THE HENRY SWEET SOCIETY
FOR THE HISTORY OF LINGUISTIC IDEAS

NEWSLETTER

EDITORIAL

THE PRESENT NUMBER continues the practice of recent issues in giving accounts of papers presented at the Society's Colloquia. It is hoped that members who could not be present will be able to gain from these some inkling of our proceedings. The Colloquium itself also followed precedent in including a symposium, in this case three papers on aspects of the History of Linguistics and the Natural Sciences, followed by a summing-up and a general discussion. It is intended to publish the results separately in pamphlet form.

This issue also contains two other contributions from earlier Colloquia; that on Jespersen from 1988, and that on Kennedy from 1987. The latter is reproduced in full in the spirit of earlier explorations in the *Newsletter* of the byways of British linguistics; it is also a centenary tribute to a giant of the classroom who died on 6 April 1889.

We also carry brief reviews of some of the books we have received; we are grateful to those of our members who have reviewed them and then presented them to the Society's Library, and should be grateful to hear from others who would be prepared to help us in the same way in future. We are also grateful to those who have sent us offprints of their articles, and hope that the momentum of our acquisitions will continue through the generosity of our members. Work is well advanced on a catalogue of our holdings, and we hope to be able to distribute copies of this to our members next year.

It is our sad duty to record the sudden death, on 27 July 1989,of one of our most distinguished founder members, Professor Eugénie Henderson, F.B.A., sometime Chairman of the Linguistics Association and President of the Philological Society. She was not only an eminent phonetician and an authority on the languages of South-East Asia, but as a follower of J. R. Firth, one of the first to develop a strong interest in the history of linguistics. The Society is particularly grateful for her work in republishing some of Henry Sweet's writings; but we remember her not only for her scholarship, but for her friendship, vitality and encouragement. She is greatly missed but will be affectionately remembered.

Paul Salmon

Details of the one-day meeting of the Society in London on 6 April 1990 will be found on p. 41.

There will also be a special Colloquium in Oxford on 'John Wilkins: Language, Religion and Science in the seventeenth Century', under the auspices of the Henry Sweet Society, on 8-10 September 1990. Details on p. 42.
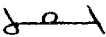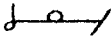
JOHN WILKINS'S MISTAKES *

FOR US, John Wilkins's universal language is an interesting linguistic idea. For Wilkins himself, it was also a tool for writing texts. Many people have read his transcriptions of the Lord's Prayer and the Creed (1668:395 and 404), but so far nobody has pointed out that they contain mistakes which may have been made by Wilkins himself, or by his printer, or by both.

Wilkins gives an interlinear version (I) and a running text (T). In the interlinear version the signs and their matching words are numbered (not always accurately). On subsequent pages (1668:396-403 and 405-413 respectively) the signs of both versions are explained. We shall deal with these three portions of his *Essay*.
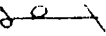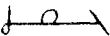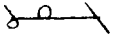
Our commentary concerns only the main (horizontal) line of the signs with their characteristic central marks, and the strokes attached to the left and right ends of the horizontals at specific angles (45°, 90° and 135°) upwards and/or downwards. These are their lexical parts, which are supposed to agree with the *Tables*, where all things and notions of this world are broken down into 40 'genuses', each of which has nine differences, which in turn each have nine species. These are marked respectively by the strokes at the left and right ends of the horizontal. Our commentary is not concerned with the loops and hooks attached to these strokes, which signal grammatical and other functions; hence they are omitted in our transcriptions, with the exception of a loop to the left of the horizontal line which signals 'negation' and is, thus, semantically indispensable. Nor does our commentary concern itself with *Particles*, i.e. mainly signs for function words. The question is whether Wilkins observed his own rules in transcribing the two texts; the answer is that he did not do so in six cases in the Lord's Prayer, and in eleven cases in the Creed. If we had checked the morphological and the grammatical signs as well, we would have found some more.

The Lord's Prayer

37 *forgive*   wrong: (I)   correct:

The tables give the following derivation for the wrong sign in I: genus, Judicial Relation;[1] 3rd difference, Crimes Capital; 7th species, Robbery, theft. The derivation for the suggested correct sign is: genus, Judicial Relation; 2nd difference, Proceedings; 9th species, Executing; opposite, Pardoning, forgiving. This coincides with Wilkins's explanation on p. 400, where the sign, however, is still wrong.

* An extended, translated and revised rendering of a passage from Hüllen 1989 (192-194), where the commentary is concerned only with the Lord's Prayer.

37 *forgive*　　　wrong:　　〉—Ω—〉　(T)

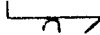　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　correct:　┘—Ω—〉

45 *forgive*　　　wrong:　　〉—Ω—〉　(1/T)

The tables give the following derivation for the wrong sign: genus, Judi-
cial Relation; 3rd difference, Crimes Capital; 9th species [no lexical
entry]. For the correct derivation and sign see above.


51 *against*　　　wrong:　　∠|　(1/T)　correct:　c|

The wrong sign means 'either'. In his explanation on p. 401 Wilkins gives
the correct sign and explanation.

64 *from*　　　wrong:　　ᴜ|　(1)　correct:　ᴡ|

The wrong sign is placed too low, and means 'over'. T has the correct
sign; so has Wilkins's explanation on p. 402.
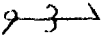
71 *power*　　　wrong:　　└—⌒—┐　(1)

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　└—⌒—┐　(T)　　correct:　└—⌒—7

The tables give the following derivation for the wrong sign in 1: genus,
Transcendental Relations of Action; 2nd difference, Transcendental
Relations of Action Comparate; 5th species, Comparing; opposite, Try.
They give the following derivation for the wrong sign in T: genus, Habit;
2nd difference, Instruments of Vertue; 5th species, Dignity; opposite,
Meanness. The derivation for the suggested correct sign is: genus, Habit;
2nd difference, Instruments of Vertue; 6th species, Power; opposite, Im-
potence. Wilkins's explanation on p. 402 coincides with T and is thus
also incorrect.
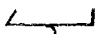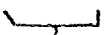
74 *glory*　　　wrong:　　└—⌒—┘　(1)

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　└—⌒—┘　(T)　　correct:　└—⌒—＼

The tables give the following derivation for the wrong sign in 1: genus,
Transcendental Relations of Action; 2nd difference, Transcendental Rela-
tions of Action Comparate; 2nd species, Adhearing [*sic*]; opposite, Aban-
doning. They give the following derivation for the wrong sign in T: genus,
Habit; 2nd difference, Instruments of Vertue; 2nd species, Riches; oppo-
site, Poverty. In his explanation on p. 402, Wilkins gives the correct
derivation: genus, Of Habit; 2nd difference, Instruments of Vertue;
4th species, Reputation "which by the transcendental mark of *Augmentative*
... doth import the Notion of *Glory* ... " (p. 402); opposite, Infamy.
However, Wilkins wrongly connects this derivation with the 2nd species
and gives a wrong sign.
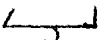
The Creed

18 *only*   wrong: [sign] (I)   correct: [sign]
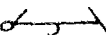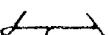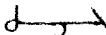
The tables give the following derivation for the wrong sign in I: genus, Oeconomical Relation; 4th difference, Equality, 1st species, Friend; opposite, Enemy. The derivation for the correct sign is: genus, Oeconomical Relation; 4th difference, Equality; 2nd species, Companion; opposite, Solitary, lonesome, alone, onely. This coincides with the sign in T and with Wilkins's sign and explanation on p. 407.

23 *conceived*   wrong: [sign] (I)   correct: [sign]
                                [sign] (T)

The tables give the following derivation for the wrong sign in I: genus, Operation; 1st difference, Mechanical Faculties; 2nd species, Librating; opposite, Biassing. They give the following derivation for the wrong sign in T: genus, Operation; 3rd difference, Agriculture, 2nd species, Harrowing; opposite, Rolling. The derivation for the suggested correct sign is: genus, Corporeal Action; 1st difference, Vegetatives; 2nd species, Impregnation; opposite, Conception. This coincides with Wilkins's explanation on p. 407, although he gives the same wrong sign as in I.

27 *born*   wrong: [sign] (I)   correct: [sign]
                                [sign] (T)

The tables give the following derivation for the wrong sign in I: genus, Operation; 1st difference, Mechanical Faculties; 3rd species, Cleaving; opposite, Compressing. The derivation for the wrong sign in T is the same as 23 I. The derivation for the suggested correct sign is: genus, Corporeal Action; 1st difference, Vegetatives; 3rd species, Parturition, Bearing, Birth; opposite, Abortion. This coincides with Wilkins's explanation on p. 407, although he gives the same wrong sign as in I.

37 *dead*   wrong: [sign] (I)   correct: [sign]
                                [sign] (T)

The tables give the following derivation for the wrong sign in I: genus, Operation; 1st difference, Mechanical Faculties; 7th species, Springing; opposite, Bending. The derivation for the wrong sign in T is: Operation; 2nd difference, Mixed Mechanical Operations; 7th species, Filling; opposite, Emptying. The derivation for the suggested correct sign is: genus, Corporeal Action; 1st difference, Vegetatives; 7th species, Living; opposite, Dying. This coincides with Wilkins's explanation on p. 408, although he gives the same wrong sign as in I.
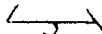
   We have the same mistake for *dead* in 51 I and 83 T. The reason here as in the other cases (see 23, 27, 47, 65, 79, 102, 108) is that the printer inserted a half-circle open to the left where he should have drawn one open to the right. (Perhaps he was a dyslexic?)

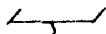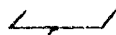47 *rise*   wrong: (I/T)   correct:
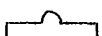
The tables give the following derivation for the wrong signs: genus,
Operation; 6th difference, Chymical Operations; 1st species, Grinding;
opposite, Sifting.   The derivation for the suggested correct sign is:
genus, Corporeal Action;   6th difference, Gesture;   1st species, Rising;
opposite, Standing. This coincides with Wilkins's explanation on p. 409,
although he gives the same wrong sign as in I and T.

64/65   (I)
    sitteth   wrong: correct:
                                         (T)
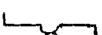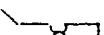
The tables give the following derivation for the wrong sign in I: genus,
Operation;   6th difference, Chymical Operations; 5th species, Digestion;
opposite, Fermentation. The derivation for the wrong sign in T is: genus,
Operation;   6th difference, Chymical Operations;   4th species, Straining;
opposite, Filtring.   The derivation for the suggested correct sign is:
genus, Corporeal Action, 6th difference, Gesture;   5th species, Sitting;
opposite, Sate.   In his explanation on p. 410 Wilkins correctly refers to
the derivation of 47, but gives the same wrong sign as in I, and, with
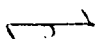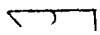reference to genus, also as in T.

79 *quick*   wrong: (I/T)   correct:
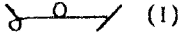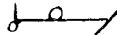
The tables give the following derivation for the wrong signs in I and T:
genus, Operation;   1st difference, Mechanical Faculties;   7th species,
Springing; opposite, Bending.   The derivation for the suggested correct
sign is: genus, Corporeal Action, 1st difference, Vegetatives;   7th
species, Living, Life, quick;   opposite, Dying.   In his explanation on p.
411, Wilkins correctly refers to 51, which refers back to 37, but he
gives the same wrong sign as in I and T.
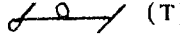
86 *believe*   wrong: (I)   correct:

The tables give the following derivation for the wrong sign in I: genus,
Transcendental Relation of Action;   5th difference, Event;   5th species,
Keeping; opposite Loosing. The derivation for the correct sign is: genus,
Habit;   5th difference, Infused Habits;   4th species, Faith; opposite,
Infidelity.   On p. 411, Wilkins refers to 3 with its correct explanation
and correct sign.
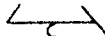
95 *Saints*   wrong: (T)   correct:
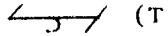
The tables give the following derivation for the wrong sign in T: genus,
Ecclesiastical Relation;   2nd difference, Ecclesiastical Persons;   5th
species, Presbyter;   opposite Deacon.   The derivation for the suggested
correct sign is: genus, Ecclesiastical Relation;   3rd difference, States
Of Religion;   5th species, Saint;   opposite, Scandal.   This coincides
with Wilkins's explanation and sign on p. 412.
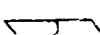
97 *forgiveness*   wrong: (I)   correct:

 (T)

The tables give the following derivation for the wrong sign in I: genus,
Judicial Relation;   3rd difference, Crimes Capital;   9th species [no
lexical entry]. The derivation for the wrong sign in T is: genus, Judicial
Relation; 1st difference, Persons; 9th species [no lexical entry]. The
derivation for the suggested correct sign is: genus, Judicial Relation;
2nd difference, Proceedings;   9th species, Executing;   opposite,
Pardoning, forgiving. This coincides with Wilkins's explanation on p.
412, where, however, he gives the same wrong sign as in T.

108 *life*   wrong: (I)   correct:

 (T)

For the sign in I and its correction see 79. The tables give the fol-
lowing derivation for the wrong sign in T: genus, Operation;   1st
difference, Mechanical Faculties; 9th species [no lexical entry]. The
derivation of the correct sign is given in 79. In his explanations on p.
413, Wilkins mistakenly refers to 101, which, however, only describes the
mark of future tense.

Note

1 The spelling, including capitals, of lexical entries follows the practice
   of Wilkins's tables, even when it is inconsistent. 'Genuses' are de-
   scribed, by a single word if possible, by terms derived from the list on
   p. 23 of the *Essay*.

References

Hüllen, Werner. 1989. *"Their Manner of Discourse." Nachdenken über Sprache im
   Umkreis der Royal Society.* Tübingen: Narr.

Wilkins, John. 1668. *An Essay towards a Real Character, And a Philosophical
   Language.* London: Gellibrand and Martyn. Facsimile edition: Menston: Scolar
   Press, 1968. [English Linguistics, No. 119]

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ADDITIONS TO R. C. ALSTON'S
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE
ENGLISH LANGUAGE

ALTHOUGH Dr Alston made the most exhaustive searches for items to be included in his Bibliography,* it is only to be expected that more texts, or new editions, will come to light from time to time. It is hoped to record new discoveries in the *Newsletter* as they become known. The following have been found in recent years by members of the Society:

Vol. IV, Entry No. 118

Edward Young. *The Complete English Scholar*, 9th edition (1690). One copy recorded at Venice; another now at St Edmund Hall, Oxford. A description of this work follows in the next few pages of this *Newsletter*.

Vol. IV, No. 146

D., T. *The Compleat English-man* (1685)
No copy previously known. Now in the British Library. For a discussion, see Edwina Burness, "Thomas Dawks's *The Complete English-man* (1685): a newly discovered seventeenth-century dictionary", *English Studies*, 69 (1988), 331-340.

Vol. VI, New entry, *to precede* 517

c. 1530. John Rastell, *The Boke of the New Cardys* STC [Jackson 1986], 3356/3. Fragments only. For description and discussion see Vivian Salmon, "John Rastell and the normalization of early sixteenth-century orthography" in L. E. Breivik, A. Hille & S. Johansson (eds.), *Essays in English Language in Honour of Bertil Sundby* (Oslo: Novus Forlag, 1989 [Studia Anglistica Norvegica, 4]), pp. 289-301.

Vol. VII, New Entry, *to follow* 292

Nathaniel Chamberlain. *Tractatus de Literis et Lingua Philosophica* (? 1679). For discussion see Vivian Salmon, "Nathaniel Chamberlain and his 'Tractatus de Literis et Lingua Philosophica' (1679)" in E. G. Stanley & Douglas Gray (eds.), *Five Hundred Years of Words and Sounds. A Festschrift for E. J. Dobson* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1983), pp. 128-136.

The Honorary General Secretary would be grateful to hear from members of the Society who may come across further 'Additions to Alston'.

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* R. C. Alston. 1965- (in continuation). *A Bibliography of the English Language from the Invention of Printing to the Year 1800*. Leeds: printed for the author (corrected reprint of Vols. I-X, Ilkley: Janus Press, 1974).

EDWARD YOUNG'S
COMPLETE ENGLISH SCHOLAR:
A RARE EARLY SPELLING–BOOK

THANKS TO the generosity of Mr Robin Eades, who donated a col-
lection of his grandfather's books to his old college, St Edmund
Hall, the College now owns a copy of the ninth edition of an early
writing and reading manual by the schoolmaster Edward Young.
Alston (1974:IV. Nos *110-128) has located only three copies of
earlier editions and one other surviving copy of the ninth. The
copy now at St Edmund Hall is thus one of only a handful of copies of
the early editions of what was obviously an extremely popular
text-book — the 41st edition was printed in 1752 by T. Longman.
Unfortunately the College's copy is incomplete, lacking pp. 5-8; 19-
26 — moral precepts and part of a list of words of one Syllable
(only Thumb to Zeal); pp. 79-80, parts of D-M dealing with words
whose spelling differs from their pronunciation, and pp. 103-4,
the calendar.

   All trace of a title has disappeared from the leather on the
boards and spine, if indeed there ever was one. The front cover
bears traces of sealing wax and the monogram 'AM', presumably
the owner Ann Marsh, whose calligraphy inside a decorative frame
of pen-strokes appears on the end-paper in two different styles
of alphabet, matching the black-letter and roman specimens given
on page 1 of the book 'Ann Marsh I ～ her book ～ I 1693'. On the
back of this leaf appears in brown ink 'Mary Belch[er] may use
y• Book', and in the same brown ink at the bottom is written the
date 1712. The back inside board bears the single practice pen-
stroke 'y'.

   The frontispiece shows a seventeenth-century neoclassical
building of two stories set on pillars, with three rotund urns
bearing candlestick points, and two cornucopias flanking the roof.
The frieze on the architrave bears the legend: THE COMPLENT [*sic*]
ENGLISH SCHOOL, and in the entrance to the portico appear the words:
'Teaching to Spell Read & Write ENGLISH Exattly [*sic*]'. At the
foot of the engraving, beneath a chequered pavement and orna-
mental pond (?) in very poor perspective, we read: 'By E. Yovng
School Mafter ～ Jn London'. And, outside the frame: Lomber Street
near popes head Alley Lo[ndon]'.

The title page, lower right corner missing, reads:

THE COMPLEAT

Englifh Scholar,

IN

Spelling, Reading, and Writing:

CONTAINING
Plain and Eafie Directions for Spelling,
and Reading *Englifh,* according to the Prefent
Pronunciation.

With feveral Tables of common Words,
and Proper Names in the Bible and elfewhere,
from One to Six and Seven Syllables, both in
whole Words, and divided into Syllables.
And Directions for true Writing of *Englifh,* with
feveral Copies of the moft ufual Hands Engraven
in Copper.
Alfo Examples of the different Writing and Pro-
nouncing of the fame Words in the *Englifh Tongue.*
Laftly, how to Spell Words as are alike
in Sound, but differ in their Sence and Spelling;
with the Ufe of all Stops and Points in Spelling
and Writing; and the Interpretation of *Englifh*
Chriftian Names, and many other things of
Ufe to Learners.

By *E. YOUNG,* Schoolmafter in *London.*
The Ninth Edition.

LONDON

Printed by Freeman Collins for Th[omas Guy]
in Lumbard-ftr[eet].

Of the author nothing is known apart from this modest treatise. The advice 'To the Reader' shows the aim to be primarily to spread learning among children; and to this end the author compiles lists of common words and proper names of one to seven syllables from the Bible and elsewhere, and provides syllabicized versions of them — a repetitious practice of somewhat dubious value, but apparently traditional (see Burness 1988:333).[1] For the benefit of foreigners ('Strangers') and of 'young beginners', he lists words which are pronounced differently from the way in which they are spelt (pp. 77-85).

Pages 2-3 give guidance as to how to divide words into their syllables. In discussing consonants and 'dipthongs' [*sic*] Young draws the distinction (p. 3) between the eight 'proper Dipthongs', ai/ ei/ oi/ au/ eu/ ou/ ee/ oo/ and the six 'improper Dipthongs' which are simply spelling-variants for word-final position: ay/

ey/ oy/ aw/ ew/ ow. On page 4 he cites other writers as authorities
for the existence of eighteen diphthongs, many of which occur in
Hebrew or Latin words; there are also ten 'Tripthongs' including
uee in *Queen* and *uea* in *squeak, quean.* Following page 2 and
itself labelled Page 2, we find a leaf with two amusing pictorial
alphabets, the second of them giving words of two syllables; and
an extra Page 3 provides another of mainly biblical personages
illustrating the majuscule and minuscule forms of 'Gothic' and
roman letters. After some passages for practice from the scrip-
tures,[2] pages 14-17 focus on spelling, in particular those letters
which are obligatory despite not being pronounced, and inter-
posed are two extra leaves labelled Page 18 and 19 with 'Breakes
of mixt Secretary Letters' as a guide to handwriting. Pages 17-18
provide an outline of points of punctuation — for example, 'A
Comma is a note of convenient silence, or rather a breathing time
to that which succeeds ...' Some of the examples seem rather dif-
ferent in tone from the preceding pious passages: the 'Period' is
exemplified by *Lines cannot blush, so as Modesty admits a freedom
to my Pen, which would be taxed immodestly being delivered by
the Tongue.*

Here several pages are missing, taking us into the list of
words of one syllable (p. 27).

Syllabification seems to have been carried through automatic-
ally on the basis of spelling: this emerges by a comparison of
the forms of the words of four, five, six and seven syllables with
the forms given in the list on page 77 of words whose pronunci-
ation differs from their spelling: all forms ending in -tion are
syllabicized as -ti-on, but almost invariably the pronunciation is
shown to be -shun, e.g. pro-por-ti-on (p. 58) and pro-por-shun
(p. 82) — only rarely is this particular ending varied, as in si-
tu-a-shon (p. 83).

As this part of the book is defective, a thoroughgoing com-
parison cannot be made. Place-names are included — without capital
letters — ('bristol' to be pronounced as 'bris-to', 'banbury' as 'bam-
ber-ry', 'bangor' as 'ban-ger', etc.), as are a few proper names:
'catherine' = 'ca-thern'; 'daniel' = 'dan-el' (possibly a more
colloquial pronunciation, cf. also 'span-nel' for 'spaniel') as op-
posed to its treatment in a list of largely biblical 'Proper Names
of three Syllables', where it is syllabicized as 'da-ni-el' (p. 69).

Equally of interest, if tantalizing, are the observations rele-
vant to pronunciation and spelling in the 'Table of Words which
have the like Sound and Pronunciation, but are of a different
Sence and Spelling' pp. 85-92. In this table of homophones we find
some confusion of principles: the list attempts to provide both
the correct spelling and to distinguish homonyms. For example,

'*Accompt*, reckoning.' and '*Account*, esteem.' may or may not be pronounced alike. There is duplication: '*Air*, the sky'; '*Hair*, to an Estate', and '*Are*, glad or sorry' are listed under A but recur under H, p. 88 with *Hare, Hair, Heir, Hear, Here, Hire, Her, Higher* (see Dobson 1968: I.413).[3]   Initial /h/ seems to have been un-stable (see also p. 87): '*Emrhoids*, Disease, the Piles' / '*Emraulds*, precious Stones' and also '*Umbles*, of a Deer' and '*Humble*, lowly minded' (p. 92).   The form *Flea* (p. 88) is given the dual gloss: 'a Vermine, or to pull off the skin' (i.e. modern 'flay'); '*Ken*, to be within view'; '*Waits*, the City Musick' show failure to penetrate the etymology of these words.   There are some cases where junc-ture is at issue: '*Appear*, to be seen' / '*A Peer*, or Lord of the Realm' / '*A Pare*, a fruit so called' (spelt *Pear* in another list on p. 90); '*Assent*, consenting' / '*Ascent*, of a Hill' / '*A Scent*, or smell' etc. Among the terse interpretations we find: '*Whore* (listed on p. 88 under H), a Town-Miss'; '*Queen*, the King's Wife' / '*Quean*, a Harlot or Strumpet'.   These random examples already show how difficult it is to evaluate such information linguistically — nowhere does Young make clear the basis of his pronunciation, beyond the vague words in his title 'according to the Present Pronunciation'. Instead of concentrating on the diffuse light shed by such lists on pronunciation, it might be wiser to consider the spelling-books more in keeping with their avowed intentions primarily as guides to the orthographical standardization of the language.   And here in very large measure we find Young's book quite modern, which may account for its success.

Of the Figures and Weights section, it is interesting to ob-serve that the specimen sums given are literally 'cast up' (p. 99), starting at the bottom right-hand column (the pence) and working upwards.   The sum, however, is placed at the bottom of the columns.   The coins include the Groat (4d), the Noble (6s. 8d) and the Mark (13s. 4d — or two Nobles, p. 100). Liquid Measures include the Pottle (= 2 Quarts), the Firkin (8 Gallons) and the Kilderkin (2 Firkins).   The section on the Calendar is incomplete (pp. 103-4); then follows a list of short forms of Forenames, including *Edmund — Mun, Humphry — Nump, Joan — Jug, Mary — Moll*. There are three Bills of Exchange and two Receipts, all dated 1682, which may imply that this section of the spelling-book had been updated.   There are 'Some brief common Sentences in *Latine* and *English*, for the use of young Scholars':

> *Miramur perjisse homines, monumenta fatiscunt;*
> *Mors etiam saxis nominibusque venit.*
>
> It is no wonder that Men turn to Clay,
> When Rocks, and Stones, and Monuments decay (p. 107).

The work finishes with a Scholar's Prayer for the Morning and a Prayer for the Evening and with 'Short Graces, or Thanksgivings to be used before or after Meat, by Children or others' (pp. 109-10).

Nevertheless, such modest treatises as Young's are not devoid of interest in the study of English. Because they were so geared to practical use, they barely survive, and the St Edmund Hall copy is probably not complete precisely by reason of its usefulness.

Notes

1   Like Dawks's book, Young's, which preceded it by a decade, contains sections on addition and weights and measures, as well as specimens for copying — in this case commercial letters. As a comment on the more leisurely approach to time, perhaps, Young defines Minutes as 'the least part of Time'.

2   Matthew 1:1-17, with the words divided into their syllables; I John 2:1-11, with the words undivided — presumably chosen for their edifying content; these are followed by brief scriptural sentences, 'put Alphabetically for the Use of Learners'. Pages 12-13 bring verse renderings of Psalm 119 and of David's lament over Saul and Jonathan, II Samuel 1:19ff.

3   In Dobson's account no less than seven phonological processes are involved in the merger. Young's list of homophones is based, according to Dobson, chiefly on those of Nathaniel Strong (*England's Perfect Schoolmaster*, 1st ed. 1675-6); George Fox and Ellis Hookes, (*Instructions for Right Spelling*, 1673); and Jeremiah Wharton (*The English Grammar*, 1654); but he may also have drawn on Owen Price (*The Vocal Organ*, 1665), whom he cites by name on p. 4. See also Dobson 1.373.

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PARADIGMS OF SOCIAL ORDER:
THE POLITICS
OF LATIN GRAMMAR
IN 19TH—CENTURY ENGLAND

AT THE END of the 1950s, the Universities of Oxford and Cam-
bridge, after long and agonized debate, finally abandoned their
insistence on an O-level Latin pass as a general entrance require-
ment. The reassessment this provoked among Classics teachers led,
in the late 1960s, to the publication of an O-level Latin course
which renounced the explicit teaching of grammar. These events
marked the end of an era in which Latin grammar, most commonly
embodied in Kennedy's *Latin Primer*, had functioned as prime
exemplar of the teaching ideology underlying English secondary
schooling. In the 1930s, one of His Majesty's Inspectors of Edu-
cation reported that Latin was often taught in a spirit of 'thorough-
ness and unreality' (Board of Education, 1939:21). The sense of
unreality is caught in the illustration below, which comes from a
book based on life in an English prep school in the 1930s. Here
the gerund is portrayed as a mysterious but accepted part of the
pupil's world; a wild and exotic creature contained by the
imprisoning parallel lines of Kennedy's pages. In the accompany-

Kennedy discovers the gerund and leads it back into captivity

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The Compleet Molesworth (London: Max Parrish, 1958), p. 136
© Geoffrey Willans and Ronald Searle, 1958

ing text, a master challenged by a pupil to define the beast
blusters at him, while referring surreptitiously to the copy of the
Primer concealed under his desk.

This unserious example illustrates a serious point about
England in the 1930s; a strange new world in which earlier at-
tempts to return to prewar stability had been abandoned, pure
reason had become respectable and metaphysics rejected in favour
of analysis. The clear-thinking, disciplined citizen seemed to be
the only hope for a liberal democracy caught between the irrational
extremes of Fascism and Communism (Stray 1985:31-2). It was in
this context of change and confusion that Latin grammar provided
an image of stability and order. For children who failed to
master it, it represented the arbitrary, meaningless world of adult
authority. For those who grasped its principles, it gave a sense
of power and a means to self-discipline.

To the inhabitants of the uncertain world of the 30s, the Vic-
torian age often seemed to have been an age of certainty, an
orderly context in which Latin grammar was at home. This image
appears in a diary entry made by Harold Nicolson (1966:149) in
May 1933. He records that he discussed with his friend Lord Eustace
Percy whether economics was a science or an art. They agreed
that whereas now it was dynamic and flexible, 'The Victorians
regarded it as fixed as Latin Grammar'. Now Nicolson and Percy
were at school in the 1890s, and would almost certainly have been
brought up on Kennedy's *Primer*. Ironically, they thus belonged to
the first, and last, Victorian generation who could regard Latin
grammar, and the *Primer* in particular, as something fixed and
stable. They would almost certainly have used the *Revised Latin
Primer* of 1888, a very different animal from the *Public School
Latin Primer* which had appeared twenty-two years earlier. What
the two books had in common was the fierce and lengthy contro-
versy which surrounded their drafting and publication. But, if I
may anticipate, whereas the original *Primer*, despite having no
author's name on its title page, was written by Benjamin Kennedy,
the revised version, which carried his name, was not in fact written
by him. My concern in this paper is to identify the several
issues which converged in the controversies of the 1860s and 80s.
But to do this, we have to go back to Lily's grammar: not, I
hasten to add, to its origins in the sixteenth century, but to its
last important manifestation, the Eton Latin Grammar of the 1800s.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, public school
Latin grammars fulfilled a multiplicity of roles. Within the schools,
they constituted summary statements of the curriculum, especially
in the lower forms. But they also functioned in the outside world
as symbols of a school's independent tradition and prestige, as

well as suggesting a level of enrolment high enough to support
the printing of a peculiar grammar. The undisputed leader in this
field was Eton, which during the second half of the eighteenth cen-
tury, partly because of the support of George III, had supplanted
Westminster as the most prestigious of English schools. The Eton
grammar first appeared in 1758, though the words *Eton Latin Gram-
mar* first appear on a titlepage only in the 1790s, and even then,
not in books published for use at Eton (See Michael 1970:152). The
Introduction to the Latin Tongue,[1] to give it its proper title, was
based on a compilation variously known as Lily's, the common, royal
or national grammar; and Eton's royal patronage brought it as near
as was possible to the status of a standard grammar which its prede-
cessor had enjoyed in the 16th century. Other schools clung to
their grammars, if they could afford to; but most of the endowed
grammar schools perforce chose the reflected glory of the Eton
grammar.

   The dominance of the Eton grammar was clear; but it was not
unchallenged. The challenges were mounted from three positions
which I shall label the philological, the pædagogic and the politi-
cal. These were often combined in practice, but I separate them
for the purpose of analysis. The POLITICAL challenge came from the
radicals for whom the Eton grammar, emanating as it did from a
Tory stronghold, symbolized the suppression of the Englishman's
right to enjoy his own language as a participating member of
civil society. From the 1790s to the 1840s, the campaign for the
respectability of English formed part of their wider campaign for
political representation. A long series of petitions to Parliament
in the 1780s and 90s had been rejected as being written in unsuit-
able language (See Smith 1984). The English grammars produced
by Cobbett in the 1810s, and Holyoake in the 1840s, were written
to help working men participate in public debate without being
derided for their failure to produce well-formed sentences.
Holyoake, indeed, declared that grammar was as essential to demo-
cracy as self-help and Magna Carta (1870:7).[2] A common lower-
class attitude to grammar is portrayed towards the end of Dickens'
novel *Little Dorrit,* where a long-oppressed rent collector finally
turns on his employer in front of their clients. The rhetorical
climax of his speech opens with the declaration that his oppressor
has forced him 'never to leave off conjugating the imperative
Mood Present of the verb To keep always at it' (pt II, ch. 32).

   Cobbett and his successors saw that grammatical power led to
social power. But while they struggled to make English respect-
able, Latin remained a barrier between mere respectability and
something higher. Entrance requirements in Latin and Greek ope-
rated to control entry into the public schools, which became
important as the vehicles for the creation of a new social élite.

In the 1830s and 40s, as the new railway network expanded, these schools came to serve as a national upper-middle class catchment. At Rugby, Shrewsbury, Harrow and their rivals, 'savage boys', in Thomas Arnold's phrase, were transformed into 'Christian gentlemen'; and while Greek formed the crown of a gentleman's education, Latin served as its basis. It was Latin which set this education apart from its immediate inferior — what was commonly called 'a middle-class, or English education' (Hughes 1949:218-9).

The PÆDAGOGIC challenge to the Eton grammar is closely linked with the political challenge. They share a concern for access to language. The influence of Rousseau, Pestalozzi and their disciples led to the child's being seen as a special kind of creature with its own interests. Its acquisition of knowledge should follow the child's natural development. Inductive assimilation of material was to be the norm, rather than the immediate imposition of prescriptive rules. From this point of view, the cumbrous deduction and rote learning of the Eton grammar were anathema; especially as it involved imposing on the pupil, from the very beginning, the learning of Latin in Latin. The inductive, reading-based courses like those of James Hamilton derive from this perspective. Again, the long and often submerged anti-grammar tradition which dates from Lily's time comes selfconsciously to the surface in the 1820s. 'Locke's System of Classical Instruction', which was first published and partly written by John Taylor, the first official publisher to the new London University, invokes the names of Ascham and Milton, as well as that of his hero John Locke. Taylor's series included a supplementary Latin grammar, but consisted largely of interlinear translations, as Locke had recommended (Howatt 1984: 137, 149, 315).

As his association with the 'godless college in Gower Street' suggests, Taylor's radicalism was philosophical rather than political. As the publisher of John Clare, he had made strenuous efforts to tone down Clare's language and tidy up his syntax to avoid giving offence to the peasant poet's aristocratic patron. (Clare's response was, 'grammar in learning is like tyranny in government — confound the bitch I'll never be her slave' [Barrell 1983:112].) The new university, the home of middle-class, secular rationalism, was also one of the bases from which the third, PHILOLOGICAL challenge to the Eton grammar was launched. Its Professor of Comparative Grammar, Thomas Key (see Hicks 1893; Long 1876:x-xvi; Glucker 1981:98-123), was also headmaster of University College School. His own Latin grammar, which appeared in 1846, was based on what he called the crude-form system, which he had learnt from the Sanskrit lectures of his colleague Friedrich Rosen, Franz Bopp's favourite pupil.

Key's great rival in the field of grammar was John Donaldson, author of *The New Cratylus* (1839). During the 1840s, they conducted a furious pamphlet duel (collected in Key 1845), which began with Key's accusing Donaldson of plagiarism, but which largely revolved around the relative merits of their grammars. Their opposed views are reminiscent of Mill's description of Bentham and Coleridge as 'the two half-men of their time', the archetypes of opposed and partial truths. Key was a secularist whose school followed Bentham's principles — no chapel, no compulsory religion. In the Philological Society, his speculative etymologizing was notorious, a late and embarrassing continuation of the Horne Tooke tradition. Donaldson, on the other hand, was a Coleridgean conservative who published his philological work in order to combat Horne Tooke's linguistic and political radicalism (Donaldson 1839:74-5). In the 1840s, when their grammars appeared, the idea of grammar as the subject-matter of analysis was just becoming established: the first example given in the Oxford English Dictionary (s.v. 'grammar'; see also Harris 1981:39ff.) comes from 1846. What Key and Donaldson had in common, in other words, is that they wrote after the realm of pure grammar had been discovered, but before it had been charted.

Though Donaldson and Key were both headmasters who produced their own grammars and used them in their schools, the day of the institutionally-specific grammar was passing. The newer public schools like Marlborough and Cheltenham looked for their grammars to the expanding publishing market. They themselves were part of a market in which gentlemanly education was produced and consumed, and this generated for them and their rivals both the parallel development in the 1840s of a standard upper-class English pronunciation within the public-school sector as a whole, and of widely differing pronunciations of Latin and Greek in individual schools.[3] The sense of a common purpose can be seen combining with the emerging notion of an agreed philological description of Latin and Greek in the attempts to construct standard public-school grammars of the classical languages. In 1835, Thomas Arnold tried to interest the headmasters of Eton and Harrow in such a project, suggesting that each school should contribute a section, but the attempt came to nothing (Stanley 1904:346). Soon afterwards, Charles Wordsworth, nephew of the poet and Second Master of Winchester, wrote a Greek grammar, while his brother Christopher, then headmaster of Harrow, wrote a Latin one. The brothers were High Tory Anglicans, and their plan to have their grammars adopted as standard works was based on their shared conviction that uniformity in grammar led to uniformity in religion (Charles Wordsworth 1891:177-200).

Both grammars were successful on the open market, and by the 1850s were probably the most widely used in the country. By that

time, the public schools, the preparatory schools which had been
set up to feed them with pupils, and the ancient universities had
become, in effect, an educational system, with built-in pressures to
conformity.   As pupils previously taught from different grammars
converged in the next stage of the system, demands for standard-
ization became stronger. To show how widely grammars could vary,
let me quote from a comparative review of thirteen different Greek
grammars, published in 1840.

> Let us take the word πέλεκυς. At Charterhouse and King's College it is
> classified in the *third* declension, at Westminster in the *fourth*, at
> Bromsgrove in the *fifth*, at Winchester in the *seventh*, and at Eton in the
> *eighth* declension ... (Palmer 1840:298).

This review was written by a friend of Charles Wordsworth's with
the dual object of plugging Wordsworth's grammar and attacking its
Etonian rival.   The publicity proved to be counterproductive,
especially as the Eton headmaster Edward Hawtrey's awareness of
his own inferior classical scholarship made him all the more unwilling
to take advice.   As a result, grammatical anarchy reigned within
Eton, as the following sketch of Hawtrey by his colleague William
Johnson makes clear:

> he made a vehement effort to restore the tyranny of the Eton Greek Grammar,
> but he could not force a set of young men [i.e. his assistant masters] back
> into the old routine ... In due time even Hawtrey, the last hereditary
> champion of the Eton formula, acquiesced in the existence at Eton of mas-
> ters who could not go through the list of twenty-two kinds of verb which
> govern a genitive ...   It was an awkward and indecorous thing that his
> young colleagues, who had cast off the Eton yoke and learned true Greek
> at Cambridge from Shrewsbury men, should be charged with the training of
> boys by parents who said that they knew Dr Hawtrey to be an unsound scho-
> lar. In the teaching of Greek, in no less degree in Latin also, Eton for
> many years presented the curious phenomenon of moderate anarchy ...   The
> introduction of a few changes in the old accidence, the binding in one
> volume of the Eton accidence and the accurate but painful syntax composed
> by Mr Wordsworth ... the engrafting of private manuscript grammars, based
> on Kuhner, are some of the many signs of discord and confusion ...
>   (Maxwell Lyte 1899:409-10).

The obduracy of Eton remained the major stumbling-block to
standardization through the 1860s. What finally removed the ob-
stacle was the Royal Commission set up in 1861 to investigate the
nine most famous public schools. The Commissioners soon came to the
conclusion that the schools should use a standard Latin grammar.
Four of the nine schools used Christopher Wordsworth's grammar,
three used the *Elementary Latin Grammar* published in 1847 by
Benjamin Kennedy, headmaster of Shrewsbury (Kennedy 1866:12).
Since his appointment in 1836, Kennedy had amassed an unparal-
leled reputation as a maker of classical scholars, and his pupils
had captured most of the prizes available at Cambridge. This helps
to explain why his fellow-headmasters agreed to commission the
new standard grammar from him; though the fact that his chief

rival Christopher Wordsworth had been translated to a bishopric may also have something to do with it. The *Public School Latin Primer* was published in August 1866, to be greeted with a volley of largely hostile comment. The controversy reached the correspondence columns of *The Times* almost immediately, and stayed there for three months (29 August - 9 November).

The Primer had, in fact, come under fire even before its publication. As part of his agreement with the headmasters, Kennedy had circulated 200 printed drafts in Oxford, Cambridge and the public schools. This had led to a barrage of criticism, which appears to have had little effect. In consequence, several dozen assistant masters from the leading schools, and a dozen headmasters from other public schools, sent a memorial of protest against both the new and obscure terminology of the book, and the failure to give sufficient weight to the views of those who would have to use it (See Miller 1866:3-5).

One of the issues at stake, as this suggests, was that the headmasters, whose teaching was confined for the most part to verse composition with the VIth form, were imposing elementary grammar on the assistant masters, who were themselves more knowledgeable about grammar and its teaching, and were also the unfortunates who would have to use the book. At a time when the rate of ordination at Oxbridge was declining, the gap between ordained headmasters and lay assistants was beginning to cause strains (See Bamford 1967:54-5; Haig 1986:187-201). In addition, the upsurge of liberalism in the 1860s made it an unfortunate time for anyone to seek to impose uniform conditions: the example of Prussia, busy annexing Danzig while the Primer was being published, was invoked as a warning of the perils of imposed standardization. Both these themes are invoked in the pamphlet circulated against the Primer by Edward Bowen of Harrow, entitled *The New National Grammar* (1866). Bowen's objection was not to the contents of the book, but to its imposition on masters, and on his pupils whom he had just started releasing from the tradition of the 'gerund grind'.

Objections to the Primer's contents, however, there were in plenty; and in particular, to the large number of new technical terms Kennedy had introduced. This probably derived from his concentration on the logical, rather than philological, analysis of Latin — at one point he consulted four Oxford specialists in logic over the analysis of sentence structure. His critics, however, provided long lists of philological inadequacies. The attack which most stung him was made by H. J. Roby, who had just produced a grammar based on Madvig's work. Roby exclaimed in his letter to *The Times* (17 September 1866:7f), 'The book amazed me'; and in a rebutter to Kennedy's reply, that a further reading showed the

Primer to be even worse than he had at first thought (24 September 1866:7f). Eight years later, when Roby sent Kennedy a copy of his recently-published Latin syntax, it was sent back by return of post with a note saying 'My dear Roby, I return your book, which in an excess of insolence you have not scrupled to send me' (as quoted from memory by Morgan 1927:92-3).

The memorial of protest was bluntly rejected by the nine headmasters, and the Primer imposed by their authority on their schools. Most of the other public schools eventually followed their lead. The book on which Kennedy had based it, his *Elementary Latin Grammar* of 1847, had been selling at the rate of 7,000 copies a year. The new Primer sold 2,000 copies in its first three months; annual sales thereafter settled down to about 10,000 copies (Longman Archives, University of Reading, file 111/39). Its official adoption spelt the doom of Christopher Wordsworth's *King Edward the Sixth's Latin Grammar*, the previous leader in the field, whose sales collapsed almost immediately (J. Wordsworth 1898:168).

For 20 years, the Primer reigned as the standard textbook of Latin grammar in England. How it was actually used in the classroom is another matter. In 1884, a public school master reported that

> many men ... make no pretence of using the syntax rules of the Primer; others teach them by rote, but do not attempt to apply them; others ... only trot them out to show how easily you may drive a coach and six through most of them ... One master told me he made his boys learn the Syntax as in duty bound, but never attempted explanations, because he found that unexplained rules were harmless, and did not interfere with practical teaching ([Storr] 1884:478).

In the same year, the Headmasters' Conference, a body founded in 1869 which by now represented over 80 public schools, considered the need for a new Latin grammar. Kennedy offered to submit a revised version of the Primer to them for comment, but they decided to prepare their own draft for submission to him. However, the committee appointed to revise the Primer soon found that it was in effect writing a new book, and abandoned the work; and Kennedy was then commissioned to write a successor to the Primer.[4] When it appeared in 1888, the *Revised Latin Primer* was an immediate success, and sold 50,000 copies in twelve months. But it was not written by Kennedy. Whereas the old Primer, officially written by a committee, had in fact been Kennedy's work, its successor, which bore Kennedy's name, was written, in effect, by a committee: his daughters Marion and Julia, his ex-pupils G. H. Hallam and T. E. Page, and the Sanskritist John Peile, Master of Christ's College. Almost all the correspondence with the publisher, Longmans, was carried on by Marion; and it is noticeable that when she had a fall and injured her hand, work on the Primer came to an abrupt halt.

The true story was not put on paper, however, until 1913, when the sisters tried to obtain the copyright in the Revised Primer, and had to provide affidavits that it was their work. Julia wrote to Longmans in February 1913 that

> my father was only prepared at first for a comparatively slight revision ... it was not easy to make him see the extent and far reaching quality of the alterations which were called for, both by the rapid growth of comparative philology and by the newer methods of teaching (Longman archives, file 111/26).

By 1913, Kennedy's Latin Primer had already taken on the cloak of immortality it wore for so long.   Even Eton had succumbed. Edmond Warre, appointed headmaster in 1884, had arranged for John Murray to publish a new *Eton Latin Grammar*, but found that his junior masters refused to use it, and that all the boys coming up to Eton had been taught from Kennedy, and was finally forced to give up the Eton grammar (Fletcher 1922:181).

Let me attempt to summarize. I began by invoking the twentieth-century image of Latin grammar, and of Victorian certainties. The realities, in both cases, turn out to be less straightforward and more interesting. The Victorian concern for certainty was the product of an era in which traditional certainties were being challenged. Most obviously, the Anglicanism to which classical education had long been a supportive adjunct was weakened both by Nonconformity and defections to Rome, and the gradual desacralization of classical scholarship. The Wordsworth brothers' grammars, written in the Latin which had long been the language of the Church and designed to preserve its faith, represent the last outpost of a lost cause. In the beginning was the Word; but the materialist theories of Locke, Condorcet and Horne Tooke threatened to destroy its integrity, so that (as one of his critics said of Tooke) the only connections left in language would be hyphens.   The new philology imported from Germany appeared to Coleridge and his disciples to provide a relocation of the Word in national literary traditions which had a kind of sacredness. But, as Linda Dowling has recently argued, philology became, in the end, the corroder of the written literary Word, as it passed from the drawing-room to the lecture-theatre and the laboratory, from Trench and Max Müller to Henry Sweet, developing as it went into a natural science, the study of the blind mechanical laws of sound (Dowling 1982: 160-178; 1986 *passim*).

The sequence of school grammars I have discussed parallels the course of this transition. From being a communicative resource, Latin became a topic for analysis, just as Classics became not an education, but one of several subjects. THE grammar was succeeded by many grammars, as philological standardization was reinforced

by the structural imperatives of a *de facto* system of high-status
educational provision. Kennedy's Primers are like stratigraphic
samples, containing elements from different points in this tran-
sition. Their authority is mixed: partly based on market sales,
partly on archimagisterial authority, partly on Kennedy's scholar-
ship and his reputation as a teacher of scholars. Neither an ex-
perienced teacher of elementary grammar nor a philologist, he was
attacked in the 1860s by both scholars and schoolmasters. Twenty
years later, his daughters and his friends were able to transform
the Primer while preserving the old man's dignity through the
fiction of his authorship.

Like his grammars, Kennedy straddled a period of transition;
the conjunction of his biography with its historical context was an
unfortunate one. His second career, as Regius Professor of Greek at
Cambridge from 1867 till his death in 1889, left him stranded in
an era whose scholarship was rapidly outdating his own. His predica-
ment was only reinforced by the necessarily hybrid nature of
school grammars, at once scholarly descriptions of language and
pragmatic pædagogic tools (as he put it, between scholarly ade-
quacy and ease of use 'it was a delicate and difficult task to hold
the middle course well' [Letter to *The Times*, 9 September 1886:
9b]). As I have tried to show, this is only part of the wider
formal and functional multiplicity which inheres in the history of
nineteenth-century Latin grammars, and which reflects changes
both in education and in its social and cultural context.

Notes

[1] (1758) Eton: Pote. Two extant copies (Manchester and Illinois), according
to a note prefaced by R. C. Alston to his facsimile edition (Menston:
Scolar Press, 1970; English Linguistics 1500-1800, No. 255). The same
editor has now located a third copy at University College, London
(personal communication). Frequently reprinted, with date of first
edition sometimes (e.g. 1794, 1796) mentioned on the title-page.

[2] For the parliamentary petitions, see Smith 1984, who also discusses
Cobbett. Holyoake's handbooks of grammar appeared in 1844 and 1846; I
owe my reference to Holyoake 1870 to Carolyn Steedman.

[3] On standard English, see Williams 1961:224ff. The evidence for variation
in Latin and Greek pronunciation is scattered through the educational
debates of the 1860s and 70s, when 'philological' pressures for accuracy
and standardization parallel to those which affected the production of
grammars began to be felt.

[4] Headmasters' Conference *Bulletins* for 1884: 9-29; 55-71; 1886:5-46.
Roche (1969) provides a straightforward account based largely on the HMC
Bulletins. The larger issues involved are not considered, and the
narrative is at times disastrously inaccurate.

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JESPERSEN AND SONNENSCHEIN

WHEN EDWARD ADOLF SONNENSCHEIN died in 1929, tribute was
paid to his life's work in the fields of classics, comparative
grammar and the reform of grammar-teaching.   Until his retire-
ment in 1918, Sonnenschein had been Professor of Latin and
Greek at the University of Birmingham; he was the initiator of
the Parallel Grammar Series; and in 1927 he published *The Soul
of Grammar*, the ostensible purpose of which was to show the or-
ganic unity of ancient and modern languages, and to bring into
relief the grammatical features common to various Indo-European
languages old and new.

All new books have their own individual history and character —
emphases and nuances which betray something of the presence which

helped to produce and shape them. It comes as something of a sur-
prise, nevertheless, to learn that the real aim of *The Soul of Gram-
mar* was, in Sonnenschein's own words, "to demolish the arch-enemy
Jespersen" (*DNB* 1930: 797). Whether facetiously intended or not,
Sonnenschein's remark raises interesting questions.   Why should
Jespersen have appeared to Sonnenschein as an 'arch-enemy'?
And how far was Sonnenschein's book successful in containing the
spread of Jespersen's ideas?

   One of Sonnenschein's aims throughout his life was to further
the teaching of grammar by treating all Indo-European languages
on the same plan, with a common terminology. This aim found its
first expression in the foundation of the Birmingham Grammatical
Society in the 1880s, a society committed to the cause of simplicity
and uniformity of terminology in the teaching of the 'school' lan-
guages, and to encouraging grammatical research among teachers.
The idea took more concrete shape in the Parallel Grammar Series,
which saw the publication of some twenty-five individual volumes
between 1888 and 1903, according to a common plan, three of them
contributed by Sonnenschein personally.

   In 1903 Sonnenschein joined Postgate in forming the Classical
Association to promote the teaching of the classics, and from this
Association stemmed the second phase of Sonnenschein's enterprise
— the reform of grammatical terminology. In 1911 a Joint Committee
on Grammatical Terminology, which Sonnenschein had been instrumen-
tal in forming from representatives of the various language tea-
chers' associations, was able to lay before the public its revised
report *On the Testimony of Grammar,* a work which continued in
print for five decades.

   In the following years, Sonnenschein's labours seemed to be
crowned by success. In 1916 his own *New English Grammar (NEG)*
appeared — another work which remained in print for over fifty
years, — and, more remarkable, almost all the English grammars
published in England immediately subsequent to the 1911 report
adapted their terminology in the light of the Joint Committee's
recommendations. The various government committees which repor-
ted on the curriculum during and after the Great War also viewed
the recommendations favourably.

   Nevertheless, the horizon was not entirely cloudless. The Joint
Committee's report was not received with unmitigated favour. The
government had at an early stage signalled an unwillingness to
impose a unified terminology on the schools in the manner of the
French decree of 25 July 1910. Secondly, some language teachers'
associations whose representatives had helped to frame the report
complained that the description of *their* language had been dis-
torted to fit a grammatical scheme appropriate to some other lan-

guage. Finally, Jespersen in Copenhagen had begun, in 1904, pub-
lication of his *Modern English Grammar.*

At first Sonnenschein took little outward notice of Jespersen's
work.   But when the *NEG* appeared, Jespersen's was mentioned as
one of the 'books published abroad' from which Sonnenschein had
taken some of his examples.   By the 1920s the opinion was being
voiced (by Mawer, for instance) that future descriptions of
English ought to take more account of Jespersen's categories and
terminology, and less of those of the Joint Committee.

Sonnenschein tried to resist the advance of Jespersen's lin-
guistic ideas — both professionally, at the meetings of the Clas-
sical Association, and publicly, in the columns of *The Times.* While
working on his magnum opus (his *Modern English Grammar*), Jesper-
sen was, however, also preparing the definitive statement on his
approach to linguistics, *The Philosophy of Grammar* (1924).   The
concluding chapter of this book contains sections on conflicts
between grammatical categories, on linguistic terminology, and a
final summary — 'The soul of Grammar' — of Jespersen's position on
the study and teaching of grammar. This, then, was where Sonnen-
schein found the title for his own *Soul of Grammar*, which appeared
three years later.   The urgency of Sonnenschein's attack is — at
least in part — due to the sharp differences between their
approaches and, ultimately, their motives.

Subsequent observers have not always found it easy to disen-
tangle Jespersen's approach from Sonnenschein's.   To Nida, for
instance, both suffered equally from their notionalism — their
insistence that meaning plays a role in syntax, — but to the two
combatants their positions could hardly have been further apart.
Jespersen's goal was to write notional grammar, relating the syntactic
categories of individual languages to these deeper notional cate-
gories.   His definitions of the syntactic categories, however, were
language-specific and based on formal synchronic criteria. Sonnen-
schein, on the other hand, defined the categories of one language by
drawing on data from other, related languages. A further point of
difference was that Jespersen avoided the misapplied functionalism
of Sonnenschein's approach, according to which syntactic categories
were defined by their function rather than their form. This led, or
permitted, Sonnenschein to postulate five cases for modern English,
in contrast to the two which Sweet and Jespersen were able to iden-
tify. Jespersen also refused to allow historical factors (e.g. the fact
that there had been four cases in Old English) to play a role in de-
fining syntactic categories — (although, like Sweet, he incorporated
historical material into his description) — whereas Sonnenschein
held it self-defeating for the grammarian to suppress any historical
knowledge he possessed, even for the purpose of definition.

Though there were sufficient differences between the two approaches for Sonnenschein to believe that Jespersen's work was detrimental to both grammar and teaching, there is evidence that Sonnenschein had also deeper cause for concern. Sonnenschein's work came to prominence in the context of a wider movement towards standardization, but it also came at a time of waning prescriptivism in linguistics. Furthermore, it came at a time when the traditional curriculum in England and Wales was under review. Latin and Greek were coming under increasing pressure from English, modern languages, the natural sciences and even shorthand. What could have seemed a better way of securing the future of Latin than to bind it — together with the other languages taught in schools — into a uniform terminology? — 'It is in the co-ordination of Latin studies with English studies that the hope of salvation of Latin lies,' Sonnenschein told the 1923 meeting of the Classical Association. From his own point of view, any attempt to approach languages on their own individual terms, as Jespersen did, or to revise the terminology recommended by the Joint Committee in the light of Jespersen's work, as Mawer proposed, would have meant the certain destruction of the edifice Sonnenschein had laboured so long to construct. Small wonder, then, if Sonnenschein perceived Jespersen's work as a threat not only to his own grammar, but also to the status of Latin as a whole, and hence something to be combated at all costs.

Sonnenschein's *Soul of Grammar*, it was claimed by the *DNB*, was widely accepted by competent judges as having succeeded in its aim of demolishing the arch-enemy Jespersen. Fifty years on, the picture looks somewhat different. Jespersen's work continues to prove fruitful for linguists in a way Sonnenschein's does not. Nevertheless, there is a sense in which Sonnenschein's influence, at least in England, has proved more pervasive.

The longevity of Sonnenschein's school grammar (*NEG*) and the report *On the Terminology of Grammar* have already been remarked on. Although grammar in English and Welsh schools seems to be comparatively little and poorly taught, the grammatical categories and terms propagated in popular handbooks tend to be those of Sonnenschein, not Jespersen. Jespersen's innovative terminology, like others which have succeeded it, has not found widespread acceptance. In this respect, the old Latin terminology favoured by Sonnenschein has, yet again, proved its remarkable robustness. From this point of view, it seems that though Sonnenschein's name may not now be as widely known as it used to be, his 'soul', at least, still marches on.

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FROM THE 1989 COLLOQUIUM

Some of the reports below are derived from abstracts provided at the
Colloquium; others are more extended summaries. The first and last papers of
the set will be appearing *in extenso* elsewhere, and it is hoped that the
papers presented in the Symposium on "The History of Linguistics and the
Natural Sciences" will appear in full elsewhere as an independent publication.

ASPECTS OF THE CONDITIONS AND METHODS OF
GRAMMAR TEACHING IN THE MIDDLE AGES

THE PATTERN of grammar teaching in both the western and eastern
Middle Ages was laid down by the conditions prevailing in the
Hellenistic Age, with the teaching of Greek as a foreign language
becoming of prime importance. Grammar was set in a fundamentally
literary context, wherein it substantially remained in the Eastern
Empire and changed in the West only when scholastic philosophical
grammar took the lead in higher education, especially in the
University of Paris.

In the medieval period Latin was the western *lingua franca* of
education and of international communication, and Greek was in the
same position in the east, resulting by stages in the near elimin-
ation of Greek in the west and of Latin in the east.

In an age when books in private possession were few, learn-
ing required much memorization, and in consequence the knowledge
of grammar was encapsulated in discrete chunks, based on parti-
cular lines from literary or biblical texts, *partitiones* in Latin and
ἐπιμερισμοί or σχεδογραφία in Greek.   These were often set in
question and answer form for easier rote learning, and this format
passed into the Ἐρωτήματα (questions) of Chrysoloras, one of the
first Greek grammarians who taught in Italy at the inception of
the Renaissance.

<div align="right">

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SĪBAWAYH'S LOOSE AND LIBERAL INTERPRETATION OF
"ASSIMILATION" (TAᶜRĪB) IN THE HISTORY OF ARABIC GRAMMAR

ONE OF THE most controversial problems discussed by grammarians
and lexicographers of the early ᶜAbbāsid period (132-656/749-1256)
was whether loan-words should adhere to the *qiyās* of the linguistic
moulds. The problem was centred on the very nature of Arabicized
words, their function and place in the scale of values of the lan-
guage. Sībawayh's (d. 172/793-4) broad concept of *tārᶜīb*, Arabici-

zation or assimilation, which covered all foreign terms that Arabic speakers either left in their original form or restructured, by way of change, substitution or addition and elision of consonants and vowels, in order to conform to accepted Arabic paradigms, was rejected by later philologists (e.g. al-Jawharī [d. 393/1002-3] and al-Jawāliqi [d. 539/1144]) as too loose and liberal an interpretation. Subsequently, the purists' view, which held that only the *qawālib* ('mould') of the Arabic languages could arabicize loan words, had a wider acceptance. Furthermore, the purists argued that if the foreign words did not fit the *qawālib*, they should be rejected and labelled a*ᶜjamī* (non-Arabic). But the question is: what happened to those a*ᶜjamī* words? Were they eventually accepted into new structures of non-existing *qawālib?* Which view prevailed, Sībawayh's or the purists'?

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LINGUISTICS AND METAPHYSICS: THE *VERBUM SUBSTANTIVUM* AND THE PORRETAN TRADITION

AN AREA OF linguistics which has consistently been dominated by logic from early times until the present day is the theory of the verb substantive, i.e. the verb 'to be'. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries discussion focused mainly on the signification of this verb on the two semantic levels of particular signification and general or word-class signification. We have to bear in mind that Priscian considered the signification of *actio* and *passio* the constitutive feature of the word-class of the verb. Medieval scholars, however, raised the question whether the substantive verb does indeed meet this requirement. Further, it was evident that on the level of *significatio specialis* every verb has its own particular meaning, e.g. *to read* 'reading', etc. But what exactly is the corresponding meaning of the substantive verb?

In the second quarter of the twelfth century it was generally held that the particular meaning or function of the substantive verb was to signify "substance". Since the leading grammarians of the period all agreed in this respect, it is of great importance to know what they meant by the term "substance" in this context.

The common twelfth-century interpretation of *substantia* in the description of the meaning function of the substantive verb is closely related to the nominal and pronominal meaning of *substantia* for the Stoics, which was transmitted to the Middle Ages through Priscian's descriptions of the properties of the noun and the pronoun.

This acceptation of *substantia*, in the sense of the thing-as-bearer-of-[certain, as yet unspecified]-properties, as the principal meaning of the verb substantive did not accord well with Boethian-Neoplatonic metaphysics or the theology of Gilbert de la Porrée, in which the opposition of the *subsistens*, or *id quod est* took a central place. He maintains that every time we use the verb 'to be' in a predicative utterance, we refer by means of this verb to the source of all being, i.e. God, the all-embracing and being-conferring Being.

On the semantic level a verb is the counterpart of an *id quo est*, a noun — at least when it is the subject of a proposition — the counterpart of an *id quod est*. Each verb must therefore have as its principal (i.e. particular) meaning a property, and not denote the bearer of a property. The properties defined by the verb substantive are all the *subsistentiae* or *substantiae subiectorum*, signified, however, in an equivocal manner: which of these substances has to be actualized in a propositional context is indicated by the predicate noun.

On the constructional level this theory led to the creation of a new category, namely the substantive construction, which was also used by the Porretani for explaining constructions other than those with the substantive verb and the predicate noun, e.g. the famous Biblical "virgo pariet".

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SPINOZA ON 'THE IMPERFECTION OF WORDS'

LIKE MANY PHILOSOPHERS of his age, Spinoza was interested in language. He shared with other seventeenth-century philosophers such as Bacon and Locke the opinion that language itself is neither clear nor logical.

In his *Ethics*, as well as in earlier works such as the *Tractatus de Intellectus Emendatione* and the *Korte Verhandeling van God, de Mensch en dezelfs Welstand*, Spinoza distinguishes three kinds of knowledge, of which the first kind, which is obtained from sensual perception and from signs, e.g. from hearing or reading words, is unreliable (1925:11.10; 1.54; 1985:477; 12; 97). Language does not reflect thoughts or ideas properly: e.g. we quite often use words with negative morphemes to express affirmative concepts like 'un-created', '*in*-finite', '*im*-mortal'.

According to Spinoza man is a mode of the one sole and infinite substance, *Deus sive Natura*, which is determined by the attributes

extension and *thought.* Language is allotted to the attribute *ex-tension,* for "the essence of words and of images is constituted only by corporeal motions, which do not at all involve the concept of thought" (1985:486).

A method of interpretation, in particular of the Scriptures, is given in chapter 7 of Spinoza's *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus.* He distinguishes *significatio* and *sensus,* of which terms the former broadly corresponds to the modern 'lexical meaning' and the latter to 'contextual meaning'. *Significatio* is fixed, but *sensus* is vari-able: two utterances expressed in different words can have the same *sensus,* while two utterances expressed in exactly the same words can have different *sensus,* e.g. a literal one versus one used in irony. The sense of words is easier to twist than their significa-tion, since the former is less fixed than the latter. For a correct interpretation of a text, according to Spinoza, a thorough know-ledge of the language it is written in is needed. We must try to establish the meaning of the author, not the truth of his words; therefore historical and biographical knowledge is needed as well as knowledge of textual tradition.

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GOTTFRIED HENSEL'S COMPARATISM

HENSEL is a rather obscure name in the history of linguistics. He was presumably the father of a philologist and pedagogue men-tioned in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie,* Johann David Hen-sel (1757-1839). This father is said to have been a "lecturer in Goldberg" and to have had knowledge "in the ancient languages and in Hebrew, as well as in several modern ones".

Gottfried Hensel wrote only one book, the *Synopsis universae philologiae,* published in 1741; there was a reissue in 1754 dif-fering only in respect of its titlepage. The 1741 title is more expli-cit; it clearly stresses the nature of the research and the author's interest in Oriental languages, and lyrically announces a "wonderful hidden unity" revealing the "glory of the Creator". The 1754 title is more technical and concentrates on the original aspects of the work: attention to the grammatical point of view and recourse to "geogra-phico-linguistic maps".

Our study is mainly concerned with two parts of the book: the introductory chapter, which presents some 'General axioms on the union of languages and the inner power of their harmony', and the section dealing with 'The affinity between Persian and German' (pp. 437f.).

The opening pages expound the principle of evolutive rationality through the concept of the "emphasis of words", their "power of expression". This power is a θεῖον, an effect of Providence. Linguistic rationality is first defined in the terms of the Bible. The fragmentation of the pre-Babelic language is considered as a reflection upon the idea of "dialect" (distinctions between *dialect* and *style*, the criterion of a gradual transformation — *successu temporis, pedentim*): this progression is demonstrated by daily experience and history — the uniformitarian principle. Every language gradually changes. Polybius attests that the Latin of the origins was no longer understood by his time. Archaic Latin is illustrated by an inscription about the son of Scipio (from Chr. Besold, 1619).

The causes of evolution are "time" and "climate" — notions which overlap in Hensel's text. They more or less separate external, conscious and historical factors on the one hand, and internal and unconscious change on the other. Hence languages which spread or move are subject to a double alteration. They receive the influence of substrates or superstrates (the English language is like a "Harlequin's costume"). They are subject to change (like animal breeds) from climate: a theory "à la Montesquieu" is already present, with a vivid sense of physiological thinking.

Firmly inscribed in the course of Nature and determined by Providence, linguistic change must be directed by "laws" (axiom 3) — *non casu fortuito*. This is what Hensel calls "our thesis". However, those laws are still limited to recording potential phonetic changes, as they were for Cruciger, Hayne and others long before Hensel. The idea of regular changes is yet to come. Axiom 4 states: it is possible to trace present-day words back to ancient ones by *transposition, permutation, deletion and addition of letters* ... The author seems unconscious of discursive linearity and the primacy of orality.

The special attention accorded to the grammatical criterion in genetic relationships between languages is very well illustrated in the chapter on the Germano-Persian "congruentia". The topic of a common origin for these languages was widely discussed during the classical age. Hensel's originality lies in a twenty-page analysis of that *"sororia affinitate"*. The equally classical objection of a possible borrowing from one language to another is quickly overcome; the author refers here to Stiernhjelm. Obviously, G. Stipa's

modern interpretation of an ambiguity disturbing the vocabulary of kinship cannot be applied to Hensel.

Persian is adduced as the more oriental branch of a family which extends to the East. The *lingua indico-brahmanica* is mentioned, but only on the basis of the specimen given by Kircher in *China illustrata.* We are in 1741, two years before Pons published his celebrated letter on "the richest language in the world". It is possible to distinguish several levels of comparison. We suggest the following ones:

— *the elementary level.* The comparison records obvious correspondences, some of which have already been noted (the ending of the infinitive in Persian and German, the series Pers. *beh, behter, behterin* and Ger. *gut, besser, am besten*).

— the level of direct morphophonetic analogies. They are revealed by a simple comparison of corresponding grammatical categories. Examples: the formation of the plural, some declensions, the forms of the verb *to be* in the present indicative. The influence of lexically-based comparison on morphological analysis may be observed (the similar endings of the plural are exemplified by such pairs as Pers. *saghon* / Ger. *Sagen*). Hensel draws parallels between Latin *sum,* Anglo-Saxon *som,* Pers. *em; sunt, synt* and Pers. *end,* etc.

— *the level of systematic and "mediate" correspondences, in a global comparison.* Examples: the pronoun of the first person in Persian, *men,* evokes the Ger. possessive *mein,* as the Persian *tou* is related to European forms. But the third person pronoun, *u,* would only show an analogy with the possessive (Hensel calls it a "pronoun") *ejus:* Pers. *Phader u* corresponding to Latin *Pater ejus.*

We have to ask ourselves to what extent Hensel recognized these analogies. His presentation and commentary are generally laconic. His approach, however, seems remarkable, even if a grammatical comparison had been advocated for a long time (De Laet, Boxhorn, and others). It is also remarkable that the principle of rationality develops here in a strong religious context. This can lead to the stressing of the importance of "biblical linguistics", in which the typical "myths" are (a) the loss of unity (Babel), but (b) at the same time the search for a historical genealogy (the dissemination of Noah's sons and progeny) — an external motivation replacing the inner motivation of the "creative language" (Adam). The style of the Scriptures also plays a role in the rise of a "Celto-Germanic primitivism" linked with the Aryan theory (see M. Olender's very suggestive book on *Les langues du paradis.*

Aryens et sémites: un couple providentiel. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1989).

If Hensel's *Synopsis* is referred to a "Biblical framework", it ought also to be connected with the "academic network" which carries comparative models and processes through the whole classical age, and especially the eighteenth century. A study of the reception of the *Synopsis* would help to establish if it can be considered as a link in such a transmission between other stages of the tradition: Leibniz, Eckhart, Morhof around 1700; Wachter in the thirties; Oelrichs around 1770, etc.

<div align="right">Daniel Droixhe, <i>University of Liège</i></div>

JAMES ELPHINSTON (1721-1809) AND THE SCOTTISH ENLIGHTENMENT

JAMES ELPHINSTON was a teacher, school proprietor and textbook writer in Scotland and London between the 1740s and his retirement in 1776. His principal achievement during that time was a two-volume study of English called *The Principles of the English Language digested* (1765), which later prompted James Walker to comment in the Preface to the *Critical Pronouncing Dictionary* (1791) that Elphinston had "laid the foundation of a just and regular pronunciation" of the English language. Elphinston's later career was marred by an ill-judged attempt at a translation of Martial's epigrams, but in 1786-7 he published his last major work, a fairly conservative proposal for the reform of English spelling (*Propriety Ascertained in her Picture*), which contained a number of systematically organized and for the most part sensible suggestions for change. In the 1790s he promoted his scheme energetically, but in the end unsuccessfully. Although a minor and somewhat eccentric figure on the fringes of the cultural scene, Elphinston made a serious if modest contribution to the expansion of vernacularization in eighteenth-century education and the consequent development of instruments for the codification of standard English, interdependent processes which together characterized the applied linguistics of the enlightenment.

<div align="right">A. P. R. Howatt, <i>University of Edinburgh</i></div>

MONBODDO ON THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF LANGUAGE

IN HIS WORK *On the Origin and Progress of Language* (1773-1792), Monboddo traces back the origin of language to the origin of society (cf. Rousseau and others) and to the origin of the thinking capacities of human beings (cf. Condillac, among others, but also Aristotelianism). Language was "invented" to perform a communicative function and to reflect the result of mental operations.

Monboddo sketches how society emerges out of a "state of nature", and how in that society language — i.e. the expression by the mind of articulate sounds — gradually grows out of gestures and inarticulate cries. Language origin is polygenetic; using language is an acquired habit.

Next to societal development a burgeoning mental activity was necessary for language to develop. The ability to conceptualize is prior to language, but in a later stage there will be a cross-fertilization between thinking and language.

Since the human mind develops in the same way for all human beings, the order in which word classes are invented is the same in all languages, and follows the laws of gradual perfection, diversity and simplification.

Monboddo makes use of Aristotelian categories (*materia-forma, substantia-accidentia*, the Aristotelian ontological hierarchy). He also draws from an eclectic set of sources, which sometimes results in internal contradictions. But these sources have still to be examined.

Emma Vorlat, *Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven*

THE HISTORY OF SEMANTICS IN GERMANY, FRANCE AND ENGLAND

Why has the history of semantics so far been relatively neglected?

(1) 'Semantics' is a comparatively modern and controversial addition to linguistics. Since the beginning of the 1960s a host of publications has appeared on this topic, not only in linguistics, but also in philosophy, computer science and cognitive science. This modern type of semantics, which one could call 'formal' or 'autonomous', is still too young to be treated under the heading of history. However, as it dominates the linguistic scene at present it has contributed to a process of 'forgetting' where other approaches to semantics, especially 'functional' ones, are concerned.

(2) 'Semantics', or more generally speaking the reflection upon meaning (of words) has fascinated linguists and laymen alike from the first beginnings of human culture up to the present day. A history of this fascination with meaning is fascinating in itself, but too broad a topic to be treated under the heading 'history of linguistics'. The broadness of the topic may have deterred historians of linguistics from dealing with 'semantics'.

(3) Once 'semantics' was established as a linguistic discipline in the nineteenth century, this fascination with meaning led to a sudden increase in books, articles, etc. dealing with semantic topics in the widest sense of the term. Books on words, or 'etymological titbits' (Read 1948:80), were widely read, and even 'serious' books on semantics like Bréal's *Essai* (1897) were regarded as entertaining. This soft image of semantics may have contributed to its neglect by historians of linguistics just as much as the hard one of modern semantics.

(4) The most decisive factor, however, was the following: The nineteenth century stands for the century of historical/comparative linguistics, with the focus on the discovery of sound laws. It is generally assumed that syntax was only a marginal sideline of nineteenth-century linguistics; semantics is for the most part not even mentioned.

Why nineteenth-century semantics should be rediscovered

The goal of this project is to show that during the nineteenth century semantics was a very productive field, a centre of innovations and controversies, and that we can still learn from it, from its successes, as well as from its fair number of failures. A fresh look at nineteenth-century semantics should counterbalance to some extent the rather one-sided perspective of modern autonomous semantics.

Another goal of the project will be not only to rediscover nineteenth-century semantics, or rather the type of semantics developed between c. 1820 (Reisig) and 1927 (Weisgerber) in Western Europe, but also to show that this type of semantics cannot be as easily subsumed under the headings of 'diachronic', 'lexical' semantics as one might think. I aim to show that semantics, like most of the other linguistic disciplines in the nineteenth century, went through three stages (although one has to keep in mind that to talk about 'stages' is an idealization).

(1) In a first stage questions about the origin of language (or, in our case, the search for *Grundbedeutungen* or original meanings) are gradually replaced by the problem of the continuous evolution or transformation of language (or meanings). The search for true

meaning is replaced by the search for types, laws or causes of semantic change. In this search the figures of speech are invoked as logical, natural or inner mechanisms of semantic change, mechanisms that are, however, by nature synchronic, not diachronic. One can also observe an increase in proclamations (especially in France where this became a real τόπος) that the meaning of a word is not given by its etymological ancestry, but by its current use, and that forgetting etymology is a most important factor in the proper functioning and evolution of language.

(2) In a second stage questions about types and causes of semantic change (typologies) are slowly replaced by reflections upon the mechanism of communication, comprehension and linguistic interaction between speaker and hearer in situation or context. Again this is more a synchronic than a diachronic issue. From this point of view, a word is regarded as a form that functions in context. Not only has it meaning, but it is used to mean.

(3) In a third stage semantics merges with what one would nowadays call 'pragmatics'; that is word-meaning is now seen as an epiphenomenon of sentence-meaning and speaker-meaning, and sentence-meanings, even types of speech-acts are studied.

From being a sideline of etymology or lexicography semantics matures into a field that gradually covers the whole of linguistics, a broadening of scope that might also have contributed to its downfall. Semantics also sheds its early historicistic ties to comparative philology to become more and more attached to other fields such as psychology and sociology.

To sum up: Apart from providing a new and comprehensive account of nineteenth-century semantics, the purpose of this project is to rediscover certain aspects of semantics that could still be used for a functional approach to language and meaning. From this point of view language is seen as operating within a particular context or situation which critically influences linguistic structure, use and change.

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Brigitte Nerlich, *University of Nottingham*

LEONARD BLOOMFIELD AS A HISTORIAN OF LINGUISTICS

LEONARD BLOOMFIELD (1887-1949) was not a trained historian of philosophy and of scholarship, but he had a view of the history and the historiography of linguistics which was important to him and should be important to us. His concern was with the institutionalized linguistics of the last 200 years or so. 'Prescientific' linguistics was not notably cumulative. While many elements of later work were present they were not systematized, and what we see is mainly theorizing, the relationship of which to actual conduct in the presence of the phenomena of speech is still not well understood. In the case of the last two centuries the problem is simpler because it is possible to study the fit between generalization and substantive work.

Bloomfield was both a formidably creative and productive scholar and a lucid analyst of our assumptions and procedures, about which he had thought deeply. Furthermore, he had the gift of not letting reflexion interfere with his powers of intuition. While he is widely known for his synchronic work, he admired the nineteenth-century tradition of historical and comparative linguistics for its substance and for the methodological subtlety revealed in its achievement. His tributes to the founding fathers are moving; they have earned him the gratuitous tag of the belated neogrammarian on diachronic matters. Yet his great contribution to intellectual history consists in that he was the chasm that yawned between magnificent practice and inadequate theorizing, the former obeying the inexorable dynamics of subject matter in the hands of masters, the latter attempting to reconcile hard-won insights still lacking a suitable vocabulary to the prevailing ideology of the philological and historical fields. It is the story of how linguistics became emancipated quite "against the predilection and expectations of the discoverers".

Henry M. Hoenigswald, *University of Pennsylvania*

LINGUISTICS IN THE MIDDLE AGES: A CROSS-CULTURAL VIEW
Oxford, 29-30 September 1988

A collection of revised abstracts and summaries of papers read at this Conference has now been prepared, and is available (price £1·50, post free) from Dr Vivien Law, Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, CB2 3HU.

WORK IN PROGRESS

Université de Paris 7

The Unité de Formation et Recherches Linguistiques, a joint undertaking of the University and the Centre National des Recherches Scientifiques (CNRS), has issued its report for 1988-89 (lodged in the HSS library). A comparison of the structure diagrams of the organization for 1988-9 and 1990-1 reveals that some projects have been completed, notably those in the area of 'parts of speech', a general title which has been superseded by 'grammar', while the general heading covering the linguistics of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance has become differentiated into its component parts, to some extent, perhaps, because of links with the Renaissance Linguistics Archive. The association of the unit with other bodies, notably the Société d'Histoire et d'Épistémologie des Sciences du Langage (SHESL) — and indirectly with the HSS — is also given formal recognition.

Professor Sylvain Auroux, one of the directors of the Unit, announces that the first volume of the *Histoire des Idées Linguistiques* is to appear next February, to be followed by a second volume in 1991 and a third in 1992.

REPORTS OF CONFERENCES

Women in Higher Education

The inaugural National Conference on Women in Higher Education was held at King's College, Cambridge, on 29 April 1989. Although most of the papers and discussion were directed at general issues, one session, on "Language and Gender", led by the present writer, may be of interest to HSS members. The group considered a wide range of topics relating to the equation of language and power in education, the law, the media, and to issues arising from the 'invisibility' of women, semantically and morphologically, in spoken and written English. It is planned that a full report of the conference will be published in the course of 1989, which will include a summary of the findings of this particular group.

Edwina Burness, *Boston University in London*

SIHFLES Section at the twenty-first *Romanistentag*, Aachen

German Romance-language specialists meet every two years, and in September 1989, one of the sections of their conference (*Romanistentag*) was organized jointly with the Société Internationale pour l'Histoire du Français Langue Étrangère ou Seconde. A friendly group of some twenty people attended this section, and all sessions were jointly chaired by Herbert Christ (Giessen) and Daniel Coste (SIHFLES and Geneva). The sessions covered the history of the teaching of French in a wide range of countries from Sweden to Mauritius. Participants respected advance instructions to take not more than forty minutes of the one-hour sessions in presenting

their papers, and discussion was therefore full and also lively.
There is space here to mention only a few important areas of dis-
cussion.   One bore upon the question: what is the proper object
of studies concerned with the history of language teaching?   Can
one reflect only on topics which have themselves been the subject
of reflection (syllabuses, programmes, methodology which is dis-
cussed by teachers or recommended/imposed by ministries or inspec-
tors)? Or can one include also the less obviously organized, such as
traditions according to which children of the nobility in certain
countries were surrounded by nursemaids, valets, dancing-masters
and others who spoke French to them but were not (in one sense)
teachers of French? The general feeling was that there is a con-
tinuum, though opinion remained divided as to what were the proper
limits of such studies.   Another subject for discussion concerned
notions like "second language" and "foreign language" — very im-
portant in areas such as Mauritius and German-speaking parts of
Lorraine.   There was also an examination of the so-called "direct"
and "traditional" methods of language teaching, and it was agreed
that many approaches (we can call them "active") have in fact drawn
upon both.

The proceedings of the section will appear both in the *Gieße-
ner Beiträge zur Fremdsprachendidaktik* and the *Documents de la
SIHFLES*, probably early in 1990.

Richard **Wakely**, *University of Edinburgh*

FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

International Symposium on Language Universals

Antwerp, 9-10 December 1989

Details from:

Johan van der Auwers,
Universitaire Instelling Antwerpen,
Germaanse Filologie,
Universiteitsplein 1,
B-2610 Wilrijk, Belgium.

Österreichische Gesellschaft für Philosophie

2. Kongreß: "Semiotik und Philosophie"

Vienna, 2-4 March 1990.

Information from:

Elisabeth List,
Institut für Philosophie,
Universität Graz,
Heinrichstraße 25/6,
A-8010 Graz, Austria.

Linguistics Association of Great Britain

Cambridge, 3-5 April, 1990.

Enquiries to the Conference Secretary:

Dr M. O. Tallerman,
School of English, University of Durham,
Elvet Riverside
Durham DH1 3JT.

The Henry Sweet Society

As in 1987, the last time ICHoLS held an autumn meeting, the Henry Sweet Society will not be holding a colloquium in its regular annual series in September (but for a conference devoted to John Wilkins, see below). Instead, there will be a one-day meeting at the Warburg Institute (University of London), Woburn Square, London, WC1H 0AB.

We are expecting papers on some (possibly all) of the following to be presented (titles provisional):

Teresa Bridgeman, "The linguistic theories of Alfred Jarry"; Edwina Burness, "Positive and negative attitudes to regional dialects in English grammars c. 1700"; P. M. Holt, "The background to the study of Arabic in seventeenth-century Europe"; Bernard Jones, "William Barnes's *Grammar* and *Glossary* of the Dorset dialect; Barnes's intentions *v.* the printer's results"; William J. Jones, "Regional variation in fifteenth-century German lexicography"; Giulio Lepschy, "The concepts 'subject' and 'object'"; Michael MacMahon, "Rewriting the alphabet: the IPA and the last hundred years"; James Monaghan, "The work of Sir Alan Gardiner"; Brigitte Nerlich, "G. F. Stout's article on thought and language (1891) and its place in the history of English semantics"; Vivian Salmon, "Thomas Harriot and the Elizabethan origins of Algonkian linguistics"; Richard Wakely, "French in Scotland: learners, teachers and text-books, a historical survey".

The Committee would be very willing to consider further offers of papers. Members will receive full details in a separate mailing. Full details of the Colloquium, and suggestions about accommodation in a University residence in the vicinity, will be circulated early in the New Year.

Geschichte und Geschichtsschreibung der Sprachwissenschaft

III. Internationales Kolloquium des Studienkreises
'Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft'

This Colloquium, under the joint auspices of the *Studienkreis* and the National Library of Luxembourg, will be held in Luxembourg on Thursday and Friday, 19 and 20 April 1990. A detailed programme has not yet been announced, but eight major contributions (30 minutes) and six shorter papers (15 minutes) are envisaged. Further details from:

Studienkreis Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft,
℅ Dr Klaus D. Dutz
Postfach 5725,
D-4400 Münster, W. Germany.

ICHoLS V

The Fifth International Conference on the History of the Language
Sciences will be held at the University College, Galway, campus of
the National University of Ireland, from Saturday morning to
Thursday afternoon 1 - 6 September 1990.

The programme will consist of a plenary and a poster session,
running simultaneously.   Plenary papers will be of 20 minutes
duration each, followed by ten minutes' discussion.   The length of
poster papers will not be limited.   The closing date for submitting
papers was set at 31 October 1989; the closing date for registration
for attending the Conference is 1 June 1990.   Those who pay the
Registration Fee of £ Irl 10 will be entitled to all Conference
documentation issued before or during the Conference, whether or
not they actually attend.

Further information from:

Dr Anders Ahlqvist,
5. ICHoLS Organizer,
University College,
Galway, Ireland.

The Second Circular for this Conference will be issued in
mid-February 1990.

John Wilkins: Language Religion and Science in the 17th Century

St Peter's College, Oxford, 8 - 10 September 1990

This Colloquium (timed to follow immediately after the ICHoLs
meeting in Galway, September 1990) is organized under the auspices
of the Henry Sweet Society, but will differ from previous meetings
of the Society in being devoted to a single topic, drawing inspir-
ation from the symposia on particular themes that have formed
part of the Society's annual meetings since 1985.

The organizers hope that the subtitle of the Colloquium (Lan-
guage, Religion and Science) will indicate the interdisciplinary
nature of the proceedings which will be articulated in the keynote
papers. Papers are invited not only on Wilkins himself and his
circle, but on any topic in seventeenth-century linguistic historio-
graphy that relates to the broader cross-disciplinary theme.   It is
also hoped that contributions from specialists in other aspects of
this period will form a substantial part of the proceedings.

The programme will provide for longer papers (45 minutes,
plus discussion) and shorter contributions (20 minutes, plus dis-
cussion).   It is anticipated that a selection of the papers might be
published in volume form.

The local organizers of the Colloquium are David Cram and
David Harley, with assistance from the Committee of the Henry Sweet
Society. Enquiries and offers of papers (with a brief statement of
content and length) should be addressed to:

Dr David Cram,
Jesus College,
Oxford OX1 3DW.

I. Convegno Internazionale per una storia dell' insegnamento del Francese in Italia

An inaugural conference on the teaching of French in Italy will be held at Parma from 14 to 16 June 1990, under the joint auspices of the Universities of Parma, Bologna, Ferrara and Modena, the Société Internationale pour l'Histoire du Français Langue Étrangère ou Seconde (SIHFLES) and the Istituto Regionale di Ricerca, Sperimentazione e Aggiornamento Educativi per l'Emilia-Romagna (IRRSAE). Among the topics envisaged are: the extent and distribution of the use of French in Italy; the influence of French on Italian culture; the place of French in education, and methods of teaching. The languages of the conference will be Italian, French and English. Proposals for papers, accompanied by abstracts, are requested by 30 November 1989, and a definitive programme will be circulated in March 1990. Details from

Carla Pellandra,
Dipartimento di Lingue e Letterature straniere moderne,
Via Cartoleria 5,
40124 Bologna, Italy.

EURALEX

The Fourth International Congress of the European Association for Lexicography will be held at Benalmadena (Malaga), Spain from 28 August to 1 September 1990. The main topics are: bilingual, practical and computational lexicography, with main emphasis on bilingual lexicography. The deadline for abstracts was set at 15 November 1989, but the deadline for registration for other participants is not specified. The address of the Secretariat is:

Euralex-Vox
% Viajes Iberia Congresos,
Avda. Diagonal, 523
08029 Barcelona, Spain.

Italia ed Europa nella linguistica del Rinascimento. Confronti e Relazioni

This conference will be held at Ferrara from 21 to 23 March 1991 under the auspices of the Istituto di studi rinascimentali. The organizer is Mirko Tavoni, assisted by a committee of international scholars. The first circular proposes a wide-ranging programme, considering *inter alia* the impact of the revival of Latin under the Humanists, Greek and Hebrew in the Renaissance, writing and printing, the study of the vernaculars, translation, myths of the origin of language, historical and comparative studies. Registration forms from:

Archivio della linguistica del Rinascimento,
Istituto di studi rinascimentali,
Palazzo Paradiso,
Via Scienze, 17
I-44100 Ferrara, Italy.

Proposals for papers, which may be in Italian, French, Spanish, English or German, should be returned on the registration form by 28 February 1990. Participants who do not wish to contribute a paper should register by 31 October 1990.

NOTICES OF BOOKS RECEIVED

Werner Hüllen. *„Their Manner of Discourse": Nachdenken über Sprache im Umkreis der Royal Society.* Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1989. xii + 292 pp.

This book sets out to investigate the extent to which the 'new philosophy' of the seventeenth century determined the linguistic theory and practice of the time. This is ground already well trodden by historians of ideas — and rightly so, given the importance for the development of modern science of the critique of language, a critique which had its practical manifestation in the quest for the 'plain style' (the 'manner of discourse' alluded to in Hüllen's title) and a more theoretical one in the Real Character of John Wilkins. Indeed the ground is so well-trodden as to have become impacted, and the present work suggests a refreshingly different way in which it might be re-ploughed.

Hüllen's approach is that of a linguist, and in an important introductory chapter he sets out some of the central assumptions and problems in linguistic historiography. The substance of the book might best be described as a series of case studies which examine a central item from a variety of different angles, and the very juxtaposition of the chapter topics is in itself sufficient to give a flavour of the approach. The chapter on Francis Bacon stands next to one on the style of language in the regional natural histories of Plot, Leigh and others; a close linguistic reading of Sprat's description of the plain style ('a close, naked, natural way of speaking') stands next to a stylistic analysis of contemporary treatises on bees and bee-keeping; a discussion of the differing aims underlying universal language schemes stands next to a study of museum catalogues and museum projects (both real and utopian). The concluding chapter, in a shift of emphasis from the synchronic to the diachronic, discusses the semantic classification underlying Wilkins's *Essay* from the standpoint of the thesaurus as it was to develop in subsequent centuries. There is some unevenness and overlap between the chapters, but these serve to highlight the multidimensional approach while maintaining the visibility of the red thread.

In brief, this book suggests an approach to linguistic history which invites broader application and wider debate. The central questions it raises, if I may risk an encapsulation, is whether the modifying adjective in 'linguistic historiography' can be construed as applying as much to the method as to the object of study.

David Cram, *Jesus College, Oxford*

Gerhard F. Strasser. *Lingua Universalis: Kryptologie und Theorie der Universalsprachen im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1988. 291 pp. [Wolfenbütteler Forschungen, Band 38].

This study places the universal language schemes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in a tradition of cryptography reaching back through the Middle Ages into Antiquity. As a highly direc-

tional approach to univeraal language schemes it thus complements the differently orientated monographs by Knowlson, Salmon, Slaughter and others. But it should be stressed (since there are now popularizing works also appearing in this area) that it is not just a re-assembling of familiar materials in a new package. It is an enormously scholarly work, which opens up a wide range of previously unexploited primary sources and establishes fruitful new connections between those already treated in depth elsewhere.

Strasser's cryptological angle on things gives him something fresh to say about most of the major and minor protagonists in the universal language debate, but it is no discredit to the book as a whole to note that its real strength lies in its coverage of continental rather than British thinkers. The two figures which emerge with most salience in this context are Trithemius in the early sixteenth century and Kircher in the seventeenth. Strasser's treatment of Kircher in particular is exemplary, with admirably clear expositions in the main text, judiciously selected facsimile illustrations, and detailed footnotes containing pointers for further investigation.

Quite apart from its cryptological interest, this book can be highly recommended as one of the clearest systematic introductions to the technical aspects of universal language schemes.

David Cram, *Jesus College, Oxford*

Jean-Pierre Schobinger (ed.) *Die Philosophie des 17. Jahrhunderts.* Band 3. England. Basel & Stuttgart: Verlag Schwabe & Co. AG., 1988. 2 vols. xxxiv + 340; vii + 534 [341-874] pp.

This work forms part of a re-edition — in fact a complete rewriting — of the monumental *Grundriß der Geschichte der Philosophie,* known to many generations of students simply by the name of its founder, Ueberweg. The entire text is in German, as befits the pedigree of the work, but it also befits the nature of modern scholarship that the 34 specialist contributors to the re-edition should be from all around the globe. The title of these two volumes announces that their scope is seventeenth-century England, but the preface hastens to add that 'England' is here deemed synonymous with 'Britain', following standard German usage. (And let not the first stone be cast, it might be added, by English-speakers who deem 'Holland' to be synonymous with 'The Netherlands'.)

The work will undoubtedly prove to be an important reference manual for those concerned with the history of ideas about language. There is a useful introductory chapter on seventeenth-century philosophy in the eight universities of the English-speaking world (England 2, Scotland 4, Ireland 1, America 1), which places the various language-related disciplines in the context of the overall syllabus of studies. Other chapters cover Hobbes and his circle, the Platonists, Cartesianism, political philosophy, and, of course, Locke. (It is unfortunate that Francis Bacon, by happenchance of birth date, does not qualify for extensive treatment in his own right in this volume, where on most criteria he properly belongs.)

Of particular interest to linguistic historians is the chapter by Brigitte Asbach-Schnitke and Hans-Jürgen Höllerer devoted to universal language schemes. This contains a general outline of both British and continental contributions to the debate, and has separate sub-sections dealing with the ideas of Urquhart, Ward, Lodwick, Beck and Dalgarno. Wilkins is not dealt with here at length, but there is a section on him (written by Paul Wood) in the chapter on the Royal Society, a chapter which also contains three noteworthy contributions by Michael Hunter on the history of the Society.

The bibliographical references are generally more detailed for primary sources than for secondary literature, which is probably the soundest editorial policy for a reference work of this sort, in that they date less rapidly. Locations of major MS material are included as well as editions. There is an extensive name index, and the detailed table of contents compensates, almost, for the lack of a subject-index.

David Cram, *Jesus College, Oxford*

Nigel Smith. *Perfection Proclaimed: Language and Literature in English Radical Religion 1640-1660.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989. 396 pp.

Nigel Smith, in this important and definitive study, not only examines closely the theological significance of sectarian writing to the Puritan movement as a whole, but relates radical religious discourse directly to current seventeenth-century intellectual preoccupations and linguistic debates. He explores the relevance of language to the Puritan cause, and the ensuing internal debate about the logocentric nature of God; the orthodox members holding that the Word resided solely in the Bible, the radicals that it was present with equal or even superior authority in reported dreams and visions. The resulting controversy as to whether the divine signified the power of language itself, and to what extent human language could reflect the deity led, according to Smith, to a distrust among some sectarians in rhetoric and 'fallen' discourse. Radical Puritans, then, were arguably involved in key seventeenth-century debates over the origin of language, the search for a universal language and universal character. The influence of continental mysticism and occultism, especially that of Jakob Boehme, is also traced in the thought and expression of certain radical pamphlets and publications. Marshalling an impressive array of source material, both printed and in manuscript, Smith extrapolates, even from the most intractable, a meaning and signification which connect these texts to the more orthodox theological, epistemological and linguistic issues of the period.

Edwina Burness, *Boston University in London*

Robert N. Essick. *William Blake and the Language of Adam.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989. x + 272 pp.

Essick's study, although ostensibly addressed to students of English literature, is of considerable interest to historians of linguistic ideas. The intention is to relate language performance with language ideology, and Blake's verbal and visual art is examined for the evidence it affords about the poet's acquaintance with, and reinterpretation of, seventeenth and eighteenth-century linguistic issues. Essick gives an informed and comprehensive overview of key areas like universal language schemes, the cabbalistic tradition, the natural sign and orality debates, and lexicographical reform, in order to trace the development of Blake's visionary linguistics — in which ontological execution and semiotic conception are shown to be fused.

The study as a whole represents an important contribution to modern critical methodology, in that it demonstrates how mutually beneficial an interchange between the linguistic and literary disciplines can be.

Edwina Burness, *Boston University in London*

Daisuke Nagashima. *Johnson the Philologist.* Kansai: University of Foreign Studies, Intercultural Research Institute, 1988. x + 238 pp.

Dr Nagashima's study deals with five major topics: Johnson as philologist; as historian of the English language; his place in the history of English grammar; his success as an etymologist; and "Johnson the linguistic Agonistes". The author has therefore treated Johnson's whole contribution to linguistic scholarship, not merely his work as a lexicographer; and the results are impressive in displaying what Dr Nagashima describes as 'his multifaceted talent'.

He begins with a survey of Johnson's linguistic knowledge, substantial in both classical and modern languages — even possibly including some Irish. He concludes by endorsing an opinion already expressed by an earlier scholar that Johnson was by no means 'a mere amateur in linguistic matters', although as a philologist he was perhaps more interested in the second element of 'linguistic culture'.

Dr Nagashima points out that Johnson's "History of the English Language" and his "Grammar of English" have been to a large extent ignored — it can be added, however, that a Dutch member of the Society is now working on Johnson's achievements in this sphere. Johnson was by no means the first to describe the history of the language, and Nagashima places his work in the context of such studies. The author concludes that Johnson's work provides 'a short but virtually the first scientific history of the English language', one unexpected proof of which being that the article on 'Anglois' in the French *Encyclopédie* is largely taken from Johnson.

On English grammar, although Johnson's contribution in a separate work was not particularly original, Nagashima argues that his various prescriptive comments in the *Dictionary* are of great importance in so far as they 'triggered the revolution' in the writing of grammar in the mid-eighteenth century. Again, Nagashima gives a

a valuable conspectus of the history of English grammar before Johnson, and, in addition, shows his influence on two later grammarians, Joseph Priestley and Robert Lowth, whose grammars appeared within a few years after his own was published in 1755.

Johnson's achievements as an etymologist are better known because of their appearance in the *Dictionary*, and they have generally been regarded very poorly; again, Nagashima examines the tradition on which Johnson relied, and finds his work of more value than generally thought; he argues that Johnson as revealed by his comments in the *Dictionary* is 'a competent English etymologist'.

In a final section, the author sums up Johnson's views on language in general; linguistically he was a Lockean, though not by nature being a theorist, and from practical experience, he came to realise that it was futile to attempt an artificial control on language — linguistic change must and will take place. Nagashima's final sentence on Johnson is an excellent summing-up: 'As in moral, religious, and other important human problems, so in matters linguistic Johnson was an agonistes who struggled to the end of his life.'

This study is to be warmly recommended, not only as a treatment of Johnson himself as a linguist, but because each section provides a useful guide to the development before Johnson of the subject under discussion, thus ultimately presenting us with a survey of the history of linguistic ideas in sixteenth to eighteenth-century England. There is a splendid bibliography, and a useful index.

Vivian Salmon, *Keble College, Oxford*

William Cowan (ed.) *Papers of the Nineteenth Algonquian Conference.* Ottawa: Carleton University, 1988. v + 234 pp.

Actes du vingtième congrès des Algonquinistes. Ottawa: Carleton University, 1989. viii + 363 pp.

Readers may be surprised to find two volumes of papers on Algonquian linguistics among the books donated to the Society, but although the majority of contributions relate to Algonquian society and features of its language, there are two, concerned with the history of Algonquian linguistic studies, which will be of special interest to members of the Society.

In the 1988 collection, Pierre Swiggers writes, with his usual clarity, on "Theoretical implications of C. C. Uhlenbeck's Algonquian studies" (pp. 225-234). In his introductory section, he places the life and work of the Dutch scholar Uhlenbeck (1866-1951) within two contexts; first, that of typical Indo-European linguistics of the later nineteenth century, and secondly, within the context of American Indian studies since 1910. This change of direction for Uhlenbeck arose from his dissatisfaction with the narrow neo-grammarian conception of language structure then prevailing; he felt the need to broaden his horizons, and hence turned to Amerindian studies, beginning with Eskimo languages and moving on to a special interest in Blackfoot.

The theoretical issues which Swiggers discusses are: first, Uhlenbeck's views on the links between nominal and verbal systems, and secondly, the idea of genetic relationships, which he studied with special reference to the distant relationship between Algonquian and Ritwan.

In the 1989 volume there is a paper by Konrad Koerner entitled "Towards a history of Americanist linguistics" (pp. 171-192). Commenting that recent years have witnessed the recognition of the history of linguistics as a *bona fide* academic subject, he points out that now the history of the study of Amerindian languages is beginning to arouse interest, and he cites in particular the work of Auroux and Queixalos ("Pour une histoire de la linguistique américaine en France", 1984). He describes his paper, in his own words as, 'a modest attempt at a brief survey of the work that has already been done', with some brief observations of his own.

After an introductory section, Koerner discusses three phases of the study of North American Indian languages, these three phases being based on the work of Suarez. First is the period from the arrival of missionaries in New Spain in 1524 to the end of the seventeenth century, a period usually described as 'missionary linguistics'; secondly, there is nineteenth-century work, with brief beginnings in the eighteenth century; and thirdly, there is the present century. In the first period, he examines in particular the work of the missionary linguists John Eliot and Roger Williams; but important as their achievments were, they were preceded by those of a distinguished English mathematician, Thomas Harriot, whose production of a phonetic alphabet for the transcription of Algonquian was thought to be lost — as his Algonquian dictionary still is — and has come to light too recently to be considered by Koerner. Nevertheless, his survey is most illuminating, as is also his excellent bibliography; it is to be hoped that the paper will stimulate much more research in this developing area.

Vivian Salmon, *Keble College, Oxford*

Jacek Fisiak. *A Bibliography of Writings for the History of the English Language.* 2nd edition. Berlin, New York, Amsterdam: Mouton de Gruyter, 1987. xi + 216 pp.

This volume is designed, as its title indicates, for students of the history of English rather than for historians of linguistic ideas. There is no question about its value for the former; although Professor Fisiak admits that the collection is still not complete, he has enlarged his earlier edition of 1983 by more than half, and makes this work even more valuable for students at all stages. But it is also an extremely useful compilation for historians of linguistic ideas; first, because it cites the work of several important linguists of the nineteenth century, who are by now the subject of study in their own right — Sweet, Thomas Wright, Morsbach, Luick, Skeat and others; and secondly, incorporated in sections not specifically devoted to the history of linguistics, there are many items of special relevance.

In the section on the linguistic situation in medieval Britain, for example, there are entries relating to the teaching of French and to attitudes towards the English language at the time, and in the section on dictionaries there are entries referring to early English

lexicography. Most relevant of all is the subsection entitled "Early grammars and grammatical doctrines", which contains 31 entries.

The fifteen sections into which the volume is divided cover all the topics one might expect, including not only topics such as spelling, punctuation and handwriting, but also treatments of individual authors. In this respect, the work will also be of value to literary critics and scholars, including as it does entries relating to the language of e.g. Shakespeare, Milton, Tennyson, Hardy, Defoe, Jane Austen and Thackeray. The last-named indicates Professor Fisiak's thoroughness; it is an unpublished dissertation of the University of Leicester.

There is no other single volume which covers the same ground, and, apart from all its merits, for this reason alone it is strongly recommended to students of the English language and of the history of linguistic ideas.

Vivian Salmon, *Keble College, Oxford*

Roy Harris. *Language, Saussure and Wittgenstein. How to play games with words.* London & New York: Routledge, 1988. xv + 136 pp.

This book (already reprinted) is divided into ten chapters of unequal length. It begins with a useful perspective of views of language going back to the earliest years of linguistic speculation and myth, serving to mark out the originality of the ideas of Saussure and Wittgenstein, and these ideas, apparently reached independently, are subtly analysed for their convergence and divergence. The two longest chapters — on 'Arbitrariness' and 'Communication' — are central to the main argument of the work: 'arbitrariness' is shown to be itself a confusing term in common usage, since it may mean 'volitional' or 'unmotivated' (or both); and Saussure is shown to have been particularly careful in differentiating between absolute and relative arbitrariness. The chapter on communication analyses Saussure's views of the speech chain and a highly simplified hypothetical language used by Wittgenstein to demonstrate the nature of communication, and establishes that for the former successful communication depends on 'agreement in definition' while for the latter it depends on 'agreement of judgements' — neither of which is truly explanatory.

Harris accepts that the "games analogy" — specifically the comparison of language with chess — served a useful purpose in presenting language as an autonomous system and dissociating the study of language from the analysis of logical relationships; yet the conclusion of the work as a whole is that the games analogy is ultimately unsatisfactory, since while one may 'play games with words', one also has to 'do things with words', i.e. language has to do with a world outside itself, whereas a game is self-contained. The book thus prompts us to re-examine attitudes which may have become entrenched. It does not fight shy of taking issue with the views of Saussure and Wittgenstein, where these can be shown to be inconsistent or incomplete. It does not offer a generally applicable approach to language based on the writings of these two thinkers, nor is it an introduction to their lingusitic thought; it is much more, a stimulating analysis for the initiated.

Paul Salmon, *Oxford*

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