EDITORIAL

It cannot go unmentioned that this is the final *Bulletin* of the millennium, although this fact hardly needs pointing out. The world is gripped by millennium fever, and one feature of this is an obsession with history. Dinosaurs have just now seized the imagination of a generation. A self-styled 'docu-soap' about dinosaurs on British television was recently watched by 18.9 million viewers, a figure the true soap operas find hard to challenge. Films about dinosaurs are the surprising box office successes of the moment, and both cinema and television screens are full of 'period dramas', dramas from any period between the Renaissance and the mid-nineteenth century inclusive, where period costumes and artefacts are carefully and accurately reproduced. Other arts too have been pervaded by a nostalgia for the past and a wish to recreate it. No musician can ignore the findings of research into 'period performance', and a performance of, for example, Bach or Handel using a symphony orchestra or large choral society, much loved in the first half of this century, would be unthinkable today. The point is that, as the 'end of the past', represented by 31 December 1999, approaches, we seem to turn to that past more and more. It is almost certainly no coincidence therefore that the history of linguistics has been in the ascendant in the closing decades of the century / millennium. Will the new millennium sound the death knell of our subject? Will linguists begin gradually to look forward instead of backwards, perhaps to a new world beyond linguistics, where the old unitary linguistics has broken up into its component parts, into new autonomous disciplines? If there are any historians of linguistics left in 100 years time, it would be interesting to know what they have to say about us. Will we be shown to have been *fin de millénaire* romantics, watching the sun go down on twentieth-century linguistics, or are today's historiographers the future of language study, providing the link between the last millennium and the next?

This issue of the *Henry Sweet Society Bulletin* contains some thought-provoking material. There are two new directions in this November issue which the editors hope will spark debate and lead to further contributions in those areas. Firstly, Elke Nowak has written an overview of the current state of one branch of linguistic historiography, missionary linguistics. This is an ideal contribution to a journal of this sort on two accounts. The *Bulletin* is conceived in part as an organ of report, providing members with an overview of what is going on in the subject. No member is able to keep abreast of all new developments and research, and an article like Elke's helps do the job for them. The other great strength of an article like this is as a means of stimulating research, showing members what is going on, what remains to be done, and

what pitfalls and pleasures await. We hope that other members will rise to the challenge and submit overviews of their own areas of linguistic historiography.

Secondly, Jan Noordegraaf deals with the question of how to teach the history of linguistics. Very often in the university world teaching is viewed as secondary to research, and this means that 'real scholars' sometimes feel embarrassed about discussing pedagogical issues. Despite large numbers of scholars active in researching the history of linguistics, the subject is taught in very few universities. Or perhaps this is a wrong perception of the true state of affairs. Perhaps the wider community is unaware of what is actually going on in linguistics and language departments around the world. Whatever the situation, those of us who teach the subject would undoubtedly benefit from learning new ideas and new strategies, and those who might consider teaching the subject would undoubtedly benefit from the experience of those who do so already. If the history of linguistics is not to wither in the new millennium, we need to proclaim the importance and the fascination of the subject to each new generation, and the Henry Sweet Society should be leading the way.

Andrew Linn, *Sheffield*   **David Cram,** *Oxford*

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The First English Grammars of St Paul's School, London, in their Grammatical Tradition[1]

John Colet's *Aeditio* and William Lily's *Rudimenta grammatices* are important as primary contributions to grammar writing at the beginning of the sixteenth century and for their influence in the following three decades. They represent the first Latin grammars in English used at St Paul's School, London. Colet's *Aeditio* is a Latin accidence in English, while Lily's *Rudimenta grammatices* deals with elementary syntax. The two grammars were compiled for St Paul's School in about 1509 and were used for the teaching of elementary Latin in English to schoolboys from the age of seven until they could deal with more advanced material taught in Latin. The two grammars are generally considered the basic sources for the English part of the Latin grammar which was authorized by Henry VIII in 1542 for use in all grammar schools in England. This was the grammar attributed to William Lily which is referred to by such names as *Lily's Latin Grammar, Lily's Grammar, Lily-Grammar, Lily, King's Grammar, King Henry's Grammar, Royal Grammar, Common Accidence* or *English Accidence* in school books, educational documents, literary texts and by scholars. It is a combined work consisting of two separate Latin grammars which are both anonymous. The first part, entitled in the 1542 version *An Introdvction of the Eyght Partes of Speche, and the Constrvction of the Same,* was intended for elementary instruction on the parts of speech and elementary syntax, and was written in English. The second part, aimed at more advanced students was written in Latin, with the title in the 1540 version *Institvtio Compendiaria Totivs Grammaticae.*[2] However, Colet's and Lily's English grammars are not identical to the English part of the *Lily-Grammar.*

In this article the two grammars will be discussed as presentations of vernacular grammar as such, in contrast to the few studies where in most cases they are discussed mainly as a source of the *Lily-Grammar* (e.g. Funke 1941: 49-52; Flynn 1943: 104-109; Allen 1954: 85-87; Enkvist 1996: 577-578). Colet's *Aeditio* is usually regarded as being an adaptation of Donatus; some sources are given for Lily's *Rudimenta grammatices,* but for both grammars the manuscript tradition has not been taken into consideration. In most cases the

[2] The two parts of the *Lily-Grammar* are located in London, British Library, C. 21. b. 4 (1) and C. 21. b. 4 (2).

short treatise on syntax has been attributed to Lily himself.[3] This paper will look at the texts themselves and present evidence which proves that Colet's and Lily's grammars are not the first of their kind; it will demonstrate their derivative nature in that they follow a broad tradition of English grammatical manuscripts and their printed successors, and it will show that as variants of existing grammars in the vernacular they compete with other texts which were in use at the same time. I will show that the two compilers follow the example set by generations of schoolmasters before them in compiling their teaching material, and indicate some differences from other texts. My first step will be to indicate what evidence we still have of these two elementary English grammars of St Paul's School in the first four decades of the sixteenth century. I will then familiarize the reader with the broad tradition of grammar writing in English, starting with Colet's own words in order to show in what way his and Lily's treatises echo contemporary elementary grammars. I will take Colet's own words at face value by taking into account that these grammars were part of the curriculum for his new school.

From the evidence which remains of the elementary Latin grammars it cannot be denied that they had a precarious existence, and those that survived in spite of their nature and the uses to which they were put, were the fortunate ones that found their way at some stage into a library of some sort. All we have left of the probably many editions of the *Aeditio* are thirteen editions in complete form or as fragments dating from 1527 to 1539.[4] Sixteen editions of the *Rudimenta grammatices* have come down to us dating from about 1516 to 1539. This evidence suggests that their approach to elementary grammar was regarded by teachers as useful, and that it was influential. The volume with the title *Ioannis Coleti Theologi, Olim decani diui Pauli, Æditio. una cum quibusdam .G. Lilij. Grammatices Rudimentis, G. Lilij epigramma*, printed in 1527, is the earliest elementary Latin textbook in English which has come down to us from St Paul's School. The two grammars, John Colet's *Aeditio* and William Lily's *Rudimenta grammatices*, together form its core. Colet's and Lily's grammars were probably compiled in 1509 and may have been available in print in the same year, at a time when printed grammars were becoming more numerous in England. However, no copy of the *Aeditio* from Colet's lifetime (1467?-1519) survives. Its date of composition can be ascertained from Colet's letter to Lily printed before the prologue of the *Aeditio* in the 1527 edition.[5] The 1529 edition made its appearance with Cardinal Wolsey's time-table for

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[3] Flynn lists the printed versions of the *Parvula*, the *Long Parvula*, and the *Parvulorum institutio* as sources for Lily's *Rudimenta grammatices*; see also pp. 91-94.
[4] See Gwosdek (forthcoming), *Aeditio*, nos. 20.1 - 20.13, and *Rudimenta grammatices*, nos. 51.1 - 51.16.
[5] Peterborough Cathedral Library, on long-term deposit in Cambridge University Library, Pet. Sp. 44. A5ʳ. The letter ends as follows: Vale ex ædibus meis, Calendæ Augustæ. Anno M.CCCCC.IX.

his new foundation of Ipswich School, which in this and some later editions precedes the *Aeditio*. The title reads *Rvdimenta Grammatices Et Docendi methodus, non tam scholæ Gypsuichianæ per reuerendissimum .D. Thomam Cardinalem Eboracensem feliciter institutæ, quam omnibus aliis totius Anglie scholis prescripta.*[6] It tells us that is was prescribed for all schools in England, although nothing came of this until 1540. It seems that each of the two grammars began life as a single text before they were printed together at some unknown time. Lily's *Rudimenta grammatices* is presented as a separate text in its first extant edition of about 1516, printed by Ursyn Mylner in York. The next edition available is that of about 1525, and there is a third one, a fragment of four leaves of about 1538. The evidence shows that from about 1527 onwards Lily's syntax was in most cases published together with the *Aeditio*.

The following items are contained in the combined book:[7]
The title page, title in border (A1^r);[8] rules of admission to Colet's new school (A1^v-A2^r); the twelve articles of the Apostles' Creed (A2^r); the seven sacraments of the Church and the spiritual effect of each (A2^v); three short paragraphs, devoted to the love of God, love of oneself, and love of one's neighbour (A2^v-A3^r); four one-sentence injunctions (A3^v); and a list of forty-nine miscellaneous precepts of living (A3^v-A4^r). The prayers which follow are given in Latin: the Apostles' Creed (A4^r-A4^v); the Lord's Prayer (A4^v); the Hail Mary (A4^v); and two prayers, probably composed by Colet himself (A4^v-A5^r). They are followed by Colet's letter of dedication to Lily, dated August 1, 1509 (A5^r); the prologue to the *Aeditio* (A5^v-A6^r); the *Aeditio* (A6^r-D7^r), including an epilogue (D6^v-D7^r); Lily's *Rudimenta grammatices* (D7^r-E5^v); Lily's *Carmen de moribus* (E5^v-E7^r); three Latin epigrams (E7^v); the Greek alphabet (E8^r); and a woodcut, surrounded by a border, consisting of four different pieces (E8^v).[9] The book, at least in part, provides what can be seen as a suitable basis for the instruction of children. The collocation and order of the texts imply that they share a common history, and their sequence may represent the learning programme at St Paul's School in that the two grammars were most probably studied one after the other. The articles of admission, the two prayers probably by Colet, also his letter in which he dedicates his accidence to Lily, connect it explicitly to St Paul's School. It was printed for the English market probably by Christopher van Ruremond in Antwerp, which was common at this time because of high demand which could not be satisfied by English printers. There

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[6] London, British Library, C. 40. c. 39, A1^r.
[7] All references to the *Aeditio* and the *Rudimenta grammatices* will hereafter be to the 1527 edition.
[8] See Nijhoff 1926-1935, vol. 2, Martinus de Keyser XIV.59, and the bibliographical description of this edition of the *Aeditio* in Nijhoff and Kronenberg 1923-1971, vol. 2, no. 2683.
[9] See Nijhoff 1926-1935, vol. 2, Hans van Ruremunde I.5. The border is not mentioned in Nijhoff and Kronenberg's bibliographical description.

is a facsimile reprint of the 1527 edition by Alston (1971), an edition of it by
Blach (1908, 44: 75-117; 1908, 45: 51-55), and extracts appear in Lupton
(1909: 291-292), and Nugent (1956: 120-121). A modern edition taking
account of the evidence listed in the *Short-Title Catalogue* (1976-1991) has not
yet been produced.

John Colet's *Aeditio* and William Lily's *Rudimenta grammatices* were
written for use at St Paul's grammar school, which was reopened in about 1512
by John Colet with William Lily as its first High Master. Colet has been more
discussed as a theologian than as a grammarian by earlier scholars.[10] He spent
three years travelling and studying in Italy and France. By the time he returned
to England in 1496, he had decided to take holy orders. He settled at Oxford
and began to earn a high reputation for his lectures, and there he also made the
acquaintance of Erasmus. In 1504 he returned to London where he was elected
Dean of St Paul's. One year later, when his father, Sir Henry Colet, master of
the Mercers' Company and twice Mayor of London, died, he as the eldest and
only surviving son came into the patrimony which he was to use for the
refoundation of St Paul's Grammar school between 1508 and 1512. This
became the great work of his life for which he is chiefly remembered. He did
not place his new institution in the hands of the church but of lay trustees,
under the governance of the Mercers' Company, which was a wise decision in
the changing economic and political climate which he could perhaps foresee.
By 1508 he had begun to build a large schoolhouse in St Paul's Churchyard,
where no fewer than 153 boys were to be taught free, the number 153
obviously alluding to the miraculous draught of fishes in the Gospel of St John
21:11. Colet's foundation was not a completely fresh beginning, but simply
superseded on a far grander scale the existing cathedral grammar school. It is
significant that he appointed the first High Master and a Surmaster, participated
actively in the provision of textbooks, and drafted a final set of statutes dated
1518.

The first thing required was a Latin grammar for beginners. He himself
compiled the *Aeditio* because he was not satisfied with any of the Latin
grammars known to him. He also set his learned friends William Lily, Thomas
Linacre, and Erasmus to work to provide him with new textbooks. It was Colet
personally who selected William Lily (1468?-1522) as first High Master or
headmaster of St Paul's School (Carlson 1993: 96-97). Lily was a demy
(undergraduate scholar) of Magdalen College, Oxford in the early 1480s. As a
youth he travelled in the Mediterranean. He is known to have visited Jerusalem,
before taking up residence at Rhodes for some time. From there he returned to
Rome, extending on his journey his knowledge of Latin, Greek and antiquities.
Though he first considered a vocation to the priesthood, he decided in favour of

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[10] For a more recent account of Colet's life and St Paul's School, see Gleason 1989: 15-64,
217-234.

marriage. In 1512 he was formally appointed to the office of headmaster of St
Paul's School in which he remained until his death.

   According to Colet's statutes the purpose of education at St Paul's
School would be:

> specially to incresse knowlege and worshipping of god and oure
> lorde Crist Jesu and good Cristen lyff and maners in the Children
> And for that entent I will the Chyldren lerne ffirst aboue all the
> Cathechyzon in Englysh and after the accidence that I made or sum
> other yf eny be better to the purpose to induce chyldren more spedely
> to laten spech. (Lupton 1909: 291-292)

The accidence in English should be used to teach the pupils the first steps in
Latin. It is preceded by a prologue and has the following contents. It starts with
the heading 'An introduccyon of the parthes of spekyng/ for chyldren/ and
yonge begynners in to latyn speche' (A6^r) and sets out, in two columns, first the
four declinable parts of speech - noun, pronoun, verb, participle - and then the
four indeclinable ones, namely adverb, conjunction, preposition, and
interjection, before beginning to define and analyse them. Compared to
Donatus's order of the parts of speech, the participle and the adverb have
changed places. The *Aeditio* ends with an epilogue where it is said:

> These be the .viij. partes of spekyng whiche for an introduccyon of
> chyldren in to latyn speche I haue thus compiled/ digested/ and
> declared (D6^v).

It points the way to the further advancement of the pupils' Latin by imitating
'good latyn authours of chosen poetes and oratours' (D7^r), i.e. Christian
authors. We are also informed about the way in which grammar was intended
to be taught at St Paul's School, namely that it should be acquired by much
reading and practice, not by cramming of the rules. Unlike other grammar
masters of this time, Colet left evidence of his method of compiling his
grammar, and reveals both his affection for his school, and his view of the
children's intellectual capacity and their needs. In the prologue to his *Aeditio*,
called 'A lytell proheme to the boke', he says:

> In whiche lytel warke yf ony newe thynges be of me/ it is alonely
> that I haue put these partes in a more clere ordre/ and haue made
> them a lytel more easy to yonge wyttes/ than (me thynketh) they
> were before. [...] In whiche lytel boke I haue lefte many thynges out
> of purpose/ consyderyng the tendernes and small capacyte of lytel
> myndes (A5^v).

Colet knew about the large numbers of elementary grammars 'called Donates
and Accidens in latyn tongue and in englyshe' (A5ᵛ) compiled by his
predecessors and contemporaries. But an adverse judgement about them is
already implied in the very fact that he considered it necessary to compose his
own textbook rather than use the existing ones. However, his practice in
compiling a new treatise was to use material from his predecessors which was
available to him, to try to present the facts more clearly, and also to omit
subject matter which he thought would impede his pupils' easy understanding
of the rules. Some of the circumstances of its composition can also be gathered
from his dedicatory letter to William Lily, printed before the prologue to the
Aeditio, where we read:

> Accipe optime ac literatissime Lili, libellum puerilis institutionis, in
> quo quidem eadem quæ fuerunt ab alijs tradita, ratione, et ordine
> paulo (ni fallor) commodiore digessimus (A5ʳ).[11]

As printing put copies of grammatical treatises into comparatively many hands,
a number of contemporary and earlier treatises were probably brought to the
attention of Colet who may have compared and appraised them. Apart from the
general reference to 'Donates and Accidens', there is no evidence either in the
treatise itself or in the whole book as to which contemporary or earlier
grammars in printed or possibly manuscript form were available to him when
he was compiling his *Aeditio*, and he remains silent about who may have
advised him. Moreover, in an age which habitually learnt grammar by heart, we
cannot be certain what was consciously directly taken over from printed texts
and what came from Colet's memory of grammar from his own schooldays.
This applies likewise to Lily's *Rudimenta grammatices*, which bears the
heading 'To make latyn' (D7ʳ). All that can be done here is to stay as close as
possible to the surviving texts themselves and compare them with contemporary
grammars.

The question thus arises as to what was the material which Colet and
Lily in about 1509 must have known and may have regarded as useful for
compiling their treatises. In this connection we need not only consider
contemporary printed grammars but also their predecessors in manuscript form
which overlapped with the early days of printing. This is the point where my
excursion into little-known territory begins. It has been made possible first of
all by the contributions of David Thomson who studied 36 medieval English
grammatical manuscripts for the teaching of elementary Latin and made them
available in his *Catalogue* (1979) and his *Edition* (1984). They can be grouped

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[11] Accept, best and most learned Lily, this little book for the instruction of boys, in which we
certainly arranged the same things which had come down to us from others, if I am not wrong,
according to a somewhat more appropriate principle and order.

into the *Accedence Texts* on the parts of speech (12 versions are extant), the
Comparacio Texts (6) which deal with comparison, the *Informacio* (7) and the
Formula Texts (4) which treat elementary syntax, and a group labelled *Other
Texts* (8) which are the only copies of the treatises they represent.[12] Two further
manuscript fragments, one belonging to the *Accedence* and one to the group of
Other Texts, were discovered by Cynthia Bland in 1982 and published in 1991.
Secondly, the three volumes of *STC²* list a large number of early English
printed grammars under the names of John Stanbridge, John Holt, John Colet,
William Lily, and Thomas Linacre, and also mention a number of anonymous
grammars in various places. Most of them remain unpublished.

Grammars for the teaching of elementary Latin in English were probably
first written after the Black Death in 1348-1349 when schoolmasters abandoned
French for English as the medium of teaching Latin. This innovation is said to
have taken place in Oxford and is reported by John Trevisa in his translation of
Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon* (c. 1385-1387). However, John of Cornwall's
Speculum grammaticale, dated 1346 in the colophon, represents the first extant
treatise in which we find a number of explanations in the vernacular. It is a
comprehensive tract in Latin which mainly deals with the eight parts of speech
and their construction.[13] In the following years successive masters in Oxford
and elsewhere took over the new method and compiled their teaching material
wholly or partly in English. The main figure connected with the English
elementary Latin grammars is John Leylond who was teaching at Oxford by
1401 and died in 1428. Some of his teaching grammars may, however, have
been written at an earlier date. They did not have a written-up and final form,
but were subject to continuous change and adaptation according to their use and
the understanding of their schoolboy users. But in spite of the variations in
wording and also in subject matter in successive manuscripts, it is striking that
the same familiar material was presented in all of them, both in treatises on the
parts of speech which take the structure of Donatus's *Ars minor*, including in
those on the comparison of adjectives, and in those on elementary syntax which
mainly cover the treatment of concord and regimen or government.[14] The
manuscripts which have come down to us from about 1400 onwards represent
the personal working texts of schoolmasters and pupils, and so have varying
degrees of accuracy and completeness.

After William Caxton opened his press in Westminster in 1476,
schooltexts began to be made available in the new medium of print. Two leaves
of an edition of the version of the *Long Parvula*, which is a treatise on
elementary syntax, represent the first extant printed elementary grammar for the

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[12] For an eighth version of the *Informacio*, see Gwosdek (forthcoming), no. 32.

[13] This change is commented in Babington 1869: 158-161; see Orme 1989: 11-12.

[14] Cf. the remarks on the open nature of textbooks by Robins 1995: 13-27, and Introduction, p. 8.

teaching of Latin in English. It was printed by Theodoric Rood in Oxford in about 1482.[15] A comparison between the English grammatical manuscripts and early printed grammars shows that the school grammars of the early Tudor period emerged directly from the tradition of the manuscripts. Availability and chance probably decided which manuscripts were set up in type. Consequently, this process must have led to the loss of a great number of versions of grammatical material then in use. In particular, the printed grammars attributed to and those actually compiled by John Stanbridge, a famous teacher at Magdalen College, Oxford, and at Banbury until his death in 1510, continue the manuscript tradition. This can be proved by a close comparison between the *Accedence* manuscripts and the two versions of the printed *Long Accidence* and *Short Accidence* versions, both attributed to Stanbridge (Gwosdek 1991; Gwosdek 1993: 137-147). Ideally, all the versions of the 'Stanbridge grammars' need to be compared with the manuscript versions. His grammars became very popular in English schools. The last two extant editions of his *Accidence* are dated 1539; the last edition available of his *Parvulorum institutio* can probably be dated about the same year. In addition, the grammar by John Holt, entitled *Lac puerorum or Mylke for the children,* which must have been compiled by 1500, and became popular in the first decade of the sixteenth century, and also a number of anonymous grammars, all of these provided the form and the material on which John Colet and William Lily could draw. At the same time, the publication and reprinting of different grammars which provides testimony to their frequent use in other schools up to 1540, implies that they have also to be regarded as parallels to Colet's and Lily's grammars and not only as possible sources.

      Pre-existing grammatical manuscripts and printed grammars can be shown to have exerted an influence on the structure, proportion, and content of the *Aeditio* and the *Rudimenta grammatices.* This can first be gathered from the distribution and range of subject matter. The four inflecting parts of speech, noun, pronoun, verb, and participle, cover about 93 % according to the numbers of lines they occupy in the *Aeditio;* the four non-inflecting ones, namely adverb, conjunction, preposition, and interjection cover the remainder of about 7 %. Amongst all the parts of speech the verb occupies about 57.5 % and the noun follows next with about 19.3 %. These percentage figures give some idea of the emphasis which was placed on the individual parts of speech. However, they are to some extent the result of the compiler's emphasis and didactic principles, the sources which were available to him, and perhaps, to a small degree, the freedom of the compositor to spread out his text over a certain number of pages. Noun and verb are regarded as the two principal parts of

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[15] *Long Parvula.* attributed to John Stanbridge. [Oxford, Theodoric Rood, 1482?] (London, British Library. IA. 55313. b2.5; second copy Cambridge. Mass., Houghton Library, Harvard University, Inc 9747. b2.5) (*STC* 23163.13).

speech and usually received most of the emphasis, as was already the case in Donatus and Priscian (Keil 1864, vol. iv: 372, lines 5-6; Michael 1970: 48-53; Lepschy 1994: 32). In general, the declinable parts of speech were considered more important than the group of indeclinable ones. Colet's grammar shares this emphasis on the noun and verb with other contemporary printed English grammars and English grammatical manuscripts, while on the other hand there remains much variety in the length of discussions of the individual parts of speech. In the inflecting parts of speech most of the space, especially in the treatment of the verb, is occupied by the paradigms. Colet's treatise comprises noun- and verb-paradigms and lists prepositions which either take the accusative, ablative, or both cases, but also has continuous text. The noun- and verb-paradigms are arranged in tables which only give the Latin forms, whereas many other rules are illustrated by Latin examples which are followed by their English translation or vice versa. The noun-paradigms decline one noun of each of the five declensions, i.e. the first declension is represented by *musa*, the second by *magister*, the third by *lapis*, the fourth by *manus*, and the fifth by *meridies*, an arrangement which is also found in contemporary English printed grammars, for example in the *Long Accidence*, the *Short Accidence*, Stanbridge's *Accidence*, and also in the English grammatical manuscripts of the *Accedence* and in the text of the *Ars minor* current in England at the time when the English grammars were written. The Latin text, however, differs in a number of ways from the version printed by Keil, where gender forms the basis of the declensions.[16]

It is important to note that the question-and-answer form which is a characteristic of the grammatical manuscripts and of printed grammars preceding and also competing with Colet's and Lily's texts, and which is based on Donatus's *Ars minor*, is abandoned in the *Aeditio* and the *Rudimenta grammatices*. Here the rules are instead given in affirmative sentences and are no longer illustrated by mnemonic verses from the verse-grammars of the late thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century, i.e. the *Doctrinale* (Reichling 1893) and the *Graecismus* (Wrobel 1887). In Lily's *Rudimenta grammatices* the introduction to constructions, the examination of the three concords (i.e. the agreement between nominative case and its verb, substantive and adjective, and relative and antecedent) and 'The knowlege of the oblyque

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[16] For the declension of nouns, see *Aeditio*, A7ʳ-A8ᵛ, *Long Accidence* (Gwosdek 1991, Text A: 156-157, lines 245-313), *Short Accidence*, Text L: 233, lines 57-70), *Accidence* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, 4° A 18(2) Art. BS, A3ᵛ-A5ᵛ) (*STC²* 23139.5); see also the late medieval version of the *Ars minor* in the incunabula, Oxford, Bodleian Library Douce D 238(1) (*STC²* 7016), A3ʳ for the *u*- and *e*- declension. The first three declensions must have been on A2 which is lacking; the continental version is printed in Schwenke 1903: 37-38; see also Schmitt 1969: 58-59, 75. Cf. the unusual choice of paradigms in Donatus's *Ars minor* (Keil 1864, iv: 355, lines 28-29; 356, lines 1-30): masculine (*magister*), feminine (*musa*), neuter (*scammum*), common of two genders (*sacerdos*), and common of three genders (*felix*).

cases' (E3ʳ), discussed in the order of the cases, take up about the same space each. Impersonal verbs in English and their equivalents in Latin are arranged in two columns (D8ᵛ-D9ʳ), while those Latin verbs and a few English ones which take the dative are listed in four (E4ʳ) and three columns (E4ᵛ) respectively; otherwise the rules are presented as continuous text. It is however striking that in Lily's treatise the personal tone, a feature characteristic of grammatical manuscripts, is still preserved in some rules. For example, it begins its discussion by saying 'Whan I haue an englysshe to be tourned in to latin/ I shal reherse it twyes/ or tries/ and loke out the verbe' (D7ʳ⁻ᵛ). In both treatises Roman type is used for the Latin examples in the paradigms and also in the text, which has the effect of drawing the schoolboy's attention to them and singles them out from the rest of the text in English which is set up in English Black-Letter type.

Colet's and Lily's grammars, along with other surviving elementary grammars, must represent only a small proportion of the texts, comprising many different combinations of similar material, which must once have been in circulation. In order to show the similarity and sharing of material and to give some idea of the degree of its variation, I will try to develop two examples, one from each treatise.[17] The general definition of the noun of the *Aeditio* will be compared to that given in other contemporary treatises which deal with the parts of speech; likewise the discussion of the principal verb in the *Rudimenta grammatices* will be set in the context of other treatises on elementary syntax. The texts show considerable variation in their general definitions of the parts of speech, using phrases and ideas from both Donatus and Priscian, probably indirectly, and medieval grammarians, who often cite the definitions of these two grammarians and adjudicate between them. Ideas and assumptions are blended and combined in different ways by the later grammar masters. Some of the definitions are also not based on the obvious sources like Donatus or Priscian but may go back to the teachers' ad hoc definitions.

A few examples of the varying range of criteria which were used in defining the noun will be listed in the following. Colet frames his definition solely in terms of meaning.

> A nowne is the name of a thynge that is. and may be seen/ felte/ herde/ or vnderstande. As the name of my hande in latyn is *.Manus.* the name of a hous is *.Domus.* the name of goodnes is *.Bonitas.*
> [John Colet, *Aeditio*, [Antwerp, Christopher van Ruremond?] 1527 (Peterborough Cathedral Library, on long-term deposit in Cambridge University Library, Pet. Sp. 44, A6ʳ).]

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[17] It is not possible to determine any mutual relationships between the texts by giving samples of parallel passages.

In this grammar the noun is said to be the first of the four declinable parts of speech, but the criterion declension only forms part of the definition of the participle. 'Nownes/ or the names of thynges' (A6ˢ) are items of nomenclature which are illustrated in the definition by two physical objects and an abstract concept as examples of a kind which can be understood by a seven-year old boy (Padley 1976: 38-39). The definitions given in the first person singular in Thomson's manuscripts A, L, and K all provide semantic criteria, and only vary in whether they add a third item 'here' (MS A), 'vnderstand' (MS L) or 'hondyll' (MS K) to the sensory verbs 'fele, [...] se' which are common to all of these manuscripts. Text M offers an impersonal explanation which takes as illustrations the denominations of a real person, a supernatural being, and also those of an abstract concept. Compare manuscripts A and M:

> How knos þu a nowne? For all þat I may fele, here or se þat berys þe
> name of a thyng, þe name þerof ys a nowne.
> [*Accedence* MS, written S. xvᵐᵒᵈ·, Basingwerk Abbey (Aberystwyth,
> National Library of Wales, MS Peniarth 356B, fol. 54ᵛ) (Thomson
> 1984, Text A, p. 1, lines 11-12).]

> How knowest a nowne? Of euery thing that is in this world or out of
> this world the name is a nowne, as 'man', 'angel', 'vertue', etcetera.
> [*Accedence* MS, written S. xv³ᐟ⁴, Oxford (Worcester Cathedral
> Library, MS F. 123, fol. 99ᵛ) (Thomson 1984, Text M, p. 63, lines
> 13-15).]

It is these manuscripts, in which nouns are made the names of things, which come closest to Colet's definition. Those definitions given in the *Long Accidence* and *Short Accidence*, and in Thomson's texts C, E and F present us with a textual variation by omitting the phrase 'the name therof'. This shorter form must have been an alternative which could have derived from the first by deliberate simplification or by accidental omission of words, but on the other hand, the longer form could have been a correction of an original shorter one, or the two forms could have evolved independently. Since the definition is not based on Donatus or Priscian, we cannot appeal to the history of the texts for a solution. It must have felt adequate, otherwise it would be surprising that its use was continued so consistently in the early printed grammars. See for example the definition of the *Long Accidence*:

> How knowest a nown for al maner thyng þat a man may see fele.
> Here. or vnderstonde þat berith þe name of a thynge is a nowne.
> [*Long Accidence*, attributed to John Stanbridge, Westminster,
> Wynkyn de Worde, [1495.] (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce D
> 238(2), A1ʳ) (Gwosdek 1991, Text A, p. 152, lines 11-13) (*STC*²

23153.4).][18]

The shortest definition is provided by manuscript B. It seems to be so abbreviated that it must have hardly been comprehensible to the children without further elucidation by their master who must have interpreted it and illustrated it by examples. It reads as follows:

> How knowe ȝe a noun? For þe Laten of eny þyng ys a noun.
> [*Accedence* MS, written S. xv^med., Basingwerk Abbey (Aberystwyth,
> National Library of Wales, MS Peniarth 356B, fol. 163^r) (Thomson
> 1984, Text B, p. 9, line 10).]

Definitions given in other treatises by contrast list different formal, i.e. morphological criteria and combine them with those of meaning, for example Stanbridge's *Accidence* and John Holt's *Lac puerorum*.

> How knowe yow a nowne? for he is a part of reson declined with
> case. and the name of euery thynge that may be felt. sene. hard or
> vnderstonde. is in latyne a nowne propur or appellatyue.
> [John Stanbridge, *Accidence*, London, Richard Pynson, [1505?]
> (Oxford, Bodleian Library, 4° A 18(2) Art. BS, A1^r) (*STC²*
> 23139.5).]

> A Nowne betokeneth a thynge without ony difference of tyme. Also
> the name of all þat I may see fele or perceyue by ony of my fyue
> wytes/ is a nowne.
> [John Holt, *Lac puerorum*, London, Wynkyn de Worde, [1508.]
> (London, British Library, C. 33. b. 47, C8^r) (*STC²* 13604).]

In the *Informatio puerorum* and also in the treatise entitled *Donate/ and accidence for children* (*STC²* 7018.5) there is no general definition of the noun. We are only given the subdivisions into noun substantive, noun adjective, and noun relative and their definitions. The definition of the noun substantive is almost identical in both treatises. In the first it reads:

> How knowest a nowne substantyue? for he may stonde by hymself
> without helpe of another word. and is declyned with one article or .ii.
> at the most. as hic magister. hic et hec sacerdos.
> [*Informatio puerorum*, London, Richard Pynson, [1499?]
> (Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepysian Library, PL 1305(3), A4^v)
> (*STC²* 14078).]

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[18] I am grateful to the Revd Dr David Thomson for his comment on this definition.

Thomas Linacre's elementary grammars in the vernacular with the titles *Linacri progymnasmata Grammatices vulgaria* and *Rvdimenta Grammatices* each have the same definitions of the noun and only give the formal references to tense, person, and case:

> A Nowne is: that betokeneth a thynge wyth oute ony dyfference of tyme or person. and is declyned with case.
> [Thomas Linacre, *Progymnasmata,* London, John Rastell, [1512.] (British Library, G. 7569, b5ᵛ) (*STC²* 15635).]

The above examples give some idea of the range in the definition of the noun which was possible at that time. In general, most of the definitions are not particularly comprehensive ones, and if students went on to more advanced texts they would have had to learn a different approach. Those given in the above examples are characterized by the presence of either semantic or formal criteria alone or by a combination of them. Colet's definition, which represents only one variation, was used as the basis for the definition given in the English part of the authorized grammar of 1542. It thus entered the mainstream of the grammatical tradition and consequently replaced all competing definitions.

The rule next to be discussed deals with the instructions for finding the principal verb in an English sentence which should be translated into Latin. It was adapted for use in elementary teaching and is found in William Lily's *Rudimenta grammatices* as the rule following next to the identification of the verb (D7ᵛ). The same method of finding the principal verb also occurs in a number of variant forms in contemporary printed grammars and in grammatical manuscripts which similarly teach English schoolboys to analyse the sentence in a way that could be related to the target language. Compare Lily's rule with the instructions given in the *Informatio puerorum:*

> If there be more verbes than one in the reason the fyrst is the principal verbe: so it be none infinityue mode/ nor verbe hauynge before hym ony relatyue/ aduerbe/ or coniunccyon: that causeth the reason to hange: as *Qui,* þe whiche *Cum,* whan *Vt,* that.
> [William Lily, *Rudimenta grammatices,* [Antwerp, Christopher van Ruremond?] 1527 (Peterborough Cathedral Library, on long-term deposit in Cambridge University Library, Pet. Sp. 44, D7ᵛ).]

> How shalt thou knowe the principal verbe? For the fyrst verbe alway is the principale verbe withoute it be thinfinityue mode/ or the verbe of a relatyue: or of a coniunctyon: or of an Aduerbe. I meane not euery coniunctyon nether aduerbe: But only suche as causeth a reason suspense or hangyng.

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> [*Informatio puerorum,* London, Richard Pynson, [1499?]
> (Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepysian Library, PL 1305(3), B4ᵛ)
> (*STC²* 14078).]

Apart from the question-and-answer form in the latter treatise, the two
schoolbooks do not differ substantially in helping the pupils to identify the
main constituent with the aid of its position in the sentence.[19] The same rule
can also be found in the versions of the *Long Parvula,* attributed to John
Stanbridge and in his *Parvulorum institutio* where they resemble each other in
wording. The *Parvulorum institutio* gives it as follows:

> How shall þe pryncipall verbe be knowen yf there be more verbes in
> a reason then one. Euermore my fyrst verbe shall be the pryncypall
> verbe/ except he come nye a relatyue or a coniunccyon or be lyke to
> be the Infynytyue mode.
> [John Stanbridge, *Paruulorum institutio,* London, Wynkyn de
> Worde, [1507?] (Cambridge, King's College M. 28. 43², A2ʳ) (*STC²*
> 23164.2).]

This rule with similar wording is already contained in the grammatical
manuscripts of the *Informacio* and the group of *Other Texts.* It occurs in
manuscripts T, U, V, X and the newly discovered version of the *Informacio.* In
these manuscripts particular consideration is given to the exceptions. For this
reason the pupils are asked to analyse the English sentence and find out the
'relatif' which cannot have the main verb after it or the 'infinitif mode' from
which it differs by its 'syne' 'to'. Finally, an illustrative example which is also
shared by the above manuscripts should help them to recapitulate the rule and
assist its retention in their memories. Compare MS T:

> How shall þu know, yf þer be mony verbys yn a matter, whych ys
> thy principall verbe? Euermore the furst verbe ys my principall
> verbe, butt yf hyt com nexte to a relatif or ellys be lyk to an infinitif
> mode. Whereby knowystow when hyt comys nexte to a relatif?
> When hyt comys nexte to thys English worde 'that' or 'the whych'.
> Whereby knowystow when hyt ys lyke to an infinitif mode? When y
> have þis syne 'to' as 'to love' or 'to be lovyd'. [...] 'A chyrch ys a
> place þe whych Cristunnen mecull ben holdyn to love.' Whych ys
> thy principall verbe in þis reson? 'Ys'.
> [*Informacio* MS, written by John Edwards of Chirk. 1480s, Valle
> Crucis Abbey (Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS NLW

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[19] On the problem of comparing and contrasting structures in Latin and English, cf. Carlson
1993: 96-97; Algeo 1985: 191-192, 202-207.

423D, fol. 11ᵛ) (Thomson 1984, Text T, p. 82, lines 24-34).]

But whereas this rule, with variations but the same illustrative example, is shared by manuscripts U, V, and X, MS Y of this group of texts, however, omits the opening sections on construction altogether, as it does the identification of the principal verb and its position in a sentence. It only presents the illustrative sentence, the question about how to find the main verb there, and the answer. Like the grammars on accidence the manuscripts on syntax had undergone the process of use in classrooms, of copying and recopying and, finally, in the case of some of them, of being set up in moveable type. Lily's reformulation of this rule for school use thus represents, in the same way as Colet's definition of the noun, only one possibility amongst numerous others. His version of this verb instruction belonged to the common stock of elementary vernacular grammar; with some variation, it also passed into the 1542 grammar which became authoritative and dominant.

The evidence here assembled is admittedly fragmentary and so conclusions drawn from it must be provisional. The publication of careful editions of the as yet unprinted grammars, the discovery and printing of new texts, and a close examination of the texts themselves will sharpen and widen our view and may change the picture. The present evidence suggests a pattern which can be summarized as follows. The first English grammars of St Paul's school represent versions of texts on the parts of speech and on elementary syntax which originate in the existing tradition of the elementary Latin grammars written in English. To a great extent their definitions and rules were already present in the English grammatical manuscripts. Colet's and Lily's treatises are the result of carrying out further work on accidence and elementary syntax and so they provide us with additional versions which must have become available in a large number of editions. In this way they add to the variety of teaching grammars which is a characteristic of the period up to 1542 when a uniform grammar was introduced. It may be that some of their popularity arose from their traditional and well-known subject-matter. In addition, Colet and Lily share similar intentions and methods of compiling their grammars with other school masters in the fifteenth and at the beginning of the sixteenth century. At the same time their use at the famous school of St Paul's, which served as a model for many grammar schools later established or reformed, may have been responsible for the role they played as basic texts for the committee who compiled the *Lily-Grammar*. But although the two grammars are participants and heirs of the tradition of elementary teaching grammars in the vernacular, they stand out because of their different presentation of the text. Unlike most of the contemporary and former grammars Colet's and Lily's treatises abandoned the question-and-answer procedure for one of direct statement, and in this way they reflect a change in pedagogical practice.

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Hedwig Gwosdek, *Tübingen*
Hgwosdek@t-online.de

How Structuralist was 'American Structuralism'?*

The term structuralism was first used in psychology, starting with Angell (1907), but the general intellectual movement it would come to designate in the 1950s and after began in linguistics, as did the first strong challenge to 'structuralist' dominance. Starting in 1957 and with rapidly accelerating force from about 1960–62 onward, the 'transformational-generative linguistics' of Noam Chomsky (b.1928) set out to undo the underpinnings of American 'structuralist' linguistics. Structuralism became the vieux jeu of the older 'establishment' generation, swept aside by the transformational generativism of the young rebels. This version of events is accepted for example by Culler (1975: 7), who writes that 'generative grammar plays no role in the development of structuralism', though Jean Piaget (1896–1980) makes 'transformations' one of his three defining features of structuralism and thereby incorporates Chomsky into the very centre of the movement (Piaget 1970 [1968]: 81-92). With another 20 years' hindsight, Piaget's view is all the more convincing. American linguistics before Chomsky shared several features with European structuralism that differentiated them both from the earlier historically-dominated linguistics, but on a number of essential doctrinal points the gulf between them was as wide as the Atlantic. Many of these doctrinal points were the very ones Chomsky overturned, and in so doing he narrowed the gulf considerably. From the European perspective, looking beneath the overt terms of the debate, it was Chomsky who brought fully-blown structuralism to American linguistics for the first time by undoing a decades-long resistance to it.

Here again the story is complex, because the development of linguistics in America and Europe can never be fully separated or integrated. Of the two most prominent American linguists of the first half of the century, Leonard Bloomfield (1887–1949) was German-trained and began his career as a follower of Wilhelm Wundt (1832–1920), while the German-born Edward Sapir (1884–1939) was trained by a German émigré who became one of the most celebrated anthropologists in America, Franz Boas (1858–1942). Boas is widely credited with establishing the basis of what would become the

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'distributional' method for the analysis of languages that is at the heart of what is usually identified as 'American structuralism' (notably by Hymes & Fought 1981). Back in Europe, Claude Lévi-Strauss (b.1908) would acknowledge Boas and his students Alfred Kroeber (1876–1960) and Robert H. Lowie (1883–1957) as his central influences in anthropology (Lévi-Strauss 1973 [1955]: 59), while in America, Bloomfield, in a 1945 letter, responds testily to criticisms of his 1933 book for supposedly ignoring Saussure, saying that in fact Saussure's influence is evident 'on every page' (Cowan 1987: 29). Yet as shown in Joseph (1990: 58-63), Bloomfield (1927) read Saussure as a behaviourist manqué, a feat he accomplished by 'dropping' the concepts of signified and signifier in favour of 'actual object' and 'speech utterance' respectively, as if in so doing he simply clarified what Saussure was trying to say. Bloomfield's desire for European–American linguistic integration seems to have outweighed any concern with presenting a faithful and cogent reading of Saussure.

From the early 1930s there were regular, if sporadic, contacts between American linguists and their counterparts in Prague and Paris, London and Copenhagen. The cross-fertilisation can be seen most clearly in work on the common core of their interests, the phoneme, understood by both Bloomfield and Roman Jakobson (1896–1982) as a bundle of distinctive features (see Bloomfield 1933: 79; Joseph 1989). But the differences are no less salient. Even within America, Bloomfield and his followers understood the phoneme as a category for the description of behaviour, while Sapir gave greater weight to its psychological force (see Sapir 1933). In Europe, where behaviourism had not exerted such an impact, there was little problem in accepting the Saussurean view of the language system as being simultaneously a mental and a social reality. Despite this rather fundamental difference, a common faith in the existence of the abstract category of the phoneme sufficed to make transcontinental dialogue possible, with occasional static.

After Sapir's death in 1939, Bloomfield's approach began to take over in America, and its position was definitively solidified when it became the basis for the highly successful preparation of language teaching materials during the War. With its steadfast rejection of anything 'mentalistic' as being inherently metaphysical and therefore not amenable to scientific study, American linguistics under the Bloomfieldian aegis had considerably less in common with structuralism of the European variety than in the 1930s when the bridging figure of Sapir was dominant. If we ask what was 'structuralist' about Bloomfieldian linguistics from a European perspective, looking back to the principal tenets of Saussurean thought as a grounding, we do find points in common: synchronicity, arbitrariness, the social nature of language, the idea that in language *tout se tient*, distinct syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes. But Saussure's semiology has been reinterpreted as stimulus and response; and perhaps the greatest difference is that meaning no longer exists within language but in all those stimuli out in the world. For Bloomfield there can be no

signified because the mind, even if we accept its existence as a matter of commonsense experience, is not objectively observable, and therefore out of bounds for scientific purposes. Hence there can be no such thing as 'value' in the Saussurean sense — a concept so central to Saussure's thought that it means even the seeming convergences named above are only partial. Nor can the existence of the language system be in any way psychological or, worse, unconscious. Most Bloomfieldian linguists denied the distinction between langue and parole in the very significant sense that they defined a language as a set of observable utterances, not an unobservable system which, given their refusal to have recourse to the mind, they would have been hard pressed to locate physically, as their methodology demanded. Finally, they were with few exceptions extremely sceptical about any 'universals' of language beyond the basic behavioural schema of stimulus and response. In view of these divergences it is misleading indeed to identify the Bloomfield-dominated linguistics of the 1940s and 50s as 'American structuralism'.

This was the linguistics against which Chomsky would come to position himself. His revolution lay partly in convincing American linguists that the behaviourist rejection of the mind was misguided, and that commonsense intuitions about the mental were not necessarily unscientific. He insisted on a distinction between 'competence' and 'performance' which in early work he likened specifically to the langue and parole of Saussure (although they were not exactly the same; see Joseph 1990), and maintained that linguistic competence was a discrete, unconscious component of the mind having a fundamentally universal structure, much as European structuralists had interpreted Saussure's langue. No less importantly, he introduced a distinction between 'deep' and 'surface' structure in language which was quickly latched onto by people outside linguistics and interpreted in ways far removed from Chomsky's original intention, but reshaped by them according to their deep-seated sense that words do not mean what they purport to mean (as discussed further in Joseph 1999a). This sense has been at the root of many 'functionalist' developments in 20th century linguistics, particularly within European structuralism, where the notion of separate conscious and unconscious minds is taken for granted. Hence European structuralists had comparatively little difficulty reconciling Chomsky's basic views with their own, even if the reconciliation was based upon a misinterpretation from Chomsky's point of view. At the same time, his notion of transformational rules by which one gets from deep to surface structure, which had no obvious precedent within European structuralism, was absorbed into it as Chomsky's original contribution, revolutionary because it released the structuralist system from the static inertia Saussure had saddled it with. But while injecting structuralism with a new dynamism, transformations, it soon became apparent, made the system too 'powerful' in the sense that one could explain anything with no effort, simply by introducing an ad hoc transformation.

Although Chomsky maintains a self-propagation myth according to which he was never influenced by any of the teachers whose influence he acknowledged profusely in his early publications, he does not deny his contacts from the 1950s onward with Jakobson, to whom Chomsky & Halle (1968) is dedicated (for an analysis of Chomsky's quirks as a historian, see Joseph 1999b). It was Jakobson presenting him to the (largely European) audience of the 9th International Congress of Linguists in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1962 that is generally seen as marking the start of his international prominence. Moreover, the principal intellectual debts Chomsky has acknowledged apart from Saussure and Jakobson have been European rather than American, including the linguists of 17th century France (see Chomsky 1966), Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835) and Otto Jespersen (1860–1943). In view of the fact that he set American linguistics on a path significantly less at odds with the Saussurean framework while undoing none of the common points between Bloomfield and Saussure (except perhaps the amount of lip service paid to the social nature of language, which Chomsky did not deny but simply excluded from his realm of interest by defining that realm as the competence of an idealised native speaker–hearer in a homogeneous speech community), it seems reasonable to argue that Chomsky introduced structuralism into American linguistics, more fully than any of his predecessors. His new, transformational structuralism, which in Piaget's (1968) perspective looks as if it were an inevitable development in structuralist thought, briefly defined a minor generational gap among French structuralists; and may, through its excessive power, have helped hasten the pace of the reductions to absurdity by which structuralism would ultimately come to be rejected.

For a long period from the 1960s through the 1980s, Chomsky's conception of the mind was very influential in psychology, and moderately so in the more conservative discipline of philosophy. Psycholinguistic studies of language learning continue to be heavily influenced by Chomsky's views. His notion of the 'modular mind' with its genetically determined structural underpinnings was at the basis of much early work in cognitive science, and came to form the target in opposition to which new conceptions were aimed. The fact that Piaget blatantly jumped onto the structuralist bandwagon (Piaget 1968) shortly before attacking Chomsky's assertion that language operates as an autonomous module within the mind (rather than, as Piaget believed, interactively with other facets of perception and cognition) only reinforced the widespread notion that the Chomsky's view is the opposite of the structuralist one. If however we are correct in evaluating Chomsky as a structuralist for the reasons outlined above, then the exportation to psychology of the conception of language and mind for which he is primarily responsible figures as a very significant structuralist legacy.

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John E. Joseph, *Edinburgh*
john.joseph@ed.ac.uk

Teaching the History of a Discipline:
A few Remarks and a Question

Introduction

In a paper given at the sixteenth annual colloquium of the Henry Sweet Society in March of this year John Walmsley put forward a number of questions concerning the future of linguistic historiography. Although I feel that all of them deserve to be discussed in a wider setting than an HSS colloquium which I could not attend, I shall elaborate here very briefly on a few topics Walmsley addressed, viz. how the History of Linguistics (HoL) might contribute to wider knowledge, the content of its courses, and the question of how it might be able to make useful contributions to matters of public concern. My point of view is not that of the professional scholar who seeks to profit from HoL for his own research, whatever linguistic field he might be studying, but that of the university teacher: what do we want students of language to learn from a course on HoL? For that matter, it should be noted that, at least at Dutch universities, students of medicine and natural sciences are always obliged to take a course on the history of their discipline, whereas HoL courses for language students are usually optional. It is striking that, as far as I can see, the question of how to teach HoL has only rarely been raised in previous issues of the *HSS Newsletter* and *Bulletin*.

When teaching the history of our discipline, most of us want our students first and foremost to acquire a thorough knowledge of the subject. And as I assume that HoL has reached a level of professionalism in which the days of straightforward 'Ahnenforschung' are definitively over, even among hard-boiled generativists, the question 'what are we striving at?' can be and has been answered in various other ways. Our goal is not only a thorough knowledge of the 'facts'; perhaps it also includes broadening the student's outlook and providing something to hold on to (cf. Elffers 1993: 119); for, as Hüllen (1993: 57) once put it, as HoL is bound up with intellectual history, it is the 'Einstieg in ein an den Sachen des Menschen *(res humana)* interessiertes Denken'.

The Quest for Pedagogical Moments

At any rate, when we abstract the purely disciplinary content and goals of HoL courses, what more is to be gained? I feel that more should be demanded than mere historical knowledge. One of the general aims of my own Faculty of Arts

is to turn out 'critical' students: students who are capable of defending their opinions and reflecting upon the choices they make in their papers, theses, and, perhaps more importantly, in their future professional life. As historians we all know that scholarly work is not only guided by scientific considerations, but also by presuppositions of a different character, and it is a matter of intellectual honesty that we show our students that crucial decisions in (linguistic) research are based on such presuppositions and assumptions which are often not made explicit. In many contemporary university courses when presenting 'just' factual knowledge, implicit messages are conveyed to the student such as: the world picture underlying this presentation is correct, the assumptions I hold are the right ones. Apparently, not every teacher is aware of the fact that, in his teaching, scholarly and moral values are being transferred, in particular in compact introductory courses. In fact, many of the teacher's messages are value-loaded and open to discussion - young students are often not aware of that.

Due to this teaching practice, students may get an inadequate idea about the values which are - positively or negatively - hidden behind the presuppositions of their discipline. For that reason it is necessary to point out to our students very clearly that at a certain moment in the history of their discipline an important decision was reached, and that this decision did not develop as it were automatically, out of the blue, but was based upon ideas which were not always made explicit (moral, religious, ideological etc.).

These moments in disciplinary teaching where (implicit) scholarly and moral values are at stake, are called 'pedagogical moments': they can be used to make such values and underlying assumptions explicit and as opportunities for discussion. During these discussions students should become aware of their own often still unarticulated or common sense ideas and the opinions they hold on doing linguistics, and they should reflect upon them. It is thought that courses in disciplinary history could form an excellent niche to broach these types of questions. When teaching the history of linguistics, for example, we come across many a pedagogical moment regardless of the linguistic field we are in.

Organising Disciplinary Knowledge and Reflection

The question then is how to exploit these pedagogical moments in an optimal way. At the Amsterdam Vrije Universiteit we are experimenting with the 'Dilemma-Oriented Learning Model' (DOLM), which means that courses are structured around a number of disciplinary case studies. The set-up is roughly as follows. A disciplinary problem is selected, preferably one which can be easily geared towards the students' own experience, so that the discussion will run more smoothly afterwards. Subsequently, a clear dilemma is created by

providing the students with papers and articles which represent the different positions the discipline holds vis-à-vis this problem. The students are asked to make a first, intuitive choice between these positions; next, they are requested to acquaint themselves thoroughly with the professional literature provided on the subject, and the arguments propounded in it. Having studied this literature they have to ask themselves whether they feel obliged to revise their opinion, and if they do, for what reason (a second well-founded choice). Here the teacher can put forward questions concerning the status of the knowledge characteristic of the discipline. Finally, each student has to reflect on the choices made during this process, reconsidering them if necessary (third moment to choose a position). To stimulate the process of realising that underlying ideologies, norms and values in the present and the past have often guided the course of a discipline, students are invited to discuss the dilemma in small groups and to compose a paper on their discussion and considerations. See the appendix for a compact overview of their activities (cf. Boschhuizen, Appel & van Straalen 1999).

     This set-up worked out quite successfully in a recent course on the philosophy of biology taught at the Vrije Universiteit (cf. http://www.ph.vu.nl/ondw/wvb), and I think one might reach similar results in a HoL course, provided the cases are well chosen. We can confront our students with some 'big questions' in our field, presenting both the pros and cons. They may indeed include pure methodological cases, but I agree with Hüllen (1993: 56) that we should not dwell too long upon 'der für Studenten häufig so schwer erträglichen Methodendiskussion'. Be this as it may, a well-documented case (origin of language, language superiority, nationalism, etc.) which is guided by well formulated questions should prompt a discussion which will soon evolve into a serious and didactically satisfactory exchange of facts and of opinions based upon these facts. Within this framework, formal lectures will have to be restricted to just a functional number.

     It is my intention to set up such a Dilemma-Oriented introductory course for the history of the study of Dutch, including the history of Dutch linguistics. I realise that what I have noted above is not entirely original, and I would prefer not to reinvent the wheel. Therefore, my question to more experienced colleagues is whether they are acquainted with teaching material (not just textbooks) regarding courses on HoL or other more-or-less related courses which could easily be of any use when setting up my own course within the framework I have just sketched. I would be grateful for any piece of interesting information.

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APPENDIX

Figure 1:
The structure of DOLM

Students' reflection on their learning processes
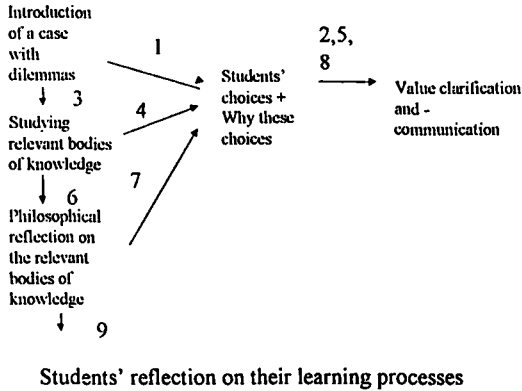
Explanation of figure 1:

The DOLM is a four phase model:

Phase A (The intuitive phase): The students read a short description of a case study involving dilemmas. They intuitively choose a course of action in this specific situation and formulate the arguments and moral values underlying their choices (1). The students then discuss their choices and values (2).

Phase B (The phase of knowledge acquisition): In the next stage, the students study relevant bodies of knowledge (3). After this they once again make a choice and give their arguments and value clarification (4). This is followed by a discussion between the students on choices and values (5).

Phase C (The phase of reflection on the relevant bodies of knowledge): In this phase, the students reflect on the truth of the relevant bodies of knowledge from a philosophical perspective (6), after which they again make their choices, present their arguments and clarify their values (7). In this phase too, they discuss their choices and values with each other (8).

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Phase D (The phase of reflection on the learning process):
The students reflect on the three choices made in the earlier phases and put their learning process into words (9).

Jan Noordegraaf, *Amsterdam*
noordegj@let.vu.nl

Missionaries, Linguistics, and Foreign Tongues.
A Glance at the State of the Art.

S cholars who turn their attention to exotic languages, languages spoken in former colonies of European nation states in the Americas, Africa, Australia, and Asia, languages which do not look back on a tradition of grammar writing of their own, run a very good chance of encountering a specimen of what has been termed 'missionary grammar writing'. Missionaries who set out to these parts of the world had to cope with many different languages, under highly diverse conditions. To give a characterization which goes beyond the statement of very general features is close to impossible. It is the specifics of the actual case, determined by factors such as the personality of the author, the conditions set by the congregation or church involved, and the overall intellectual climate of the time and/or region which shaped the actual work and its results. In this paper, I will not deal with such matters, nor will I attempt an evaluation of missionary linguistics.[1] I will be concerned with the attention this work receives from today's scholarly linguistic community.

It has been pointed out in the literature that the total amount of work on foreign tongues by missionaries is impressive.[2] In many cases missionaries were the first, and in some cases they were the only people who made a record of the particular language. Their work primarily consists of grammatical sketches and notes, word lists and dictionaries, huge numbers of translations, teaching grammars and other instructional material for fellow missionaries, school primers, and, in some cases, the development of writing systems. The composition of full grammars for the most part constitutes the exception.[3]

Even today a researcher's first contact with an exotic language is likely to begin with a piece of missionary linguistic work. The remark by an Africanist that he always consults the original missionary manuscripts first when he starts researching, can well be taken as representative. Although the intention of the remark was as positive as it may sound, there is every good reason for caution. Many important contributions to the knowledge of the world's languages originate with misssionary linguists, yet the quality or adequacy of the work cannot be taken for granted, but must be carefully evaluated case by case - the differences are enormous. A linguist familiar with a specific language or language family will of course be able to judge the quality and adequacy of the respective grammar; he or she will be able to

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[1] But see Nowak 1996, 1999a, 1999b, 1999c, 1999d.
[2] See e.g. Foertsch 1998a, 1998b; Nowak 1996, (to appear).
[3] For North American languages see Nowak (to appear) and 1999c.

interpret 'metaphoric' usage of standard terminology and avoid conclusions suggested by it - others may not. To give an example, in grammars of Inuit (Eskimo) languages, 'transitive' and 'intransitive are frequently used to label the different inflectional sets, the first one exhibiting agreement with two participants, the other just a single one. Any further conclusions as to the syntactic structure along the familiar lines of 'subject' or 'direct object' would be entirely mistaken. Speaking from my experiences with missionary work on Eskimo languages and other indigenous languages of the Americas, I can readily say that the chances of encountering a sound and insightful description are much smaller than the chances of coming across an unprofessional compilation of poorly understood data, forced into the mould of traditional Latin grammar. In short, the cases of scholarly genius among missionary linguists are rare.

As I have pointed out elsewhere, for a very long time linguists and other scholars concerned with matters of language did not consider the composition of a grammar a demanding or prestigious scholarly task, but rather left the occasional collection of data to members of exploring expeditions or to people who needed or wanted to communicate with the local population. But once available, all material, especially that appearing in print, was used extensively. It was only in the second half of the nineteenth century that empirical investigation of languages gradually gained its place within linguistic methodology.[4] Within the language sciences, this rather distanced attitude towards foreign tongues and the actual collecting of data has continued down to the present day. Surely this is the reason why the work accomplished by missionaries over the centuries received little scrutiny or critical comment. In most cases it was simply exploited as an available source of information, and its validity was largely taken for granted. There was little reflection on the fact that the framework employed might itself be dependent on a specific type of language, i.e. European languages. There was even less reflection on the possibility that it might be inadequate, insufficient, or even misleading. The earliest and one of the very rare pieces of critical comment on missionary linguistic work I know of can be found in Humboldt's *Versuch einer Analyse der Mexicanischen Sprache* of 1820.[5] Although progress has been vast during the last decades, the belief in the universality of grammatical categories and the general layout of grammars still hinders an unbiased perspective. It is interesting to note that such conservativism is not bound to certain approaches or paradigms within linguistics. People adopting otherwise highly antagonistic positions frequently unite and defend such assumed grammatical basics.

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[4] See Nowak 1996, 1999a, 1999d.
[5] Humboldt 1994: 222. See also Ringmacher 1994: 'Einleitung .

Although there has been more attention during the last few years, the interest in missionary linguistic work still is altogether limited. It is helpful to distinguish different kinds of interest: the philological and the metalinguistic.[6]

The philological interest

Scholars working on languages to which access is difficult, that is languages which are poorly documented, will consider all sources available. Since most missionary grammars contain collections of samples, they provide a corpus, and, in addition, may become valuable sources for the investigation of language change. Such exploitation of missionary linguistic work has a long tradition. It also explains the interest in editing manuscript grammars or re-editing books long out of print, such as Kleinschmidt's grammar of Greenlandic of 1851 or the Micmac grammar by Father Pacifique, which itself goes back to the eighteenth century manuscripts by Father Maillard (Hewson/Francis 1990).[7]

The metalinguistic interest

The terminology employed for first descriptions usually sets the standards for the followers, and the same is true of all other aspects guiding the composition of a grammar. As soon as a grammar is written, its main traits will hardly ever be questioned. Further work will primarily add on. Revisions are possible but hardly ever concern fundamental aspects. Even serious misconceptions or omissions may be carried on for a long time. Critical consultation of the 'old grammars' with respect to their descriptive framework, the mother tongue of the author, and his scholarly abilities may help to solve still-prevailing problems in the representation of a language. In a previous paper I formulated majormetalinguistic issues as follows:

> What concrete effects did specific ways of approaching grammar have
> on the perception of the languages under study? What
> (mis)interpretations and shortcomings were engendered by this practice?
> Investigating these questions more thoroughly is particularly relevant in
> the case of languages that, from the standpoint of current knowledge,
> exhibit significant differences in core areas of grammar, for example, in
> their syntactic structure or their morphological construction.[8]

Ergativity, polysynthesis, syntactic nonconfigurationality, grammatical and lexical categories suggest themselves as very promising candidates for such investigation.

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[6] I wish to emphasize that I am not concerned here with matters of the history of missions or history of missionization. I am dealing exclusively with work on languages accomplished by missionaries.

[7] See also Hewson 1994: 65-76.

[8] Nowak 1996: 33. For a detailed examination of missionary grammars on Eskimo languages, especially Greenlandic and Labrador Inuttut, see Nowak 1999c.

Even with the ever-increasing interest in the history of linguistics and the history of ideas on language during the last twenty or thirty years, missionary grammars remained at the fringe of interest, as did the languages they describe within general linguistics. The investigation of so-called exotic languages is still not a regular occupation for general linguists, either in Europe, or in North America or Australia. What adds to the problem is the fact that a thorough evaluation of missionary grammars is possible only for a person familiar with the relevant language. Any other person will at best be able to judge from a general impression of professionality. It may well be the case that initial admiration for a work fades with increasing knowledge of the language.

All in all, there are two primary sources of interest in missionary grammars: the interest fostered by the investigation of a certain language or language group and the interest in the historiography of the language sciences, especially their methodology. It is overtly clear that the cases where the two backgrounds converge are rather rare. Accordingly, publications are rare as well. While the history of grammar writing on European vernaculars enjoys considerable attention, this interest does not extend to others. Besides the occasional paper in historiographical periodicals and the proceedings of the ICHoLs conferences, to my knowledge the number of publications dedicated to missionary linguistics is very small.

In his well-known work of 1969, Victor Hanzeli showed in detail the difficulties and shortcomings of 'Missionary linguistics in New France', i.e. the description of Algonquian and Iroquoian languages (Hanzeli 1969). To my knowledge, this work is the first and for a long time remained the only one discussing the methodological as well as the theoretical background of the work done by the missionaries, but not just from a historiographical point of view, but also from a 'philologically competent' perspective. In his bibliography Hanzeli mentions no other comparable work, but only general works on the respective languages.

...and the Word was God. Missionary Linguistics and Missionary Grammar, edited by Even Hovdhaugen in 1996, originates with members of an informal work group on missionary linguistics and contains four contributions. Hovdhaugen attempts an outline of the field of research as well as a general characterization:

> A missionary grammar is a description of a particular language created
> as part of missionary work by non-native missionaries. It is a
> pedagogical, synchronic grammar covering phonology, morphology and
> syntax based on data mainly from an oral corpus (in a few cases from
> religious - mainly translated - texts). (Hovdhaugen 1996b: 15)

My own contribution to this volume focuses on the status of empirical research in linguistics since 1800, the theoretical background (the state of the art, so to

speak), discusses the role and importance of the missionaries' work, and opens the above quoted research perspectives. Michael Mackert scrutinizes the first grammatical sketch of Nez Perce, a Sahaptian language of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho which is now close to extinction. Rüdiger Schreyer sketches the historical setting of the Northeast of America, Amerindian linguistics, and its treatment of missionary linguistics and then goes on to reconsider the scientific career of a language long extinct, Huron. Since the first sketches of Huron, an Iroquoian language once spoken in the Great Lakes area, are among the oldest of North American languages, their reception by the learned of Europe was highly influential.

In 1996 the seventh International Conference on theHistory of Linguistics (ICHoLs) took place in Oxford, and for the first time a whole session was dedicated to missionary linguistics. The two-volume conference proceedings containing the written versions of the presentations are scheduled to appear in 1999.

In 1998 *Wege durch Babylon. Missionare, Sprachstudien und interkulturelle Kommunikation* appeared, including an elaborate introduction by the editor, Reinhard Wendt, and five contributions. Three of these are on a wide range of languages, such as Kannada, a Dravidian language of Southwest India, Tiruray and Maguindanao of Mindanao (Reinhard Wendt), Twi of West Africa (Sonia Abun-Nasr) and Dieri of South Australia (Heidi Kneebone). Two papers by Henrike Foertsch focus on the missionary strategies of the Jesuits and provide an overview of their work in Asia, Africa, and America. While all contributions are most interesting and provide a wealth of general information as well as details on missonary strategies, a serious want of linguistic expertise cannot be overlooked. It is certainly the case that good historian's work does not make up for a lack of insightful knowledge of linguistics, its theories, its methodologies, and its history.

In 1999 a second volume of the work group on missionary linguistics appeared, edited by me. *Languages Different in all their Sounds ... Descriptive Approaches to Indigenous Languages of the Americas 1500 to 1850* encompases seven contributions and an introduction. The role model function of Antonio de Nebrija'sgrammar of Latin and its importance for the attempts at describing indigenous American languages is pointed out by Keith W. Percival. Cristina Monzon, Lindsey Crickmay, and Sabine Dedenbach-Salazar scrutinize grammars and dictionaries of Nahuatl (the 'Mexican language'), Tarascan (spoken in the Southwest of Mexico), and Quechua and Aymara of the Andes, respectively. Peter van Baarle examines the work of Moravian missionaries on Arawak, a language spoken in Guyana; Rüdiger Schreyer re-evaluates Gabriel Sagard's dictionary of Huron; and, finally, Michael Mackert introduces the reader to Horatio Hale's sketch of Kalispel-Flathead, a Salishan language of the interior Northwest of the United States and British Columbia. Hale's work is of

considerable interest not only because he was a good linguist, but also because
he was the first linguist to undertake what today is called fieldwork.

Besides these three anthologies there is work on singleauthors, such as
my own work on Samuel Kleinschmidt, who wrote a wonderful grammar of
Greenlandic in 1851; or on regions, language families, or missionary societies,
such as Albert Schütz's *Voices of Eden. A History of Hawaiian Language
Studies* of 1994, Peter Mühlhäusler's 1996 *Linguistic Ecology. Language
Change and Linguistic Imperialsm in the Pacific Region*,and Julie Andresen's
discussion of missionary contributions in her *Linguistics in America 1769-
1924*. Overviews will become available in *History of the Language Sciences.
Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaften. Ein Internationales Handbuch zur
Entwicklung der Sprachforschung*, edited by SylvainAuroux, Konrad Koerner,
Hans-Josef Niederehe and Kees Versteegh.

The long awaited volume 6 of *Geschichte derSprachtheorie*, edited by
Peter Schmitter, will also contain contributions on missionary linguistics.

As can be taken from Kneebone (1998:221), a research project
'Verschriftung und Verschriftlichung indigener Sprachen von lutherischen
Missionaren im 19. Jahrhundert in Südaustralien', directed by Peter
Mühlhäusler, was or still is in existence.

The systematic investigation of early grammars on exotic languages in general,
of missionary grammars in particular, as suggested in my 1996 paper, is still a
desideratum. Interest in these prescientific pieces of work on languages has
increased considerably. Yet in most cases it remains an 'occasional interest',
guided by other, more dominant research.

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Elke Nowak, *Leipzig*
nowak@rz.uni-leipzig.de

The History of Linguistics and Professor Seuren

[Review of: Pieter A. M. Seuren. 1998. *Western Linguistics. An Historical Introduction.* Oxford: Blackwell. xv + 570 pp. ISBN 0-631-20891-7.]

1   Introduction

In his *Western Linguistics* (1998), Pieter Seuren, until this Summer Professor of Philosophy of Language and Theoretical Linguistics in the Catholic University of Nijmegen, presents a critical survey of the Western tradition in linguistics, in particular of the logico-semantic and philosophical tradition from Plato to the present. Writing not as a historian but as a theoretical linguist, Seuren takes a thematic approach and starts from the modern, late 20th century perspective of his own *Semantic Syntax* (1996). The result is a book that contains many challenging and often provocative (re-)assessments, supported with in-depth technical argument and critical rereadings of key texts, and backed up by extensive quotes and notes, a thirty page bibliography and a ten page index.

Seuren's history is concerned with two central questions. The first of these is a methodological one: When did linguistics become a science, when did it begin to apply scientific methodology? The second is the key contemporary problem of the relationship between syntax and semantics within linguistic theory.

Throughout, Seuren takes a critical look at the very different intellectual traditions behind the two fields of grammar and meaning. As the conceptual framework for discussion Seuren uses the 'eternal' triangle of language, thought and world, first formulated by Ogden & Richards (1923: 11), which 'dominates virtually all thinking about language from the very beginning' (Seuren 1998:4). The central line in Seuren's narrative is the story of what progress has been made in studying this semiotic triangle, and how today this is investigated with much more sharply defined questions and concepts, much more highly structured attempts at theoretical explanation, and across a much expanded empirical domain.

The distinction between grammatical theory and logic/semantics is a key element in the structure of Seuren's book. The first part (chapters 1-4) offers a mostly chronological discussion of ideas and approaches in the field of grammatical theory. Part 2 (chapters 5-6), in contrast, has its focus on the problems of logic and semantics which dominate the Western tradition. The

final chapter 7 aims to bring these two lines of inquiry together and to link the two disciplines in an interesting and intellectually stimulating way.

Seuren does not offer a comprehensive encyclopedic survey as in Koerner & Asher (1995), but rather a selective, critical-historical reconstruction and re-examination of earlier insights and ideas. In this respect, his book belongs to the same polemical genre as Chomsky's *Cartesian Linguistics* (1966). Despite the reservations of Aarsleff (1970), this genre serves the useful purpose of stimulating critical debate in our discipline.

In this review, I will first of all, in sections 2 and 3, give an analysis of the individual chapters in Seuren's book, adding my critical comments as we proceed. In section 4 I will address a number of general points and give a critical evaluation of the book as a whole.

2   Key Developments in Grammatical Theory

2.1   Chapter 1: Four Steps from Classical Antiquity to Port-Royal
In Chapter 1 Seuren reconstructs the history of linguistics from Antiquity till the 17th century in the following four steps.

His opening theme is the opposition between the Platonic and the Aristotelian tradition in Classical Antiquity. The first tradition assumes the notion of 'a hidden, semantically "pure" form behind the surface forms of language' (Seuren 1998: 8), whereas the second one does not make this assumption. This opposition is set out early on in chapter 1, and forms a central *Leitmotiv* in Seuren's narrative. Here, following Whitehead's dictum that the history of Western philosophy (and linguistics) consists mostly of footnotes to Plato, Seuren completely restricts discussion to the philosophical, logico-semantic tradition, and so, for example, he does not mention Herodotus (ca 485-425 BC), the father of anthropological linguistics.

Apart from the philosophers and logicians who had their sights trained on the problem of meaning, we have the philologists and grammarians who studied texts, the forms of language and the rules of grammar: scholars such as Apollonius Dyscolus (C2 AD), Dionysius Thrax (170-90 BC), Donatus (C4 AD)and Priscian (C6 AD), who down the centuries have exerted an immense influence on the tradition of Latin school grammar (cf. Michael 1970: 11-12).

In the rest of the book, the opposition between the Platonic and the Aristotelian forms the backdrop against which Seuren focuses in particular on efforts to make empirical progress by combining the best of both traditions. The first such attempt is that of the Stoics who, following Plato, clearly distinguished 'between a sentence as a linguistic structure and the underlying thought as a mental or cognitive structure' (Seuren 1998: 10). But as Seuren notes, although this was a good insight, the Stoics did not have a detailed, restricted concept of 'structure' and 'transformation' with which they could

study etymological questions. And so, for many centuries, basically until the Renaissance, this approach led to the most fanciful etymologies (Seuren 1998: 11).

The next step in Seuren's narrative takes us to the medieval *Grammatica Speculativa* (probably 1300-1310) by Thomas of Erfurt. Again, Seuren offers a highly selective narrative which ignores, for example, the 9th century Byzantine grammarian Maximus Planudes, the first to have developed a localist theory of case, important enough to be discussed by Hjelmslev (cf. Anderson 1971: 6). Seuren also excludes the Jewish-Christian tradition and the rabbinical scholars who from the 8th to 11th centuries played a key role in the Judaeo-Arabic transmission of Plato and Aristotle via Andalusia into European mainstream philosophy and linguistics (Firth 1964: 9-10). And he does not mention the discovery of the European vernaculars and the consequences that has had for the study of language (cf. Eco 1995: 46).

Seuren's third step brings us to the theoretical contribution, in the Renaissance, of Franciscus Sanctius (1523-1600), whose *Minerva seu de Causis Linguae Latinae* (1587) developed 'a marvellously innovative' (Seuren (1998: 42)) two-level theory of syntax, in which surface structures were transformationally related to deep semantic structure. Seuren contrasts the contribution of Sanctius with that of the Classical grammarian Priscian. Sanctius's notion of 'transformation' was far more advanced and precise, more sharply defined and restricted than the completely unrestricted notions of Priscian, with which one could do anything and which therefore led every etymological investigation astray (Seuren 1998: 44). At the same time, this marks the position of Sanctius as an early and essential precursor of Port-Royal and transformational grammar (ibid). With the two enlightening comparisons he makes here, Seuren not only defines the historical position of Sanctius, but also delineates a clear notion of intellectual and scientific progress in our discipline.

In passing, though, note again Šeuren's exclusion of the Jewish tradition in linguistics. Sanctius's thinking clearly had Jewish roots, and his notion of 'transformation' can already be found in the Kabbala (cf. Eco 1995: 28-30). Seuren (1998: 42, n. 22) does mention that the Inquisition suspected this new Christian, but he does not see that it was precisely the Jewish tradition behind a linguistic notion such as transformation that would have attracted these suspicions.

The fourth step, at the end of this first chapter, is the Port-Royal grammar of the 17th century, the *Grammaire générale et raisonnée* (1660) by Lancelot and Arnauld. While for Chomsky Port-Royal represented the start of the new Cartesian linguistics, in Seuren's narrative it is rather the culmination of the older phase of the Classical-Western tradition of logico-semantic grammar.

2.2   Chapter 2: The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

2.2.1. Rationalism versus Romanticism

Chapter 2 opens with Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz (1646-1716) and the work
of 18th-century rationalist French thinkers such as Condillac, Dumarsais and
Beauzée (but not their English contemporaries, Harris, Shaftesbury and
Monboddo). Their discussions on general theoretical topics provided the
indispensable intellectual background for the fundamental discussions on the
role and definition of subject-predicate structure at the end of the 19th century
(Seuren 1998: 50). [See below, 2.2.3].

In the opposite camp, the German Romantics, following Vico and
Herder, developed an anti-cartesian view of language, but here Seuren
overlooks Johann Georg Hamann (1730-1788), 'one of the first thinkers to be
quite clear that thought *is* the use of symbols, that is, that thought without either
symbols or images [...] is an unintelligible notion' (Berlin 1993: 75). Hamann
was a principled and radical anti-rationalist, who rejected the distinction
between language and thought as a fundamental fallacy.

Towards the end of the 18th century, the Romantic interest in the origin
of language was combined with systematic comparison of languages, and this
led to the rise of historical-comparative linguistics and its spectacular progress
throughout the 19th century. While Seuren (1998: 79) does mention the
discovery of Sanskrit and the subsequent development of comparative
philology, I feel he does not do justice to the intellectual significance of this
discovery. Sanskrit was not just the missing link in the family of languages, but
also brought with it a longstanding tradition of grammatical scholarship which
went back to Panini (ca 500 BC), and which has exerted an immense influence
on linguistic thought in the West throughout the 19th century and well into the
20th century. Seuren, however, does not discuss the impact of Panini's work,
even though Bloomfield (1927) wrote about him, and Jakobson, in his *Six
Lectures on Sound and Meaning* (1978), freely uses ideas from both Medieval
Scholastic thinkers and the Hindu Grammarians. As the Dutch philosopher-
linguist Staal (1986: 89-91) observed, when studying the history of linguistic
ideas, it is an unacceptable Western prejudice to exclude an Indian scholar such
as Panini.

2.2.2   Wilhelm von Humboldt

Seuren goes on to discuss the 19th century, the great progress made in
linguistic reconstruction and etymology and the development of historical-
comparative linguistics into an established and respected discipline which
seemed to have put an end to the preceding tradition of 'general' grammar.
However, as he points out, theoretical issues of a general nature, such as
language and mind, did not go away. This brings him to a discussion of the

work and ideas of Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835), in chapter 2.6.2, i.e. after the *Junggrammatiker*, Paul and Wundt.

Seuren (1998: 54, 118) situates Humboldt squarely amongst the Romantics, and goes on to give a detailed and highly critical account of Humboldt's linguistic ideas: 'energeia', language acquisition, the infinite use of finite means and inner form (Seuren 1998: 109-118). Throughout, Seuren criticizes the lack of clarity and the mystical nature of Humboldt's ideas and thinking, in particular his linguistic relativism and the so-called Humboldt-Sapir-Whorf-hypothesis (Seuren 1998: 112-113). Seuren has to admit, however, that Humboldt's ideas were actually quite different from those of Whorf and that the real 'Humboldt-hypothesis' is that 'language and thought form an inseparable union' (Seuren 1998: 114) - an idea which Humboldt may well have got from Hamann. Seuren also singles Humboldt out for some quite vehement personal criticism, blaming him - as a Romantic Liberal - for the prejudices and racism of the Prussian ruling class and the later excesses of German idealist philosophers, even the decadent aberrations of Heideggerian philosophy (Seuren 1998: 117, 120). In this context, Seuren - following Aarsleff - also attacks Humboldt for his linguistic and cultural chauvinism and his racist prejudice against non-Indoeuropean languages (cf. Humboldt 1988: lxiii). Having thus thoroughly debunked one of the intellectual heroes of Chomsky (1964, 1966), Seuren ends his account with a dismissive judgement: Humboldt's ideas stand out by their great lack of clarity and irrelevance but have unfortunately been very influential (Seuren 1998: 120).

I have the following objections to this analysis and assessment. To begin with, Seuren's placing of Humboldt as a Romantic ignores Humboldt's clear 'indebtedness to Leibniz' (Sweet 1978/80, II: 395). Seuren (1998: 110) denies that Humboldt ever read Kant, but in fact in 1778 he spent many months on a systematic in-depth study of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* (Sweet 1978/80, II: 38), and as late as 1830, in his great essay on 'Schiller and the Course of his Intellectual Development', he devoted the most eloquent pages to Kant (Sweet 1978/80, II: 476). The point here is that Humboldt - witness Chomsky (1964, 1966) on the one hand and Brown (1967) on the other - can be claimed just as much for the Rationalist camp as for the Romantics; he was a universalist just as much as a particularist (cf. Steiner 1974). What Seuren fails to appreciate here is Humboldt's intermediate position in the intellectual spectrum of contemporary German philosophy, between on the one hand the creative imagination in Schiller and Goethe's ideas on organisms and their vital energy (Sweet 1978/80, II: 395-6)), and on the other hand the Rationalism and Idealism of Kant (Sweet 1978/80, II: 426, 476). This intermediate position comes out clearly in Humboldt's adoption of the organism-idea, with which he anticipates the structuralism of De Saussure, Brøndal and Sapir (cf. Cassirer 1945 and Salverda 1998).

As for Humboldt's position in linguistics, Seuren mentions his collected works and his *opus magnum* of 1836 [though with an incorrect title], but does not discuss his *Thesen zur Grundlegung einer Allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft* of 1816 or his fundamental paper. of 1820 on Comparative Language Study, which states his aim as studying 'the system of language in all its aspects' (Sweet 1978/80, II: 409). On this basis, Humboldt undertook a systematic program of comparative studies of a very wide range of languages - from Greek to Basque, from Gaelic to Chinese and Sanskrit, and from Spanish to Hebrew, Kawi and a range of American Indian languages. What Seuren does not apppreciate here is that Humboldt aimed to uncover the 'Typus' (Sweet 1978/80, II: 409) of language in all its aspects - on the one hand by building up a general theoretical framework which consciously moves beyond the logico-semantic mould of the Western tradition, and on the other hand by engaging in empirical-comparative investigations of the most diverse types of languages. Humboldt thus laid the intellectual foundations for comparative typological studies, and it is this program of general linguistics that has led - via Steinthal, Boas and Sapir - to the typological work of Greenberg in the middle of the 20th century.

To say, as Seuren does, that Humboldt is irrelevant but influential, and then to mention only the German idealist philosophers and Heideggerian aberrations, is therefore inadequate. It is much more important for Humboldt's position in the history of linguistics to note how his ideas have inspired leading linguists in all subsequent generations - in the philosophy of language [Steinthal], in historical linguistics [C. C. Uhlenbeck, Boas], in structural linguistics [De Saussure, Sapir, Brøndal, Jakobson], in generative linguistics [Chomsky], and in linguistic typology [Greenberg].

As for Seuren's labelling of Humboldt as racist, some more attention to his biography would have been in order here. As a linguist, Humboldt did indeed believe in the superiority of the civilisation and the language of the Greeks (Sweet 1978/80, I: 280, 283), but this prejudice makes him no more chauvinistic than contemporaries such as Schlegel and Monboddo (cf. Sweet (1978/80, II: 501, n. 150)). And as a liberal politician, Humboldt not only established the university of Berlin and reformed the German education system, but also acted to obtain civil rights for the Jews in Prussia's first Constitution (Sweet 1978/80, II: 203-208).

All in all, therefore, Seuren's analysis of Humboldt leaves a lot to be desired, and I much prefer the view of Steiner that:

> Humboldt is one of the very short list of writers and thinkers on
> language - it would include Plato, Vico, Coleridge, Saussure, Roman
> Jakobson - who have said anything that is new and comprehensive.
> (Steiner 1975: 83)

2.2.3. Subject/Predicate and Topic/Comment-Structure
In the final section 2.6.3, Seuren discusses the late-19th-century debate about
the nature of the subject-predicate relationship. There is an interesting historical
line here, from Aristotle's classical Subject-Predicate-concept via the 18th-
century Rationalists and mid-19th-century discussions as in Weil (1844) [which
is not mentioned by Seuren], right up to the turn of the century, when, as
Elffers-Van Ketel (1991) has shown, Marty, Frege, and Wundt worked out a
new, three-way distinction between logical, grammatical and psychological
subject. This entailed a rethinking and redefinition of the relationship between
the three neighbouring disciplines of logic, psychology and linguistics, all three
of which are crucially involved in the Ogden & Richards triangle.

        Later on, in chapter 3.3, Seuren sketches the development in Prague of
Functional Sentence Perspective (FSP) by Mathesius, noting that:

> [...] for more than fifty years Prague was the only notable place in the
> world where the theory of topic and comment and of functional sentence
> perspective was not washed away by the torrential flood of theoretical
> grammar, in particular transformational generative grammar. (Seuren
> 1998: 160)

Here Seuren could also have mentioned Dutch structural linguistics, which has
produced important results, most notably Uhlenbeck's work (1994) on Javanese
syntax, and the critical scrutiny by Keysper (1985) of Prague FSP-notions.

        For Seuren, Subject-Predicate- and Topic-Comment-structure clearly
represents a central and essential aspect of language. This is against the grain of
the dominant American form of asemantic linguistics. In 1958, Hockett is the
last structuralist who mentions it (Seuren 1998: 216); and in chapters 5 and 6
formal logic and model-theoretic semantics turn out to be in principle unable to
account for information structure (Seuren 1998: 401).

        It is only in the 1970s that Chafe and other Generative Semanticists
revived interest in this problem, and 'since the mid-1980s Prague developments
in this respect have merged with work done in various centres in the world,
mostly in the United States, on discourse-bound modes of presentation and
information structure." (Seuren 1998: 158); cf. the typological studies in Givón
(1994). In my view, we are faced here with very complex linguistic
phenomena, involving not only syntax and word order, but also intonation and
interpretation, the role of the speaking subject and the communicative dynamics
of the speech situation. In his *Semantic Syntax*, Seuren does tackle this
problem, but fails because he systematically ignores the intonation aspect. For
the time being at least, this important problem remains unsolved (cf. Salverda
1999, forthcoming).

*2.3   Chapter 3: European Structuralism - the First Half of the Twentieth
        Century*

'This century has seen more linguistic studies carried out than all preceding
centuries taken together' (Seuren 1998: 140), and so well over half of Seuren's
book is devoted to developments in theoretical linguistics in the 20th century,
which have been dominated by the paramount 'desire to become a real and
autonomous science' (ibid).

2.3.1   Ferdinand de Saussure
Ferdinand de Saussure and his *Cours de Linguistique Générale*, 'a strange and
puzzling book' (Seuren 1998: 147), dominate chapter 3.2, which gives an
extensive critical analysis of the 'serious weaknesses in his work' (Seuren
1998: 140).

Seuren does not, however, make use of the available scholarship: he
does not use the English translation provided by Harris (1983), but gives his
own translations; he does not make use of De Mauro 's critical edition of 1972,
of the extensive commentary in Harris (1987) or of Scheerer (1980). Even if
Seuren has written his book as a linguist rather than as a historian, I believe this
is below standard in a work that claims to offer 'an historical introduction'.

Seuren also does not appreciate that De Saussure sought a synthesis
between 'general' and 'historical' linguistics, between the very different
approaches of French 18th-century rationalism and German 19th century
historicism. De Saussure's position in the history of linguistics is marked by his
attempt to develop a comprehensive intellectual framework that can
accommodate both, and this he found in the linguistic sign and the sign system
as the unifying object of inquiry in linguistics.

2.3.2   Ogden & Richards
European structuralism developed in a number of schools, to three of which -
Copenhagen, London and Prague - the remainder of this chapter is devoted. For
London, Seuren discusses the work of Jones, Firth and Gardiner, but does not
mention the volume on *Linguistic Thought in England 1914-1945*, edited by
Roy Harris in 1988. This would have been immediately relevant and
illuminating, since the key problem the English were wrestling with at the time,
- viz. that of the 'no man's land between philology and philosophy', as John
Austin put it in 1961 (Harris 1988: ix) - is also at the centre of Seuren's book.

A further point of criticism concerns the use Seuren makes in his book
of the semiotic triangle of Ogden & Richards (1923: 11). At the start of chapter
1, Seuren states that the eternal triangle of Ogden & Richards 'dominates
virtually all thinking about language from the very beginning (the only notable
exception being the American structuralist notion of a linguistic theory without
meaning)' (Seuren 1998: 4). At the end, in chapter 7, he refers to the 'perennial
frame in terms of which this process of explication worked itself out' (Seuren

1998: 459). In between, the triangle functions as the basis for Seuren's interpretation, comparison and critique of other positions. Thus, in chapter 1 it serves to underpin a critique of the ideas of Aristotle (Seuren 1998: 13-18); at the end of chapter 2, the triangle is the starting point for a research program into grammar and semantics (Seuren 1998:139); in chapter 3 it underpins Seuren's critique of European structuralism, in particular of De Saussure's ideas (Seuren 1998: 155 n.); and in chapter 5, at a key moment in the structure of Seuren's narrative, the Ogden & Richards triangle is used to establish the inadequacy of model-theoretic semantics (Seuren 1998: 397-8). As we see, the triangle plays a crucial role in Seuren's book: it has axiomatic status, it provides the basic frame of discussion and explication, and it is used to define the field within which we operate.

        A thorough historical discussion of the views of Ogden & Richards on semantics and language would therefore have been appropriate in this chapter. This would have gone some way towards explaining why their triangle should enjoy such a central, axiomatic place in Seuren's analysis. Why is this eternal semiotic triangle to be preferred to the views of Aristotle, De Saussure, American structuralism, and model-theoretic semantics? This issue merits discussion, in particular also because the opposite view is a commonplace of 20th-century linguistics. For example, as Harris puts it, De Saussure put an end to the Western, meaning-based tradition from Socrates onwards, and rejected 'the Socratic question of how words relate to the world as an irrelevant and misleading starting-point for linguistic inquiry' (Harris & Taylor 1989: xiii). But if this logico-semantic tradition has nothing to offer to linguistics today, why should one start with Ogden & Richards, or indeed with Plato and Aristotle who were no linguists, never wrote a grammar, and within this context only worked on epistemology, logic and speculative etymology? The absence of any further argument and discussion here forms an intriguing black hole in Seuren's narrative.

2.3.3 Roman Jakobson

The linguistic School of Prague only gets a 3-page sketch in Seuren's chapter 3.3, and its key figure, Roman Jakobson, far less. All Seuren has to offer is two paragraphs on pp. 159-160, two references on pp. 141 and 145, plus another three in footnotes on pp 208, 244 and 287.

        In reality, however, Jakobson must rank as one of the most seminal and significant linguists of the 20th century. As is clear from the two superb volumes of studies on language and literature that are in print (Jakobson 1987, 1990), Jakobson took up the ideas of De Saussure and developed them further through his own linguistic investigations, making very significant contributions in phonology, morphology, typology, semiotics and poetics. As a mentalist and universalist, he opened up new strategic interdisciplinary perspectives on a wide range of fields in the study of language. Just imagine how different our

field would be today, in interests, intellectual climate and theoretical perspectives, if Jakobson and Sapir had worked together for twenty years.

Seuren's meagre treatment does not begin to do justice to the importance of Jakobson's contributions. More generally, I feel that chapter 3 is not a reliable guide to the ideas and achievements of European structuralists in the 20th century, in particular because no serious attention is given to the theories of linguistic semantics they developed.

2.4   Chapter 4: American Linguistics in the Present Century

In this chapter, Seuren discusses the development of American linguistics in the 20th century, focussing in particular on the contributions of Sapir, Bloomfield, Harris, Chomsky and Greenberg. Beyond the canonical mainstream of these famous five, however, there is nothing about the many creative and stimulating American contributions in the fields of sociolinguistics, dialectology, psycholinguistics and anthropological linguistics.

Most valuable in this chapter are the substantial technical discussions Seuren offers, with clear criticisms of the theoretical views, the techniques, methods and principles of the various linguists under discussion. For example, Seuren attacks the asemantic and formalist views developed in American structuralism since Bloomfield, whereas almost all other linguistic theories have always attempted to unlock the complex of problems within the eternal triangle of Ogden & Richards. Seuren also offers an interesting revision of the contributions of Zellig S. Harris (1909-1992), the most formalist of Bloomfield's disciples, who in the late forties did important work in early Transformational-Generative Grammar, which starts with him rather than with Chomsky (Seuren 1998: 227-242). Although Seuren's narrative on Harris stops in the mid-sixties, it is worth noting that Harris was still going strong in the field of linguistics and information structure in the early 1990s, witness Harris 1991 which does not even mention Chomsky. Seuren's detailed critical rereadings certainly contribute to a deeper understanding of the issues that have dominated American mainstream linguistics this century.

2.4.1   Noam Chomsky

'Since this is now the most influential school of linguistic theory its growth and its general scientific status will be prominently discussed' (Seuren 1998: 178). Seuren's discussion focuses in particular on Chomsky's work from the early fifties until the late 1970s. There is initial praise: Generative Grammar has led to a deepening of methodological insight and rigour in linguistics, and represents a step beyond the data collection and ordering of early American structuralism to the level of explanatory theory, especially after 1960. Chomsky is important because of his raising of critical standards in linguistics, and his introduction and pursuit of questions of explanatory adequacy. This enabled Generative Grammar to move beyond the restrictions of previous approaches,

and stimulated syntactic research on the intricacies of the formal structure of sentences.

But unfortunately, says Seuren (1998: 178), Chomsky's Generative Grammar soon began to suffer from poor method, a restricted set of research interests, shallow research methods, and poor contacts with other research groups - a general lowering of standards. In the end this leads Seuren to a biting dismissal of Chomskyan linguistics: it is not falsifiable and not testable, it has no empirical support, it is 'essentially metagrammar, programmatic rather than empirical' (Seuren 1998: 284). This dismissal is completely in line with that of Gross (1979), whom Seuren does not mention.

My reaction to this chapter in Seuren's book is this: So many pages (96 in all), about Chomsky - and all this leads to is the conclusion that his work does not deserve to be called scientific! Compare this to the mere two paragraphs for Jakobson and we see an absolute imbalance here that I don't think can be justified. At any rate, I would predict that Jakobson's two brilliant volumes on language mentioned above will still be read and will stimulate linguistic inquiry well into the next century, while Chomsky's writings may not stand the test of time so well.

2.4.2 Joseph Greenberg

After the section on Chomsky, Seuren rounds off this chapter with a discussion of the development, from the mid-1950s, of typological studies and universal linguistics by Joseph H. Greenberg. This new approach offered valuable data and 'empirical evidence showing that languages do not vary arbitrarily but stay within relatively well-defined patterns' (Seuren 1998: 179). Seuren considers this point so essential for the development of a really empirical linguistics that he ends chapter 4 with a call for a combination of a theory in the Chomskyan sense with a Greenbergian typological one into one coherent general linguistic theory with a solid empirical base (Seuren 1998: 296). But, one could ask, is this in any way different from what was envisaged all along by Humboldt, Sapir and Jakobson?

3   The Problem of Meaning

As a counterpart to the first half of the book, Part 2 is devoted to the problem of meaning in the Western tradition.

3.1   Chapter 5: Predicate Calculus: from Aristotle to Generalized Quantifiers

In Seuren's view, it is necessary to counter the alienation that has occurred between logic and linguistics, especially because logic is a basic discipline necessary for the study of formal systems, including the language-oriented

disciplines. It is instructive to take a closer look at logic, because it offers propositional structures for an explicit notion of truth.

In this chapter Seuren reviews the development from logic to modern formal semantics. Chapter 5 is not a complete history of logic, but focuses in particular on developments in predicate calculus. In two great steps, Seuren here investigates why and how Aristotelian logic was replaced by modern formal logic as developed by Boole, Frege and Russell.

As Seuren points out, Aristotle has had an immense influence, because he elaborated the first logical system in history, which is basically 'a formal calculus for the preservation of truth given a set of sentences' (Seuren 1998: 13). All existing systems of logic, including that of modern formal model-theoretic semantics, subscribe to the Aristotelian principle that they are 'entirely a calculus on sentential structures, not on thought structures' (ibid). As a result - and this is the critical point Seuren makes here - this dominant modern paradigm in the field of semantics, 'fails to take into account the cognitive structures and processes occurring in the minds of the humans who transfer meanings by using language' (ibid).

3.2 Chapter 6: The Study of Meaning

In this chapter, Seuren tackles what he sees as the neglect of semantics in linguistics. In his view, the main thrust in the development of modern semantics has come from philosophy, on the one hand in so-called formal semantics, on the other in Oxford Ordinary Language Philosophy (Seuren 1998: 367), both of which are discussed here.

With respect to formal semantics, Seuren points out the empirical inadequacies of model-theoretic approaches to meaning in natural language. Thus, for example, Russell's theory of denoting is shown to be untenable, because it had no adequate way of dealing with problems of reference, in particular to non-existent entities. In addition, model theory had no adequate way of dealing with problems of anaphora, presuppositions and intensionality.

Secondly, against the 'formalistic' approach of model-theoretic semantics Seuren opposes the 'ecologistic' approach of the Oxford Ordinary Language Philosophers, including Wittgenstein. Their work on anaphora (Geach), presupposition (Strawson) and speech acts (Austin) led towards a radically new approach to meaning in 'discourse-oriented semantics', which 'meant trouble for the established logical paradigm of model-theoretic formal semantics' (Seuren 1998: 367). In this connection Seuren (1998: 410) concludes that 'sentence meaning is therefore richer than truth conditions'.

This conclusion is perhaps not very surprising for those familar with the linguistic theories of meaning developed in European Structuralism. For, as Uhlenbeck (1981: 344) put it, in the study of meaning in natural language, the key issue is not that of truth, and therefore logic and modern formal model-theoretic semantics are of only limited relevance.

The problem here is that while we need a theory of linguistic meaning, there are so very many different theoretical positions one can take. So the question is: Why should we adopt Seuren's position of logico-philosophical discourse semantics, and not, for example, an empirical linguistic semantics as developed in Prague and Europe?

Here it would have been interesting and highly relevant if Seuren had explored how the linguistic sign theory of De Saussure relates to the philosophical ideas on language of Wittgenstein. The necessary groundwork for such a comparative investigation has been done by Verburg (1961), De Mauro (1967) and Harris (1988), in their studies on language, games and the chess metaphor in the work of these two thinkers. One would like to know what Seuren has to say about metaphors such as these, and about metaphor in general. But Seuren has nothing on this subject, although metaphor as a cognitive-linguistic instrument (cf. Salverda 1998) would appear to be a prime example of the Ogden & Richards triangle.

In the absence of further argument and discussion of these questions, Seuren's choice of logico-philosophical discourse semantics remains, ultimately, arbitrary.

3.3   Chapter 7: An attempt at Synthesis

The closing chapter 7 returns to the central problem of 'meaning and grammar' and the question of how grammar and semantics relate to each other within linguistic theory.

The first issue Seuren addresses here is that of the two traditions. Seuren's history of the dynamics of our discipline is organised in terms of an elegant dialectics between the Platonic tradition, which offers deeper insights but lacks in formal analysis, and the Aristotelian tradition, which offers great formal cleverness, but is often lacking in insight and adequate coverage of facts. As Seuren sees it, real progress occurs when Platonists attempt to combine deep ideas with formal progress. And the key moments in this development are, in that order: the Stoics, Sanctius, Port-Royal, the late-19th-century Subject-Predicate debate, the contributions of European structuralists and early TGG (especially Harris), and finally 'in particular generative semantics' (Seuren (1998: 460)).

A weakness in this binary presentation is, however, that it interlocks with other historical bifurcations such as the opposition of ecologism versus formalism, and that of anomalism versus analogism in Alexandrian philology (Seuren 1998: 4). As a result, the two-tradition model is overburdened and this can lead to confusing outcomes, as in note 1 on p. 460, where Chomsky's post-1970s work is taken to show a transition from a Platonic/ecologistic methodology to an Aristotelian/formalistic one, whereas Chomsky himself increasingly emphasises what he calls Plato's problem (Chomsky 1986).

The second issue has to do with the place of meaning in language and linguistics. A central theme here is Seuren's sense of a unifying field that is defined by the Ogden & Richards triangle. In this context, Seuren sketches all the tributaries that flow together into the one central stream that leads to Generative Semantics: Logic, from Aristotle to modern formal model-theoretic semantics; Discourse semantics, which build on the ideas of the Oxford Ordinary Language Philosophers; Prague insights into Functional Sentence Perspective; and Semantic deep structure, from Plato to Seuren.

Here, Seuren focuses in particular on the conflict over Deep Structure between Chomskyan linguistics and Generative Semantics. In his critique of Chomsky, Seuren follows *The Linguistics Wars* by Harris (1993), and decries the petty and personal ways in which scholarly debate about serious intellectual issues was avoided. In particular he sees the role of Chomsky as a lowering of standards in the field, and 'hardly an example of proper academic conduct' (Seuren 1998:526). The *Epilogue* strikes a sad note on declining standards of debate and intellectual rigour, but also makes a clarion call to return to normal standards of academic debate between rival viewpoints and theories within linguistics.

This personal settling of scores invites the question whether Seuren isn't actually engaged in a sustained polemic against Chomsky's reading of the history of linguistics. Seuren debunks Port-Royal and the ideas of Humboldt; he gives centre stage to the semantic problems involved in the Ogden & Richards triangle and in subject-predicate- and topic-comment-structure; he re-emphasises the importance of meaning and logic and he takes up the cause of semantic Deep Structure versus Chomsky's formalist approach. The whole history of linguistics, it would seem, leads up to this *grande finale* of Chomsky versus Seuren.

In this respect, Seuren's extensive, book-length critique of Chomskyan ideas and practice forms a direct continuation of a tradition of Dutch criticism of American developments in linguistics that began with De Groot (1956) and continued through the critical comments of Uhlenbeck (1973) and (1979).

4   General Comments

Seuren's book has a number of very strong points. It demonstrates what the history of linguistics has to offer when we study a key modern problem - the relationship of grammar to meaning in linguistic theory - and engage in a critical-historical examination of the relevant intellectual traditions and of previous attempts at posing and solving the problem. Its central merit lies in his exploration of insights from the philosophical, semantico-logical tradition in the study of language. In the process, he develops a rather English point of view, and adopts a number of central theorems from Anglo-saxon linguistic philosophy: the eternal semiotic triangle of Ogden & Richards; Austin's view

of the 'no man's land between philology and philosophy'; the discourse theoretical insights from the Ordinary Language Philosophers; and, above all, the philosophers' view that meaning is the central problem in the study of language.

Of particular value throughout are Seuren's critical interpretations and assessments, which are supported by extensive textual evidence, in-depth technical argument, and a lot of very interesting information. Again and again, Seuren offers critical arguments and raises stimulating questions. Many theories, in particular those of Humboldt and Chomsky, are the object of pointed criticism of their scientific shortcomings. These challenging and sometimes provocative criticisms stimulate disagreement and invite a rethink of accepted views.

However, there are also a number of weak points in Seuren's book. Even though Seuren has written this book as a practising theoretical linguist, and not as a historian, this does not mean that the standards that prevail in the field can be ignored. But he does not refer to the various multi-author works mentioned in Koerner & Asher (1995), nor does he mention the important historiographic contributions from leading linguists such as Jakobson, Harris, Lepschy and Matthews (1993). And in a number of cases, in particular with Humboldt and Jakobson, there are inadequacies of documentation which lead to assessments with which I strongly disagree.

Seuren's analysis of the historical dynamics of our discipline is predicated on a strong sense of the field as a unifying enterprise and of progress in the discipline, as we saw in the case of Sanctius, for example. But there is no mention of alternative, non-linear models for the history of ideas and philosophy of science, such as the work of Foucault or Laudan's idea of a plurality of coexisting rival traditions. Issues such as these, which concern the practice and methodology of linguistic historiography, are not discussed by Seuren.

My last point of criticism concerns Seuren's exclusion of non-Western traditions. In his *Preface* Seuren states that there is 'no evidence of any influence from non-Western on Western linguistics' (Seuren (1998: xiii). In this respect, it would have been useful if Seuren had taken notice of *The Tongues of Men* (1964) by Firth, who points to a number of features of the Western tradition that are not discussed by Seuren: the linguistic prejudice of the Greeks against the Barbarians; the idea of the pre-eminence of written over oral culture; the Biblical belief that language was a divine gift; the belief in a sacred and perfect language; the acceptance of Latin grammar as the model for the description of all other languages; and the fact that the traditional grammatical categories offer description 'in the vaguest of logico-philosophical terms' (Firth 1964: 136).

These barriers to intellectual progress in the scientific study of language have been overcome only in the course of a long and arduous history. As Firth

saw, in order to build up their discipline, modern linguists had to liberate themselves from these traditional preconceptions, including the logico-semantic mould of thinking about language. In this process, the eye-opening function of contact with non-Western languages and the associated intellectual traditions has always been of decisive importance, since it demonstrated that the traditional logic of Aristotle and the Latin-based tradition of school grammar are not universal, but language specific. Findings such as these then disabuse us of the preconceptions we started out with. In this way, linguistic research has always fulfilled an essential, critical function in the sense of Popper. And in this elementary sense, linguistics has always been scientific.

Seuren, however, excludes contacts with these other traditions of linguistic scholarship from his narrative. This suggests that the intellectual dynamics of our discipline are an internal matter only, whereas, in fact, those contacts have had essential conseqûences for the historical development of Western thinking on language. For example, the vernacular tradition in Western Europe led to new and original grammatical and lexicographic investigation. The Biblical tradition and the linguistic harvest of the European colonial expansion have led to increased study of unknown exotic languages. The Jewish tradition and the scholarship of the Sanskrit grammarians have had a deep and lasting influence on the development of linguistic ideas in the Western world. To ignore these other traditions, as Seuren does in this book, is to make his history of the Western tradition incomplete in an essential way, and a lot more Eurocentric than Humboldt's ideas. Seuren's deepening and sharpening of our insights into the logico-semantic tradition of Western linguistics is thus achieved at a very high price.

In conclusion, I would say that Seuren's erudite and penetrating book adds a valuable historical dimension to contemporary discussions in linguistics and makes the history of linguistic ideas relevant to the study of theoretical issues today. His book has a number of clear virtues, but also, as I have indicated, some quite serious flaws, and so it needs to be handled with care. But if there is one thing he makes clear, it is that history matters - and meaning too.

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Reinier Salverda, *London*
r.salverda@ucl.ac.uk

Eighth International Conference on the History of the Language Sciences

École Normale Supérieure de Fontenay/Saint Cloud, 14-19 September 1999

An overview

The Eighth International Conference on the History of the Language Sciences (ICHOLS VIII) was held in the elegant surroundings, and spartan living conditions, of the École Normale Supérieure de Fontenay/Saint Cloud from 14 to 19 September under the patronage of SHESL and the Laboratoire d'Histoire des Théories Linguistiques de l'Université Paris 7. There were about 120 participants drawn from 20 countries. It was good to see strong delegations from Eastern Europe and South and Central America. As one might have expected, the languages of the conference were English, French and German, although the Tower of Babel was happily installed several times a day on the lawns outside the conference rooms.

The conference was opened by Sylvain Auroux in his capacity as head of the ENS. David Cram then spoke on the theory of sentence distinction in seventeenth-century grammar. His paper discussed the influence of punctuation, ultimately drawn from classical rhetoric, on theories of sentence structure in authors like Charles Butler. Kurt Jankowsky's paper discussed Friedrich Zancke, an influential nineteenth-century philologist, who professed an almost ideal blend of linguistics and literary study.

The afternoon of Friday 17 September was given over to an organised trip to the Louvre. This conference marked the 60th birthday of Konrad Koerner, the moving spirit behind these conferences. In recognition of his services to the History of Linguistics John Benjamins published a Festschrift (*The Emergence of the Modern Language Sciences*) which was presented to him at a reception before the final banquet.

At the business meeting, which was rather fraught, the assembly accepted the invitation of Unicamp Campesinas outside São Paulo, Brazil, for the conference of 2002. There were also invitations from the Universities of Georgia (Tblisi), Michigan, Seoul, and São Paulo. Preparation of the proceedings was entrusted to Sylvain Auroux and his team. As usual the publisher will be John Benjamins of Amsterdam.

One important feature of this conference was the attention paid to developments outside Western Europe and to interdisciplinary angles. There were a number of excellent papers on the development of language theories in Russia and Georgia which drew attention to cultural and theoretical movements

that are not widely known elsewhere. North and South America were also accorded a fair amount of attention: beside interesting papers on the missionary linguistics of both North and South America, there were papers on linguists like the Mexican, Francisco Pimentel, and the Brazilian, Mattoso Camara. Much attention was paid to language teaching, textbooks and dictionaries. As usual on these occasions, much of the important work of the conference was done over coffee or by interest groups at meals.

Judging from the standard of the papers, the vigour of formal and informal discussion and the number of young linguists participating, the discipline is extremely healthy. Our thanks go to our French colleagues for an excellent conference that ran like clockwork.

L. G. Kelly, *Cambridge*
ljk1@hermes.cam.ac.uk

The Real Professor Higgins is a very enjoyable book to read. This is something which can rarely be said of a book on the subject of Phonetics covering nearly 600 pages. The key to the book's readability is its style. There is no excuse for a scholarly work not being a pleasure for scholars in that field to read. Ideally of course, if a scholar has something to say which they believe to be interesting and important, they will want it to reach the widest possible audience, an audience which will include non-specialists as well. Too often even specialists are put off by the unattractive appearance or dense prose style of a monograph. A book has to attract its readers, and *The Real Professor Higgins* is a good example of how to do so. Charting the history of linguistics is essentially a creative task. It involves the ordering and presentation of historical material in one way rather than another, to make one point rather than another. It involves the choice of this term rather than that term in the metalanguage, to describe the linguistic findings and practices of the past. Somebody told me that reading *The Real Professor Higgins* was more like reading a novel than reading a conventional scholarly monograph. I suspect that we would have to search very hard to find another novel with a section entitled 'Supra-segmental features' or 'The kymograph', and inevitably some knowledge of Phonetics is required in order to understand the book, but a historian of linguistics should treat the comparison of their work with novels as a compliment. It means that their work is something which can be read for pleasure, something which is compelling, and something which may even achieve sales beyond the small number typical for a monograph on the history of linguistics. This book is the first and the second, and it is to be hoped that it will prove to be the third. Above all, however, this is a compliment, because it acknowledges the true nature of historiography, as an artistic enterprise rather than the scientific enterprise many believe it to be.

Daniel Jones's 'Life and Career' are divided into fourteen chapters and an appendix, and these chapters proceed broadly chronologically, with a few steps outside the chronological journey to deal with important topics like the contents of *An Outline of English Phonetics*. Because of the chronological approach, some sections seem rather disjointed, as one issue or person relevant to a given period succeeds another which it is only related to in time. Thus,

section 7.8 discusses Jones's colleagues, Lilias Armstrong and H. S. Perera, 7.9 is entitled 'The birth of Jones's son', 7.10 'The idea of an Institute of Phonetics' and 7.11 'The coming of peace'. These odd juxtapositions probably reflect most readers' experience of reading the book. It is much too long to be read at one sitting and so will be dipped into. The sections are all brief enough to be read quickly as complete entities, almost as encyclopedia entries which together, however, give a complete picture. One may well ask whether the chronological approach is really the most appropriate, and whether a topic-based account might not have been more satisfactory. However such a structure would not have allowed the book's novelistic quality which I have already praised.

Chapter 1 is entitled 'In the days of his youth (1881-1903)' and provides fascinating insights, not only into the person of Daniel Jones, but also into well-to-do London life one hundred years ago. We learn that other members of the Jones family were just as influential as Daniel would go on to be. His father was central to the establishment of the Lawn Tennis Association at Wimbledon, and his maternal uncle was Richard D'Oyly Carte, 'founder of the Gilbert & Sullivan combination, builder of the Savoy theatre, etc.' (Jones quoted in Collins & Mees 1999: 3). Neither Jones's schooldays, nor his university days reading mathematics at Cambridge, nor his attempts to train as a barrister seem to have been happy or distinguished. Jones, like Rask, Sweet, Jespersen and probably many others before and since, became fascinated by the study of modern languages outside the formal constraints of the school or university classroom. It is tempting to imagine that these scholars' initial encounter with their later specialisms as a sort of hobby meant that their enthusiasm for it was able to remain undimmed. *The Real Professor Higgins* is about people and personalities, and all sorts of people walk in and out of its pages. The first to make an impression on Jones was William Tilly (1860-1935), founder of the *Institut Tilly* in Germany, and later professor of Phonetics at Columbia University, and the next was Paul Passy (1859-1940) in 1905. From here on the formerly directionless Jones knows the course his life will take, and chapter 2 is entitled 'An aptitude for phonetics (1904-07)'.

Jones came into contact with important people inside and outside the world of Phonetics, and Collins and Mees discuss these contacts in the course of the book. As well as Passy, the linguists who are discussed in particular detail are Henry Sweet, Otto Jespersen and J. R. Firth. Chapter 14 and Appendix A complete the job of charting the relevant history of linguistics which is done sporadically in the course of the book through discussion of these 'linguistic luminaries'. Chapter 14 (the final one) is 'Jones's contribution to phonetics and linguistics' where Jones's role in planting the twentieth-century phonetic landscape is analysed. Appendix A, of particular interest to readers of the *Bulletin*, is entitled 'Historical background' and is made up as follows:

The whole Appendix runs to only 27 pages and exhibits the problem of all such 'historical appendices' - it *feels* like an appendix, an add-on, not really integrated with what has gone before. Furthermore, it inevitably reads like an annotated list of names, names which appear slight and insignificant compared with the Jones who comes at the end of this history and whose 'Life and Career' fill 450 pages.

Important figures outside Phonetics who grace the pages of this book are most notably Robert Bridges, poet laureate - the 'battles with Bridges' are detailed in section 4.11 - and the playwright George Bernard Shaw. Jones's contacts with Shaw were of two sorts. In the first instance Jones was involved with Shaw in questions of spelling reform in which Shaw was very active. In the second instance Jones's association with Shaw was with regard to that infamous literary representation of a phonetician, *Pygmalion*. It has traditionally been assumed that Shaw modelled Professor Henry Higgins on Henry Sweet, but, as Collins and Mees fascinatingly explain, the reality is rather different. The case is argued in section 4.9 (Collins & Mees 1999: 97-103), and I shan't spoil the plot. If you want to find out who 'the real Professor Higgins' was, read the book!

That this is an enjoyable book to read is not only down to its clear and fluent style and structure. The publishers have done an excellent job, beautifully reproducing in the region of 60 photographs and 130 line illustrations. *The Real Professor Higgins* is more than just an account of Jones the phonetician, and the reproductions of entries from Jones's card index plotting the linguistic development of his son are just one example of the humanity of Jones which Collins and Mees manage to bring out. The chronological bibli- and discography of Jones's published and recorded works (515-528) which one would expect in a work of this sort is authoritative and valuable. There are a couple of misprints, but in the course of such a substantial book, they are remarkably few. Perhaps the biggest difference between this work and a novel lies in the price. DM 248 is a considerable sum of money, and the wish for substantial sales mentioned above may remain just a wish until such time as a softback edition becomes available.

The Real Professor Higgins is not only a must for historians of linguistics (particularly those seeking a model for historiography), but it will also be invaluable for phoneticians seeking an insight into the subject whose fundamental methods and tools, indeed whose very existence probably owe more to Daniel Jones than to anyone else.

Andrew R. Linn, *Sheffield*
A.R.Linn@Sheffield.ac.uk

Manfred Görlach
An Annotated Bibliography of Nineteenth-Century Grammars of English.
Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1998.
(Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science. Series V.
Library & Information Sources in Linguistics. Volume 26.) ix + 395 pp.
ISBN 90 272 3752 2 (Eur); 1 55619 256 8 (US).

A ny attempt to bring a measure of control to the study of grammar and the
tools for teaching it in the nineteenth century is to be applauded, and
Manfred Görlach has performed a great šervice in attempting to cover largely
uncharted waters. As Ian Michael, a distinguished labourer in this vineyard,
puts it in his Preface:

> At their best nineteenth-century English grammars treated a broad range
> of linguistic topics; at their very best they did so in a fresh and
> experimental spirit. The many grammars which were merely repetitive
> derived their popularity and many of their limitations from attitudes
> which are still common today; but these attitudes do not explain the
> surprising quantity in which the grammars were produced. This apparent
> over-production is a striking and puzzling phenomenon.

As explained in the Introduction to this bibliography Görlach set out in 1995 to
produce a bibliography of English grammars which would supersede earlier
attempts by Kennedy, Michael and Howatt and provide researchers with an
inventory of sources which, if not comprehensive, was at least achievable in
just three years. The result is not really a *bibliography* in the strict sense but a
handlist. There are several reasons for what may seem to some a pedantic
quibble. A primary pre-requisite for a bibliography is that it must be based on
the personal inspection of every item it seeks to describe. A second pre-
requisite seems to me to be that a bibliography should be structured in such a
way as to reveal the complexity of the subject: an alphabetical author-listing
can never achieve this without accompanying indexes. It would have been
revealing, for example, if the work had an arrangement which enabled one to
trace *chronologically and by country*:

1	adaptations of grammars printed before 1801
2	traditional schemes of analysis
3	minimalist works

4   grammars for children
5   grammars for school use
6   experimental grammars
7   theory of grammar

Grammars of English were published in the nineteenth century in England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Ceylon, France, Italy, Germany, the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Russia, China, and Japan (after 1880). The grammars produced for native speakers of languages other than English form an important branch of linguistic study and deserve to be studied. The advantages of a chronological approach within separate categories are obvious. Some such are, indeed, in Görlach's listing: e.g. 502 (Bangalore – English and Canarese), 1448 (Bombay – English and Marathi), but there large numbers omitted (many of them in the BL Catalogue) for no obvious reason.

The methodology adopted for this bibliography make it somewhat awkward to use: one must master a bewildering number of abbreviations and elliptical symbols in order to understand an entry. Thus: --- signifies same author; ! signifies no copy traced; @ signifies found in *NUC*; $ signifies a US source (online or other); (⇒ signifies a cross-reference; there are 38 library symbols, and 19 abbreviations for earlier bibliographical sources; finally, there is **Lit.** followed by any of 98 secondary sources.

The layout adopted for works which *have* been inspected is fairly straightforward: author, date, title, place of publication, publisher, format/size, pagination, price, editorial notes on content. The use of centimetre measurement, mostly vertical but occasionally vertical and horizontal, predominates, but many entries have the more usual and bibliographically accurate format indicating how the sheets were folded. For works which have not been inspected the detail obviously depends on the source and can be minimal. In the Introduction it is stated that '46.6% of the titles mentioned were inspected'. In a check of the first 280 entries (three cancelled numbers) covering A and B I found the following: no copies traced = 21; not inspected = 138, which roughly correlates. However, if one adds the number of editions subsequent to the first which have not been personally examined the percentage rises steeply.

What does surprise me is that while Görlach has used a wide variety of sources, both printed and electronic, in harvesting his data he appears to have overlooked one very important source: the *Nineteenth Century Short Title Catalogue* (NSTC). This ambitious project to list all books printed from 1801 to 1914 has been in progress for some time now: the first series of volumes covering 1801 to 1815 was completed in 1986, and the second series covering 1816 to 1871 was completed in 1995. A CD-ROM version, fully searchable, was available by the summer of 1996. While it is a difficult work to use, it does

have a primitive form of subject indexing using three digit Dewey codes. In order to extract grammars of English it is necessary to check 410 (Linguistics), 415 (Structural Systems), 421 (Written & Spoken English), 425 (English Structural System), and 428 (Standard English Usage). In order to indicate the volume of entries found in the second series (1816-1871) I checked the number of references in 421 and 424 for the letter G (volumes 16-20): the total yielded was 350. Extrapolating this over all the volumes for 1801 to 1871 it is likely that the total number of entries (i.e. works) for the Dewey codes listed above is approximately 6000. The last three decades, when completed, should yield about a further 2000 titles. Using the CD-ROM for statistical purposes presents difficulties, however, since many entries have more than one subject coding. NSTC is, of course, itself a derivative catalogue based on other catalogues, but use of it would have obviated the need to use 'n.p.' [no place of publication] so often as well as 'n.d.' [no date of publication]. No 700 was published at Baltimore, and No 701 at Newark, for example. A quick check of the first series yielded a number of works not listed by Görlach, as did a check of the letter G in the second series. There are instances where he has included a work printed before 1801, such as Mark Anthony Meilan's *A Grammar of the English Language* (London, 1771? – Alston, I, 304) which was enlarged in 1808 as *An Introduction to the English Language* and appears as no. 1221 with no mention of its earlier appearance; 169 is Alston I, 531 and the BL has a photocopy not an original text; 170 is Alston III, 378-80; 1150 is an 1808 reprint of Alston VI, 511.

Another source not used is the series of catalogues of books in the India Office Library, now part of the British Library. Blumhardt's catalogues are particularly valuable because they are arranged by subject and there are numerous grammars of English listed in them for speakers of Bengali, Oriya, Assamese, Hindustani, Marathi and Gujarati. For many of the other language collections there are only alphabetical catalogues and scanning them presents difficulties. Standard sources for Australia (Ferguson's great multi-volume Bibliography for example, and the printed catalogue of the Mitchell Library in Sydney) and South Africa (e.g. Robinson's massive catalogue) appear not to have been used.

The editorial notes appended to works which have been examined range from full and informative comment (e.g. on the grammars by Goold Brown, Peter Bullions, George Rice Carpenter, William Cobbett, Alexander Crombie) to those which had been better omitted (e.g 732: 'Advertised at 1s 6d in 1801 by R. Philips; it may never have been published', with no clue as to that source's identity). In the case of item 107 the author's name has been omitted: *The Tyro's guide to Wisdom and Wealth* is by Alexander Barrie, and the grammar was, I believe, first included in the sixth edition, Edinburgh, 1810 (copy in the National Library of Scotland). The notes appended to the various works of William Barnes fail to appreciate that, however eccentric his

approach, he exerted a strong influence on the poetry of Thomas Hardy and Gerard Manley Hopkins.

Careless editing has led to some substantive errors: 1280 – the author's name is Darius [not Davius] Clark; 1446 was published in 1904; 1470 flagged as untraced is entered correctly at 1556; the 1842 first edition of 1538 is, in fact, in the British Library and was published at London and Bradford. There are, moreover, two other works by James Ross which are missing: his *Teacher's Manual of Method* (London and Manchester, 1848), and his *Papers on Teaching and on Kindred Subjects* (London, 1859).

Important works I failed to find include: [Anon], *The Hand-Book of Grammar* (London, 1841 – copy at Cambridge University Library [C]); A., L., *Essay on a Universal Language* (London, 1868 – copy at the British Library, London [L]); [Anon], *The English Cratylus* (London, 1825 – copies at L and O [The Bodleian Library, Oxford]); Edward Yates, *The Elements of the Science of Grammar* (London, 1857 – copies at E and L); George Helms, *The English Adjective in the Language of Shakspere* (Bremen, 1868 – copy at L); Charles William Smith, *Common Blunders made in Speaking and Writing, Corrected on the Authority of the Best Grammarians* (London, ca. 1850 – copy at Harvard; London, 1855, 2 ed. – copy at L; London, 1855, 3 ed. – copy at L; London, 1856 – copy at C); Frederick Knighton, *The American Etymological School Grammar* (Philadelphia, 1852 – copy at Library of Congress); J.W.F. Rogers, *Grammar and Logic in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1883) – Rogers was Inspector of Schools in Sydney and had a thorough grasp of grammatical systems. In the course of one day spent at the British Library I was able to add over 200 titles to Görlach's list.

A useful section is the Appendix which lists (1) eighteenth-century works [I am not sure why this is included]; (2) books on Anglo-Saxon & language history; (3) treatises on languages; (4) treatments of individual levels; (5) books on logic, rhetoric, elocution, style and composition; (6) advice on good English; (7) bilingual grammars, and books meant for foreign learners; (8) minimal grammars in dictionaries and encyclopedic works (pp. [357]-385).

This represents a good start to what, one hopes, will one day be attempted: a full and accurate inventory of the sources for our understanding of how the English language was perceived and taught in the nineteenth century. I calculate that such an inventory would comprise over 4000 titles and list some 25000 editions. There is quite a long way to go!

Robin Alston, *Brockford, Suffolk*
r-alston@dircon.co.uk

Helmut Henne / Jörg Kilian (Hgg.)
Hermann Paul: Sprachtheorie, Sprachgeschichte, Philologie. Reden,
Abhandlungen und Biographie.
Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1998. (Reihe Germanistische Linguistik
200). xix + 342 pp. ISBN 3-484-31200-9.

A s the title indicates, the present book is a collection of Hermann Paul's
(1846–1921) *Kleine Schriften,* which should be entitled in English
'Collected Papers' or 'Miscellaneous Writings'. It is, however, much more than
just that. In fact, it is a work of the two editors which, with the well-organized
arrangements of articles, clearly outlines the relationship between his life and
personality, and his scholarly achievements.

Besides the editors' Preface (*Vorwort*) and Introduction (*Zur*
Einführung), this book contains five chapters, namely, I. Biography
(*Biographie*), II. Lectures (*Reden*), III. Treatises (*Abhandlungen*), IV.
Refutations (*Einrede*), and V. Bibliography (*Bibliographie*). The biography
section is the most interesting. It begins with Paul's short autobiographical
article *Mein Leben* [My Life] followed by a list of his *Schriften* [Writings]
compiled by Paul himself. Both were originally published just a year after his
death in vol. 46 of *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und*
Literatur, which is commonly called *PBB (Pauls und Braunes Beiträge).*

The editors include in this chapter five obituaries written by colleagues
and former students of Paul, namely, Wilhelm Braune (1850–1926), a
Germanist of the Neogrammarian school, one of Paul's best friends, co-editor
of *PBB*; Carl von Kraus (1868–1952), successor to Paul's chair at the
University of Munich; Max Hermann Jellinek (1868–1938), a Germanic
philologist at the University of Vienna; and two former students of Paul in
Munich, Otto Maußer (1880–1942) and Friedrich Wilhelms (1882–1939).

This chapter also contains four letters. Two of them were sent to Paul
from Eduard Sievers (1850–1932), a preeminent phonetician of the
Neogrammarian school, co-editor of *PBB*; and Braune respectively. The other
two letters were written by Paul, one sent to Max Niemeyer (1841–1911),
founder of the Max Niemeyer Verlag, publisher of the journal *PBB*; and the
other to Edward Schröder (1858–1942), a Germanist at the University of
Göttingen.

In addition, there are two review articles by Paul — one written in 1879
on Wilhelm Scherer's (1841–1886) *Zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache,* and
the other in 1885 on Karl Brugmann's (1849–1919) book *Zum heutigen Stand*

der Sprachwissenschaft and Berthold Delbrück's (1842–1922) treatise *Die neueste Sprachforschung.*

The policy as to how these obituaries, letters and reviews are selected from an enormous number of possible choices is explained by the editors at the beginning of each section, with brief biographical information added on the persons connected to each item. In this chapter, the editors are presenting not exclusively Paul's academic life, but also a picture of his personality in his extra-academic life.

The following selected lectures, treatises and refutations are arranged chronologically in chapters II, III and IV:

    II. Reden:
    5. *Die Bedeutung der deutschen Philologie für das Leben der Gegenwart*
    (1897).
    6. *Gedanken über das Universitätsstudium* (1909).

    III. Abhandlungen:
    7. *Ueber die Aufgaben der wissenschaftlichen Lexikographie mit*
    besonderer Rücksicht auf das deutsche Wörterbuch (1894).
    8. *Ueber die Aufgaben der Wortbildungslehre* (1896).
    9. *Aufgabe und Methode der Geschichtswissenschaften* (1920).
    10. *Über Sprachunterricht* (1921).

    IV. Einrede:
    11.1. *Zur orthographischen Frage* (1880).
    11.2. *Gutachten von Professor Dr. Hermann Paul in München [Zu Th.*
    Siebs: „Deutsche Bühnenaussprache"] (1899).

In the Introduction the editors present good summaries of the articles and related information, and on the first page of each article they also provide pertinent bibliographical information.

As in the case of chapter one, the editors may have some definite strategies and views for selecting these particular articles from a great number of Paul's writings. Paul — as well as the other Neogrammarians — is praised for 'the vast amount of their individual publications' (Jankowsky 1972: 243). Together with Brugmann, Paul's productivity is much more uncommonly eminent than that of others. Therefore, without an elaborate determined plan for the choice and arrangement of the articles, the present book would be just an unorganized collection of scattered papers by Paul.

The editors do not mention their plan explicitly, but it is clear to me from the description in the Preface and the Introduction that they employ two major strategies. Firstly, they select lectures and treatises of Paul to highlight his most essential and profound attitude to language study which is reflected in

his masterpieces such as *Principien der Sprachgeschichte* (1880), *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (1897), *Deutsche Grammatik* (1916–1920). In other words, the articles bring to light Paul's intellectual and philosophical background underlying his theory and methodology in linguistic studies. Then, the editors try to determine Paul's commitment to public education at college and high-school levels. Not a small number of his contemporaries and also of his predecessors devoted themselves eagerly to school reforms. Paul also strove to apply the results of his academic achievements to reforming the school system. In short, with these articles, letters and the other documents contained in the present book, the editors try to convey an idea of the inner and outer life of Paul which is the very basis of his scholarship. They write in the Preface:

> Daß Wissenschaft und Leben nicht zu trennen sind, bringt Pauls
> Biographie zur Anschauung. Und sie lehrt auch, daß zwar das Leben
> hinter dem Werk verschwindet; daß man das aber auch Hingabe an das
> Werk nennen kann — und das Leben dann, als ein exemplarisches, in
> Erinnerung rufen muß. (XI)
> [Paul's biography shows us that scholarship and life are not to be
> separated. And it also shows us that, on the one hand, the life vanishes
> behind the work, but that, on the other hand, it can also be called
> devotion to his work — and thus life, as an exemplary life, must be
> called to memory.]*

Having found the 'exemplary' life of a distinguished scholar in Paul, the editors aim at revealing it so that we can grasp the essential background of his scholarly achievements.

The last chapter in this book — V. Bibliography — may be the most useful not only for Paul-researchers, but also, amongst other scholars, for historical linguists, historiographers of linguistics, and linguistic philosophers. This bibliography of Paul, compiled by Silke Köstler, is one of the most comprehensive and, therefore, one of the most reliable sources for further study of Paul. It consists of two major parts: writings by Paul and writings about Paul. The list of writings by Paul is divided into three sections — Editorial Work (*Herausgebertätigkeit*), Monographs (*Selbständige Schriften*), and Articles, Evaluations, Reviews (*Aufsätze, Gutachten, Rezensionen*) — and the items are arranged in chronological order, not alphabetically. In the second part we find one of the most recent bibliographies on Paul, which includes monographs, collected papers, articles, festschrifts, obituaries, and reviews of his major works. Needless to say, this list of writings does not include everything that has been written on Paul, but the compiler's *Gründlichkeit*

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* English translations from German by the present author: H.E.

[thoroughness] is fascinating. Even articles written in Japanese are included in this section.

Last but not least, I have to mention one more special feature of this book. Every document in this book is reproduced in facsimile printing. The editors say:

> Die Form des Faksimile-Drucks haben wir bewußt gewählt. Damit steht das Buch in einem historischen Kontext, dessen Inhalt in die Gegenwart hineinreicht. (VII)
> [We have chosen the form of facsimile printing intentionally, so that this book stands in a historical context, whose content reaches into the present time].

In spite of difficulties in reading — or, I should say, 'deciphering' — documents written in *Fraktur*, we enjoy being brought closer to the atmosphere of the time of Paul. Besides, thanks to the original pagination, it is possible to quote words, pharases, lines or passages directly from each original article, independently of the pagination of this book. It is also very helpful for those who are not familiar with handwriting in German that in the letter-section the transcriptions are juxtaposed to each handwritten letter.

The first reaction of mine, when I had this book in my hands, was '*Unglaublich!* [Unbelievable!]'. In such an exclamation, there are always two possible implications — positive or negative. Of course, mine was positive, because this book is full of precious information and source material about Paul. Since I am currently working on the influence of the Neogrammarians, especially Paul, on contemporary English philologists such as Henry Sweet (1845–1912) (cf., e.g., Sweet 1891: xiii), this publication will be without question of great help to me. It may be evaluated 1) as '*notwendig* [a must!]' for a student who majors in German linguistics as well as linguistic theory in general, 2) as '*nützlich* [useful]' for a professor who seeks out material for a discussion in his/her linguistic seminar, and, most important of all, 3) as '*sehr angenehm* [highly appreciated]' for a researcher who would otherwise be bound to lose time hunting for Paul's 'rare' articles in big libraries like the Library of Congress, or surfing the web for needed bibliographical information, or waiting for an e-mail from the Interlibrary Loan section of a university library, or looking forward to the next catalog from an antiquarian book-seller specializing in linguistics.

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     Clarendon Press.

Hiroyuki Eto, *Georgetown University*
etoh2@gusun.georgetown.edu

[A further review of this volume will appear in the next issue of the *Bulletin*]

William Jervis Jones
Images of Language. Six Essays on German Attitudes to European Languages from 1500 to 1800.
Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1999.
(Amsterdam Studies in the History of the Language Sciences. Volume 89).
297 pp. ISBN 90 271 4577 (Eur.); 1 55619 633 4 (US)

Jones's new book is much more than the "book about purism" which I had thought it might be, and much more too than a companion to his collection of primary source material, *Sprachhelden und Sprachverderber* (Berlin/ New York: de Gruyter) - though it is both of these too, for three of the six essays deal with Early New High German linguistic purism, and some of the chapters contain references to *Sprachhelden und Sprachverderber*. However, Jones goes beyond this to link his work on purism with the broader question of German attitudes to language(s) in general. He devotes a chapter each to German attitudes to French and English, while the opening chapter treats views on German's lineage and status amongst other languages of the known world.

This first essay in the collection is in some ways the most ambitious. Entitled 'German in the family of languages', it traces the gradual acceptance of the notion of language change and the first steps away from Babel towards recognizing something approaching an (Indo-)European language family. The debt both to Gardt's important 1994 book *Sprachreflexion in Barock und Frühaufklärung* (Berlin/ New York: Walter de Gruyter) and to the work of George Metcalf, is obvious. However, as far as I am aware, this is the first time such a comprehensive survey has been written for an English-speaking audience, and as such it is very welcome indeed. Jones draws out a number of key strands of thought, with sections on 'German in paradise', 'Born at Babel?', 'Germano-Celtic and its relationship to other languages' and 'Unity and diversity within the Germanic family', on the whole with admirable clarity. For instance, his navigation of the accounts which saw variously the mythical Tuisco/Tuisto, or Ashkenaz, supposed great-grandson of Noah, or both, as the father of the German people (and hence language), is particularly helpful, as he shows how the two separate traditions ultimately merge in the identification of Tuisco with Ashkenaz. He rightly emphasizes that German writers on such subjects saw themselves as participating in a pan-European discussion and that one cannot divorce their views from this context. Jones has used some 300 primary sources in this book, and this chapter surely accounts for a good

number of those. He quotes original sources extensively, a strength given the
inaccessibility of many of these in rare book libraries around the world.

The presentation of so much source material in a survey article of this
kind is not without problems. The first is that Latin sources are not translated,
though they are briefly paraphrased in Jones's own comments on them - this is
true of all the Latin throughout the book. This unfortunately renders these
extracts (including an entire page (20-21)) inaccessible to many readers,
especially students, who do not know Latin, and so reduces their usefulness.
Brief Latin quotations strewn into the flow of the English text are problematic
for the same reason. This is a great shame in what is otherwise an excellent
overview of a complex topic. A second niggle is the density of references in the
text. I found myself wishing for the first time in my life that the author had
used footnotes for his references, as the comprehensive listing of sources in
brackets interrupts the flow of his writing - again, I imagine students might be
particularly put off by this. Finally, during most of the chapter Jones quotes
fairly indiscriminately from historians, language specialists, travellers etc. This
is deliberate, since the aim is to give an indication of how widespread particular
attitudes and opinions were. However, the clarification in the conclusion that
some of these writers were more influential and more innovative in their
thinking than others - Jones picks out Bibliander, Gesner, Schottelius and
Leibniz - possibly comes rather late for anyone not already familar with the
subject area.

With the exception of these problems, however, the chapter is an
excellent starting-point for anyone working on ENHG language awareness, and
also forms a solid basis for the following chapters.

In his second chapter, 'Attitudes to language among early German
purists', Jones is on his home turf and provides an excellent account of the
topic. He begins by adopting George Thomas's definition of purism, one which
allows for comparison with purism in other cultures. He then presents a picture
of German puristic attitides that is both wide-ranging and differentiated, and
usefully corrects earlier misconceptions such as the extent to which the
Sprachgesellschaften were focal points for propagating puristic attitudes, or
Zesen's place in the history of purism. In a sense, this chapter serves as a
companion to Jones's 1995 documentary volume *Sprachhelden und
Sprachverderber*, with many useful cross-references.

The third essay is a foray into the lexis and metaphorical usage of
puristic discourse, and is likewise furnished with helpful references to
Sprachhelden und Sprachverderber. This is a promising area of research still in
its infancy, and with one exception Jones concentrates on pointing out a
number of key themes rather than providing a comprehensive treatment of any
one metaphor. He traces the use of key words such as *unteutsch* and *Sprach-
gesellschaft*, and notions such as language heresy and language heroism -
though an omission here is surely the idea of German as a *HauptSprache*.

Amongst metaphorical usage Jones notes that the German language may be presented as diseased, enslaved, bastardized [...], and purists as careful gardeners, for example. Particularly interesting is the role of gender in puristic discourse, which Jones explores in greater detail. The German language is seen as both female (for instance as a vulnerable female, violated or besought to preserve her chastity, or as a nurturing mother), or male (a hero, a *Heldensprache*). The strength of the chapter lies in its focus on the very 'imagery, symbolism and emblematics' which, as Jones notes (66), modern readers all too often mentally filter out as a 'distraction' from the core argument, yet which are in fact essential to the discourse of the time.

The chapter on German military language begins by presenting an early and previously neglected figure in German purism with regard to military language, one Abraham Kolbinger (1549-1622?). The chapter is less interesting when it moves on to the comments of other well-known purists on military language, for these seem to parallel their views on borrowing or purism in general and so add relatively little that is new. I could not help feeling this chapter lacked the coherence and depth of the others in this volume.

The remaining two chapters treat German attitudes to French and English respectively. In the chapter on English, the chief interest lay for me in the discovery of the contrast between the positive view of English held by the English themselves, as a language enriched by much mixing, and the view of a hopelessly bastardized language so long held by the Germans. Interesting too is the indication that the Low Countries played an important intermediary role in German and English speakers' discovery of each other's languages.

Perhaps not surprisingly, chapter 5, about French influence on German, is the longest in the volume. In this thorough treatment of the topic, Jones explores eleven themes in turn, including views on the origins of French, evidence for the knowledge and study of the language in Germany, and the phenomenon of 'Alamode' thinking and Gallomania. I would have liked to have seen a discussion of what is understood by Gallisch/Gaulisch/Gallica in some of the comments on the origins of French - depending on context, this could refer not only to French but also to its Celtic precursor on French soil. Other than this, however, this essay is a valuable, comprehensive treatment of an important topic. It typifies what is best about the book as a whole - clear, well-supported and differentiated analysis of attitudes to language(s) in a handy, readable format and with rich recourse to primary sources.

A brief conclusion draws together what are essentially distinct essays. However, there remains a certain tension between a book of six chapters and a collection of essays. It is certainly very readable from beginning to end, but the reader will encounter a few trivial repetitions of chosen morsels betwen essays (the view of French as *suavis*, Spanish as *gravis* and German as *virilis* is cited in both chapters 3 and 5; Schottelius's observation that to judge by some comments, one would think 800 of any 1000 German words were of Latin,

Greek or Hebrew origin occurs in both chapters 1 and 2; and there are other cases). There are also one or two repetitions within chapters (Schottelius's admiration for the Dutch mathematician Simon Stevin is mentioned in very similar terms on p. 100 and p. 101, for example). There are a number of minor formatting and typographical errors:

- pp. 69-70: the text on p.69 does not reach the bottom of the page.
- p. 36: Strasbourg is given in the German spelling Strassburg. Elsewhere it is consistently Strasbourg.
- p. 192 'serving as [a] vehicle': the 'a' is missing.
- Bibliography: a number of references are not in correct alpabetical order, though never far off: Härle, Kästner, Kuhn, Sträter. In the case of Härle, the listing occurs on p. 249 instead of p. 250 after Harbrecht, so that it risks being missed by the searching reader.

Notwithstanding the minor errors in the bibliography, Jones's lists of both primary and secondary material constitute another of the book's strengths. It also has a comprehensive index.

Nicola McLelland, *Dublin*
nicolamc@tcd.ie

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THE HENRY SWEET SOCIETY FOR THE HISTORY OF LINGUISTIC IDEAS

ANNUAL COLLOQUIUM

20-23 September 2000

The Henry Sweet Society Colloquium will be held from Wednesday 20th to Saturday 23rd September 2000 at the University of Edinburgh. This first meeting of the new millennium (or last of the old one, depending on how you count) will also mark the first time the Colloquium has been held in Scotland.

The Department of Theoretical and Applied Linguistics, which is hosting the event, has a history of more than half a century, beginning with the appointments of Angus McIntosh and David Abercrombie to the Chairs of English Language and Phonetics respectively. But of course the importance of Edinburgh in linguistic thought goes back much farther than that, to such figures of the Scottish Enlightenment as Adam Smith, David Hume and Dugald Stewart.

Unless the number of participants exceeds its capacity, the meetings will be held in Abden House, a beautiful Georgian manor house looking out onto Arthur's Seat, the volcanic formation on the city's eastern end. Abden House is adjacent to the Pollock Halls, where conference delegates will stay (unless they prefer one of the recommended B&Bs in the area), and the Royal Commonwealth Pool is around the corner. Pollock Halls are a 15-minute walk from George Square, where the Arts Faculty and Main Library are located, and the Royal Mile, the heart of the Old Town.

Papers are invited on any aspect of the history of linguistics. They will be of 20 minutes' duration with 10 minutes for discussion. Please send your proposals by 31 March 2000 in the form of an abstract of no more than 300 words, on paper or electronically, to:

Professor J. E. Joseph
Department of Theoretical & Applied Linguistics
University of Edinburgh
Adam Ferguson Building
40 George Square
Edinburgh EH8 9LL

E-mail: John.Joseph@ed.ac.uk
Fax 0131 650 3962
Tel. 0131 650 3961

Proposals for special colloquia are also welcome.

Booking forms will be included with the first circular, to be sent out in January.

NEWS OF MEMBERS

NEW MEMBERS

Carol Sanders, School of Language and International Studies, University of
Surrey, Guildford, Surrey GU2 5XH. E-mail: c.sanders@surrey.ac.uk.
Has research interests in the history of French linguistics, and in
Saussure studies. Publications include:
'Introduction' to F. de Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale*
(Hatchette, 1979)
'Linguistic historiography: a survey with particular reference to French
linguistics at the turn of the century. *Journal of French Studies*
(forthcoming).

Jacob Thaisen, Måløvvang 35:7c, DK-2760 Måløv, Denmark.
E-mail: jactha@cphling.dk.
Has research interests in the history of English, manuscript studies,
lexicography and humanities computing. He is writing his MA thesis on
'Scribal behaviour in the late Middle Ages - a comparative linguistic
study of four early witnesses to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*'.

CURRENT MEMBERS

Vivien Law
Moved from Sidney Sussex College to Trinity College, Cambridge in
1997. In 1998 she was promoted to a University Readership in the
History of Linguistic Thought, and in 1999 she was elected Fellow of
the British Academy.

In Memoriam Riccardo Rizza

The untimely and sudden death of Riccardo Rizza, Professor of Dutch Language and Literature at Bologna University, has been a severe shock to all of us, his friends, colleagues and students. His contribution to the study of Dutch language and literature in Italy was considerable and his premature death leaves a void which will be felt for years to come.

Riccardo Rizza's scientific activities were not restricted to a limited field of research, but developed according to his vivid personal interest in both the language and the literature of the Lowlands. His first endeavours concerned linguistic matters, which resulted in two articles devoted to the so-called 'verbi di posizione' (verbs concerned with bodily positions: 'zitten', 'staan', etc.), analysed both from a syntactic and a semantic point of view.

An ample interdisciplinary research into the linguistic and literary relations between Italy and the Lowlands followed, resulting in three essays and a bibliography, the first of which is concerned with the complicated problem of the naming of the Dutch language both in the Lowlands and in Italy ('Flemish', 'Dutch', 'Netherlandic' etc.). The other two essays are dedicated to a historical overview of the relations between Italy and the Lowlands from the Middle Ages to the 19th century, taking as a point of departure Lodovico Guicciardini's *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi*, the first work written by an Italian specifically about the Lowlands.

Another field of research often explored by Riccardo Rizza was the history of the Dutch language and in particular the development from Old Dutch to Middle Dutch, emphasising those elements which characterise the Dutch language as a moment of transition between the Frankish dialects which would then form High German and the Ingweon or coastal dialects. Here also, the study of linguistic material is constantly accompanied by close attention to the historical and cultural contexts of the periods concerned.

With particular dedication, Riccardo Rizza contributed to the international project called the *Renaissance Linguistics Archive*, originally promoted by Mirko Tavoni of the University of Pisa and now co-ordinated by Gerda Haßler of Potsdam University, a project aiming at editing a bibliography of secondary sources regarding the linguistic thought of the Renaissance. In a contribution to the Congress 'Italia ed Europa nella linguistica del Rinascimento' held at Ferrara in 1991, he delineated the main features and tendencies of Dutch linguistic thought of the Renaissance, both within the Germanic world and in its relation to Italy, indicating several points of contact.

In the field of literary studies, Riccardo Rizza conducted detailed research into the reception of literature in the Dutch language in Italy, analysing the various translations and emphasising connections of various types.

Subsequently, most of his attention was taken up by his research in the history of language and the philology of Dutch, with specific interest in Old Dutch and its position within the West Germanic language family: in this perspective, Riccardo Rizza's observations shed light on an important linguistic-cultural area and especially on that crucial moment in the history of the language called the first Middle Dutch period, which affirms the vernacular as written language at all levels of society, starting from *The Legend of St Servaes* by Heinric van Veldeken and soon consisting of works of various genres: chivalrous epic (carolingian, arthurian, oriental and classic romance), animal epic, hagiography, mystic poetry and prose.

Finally, the ample spectrum of research so far delineated should not omit the edition of the *Colloquia, et Dictionariolum Octo Linguarum, Latinae, Gallicae, Belgicae, Teutonicae, Hispanicae, Italicae, Anglicae & Portugallicae*, edited in collaboration with five other scholars. It concerns the first edition of the *Colloquia* in eight languages, a manual for the study of foreign languages which originally goes back to the *Vocabulare* (Dutch-French) of Noel de Berlaimont, published for the first time at Antwerp in 1530, and which was enormously popular in the whole of Europe. Originally intended for the mercantile class, it was subsequently used as a textbook, and is for us of particular interest not only as a document of languages in their development, but also as an important source for the study of the didactics of language studies.

The loss of a competent scholar and an inspiring teacher is felt acutely, but above all we will miss his friendship, sympathy and good humour. Each one of us will retain a personal memory of his great human and professional qualities and of his warm personality

Drs. Herman van der Heide, *Bologna University*
heide@lingue.unibo.it