared from sight, except in treatments of a very general (pedagogic) kind. In his comprehensive study of the history of Germans living in England, Karl Heinrich Schaible (1885) devoted just one page to the book, mentioning that it was generally unknown and “in keinem Catalog und nicht einmal im Britischen Museum zu finden”. Today’s great conspectuses of foreign language teaching like Caravolas (1974: 116) or Glück (2002: 334) make only passing mention of the author and the book before going on to discuss Offelen’s more successful work. One exception, however, is the study by Blamires (1990). My own interest in Aedler (Hüllen 1996) was stimulated by the *Wolfenbütteler Bibliotheksinformationen* 1995 with their announcement that a copy of the *High Dutch Minerva* had been obtained, the only one outside the United Kingdom and the US. The general neglect of the book was underpinned by the fact that the author’s name was assumed to be pseudonymous (or just fantasy). *Qua* person he was unknown. No other work from his pen could be found. The sum total of almost 330 years of historiography on the matter is therefore: There was a book which hardly anybody knew (and knows) and which occupied a unique place in the history of teaching German as a foreign language in England, although it was not at all successful.

Fredericka van der Lubbe, lecturer in European Studies at the University of Sydney, has now rectified this situation, and she has done so with great success. Hers is a comprehensive and highly complex study which has been in preparation over many years (– there are 26 European and American libraries which she mentions as having helped her –) and which leaves hardly any wish or question unanswered. In the third chapter of her book, Van der Lubbe identifies Martin Aedler as having been born, probably in Jena, in 1643. He obviously studied at the university there. In the course of a theological training, he learnt the three holy languages, and beyond that also Arabic, Aramaic, Coptic, Samaritan, Syriac, and Ethiopic. His book shows his acquaintance furthermore with Dutch, French, and Italian. Moreover, he quotes Gothic

and Old English as well as Persian and Turkish. He was a member of the *Deutschgesinnte Genossenschaft*, one of the linguistic societies which planned the development and promulgation of German as a national language, founded in 1642-1643. In 1677 he went to England, where he was to remain for the rest of his life, although he may not initially have planned to do so. He had the *High Dutch Minerva* printed “for the author”, i.e. at his own cost. It was a dreadful financial failure which dogged his subsequent life as a teacher of Hebrew and other Oriental languages in Cambridge. Obviously fettered by an unhappy marriage, he was not able to secure a regular income but lived off the money paid by students who were sent to him by the colleges in order to learn Hebrew. Occasionally he asked the university for extra subventions. Late in his life, he ran into severe difficulties with the authorities because he confessed to being an Ebionite. This means he agreed with the early Jewish Christians who maintained that the Christian religion was a reformed version of the Jewish religion, and that the Muslim religion was a reformed version of Christianity. When he died in 1724, his possessions passed to the overseer of the poor.

Fredericka van der Lubbe puts this unhappy *curriculum vitae* together with its many details, carefully weighing every smallest item of information she could get hold of in the archives and libraries mentioned, disproving all the unfounded guesses that had been made in the past. From there she moves on to the central assumption of her study: The academician and the personality of Martin Aedler were singularly suited to the task of his life, unhappy though it was, in a twofold way – he met all the expectations of the English public concerning German as a foreign language, at the end of the seventeenth century, and he also met all the expectations of the German linguistic societies concerning the grammatical codification and general promulgation of German as a national language. He thus served two masters; his work is “a product of two cultures” (105). Fredericka van der Lubbe explains and exemplifies this central assumption in the subsequent chapter of her book.

A general demand in England for a knowledge of German by merchants and in the general field of ‘modern’ education cannot be excluded. But much more stimulating were the special interests of antiquarians in Old English and the Western Germanic languages, and likewise the special interests of fellows of the Royal Society in German achievements in the field of the natural sciences. Moreover, German theological texts aroused much curiosity. The references to Old English, to the Royal Society and to theological texts in Aedler’s book show its author’s capabilities, and they “are overall strongly suggestive of an appeal to English intellectual society within universities, ecclesiastical circles and intellectual institutions” (117).

The German interest in a grammar for foreigners grew out of the catastrophe of the Thirty Years’ War. It included the need for strengthening and standardization and the wish to preserve the language from foreign, in particular French, influence (120). The *Sprachgesellschaften* included these aims in their programmes and the contemporary linguists did the same in their works. “Aedler’s task, in creating the *High Dutch Minerva*, is to present a model of German to the English which displays a *Kunstsprache*, based in part on the first successful attempt to produce a theoretical grammar, by Schottelius” (144). Thus the similarities between Aedler und Schottelius, which had been noticed earlier (Hüllen 1996), are given a historical foundation.

What remains for the following chapter is a demonstration from the grammar itself of how Martin Aedler went about his task. The divine lineage of German from the pre-Babylonian ideal is shown by the application of a universal grammar model to this concrete language. Individual deviations are regarded as being systematic (rational), in particular in orthography and in the puristic attitude towards foreign words. There is also a strong bias in favour of the Protestant cause. So the language's capacity for perfectibility is made the driving force of its teachability to English speakers.

The book closes with appendices which give many technical details and which document other, very scarce, sources of Aedler's from his work in Cambridge. It is an almost perfect scholarly work – showing the potential for insights to be gleaned from careful historiographical analyses. Sometimes the author may overstate her case in creating the impression that Aedler's role is a perfect play with its own *historical* sense and forgetting that we speak of an individual whose life was far from making *individual* sense. Very rarely, one misses some relevant literature, in the chapter on the attitude of Germans towards teaching English in their own country, e.g. Schröder (1967). But even so no scholar with an interest in Anglo-German (German-English) relations can work in this field now without studying Fredericka van der Lubbe's book. She proves that important linguistic ideas and academically high-profile books can nevertheless make a poor showing on the market.

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Jan Cosinka***Teach Yourself Malkielese.***

Berkeley: Ian Jackson, 2006. 162 pp.

US\$ 15

Reviewed by: Anders Ahlqvist, Helsingfors.

This is a very enjoyable book. It can be read as pure spoof, directed at linguists and philologists. There may also be some serious lessons to be learnt from it. As Cosinka states (p. 2), the term ‘Malkielese’ seems to have been first used in print by Robert Hall Jr (1911–1997), of the sort of English the late Yakov Malkiel (1914–1998) not only used in his own scholarly work, but also imposed on colleagues contributing work edited by him. Cosinka’s contention (p. 17) is summarised as follows. ‘In short, Malkielese is a language, and should be carefully distinguished from the many contemporary pidgin or macaronic idiolects of émigrés.’ He (p. 21) has this to add. ‘There are two main creoles in North American Romance philology: Malkielese and Spitzerian. The latter is now apparently extinct: usage was voluntary. It remained an auxiliary language of no very striking peculiarities, having never obtained the public funding that has kept Welsh, Irish and Malkielese alive in the twentieth century.’

The book is written in a splendidly erudite style. There are numerous quotations (notably in German, English, Spanish, French, Greek, Italian and Latin); they seem genuine and accurate. The footnotes are abundant. A major part consists of an Appendix (pp. 83–153) that contains a ‘Glossary of Malkielisms’. One short extract (p. 145) will give the flavour:

Titillation

When Rebecca Posner glosses the phrase ‘**titillating** semantic characteristics’ with the remark: ‘scatological or obscene items are of special appeal to some etymologists’, [...] she hints at the equivocal position that the word **titillate** has come to occupy in the English language. [...] In Malkielese, [...] t]he piquancy of **titillation** is entirely cerebral, [...].

It is worth noting that **boldface** is used (‘for ease of instruction’, see p. vi) for all instances of Malkielisms. Naturally enough, they are quoted profusely. Otherwise, the book appears to be very professionally produced. Apart from those few listed in the sheet of errata supplied, I have noted these two misprints (both in footnote * on p. 35): ζοδοδακτυλος for ζοδοδάκτυλος ‘rosy-fingered’ and όνοψ for οίνοψ ‘wine-dark’.

Now for the serious lessons. The first is that this could be taken as an unwarranted attack on someone no longer able to defend himself. Sadly, we shall never know, but one must hope that Malkiel himself might have found the book interesting and even somewhat amusing. The second rather more weighty one is that it furnishes all of us scholars with a sound warning about the advisability of taking a very close look at the way we express ourselves. Finally, in congratulating the author,

may I therefore express the hope that he will live long enough to experience the publication, one day, of an even more deftly-balanced book-length study entitled *Teach Yourself Cosinkan*.

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Jan Amos Comenius: NOVISSIMA LINGUARUM METHODUS . LA TOUTE NOUVELLE MÉTHODE DES LANGUES. Traduction française par Honoré Jean. Préface d'Etienne Krotky. Sous la direction de Gilles Bibeau, Jean Caravolas et Claire Le Brun-Gouanvic. Geneva : Librairie Droz, 2005, xx+485+485 (+25) pp.

Reviewed by: Werner Hüllen, Düsseldorf

Jan Amos Comenius' work on language teaching, the *Novissima linguarum methodus*, written in Leszlo between 1643 and 1646, published in 1648, has been of much smaller influence on relevant European thinking than it deserved. It was his own *Didactica magna* (1657) which overshadowed the other work. One reason for this was certainly the language. Contrary to the *Didactica*, the *Methodus* had only been translated into Czech by Helena Businská et al. (1964), but not into any of the wider read European languages. So the text remained readable for the greater number of interested people only in the critical edition of Comenius' complete works which is being prepared and published by the Czech Academy of Sciences in Prague (vol. 15/2).

It was Jean Caravolas, expert in Comenian studies and founder of the Canadian Comenius Society, moreover expert in the historiography of language teaching, who stimulated a translation of the important treatise into French during a conference in Montreal in 1992. The text was rendered by Honoré Jean, and published under the auspices of Caravolas himself, of the language pedagogue Gilles Bibeau, and the medievalist Claire Le Brun-Gouanvic. The bilingual edition is a true sensation for European Comenian studies, and the merit goes to the Librairie Droz in Geneva and Paris to have made it possible.

Jan Amos Comenius: NOVISSIMA LINGUARUM METHODUS . LA TOUTE NOUVELLE MÉTHODE DES LANGUES. Traduction française par Honoré Jean. Préface d'Etienne Krotky. Sous la direction de Gilles Bibeau, Jean Caravolas et Claire Le Brun-Gouanvic. Librairie Droz S.A., 11, rue Massot. GÈNÈVE 2005, xx+485+485 (+25) pp.

The historical title is:

Novissima LINGUARUM METHODUS. Fundamentis didacticis solidè superstructura: Latinæ Linguae exemplò realiter demonstrata: Scholarum usibus jam tandem examussin accomadata: Sed et insuper aliis Studiorum generibus magnò usu accomodanda. Antè tamen Eruditorum judicio publico exposita, seriisque ac severis censures submissa. Anno 1648.

LA TOUTE NOUVELLE MÉTHODE DES LANGUES solidement construite sur des fondement didactiques; illustrée de façon concrète par la langue latine; tout à fait adaptée à l'usage des écoles; particulièrement susceptible de s'adapter à nous les autres usage que peuvent ont faire les autres champs d'études; mais, auparavant, présentée aux érudits pour jugement public et soumise à une sérieuse et sévère critique. En l'an 1648.

The *Novissima linguarum methodus* is an extraordinary rich book. The greater part discusses the philosophical foundations of adequate language teaching and includes the thoughts of about forty scholars of his time. The language in question is Latin, but the reflections can be applied to others. At the beginning, we find the well-known triad *ratio, oratio* and *actio* which, according to Comenius, is given to humans by God and enables them to create their own culture. In it language appears again in a triad, namely *res, mens* and *verba* (*Ce que requiert la langue: la réalité, l'intelligence, les mots... Ces trois exigences sont inséparables. L'une ne peut exister sans l'autre.* [40]). In order to achieve this, three instruments are needed for teaching: *nomenclatura rerum, index verborum et phrasium, grammatica.* (*Il s'ensuit qu'il existe trois utils pour cultiver une langue: 1/ la nomenclature de la réalité ou, si vous voulez, le tableau de l'univers contextualisé à l'aide des mots appropriés; 2/ l'index complet des mots et des phrases, c'est-à-dire le lexique ou le dictionnaire; 3/ l'art arrête de fabriquer le discours, c'est-à-dire les règles de son organisation, les règles de grammaire.* [88]). The grammar and the alphabetical index of words are the well-known instruments of teaching. Of particular interest, because truly Comenian, is the *nomenclatura rerum*, because it lays the foundations of the earlier Comenian dictionary and the one to come, and establishes his particular method. The important paragraph reads: *Mon objectif consiste à établir un tableau universel de la réalité et des mots. Ce tableau contiendrait en parallèle l'ensemble de la production universelle en regard de l'ensemble de l'appareil du discours humain. Le vocabulaire utilisé y serait très simple, les phrases, tres brèves et dans un enchaînement unique et continu, de sorte qu'on ne verrait la fin que lorsqu'elle serait là.... Il faudrait également que, à sa vue, en le lisant et en le comprenant, chacun ait la certitude de voir réellement tout l'enchaînement des choses et de comprendre le système de la langue.* [92] It is the plan of Comenius' own dictionaries, notably the earlier *Janua linguarum* (1631, 1633) and the later *Orbis sensualium pictus* (1659) that speaks out of these sentences.

As divisions, Comenius suggests, first, *naturalia*, i.e. the world as created by God, second, *arificialia*, i.e. the world as created by human beings, third, *moralia*, i.e. the way these humans treat the world, and, fourth, *spiritualia*, i.e. religion (*les choses naturelles, des inventions nouvelles et d'une admirable diversité, la réalité morale, les choses qui ont rapport à la spiritualité* [93-94]). This reads like the masterplan of a thesaurus. The central idea is that the words must match the things exactly, and not only as such but also with their purposes in the great system of the creation. (*On en trouve la solution par la méthode suivante: de quoi s'agit-il? pourquoi? comment? qui agit ou subit? Avec qui est-il en relation? C'est ainsi qu'il importe de procéder pour nommer l'ensemble de la réalité avec sa finalité.* [94])

It is this all-embracing program that marks Comenius in the world of lexicography as well as in the world of language teaching for what it is.

(Adapted from Werner Hüllen: *Englisch Dictionaries 800 to 1700: The Topical Tradition.* Oxford: Clarendon Press 1999, 373-377).

Contact details: werner.huellen@uni-duisburg-essen.de

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

(to 31st May, 2007)

Members of the Society have been kind enough to donate the following publications to the HSS Library. Further contributions, which are very welcome, should be sent to:

Dr David Cram
Jesus College
University of Oxford
Oxford
OX1 3DW

Monographs by individual authors will be reviewed wherever possible; articles in collected volumes will be listed separately below, but, like offprints and articles in journals, will not normally be reviewed. It would be appreciated if the source of articles could be noted where not already stated on the offprints.

The Society is also very grateful to those publishers who have been good enough to send books for review.

ALLAN, Keith

The Western Classical Tradition in Linguistics.

London / Oakville: Equinox, 2007, xv + 351 pp.

ISBN: 1904768962

COSINKA, Jan

Teach Yourself Malkielese in 19 Minutes.

Berkeley: Ian Jackson Books, 2006, vi + 162 pp. © 2006 University of Turku.

[Available \$25 post-free (to all destinations) from Ian Jackson Books, P.O. Box 9075, Berkeley, Ca 94709, U.S.A.]

GENSINI Stefano & MARTONE Arturo (eds.), *Il linguaggio. Teoria e storia delle teorie; In onore di Lia Formigari.* Napoli: Liguori, 2006, 162 pp.

ISBN: 88-207-3908-9

LEWIS, Rhodri

Language, Mind and Nature: Artificial Languages in England from Bacon to Locke.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, xvi + 288 pp.

ISBN: 9780521874755.

LOSONSKY, Michael

Linguistic Turns in Modern Philosophy.

Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006, xvi, 275 pp.

ISBN: 9780521654708 (pbk);

052165470X (pbk)

NOORDEGRAAF, Frank Vonk, Marijke VAN DER WAL (eds)
Amicitia in Academia. Composities voor Els Elffers.
Amsterdam: Stichting Neerlandistiek VU / Münster: Nodus, 2006.
ISBN-10: 3-89323-754-3; ISBN-13: 978-3-89323-754-8

RUTTEN, Gijsbert
De Archimedishe Punten van de Taalbeschouwing: David van Hoogstraten (1658-1724) en de Vroegmoderne Taalcultuur.
Amsterdam: Stichting Neerlandistiek VU / Münster: Nodus, 2006, 459 pp.
[With an English summary, pp.455-458]
ISBN-10: 90-72635-93-3; ISBN-13: 978-90-72635-93-4

SCHULTINK, H.
Contant en Variabel in de Morfologie: Historiografische studies.
Münster: Nodus Publikationen, 2006, 219 pp.
ISBN: 3-89323-293-1

WALMSLEY, John (ed)
Inside Old English: Essays in Honour of Bruce Mitchell, edited by John Walmsley.
Oxford : Blackwell Publishing, 2006, xix, 299 pp.
ISBN-10: 1-4051-1483-5 (hbk); ISBN-13: 978-1-4051-1483-7 (hbk)

Voortgang. Jaarboek voor de Neerlandistiek. XXIV/2006
Tussen semantiek en pragmatiek
[Special issue on semantics and pragmatics]
ISSN • 0922-7865; ISBN • 3-89323-446-2

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Notice of Henry Sweet Society Annual General Meeting July 20, 2007, Helsinki, including election of members to the Executive Committee

Notice is hereby given that the following members of the Executive Committee will be standing for re-election at the next Annual General Meeting, to be held on Friday, July 20th, 2007 during the Helsinki colloquium: **David Cram, Nicola McLelland and Richard Steadman-Jones** (although David Cram finishes his term as Chair of the Executive Committee).

The terms of **Mark Atherton** and **Rhodri Lewis** also expire this year, and they have expressed a wish to stand down from the committee, leaving (at least!) two vacancies. We also note here formally that **Therese Lindström Tiedemann** has stepped down from her role as Bulletin Editor, but remains on the committee.

If you are interested in joining the committee (for a 3-year term, eligible for re-election), please contact Andrew Linn (a.r.linn@shef.ac.uk) in the first instance. The committee meets two or three times a year, normally in Oxford or London. Nominations can be made orally by the Chair of the Executive Committee at the AGM itself, so it is not a very complicated procedure.

Extract from the Constitution outlining the election procedure:

“7. Terms of office shall be: President: 3 years with eligibility for re-election for a further 3 years; Vice-Presidents: without limit while they remain members of the Society; all Executive Committee members (including the Officers): three years, with eligibility for re-election.

8. Elections: (a) The officers shall be elected by the Executive Committee from amongst its members; (b) The members of the Executive Committee shall be elected by the membership of the Society, as assembled in the Annual General Meeting. Vacancies on the Executive Committee, together with the names of committee members who are retiring or standing for re-election, shall be notified in a Bulletin appearing a month or more before the Annual General Meeting. Nominations shall be made in writing to the Secretary of the Executive Committee at least fifteen days before the Annual General Meeting, or by oral proposal to the meeting by the Chairman of the Executive Committee.”

**Centre d'histoire des sciences et des philosophies
arabes et médiévales CNRS/EPHE/Univ. Paris 7**
Laboratoire d'études sur les monothéismes - CNRS/EPHE

**GUILLAUME DE CONCHES :
PHILOSOPHIE ET SCIENCE AU XII^E SIÈCLE**
Juin 1-2, 2007

Organisation : Barbara Obrist / Irene Caiazzo
bobrist@vjf.cnrs.fr / caiazzo@vjf.cnrs.fr

Vendredi 1^{er} juin 2007

Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, Salle Jeanne Vielliard

9h 30 Introduction

9h 40 Jean JOLIVET (EPHE-CNRS, Paris)
*La création de l'homme chez Guillaume de Conches, Pierre Abélard et
Alain de Lille*

10h 25 Alexander FIDORA (ICREA, Barcelone)
*Le débat sur la création : Guillaume de Conches maître de Dominique
Gundisalvi?*

11h 10 Pause

11h 30 Dominique POIREL (CNRS, Paris)
*La nature et le livre. Guillaume de Conches et Hugues de Saint-Victor
exégètes*

12h 15 Julie BRUMBERG-CHAUMONT (CNRS, Paris)
Les gloses sur Priscien

13h 00 Déjeuner

14h 30 Edouard JEAUNEAU (CNRS, Paris)
Quand un médecin commente Juvénal

15h 15 Charles BURNETT (Warburg Institute, Londres)
William of Conches and Adelard of Bath

16h 00 Pause

16h 20 Irene CAIAZZO (CNRS, Paris)
Les quatre éléments dans l'œuvre de Guillaume de Conches

17h 05 Danielle JACQUART (EPHE, Paris)
La médecine chez Guillaume de Conches : état de la question

Samedi 2 juin 2007

École pratique des Hautes Études, Salle Gaston Paris

9h 30 Barbara OBRIST (CNRS, Paris)
L'astronomie de Guillaume de Conches et sa place dans l'histoire de la cosmologie

10h 15 Nadja GERMANN (Univ. Freiburg/Br.)
La découverte du ciel à l'aube du XIIe siècle : les 'Prognostica de defectu solis et Lunae' de Hermann de Reichenau

11h 00 Pause

11 h 15 Helen RODNITE LEMAY (Stony Brook Univ., New York)
Researching Astronomy/Astrology in the 'Glosae super Macrobius'

12h 00 Patrick GAUTIER-DALCHÉ (CNRS, Paris)
La géographie de Guillaume de Conches

13h 00 Déjeuner

14h 45 John MARENBOON (Trinity College, Cambridge)

Guillaume de Conches et Pierre Abélard sur les philosophes païens de l'Antiquité

15h 00 Thomas RICKLIN (Univ. Munich)

Guglielmo Grataroli (1516-1568): le premier éditeur de Guillaume de Conches

15h 45 Pause

16h 00 Italo RONCA (Univ. of South Africa, Pretoria)

I termini 'philosophia', 'sapientia' e 'scientia' nel 'Dragmaticon' con particolare riguardo ai prologhi

16h 45 Frank BEZNER (Univ. Tübingen)
William of Conches and 12th century discussions of abstraction

17h 30 **Conclusions**

18h 00 **Réception**

INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM: SAUSSURIAN REVOLUTIONS

Geneva (Switzerland), 19-22 June 2007

To celebrate the centenary of Saussure's first course of lectures in general linguistics, the 150th anniversary of the birth of Ferdinand de Saussure, and the 50th anniversary of the publication of the *Sources manuscrites du CLG* by Robert Godel.

A hundred years ago, Ferdinand de Saussure delivered his first course of lectures on general linguistics at the University of Geneva. His ideas were to have a remarkable future: bold and innovative, but poorly understood in consequence, tentative but revolutionary, they have inspired many subsequent developments in modern thought and research. Over several decades now, the gradual discovery of his unfinished manuscripts, his notes and those of his students has made it possible to propose re-readings of his work and reassessments of its importance. Apart from linguistics, semiotics, anthropology and other social sciences have had their Saussurean revolutions. Saussure's contrastive approach, rejecting 'ontological' conceptions of language and various forms of positivism, laid the foundations for modern structuralist thinking. His focus on the interdependence of perspective and object, forms of temporality and the dynamics of systems threw new light on the relations between language and thought, signs and culture. Saussure's work was thus of general epistemological significance, affecting the very conception of scientific inquiry itself. For the sciences of culture, at present undergoing an identity crisis, it offers the prospect of a new reorientation.

'Saussurean Revolutions' is an international, interdisciplinary conference that sets out to examine both current and potential future developments of Saussurean thought.

Colloquium website: <http://www.saussure.ch>

Theories of Language in Enlightenment Europe

*A two-part roundtable at the Twelfth International Enlightenment Congress
(Montpellier, France, 8-15 July 2007)*

Conveners: Gerda Haßler (Potsdam) and Avi Lifschitz (Oxford)

Session I

1. “Christian Translations: Indian Grammar and the Quest for a Universal Language in the British Atlantic World”, Sarah Rivett, Washington University (Missouri)
2. “Frivolous French & Energetic English: Two Models of Enlightened Language”, Matthew Lauzon, University of Hawaii at Manoa
3. “Contradictory Results of Empirical-Sensationalist Thought in Language Theories”
Gerda Haßler, Universität Potsdam
4. “Le rôle de la liaison des idées dans l’acquisition du langage et dans l’invention de nouveaux signes”, Gabrielle Radica, Universites of Nantes and Nanterre
5. “*Cinq éditions du Dictionnaire de l’Académie Française au XVIIIe siècle: une prise de position face au modèle néoclassique de la langue*”, Vivi Perraky, Maison des Sciences de l’Homme (Paris)

Session II

1. “De l’éloquence antique au ‘bourdonnement des divans’: considérations géopolitiques du langage chez Rousseau”, Masano Yamashita, NYU
2. “Divine or Natural? Debating Rousseau on Language in Berlin of the 1750s”,
Avi Lifschitz, Brasenose College, Oxford
3. “For and Against Rousseau: Louis de Bonald’s Counter-Enlightenment Theory of Language”, W. Jay Reedy, Bryant University (Rhode Island)
4. “Abbé Sicard’s Deaf”, R. Emmet Kennedy, George Washington University (Washington DC)
5. “The Language of Action”, Margaret Bruzelius, Smith College (Massachusetts)

XIXth International Colloquium of the SGdS/Henry Sweet Society Annual Colloquium

18–22 July 2007 University of Helsinki (Finland)

‘*SPRACHLEHRE UND SPRACHPFLEGE*’

The XIXth International Colloquium of the Studienkreis Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft (SGdS) and the Annual Colloquium of the Henry Sweet Society for the History of Linguistic Ideas will take place at the University of Helsinki, from 18 to 22 July 2007. This joint conference of the two societies is organized by Anneli Luhtala, Aino Kärnä and Anders Ahlqvist.

See the website <http://www.ling.helsinki.fi/~fkarlso/Colloquium/> or contact aino.karna@helsinki.fi or aluhtala@mappi.helsinki.fi

The conference fee will be 30 euros, 20 for students, payable during the conference. A provisional programme is given below, but is subject to change.

Thursday 19 July 2007	
9.00 - 9.15	Opening: F. Karlsson
9.15 – 10.00	Plenary session: Fr. Spitzl-Dupic, <i>“Redende Künste” und Sprachpflege im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert im deutschen Sprachraum</i>
	Section 1 Section 2
10.00- 10.45	G. Wolf, <i>Does Prescriptivism Coincide with Sprachpflege in English Grammars of the 17th and 18th Centuries?</i> C. Klippi, <i>L’espace linguistique vécu</i>
10.45- 11.30	B. Kaltz/ V. Balnat, <i>Sprachkritik und Sprachpflege im frühen 20. Jahrhundert: Einstellungen zu „Fremdwörtern“ und „Kurzwörtern“</i> H. Eto, <i>Language Study as National Learning: Motoori Norinaga’s (1730-1801) Ui-yama-bumi (The First Mountain Climbing)</i>
11.30- 11.45	Coffee/ tea break
11.45- 12.30	S. Matthaios, <i>Sprachlehre und Sprachpflege im Spiegel der antiattizistischen Bewegung im Bereich der antiken griechischen Lexikographie</i> G.J. Rutten, <i>Remark and Remember: Cultivating Dutch in Early Modern Europe</i>
12.30- 14.00	Lunch
	Section 1 Section 2
14.00-	R. Maltby, <i>Varro on the</i> S. Daalder, <i>Antoine Meillet’s</i>

14.45	<i>origins of language, etymology and correct linguistic usage</i>	<i>correspondence with Dutch linguists</i>
14.45-15.30	C.C: de Jonge, <i>Protagoras and the prehistory of grammar</i>	D. Olsson, <i>Der Grammatiker und Pädagoge Max Wilhelm Götzinger (1799-1856) – ein vorwegnehmender Grammatiker</i>
15.30-16.15	Coffee/ tea break	
15.30-16.15	T. Morgan, <i>The relationship between scholarly grammar and school grammar</i>	C. Hamans, <i>The history of the study of the Dutch diphthongization</i>
16.15-17.00	A. Schmidhauser, <i>The Notion of Substance in Apollonius Dyscolus.</i>	U. Tinteman, „ <i>Aehnlichkeiten und Unterschiede zwischen der deutschen und englischen Sprache</i> “. Zu Karl Philipp Moritz' <i>Englischer Sprachlehre für die Deutschen</i>
Friday 20 July 2007		
9.00-9.45	2nd Plenary: A. Linn, <i>The unpublished papers of Johan August Lundell (1851-1940)</i>	
	Section 1	Section 2 –
9.45-10.30	S. Haapamäki, <i>Schwedische Sprachlehren und Sprachpflege – Kontinuität oder Diskontinuität?</i>	M. De Boer, <i>Interjections in different descriptive paradigms</i>
10.30-11.15	T. Kelomäki, <i>The Myth of the Neogrammarian School in the Study of Finnish Language</i>	E. Elffers, <i>Interjections and the language functions debate</i>
11.15-11.30	Coffee/ tea break	
11.30-12.15	K.-Å. Forsgren, <i>Konzeptionen der Adverbkategorie</i>	<i>Language Standardization</i>
12.15-13.00	N. McLelland, <i>Overlapping discourses in Schottelius's Ausführliche Arbeit (1663)</i>	F. Vonk, <i>What linguistics could learn from psychology and sociology. Mauthner's chapters on psychology</i>
13.00-14.00	Lunch	
	Section 1	Section 2
14.00-14.45	B. Djubo, <i>Der Beitrag der Mitglieder der Fruchtbringenden Gesellschaft zum Verfassen der grammatikographischen Arbeiten</i>	M. Isermann, <i>The Rise of Linguistic Neoplatonism: Agrippa von Nettesheim on Language</i>
14.45-	L. Kelly, <i>Towards A</i>	K.-H. Ehlers, <i>Sprachwissenschaft in</i>

15.30	<i>Linguistics Of Parole</i>	<i>(geheimer) außenpolitischer Mission</i>
15.30-15.45	Coffee/tea break	
15.45-16.30	K.M. Navest, <i>The teaching of English grammar: Ash and Devis and "the language of gentlemen</i>	G. Hassler, <i>The functional-communicative approach to language: the genesis and demise of a paradigm</i>
16.30-17.15	J. Walmsley, <i>Lily's Theory of Sign</i>	S.Verleyen, <i>Traditional vs structuralist diachronic semantics: Nyrop and Ullmann on semantic change</i>
17.15	MEETING OF THE SGDS	MEETING OF THE HSS
Saturday 21 July 2007		
	Section 1	Section 2
9.30-10.15	D. Cram, <i>Music = Grammar – Semantics + Pragmatics</i>	I. Milewska, <i>Helena Willman-Grabowska – portrait of a linguist and an indologist</i>
10.15-11.00	K. Jankowsky, <i>Classical Studies and the Emergence of Comparative Linguistics: What was lost and what was gained?</i>	N. Kerecuk, <i>Syntax in the 19th c.: O. O. Potebnia's (1835-1891)</i>
11.00-11.15	Coffee/ tea break	
11.15-12.00	J.L. Leon, <i>Context, text, corpus and use in British Applied Linguistics in the 1960s</i>	K. Velmezova, <i>To Study Russian by Means of the "New Theory of Language" ? A Little Known Page from the History of Soviet Pedagogics</i>
12.00-12.45	M. Pierce, <i>Germanic Linguistics and the Linguistic Society of America: 1924 and 2007</i>	S. Wakulenko, <i>Sprachklassifikationen in den ukrainischen handschriftlichen Logikkursen vom Ende des 17. - ersten Drittel des 18. Jahrhunderts</i>
12.45	Lunch	
19.00	Conference Dinner at "Katajanokan kasino"	

40th BRITISH ASSOCIATION FOR APPLIED LINGUISTICS ANNUAL CONFERENCE

University of Edinburgh (Scotland), 6-8 September 2007

Theme: 'Technology, Ideology and Practice in Applied Linguistics'

The 40th BAAL annual conference will be jointly hosted by three departments of the University of Edinburgh: Linguistics and English Language, the Institute for Applied Language Studies and The Moray House School of Education. The conference will be held in the Central Area Campus of the university, which is within 10 minutes' walking distance of the city-centre. A highlight of the event will be the celebration of 50 years of applied linguistics at the university. This will be marked by the invited Pit Corder Colloquium and a drinks reception in the Playfair Library.

Edinburgh is the capital city of Scotland and a thriving, cosmopolitan, cultural and educational centre. In the month before the conference the city's international arts festivals will be taking place and, during the same period, several other international linguistics conferences will be held in universities only a short distance away. Edinburgh is well served by regular and low-cost flights from cities across Britain and Europe, by direct flights from North America, by sea from Europe and by high-speed rail links from around the UK.

Conference Organisers: Alan Davies, Linguistics and English Language
e-mail: aladavie@staffmail.ed.ac.uk
Heather Hewitt, Institute for Applied Language Studies
e-mail: BAAL07@education.ed.ac.uk

Plenary speakers: Karin Aijmer, University of Gothenburg
Norman Fairclough, University of Lancaster
Richard Johnstone, University of Stirling

Pit Corder Colloquium: Michael Halliday, Ruqaiya Hasan, Tony Howatt, John Joseph, Sinfree Makoni, Miriam Meyerhoff, Rosamund Mitchell, Barbara Seidlhofer, John Sinclair and Henry Widdowson

For more information please consult the BAAL website: <http://www.baal.org.uk/>

NAAHoLS at LSA: Call for Papers
3-6 January, 2008, Chicago, Illinois

The 2008 NAAHoLS meeting will again be held in conjunction with the Linguistic Society of America, the American Dialect Society, the Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas, and the Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics.

The meeting will take place at the Palmer House Hilton in Chicago, Illinois between 3-6 January, 2008. Further details about the meeting will be provided in the next newsletter (to be distributed Summer 2007).

As in the past, we invite papers relating to any aspect of the history of the language sciences. All presenters must be members of the association (contact the NAAHoLS Treasurer for details). Papers will be 20 minutes, with 10 minutes for discussion. Abstracts may be submitted as hard copies or as file attachments (MS Word only). The length of the abstract should not exceed 500 words — a shorter (100 word) abstract will also be requested for the meeting handbook. **The deadline for abstracts is 1 September 2007.**

Abstracts should be sent to: David Boe, Department of English, Northern Michigan University, Marquette, MI 49855; (906) 227-2677; dboe@nmu.edu

ICHoLS XI - First Call for Papers
Potsdam, August 28-September, 2008

The 11th International Conference on the History of Language Sciences, ICHoLS XI) will be held at the University of Potsdam from 28 August to 2 September 2008.

Preliminary information about the conference is available at <http://www.ichols-xi.de>. The International Conference on the History of Language Sciences has taken place every three years since 1978. Previous venues have been Ottawa, Lille, Princeton, Trier, Galway, Washington, Oxford, Fontenay-St. Cloud (Paris), São Paulo-Campinas and Urbana-Champaign. Papers relating to any aspect of the history of language sciences are welcome. Besides focusing on diverse topic areas ranging from antiquity to the contemporary history of linguistics and from individual case studies to methodological considerations, we would like to draw your attention to the relationships between history and the methods of present-day linguistics. Opportunity will also be given to present computer-aided projects. We particularly encourage young scholars to submit a paper proposal.

Suggestions for individual thematic workshops are welcome. In this case the organisers are requested to contact us by December 2006.

The abstracts should not exceed 300 words.

We request that you submit your proposals for papers with the respective abstract by **31 July 2007** as e-mail attachment (Word file) to the following e-mail address: info@ichols-xi.de. If it is not possible for you to submit your proposal by e-mail, please send your abstract to the following postal address:

Prof. Dr. Gerda Haßler
ICHoLS XI
University of Potsdam
Karl-Liebknecht-Str. 24-25 (Haus 14.039)
14476 Potsdam-Golm
Germany
Tel. +49 331/977-2015, Fax: +49 331/977-2193

An international panel of referees will select the papers to be presented at the conference. Final selection will be made by October 2007; notification of acceptance will be sent in November 2007.

The Third Vivien Law Prize in the History of Linguistic Ideas

In memory of Dr Vivien Law (1954-2002), and thanks to her generosity, a prize has been established by the Henry Sweet Society for the best essay submitted on any topic within the history of linguistics.

The competition is open to all currently registered students, and to scholars who have received their PhD or equivalent qualification within the last five years. Members of the Executive Committee of the Society may not apply. Applications from non-members are welcome.

The prize consists of £100 and publication of the winning essay in the *Henry Sweet Society Bulletin*. Others of the essays submitted may also be published where appropriate. The prize will not be awarded if none of the submitted essays is deemed to be worthy of publication. The prize-winner is also entitled to one year's free membership of the Society and will receive a free copy of Vivien Law's *The History of Linguistics in Europe* from Cambridge University Press.

The prize will be awarded by the Executive Committee on the recommendation of a Prize Committee drawn from its members. The committee will be looking for an exciting and original approach to the history of linguistics, either in the choice of topic or in the way it is treated, and for the highest standards of research and presentation. The essay should not have been previously published.

The closing date for submissions is 30 September each year. Entries may be written in English, French or German, and should follow the style-sheet for the *Henry Sweet Society Bulletin*. They should not exceed 8000 words, including references, footnotes, tables, appendices, etc. Four hard copies of the essay, and one in electronic form, should be sent to the Chairman of the Executive Committee (Dr David Cram, Jesus College, Oxford OX1 3DW), by the closing date. The Committee's decision will be final. The winning entry will be announced in the May edition of the Bulletin, but all entrants will receive notification of the outcome by the end of December.

Vivien Law studied Classics and German at McGill University, Montreal, before pursuing PhD studies at Cambridge. She was successively a Fellow at Jesus, Sidney Sussex and Trinity Colleges in Cambridge, and held the only lectureship in the world dedicated to the history of linguistic thought (in the Cambridge Department of Linguistics). In the late 1990s she was made Reader in the History of Linguistic Thought and a Fellow of the British Academy. Her academic interests were wide-ranging, but she was associated above all with her work on medieval grammars.

News of Members

Professor **E. F. Konrad Koerner** has continued to publish widely. He is joint editor (with Sylvain Auroux, Hans-Josef Niederehe & Kees Versteegh) of the *History of the Language Sciences: An international handbook on the evolution of the study of language from the beginnings to the present / Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaften: Ein internationales Handbuch zur Entwicklung der Sprachforschung von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart./ Histoire des Sciences du Langage: Manuel international d'histoire des études linguistiques des origines à nos jours*, of which volume III appeared in 2006: Tome III, xxii, [2007-] 2887 pp. Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 2006.

Rhodri Lewis has been appointed to a permanent post at St. Hugh's College, Oxford.

Avi Lifschitz has been appointed to a Lectureship in European history 1700-1850 at UCL. He is currently completing a DPhil at Oxford (jointly supervised by David Cram and John Robertson) on "*Debating Language: Academic Discourse and Public Controversy at the Berlin Academy under Frederick the Great*"

On 1 August 2006 **Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade** was appointed to a personal chair in English Sociohistorical Linguistics in the University of Leiden. Her inaugural lecture, called "Lowth als icon van het prescriptivisme", will take place on 1 June, 2007.

New Members

Nuria Yanez-Bouza is working on a doctorate at Manchester University on a topic in English historical linguistics. She has published on topics including prescriptivism and English grammatical thought.

Style sheet for Submissions to the Bulletin of the Henry Sweet Society for the History of Linguistic Ideas

SUBMISSION PROCEDURE: Please send all submissions to the editor in electronic format, preferably as an e-mail attachment in .rtf format (if this is not possible then please use .doc). Please also send a hard copy or a .pdf version to the editor, especially if special characters (such as IPA or non-Roman alphabets) are used. Please adhere as closely as possible to the style conventions given below.

ABSTRACTS: Authors of (short) articles are also asked to submit a 150-200 word abstract, to be included in the Bulletin list of contents on the Henry Sweet Society Web pages.

PEER REVIEW: All submissions are read both by the editor and by a suitable reviewer on the Henry Sweet Society Committee; where this is not possible, the editor will approach another reviewer with specialist knowledge in the relevant area. After peer review, the author will be contacted and invited to make any necessary revisions before the paper can be accepted for publication. (This is normally done via e-mail, so please ensure that you provide us with an e-mail address that is checked on a regular basis.)

PROOFS: You will receive a set of proofs for your approval before publication; each article is also read by a proof-reader.

Please follow the following conventions when preparing your submission:

TITLE: Centred, bold, 16 points. The first letter of each content word should be upper case and the rest of the main title should be in lower case. Sub-heading in italics, 14 points, without capitalisation of the first letter of content words.

HEADINGS FOR REVIEWS: Heading left-aligned, 16 points, Times New Roman. The author(s) / editor(s) of the reviewed volume in bold; on the next line the title in bold italics; on the third line place of publication, publisher, year, pages and the price on the third line in regular, 14 points. Please also indicate if a discount is available for members of the Henry Sweet Society for the History of Linguistic Ideas.

Example:

David Cram, Jeffrey L. Foreng and Dorothy Johnston (eds.)
*Francis Willughby's Book of Games. A Seventeenth-Century
Treatise on Sports, Games and Pastimes.*

London: Ashgate, 2003. 344 pp.

£65, USD 114.95 (25% discount for members of the Henry Sweet Society)

Reviewed by: Werner Hüllen, Düsseldorf.

AUTHOR:

For articles, reports, proposals, etc.: Author's name should be given below the title, leaving two lines between the title and the name. Author's name 13 points, centred, bold. Affiliation and / or place of residence in regular font style on the next line (also 13 points, centred).

For reviews: Please leave one line between the review heading and the author's name and affiliation. The author's name should be left aligned, bold, 13 points, Times New Roman and introduced by '**Reviewed by:**' and the name followed by a comma and then the reviewer's affiliation (and/or place of residence) in regular, 13 points, Times New Roman (see above).

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BODY TEXT: The body of the text should be 13 points, alignment justified. The first paragraph begins with a drop cap that stretches over 2 lines. All other paragraphs begin with a 1.27-cm indentation of the first line, except the first line of a new section, which should not be indented.

SECTIONS OF THE BODY TEXT: Section headings (if used) should follow the form: 1., 2., 2.1, 2.1.1. Section headings should be in ***Bold Italic*** 13 points for 1., 2. etc., *italics* only for 1.1, 1.2, etc. and underlined for 1.1.1, 1.1.2, etc. Leave two blank lines before a **1., 2.** etc. section starts, one blank line before a *1.1, 2.1,* etc. section starts. After each heading please also leave one blank line.

QUOTATIONS: Quotations should be clearly marked as such, with the reference given in the following manner: (Smith, 1999: 34), or (1999: 34) if the author has already been named earlier in the sentence. Quotations less than three lines long should be cited within citation marks in the text ['x', "x"]. Please use curved quotation marks and be consistent in your use of single or double. Quotations more than three lines long should be indented by 1.27 cm on the left-hand side, and should **not** be surrounded by quotation marks. Use omission marks [...] if part of a quotation is omitted.

REFERENCES: Please give full references for all works referred to at the end of the paper. Full names (given name and surname) should be given for all authors, unless an author is usually known only by their initials in their own publications. In such cases, if the full names are in general circulation, you may still elect to give full names. References should be given in the following style:

Monographs

Max Müller, Friedrich. 1862. *Lectures on the Science of Language Delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain in April, May and June, 1861*. New York: Charles Scribner.

Article in journal

Hancher, Michael. 1981. 'Humpty Dumpty and Verbal Meaning.' *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*. 40: 49–58.

Sutcliffe, Patricia Casey. 2001. 'Humboldt's *Ergon* and *Energeia* in Friedrich Max Müller's and William Dwight Whitney's Theories of Language.' *Logos and Language (Topics in the Historiography of Language Theory)*. 2 (2): 21–35.

NB for multiple items by the same author, please not use ----, but simply repeat the name.

Reprint or Paper in an edited volume

Humboldt, Wilhelm von. 1836 [1963]. *Ueber die Verschiedenheit des menschlichen Sprachbaues und ihren Einfluss auf die geistige Entwicklung des Menschengeschlechts*. In: *Werke in fünf Bänden*. Vol. III *Schriften zur Sprachphilosophie*. Ed. by Andreas Flitner & Klaus Giel. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft. 368–756.

Rydén, Mats. 1999. 'Axel Erdmann: Sweden's First Professor of English.' In: *Thinking English Grammar: to Honour Xavier Dekeyser, Professor Emeritus*. Ed. by Guy A. J. Tops, Betty Devriendt & Steven Geukens. Leuven: Peeters; Hadleigh: BRAD. 297–305.

Reprint edition

Whitney, William Dwight. 1873 [1987]. *Oriental and Linguistic Studies*. Vol. 1. Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications.

Encyclopedia entry

Söhnen-Thieme, Renate. 1994. 'Müller, Friedrich Max.' *The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*. Oxford & New York: Pergamon Press. 2617–2618.

LIFE DATES: Please provide life dates for all scholars on their first mention in an article or review. For scholars who are still alive, it may be useful to include date of birth and / or date of graduation, but this is not necessary.

Revised November 2005

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