EDITORIAL

L ast November Andrew Linn commented on the substantial length of that issue of the Bulletin, and related this at least partly to the number of abstracts from the colloquium in Dublin. He clearly hoped that our conferences would continue to attract so many people, taking this as a sign that history of linguistics is a field that more and more scholars are starting to relate their work to.

I am happy to say that this year's November issue of the Bulletin is similarly long and once again this is not only due to the interesting articles that we have in this issue but also partly related to the number of fascinating abstracts from the colloquium. So it definitely seems as though it was not only the 'lure of Dublin' that resulted in the large number of abstracts last year, but more and more people do seem to become interested in the history of linguistic ideas, unless the number of contributions this year should be put down to the 'lure of Oxford'.

However, even though we have also welcomed several new members to the society this year, the number of members has decreased (as you will see discussed in the minutes and the accounts for 2003). We hope to find out why, and we hope that if there has been some difficulty in paying for subscriptions our introduction of the possibility to pay for subscriptions by using Paypal may help (for more about this see the last issue, the website or contact our treasurer). Either way, we hope that members, and also former members, will let us know what they think of the society as a whole, subscriptions, the Bulletin and the website. This can be easily done by contacting one of the following:

David Cram, chairman, david.cram@jesus.ox.ac.uk
Rhodri Lewis, membership secretary, rhodri.lewis@jesus.ox.ac.uk
Therese Lindström Tiedemann, editor & website matter,
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Richard Steadman-Jones, review editor & website matters,
r.d.steadman-jones@sheffield.ac.uk

This issue of the Bulletin marks the beginning of a new category of members in the society. The category of *corresponding members* has been introduced as a way of honouring members of the society, particularly those outside Great Britain and those who have played an especially important role in the field of the history of linguistics and/or the society and as a way of providing a channel for information on the recent development of the field in various corners of the world. One of our new corresponding members, Peter Schmitter, also gives us some information about a new Chinese series on the history of linguistics in this issue. (As is related in the minutes from the AGM there has been much debate about this new category and it has been decided that it will be evaluated at the AGM after 5 years.)

History of Linguistics is unfortunately not something that every undergraduate or even postgraduate can take a course in at their university of choice. For some time I have been very interested in finding out where and how history of linguistics is taught

and in finding ways to facilitate the communication between scholars and students interested in this field. One thing I have done is to try to open an informal channel of communication between scholars and students by initiating a mailing list which is now often referred to as *linghist* (*Forum for the History of Linguistics*).[1] But I have also created a website (*Students of the history of linguistics*),[2] primarily aimed at students, where my idea was to provide information about courses, recommended literature, societies, seminars, summer schools, etc. I did this hoping that even those with an interest in history of linguistics who found themselves in a university where they could not really find anyone else with similar interests, would start to feel that they were part of a community and to help them find ways to talk to, exchange ideas with and learn from other historians of linguistics.

Richard Steadman-Jones has written a short piece for this issue where he discusses how we can improve the teaching of the history of linguistics perhaps partly by making use of electronic media such as the worldwideweb. He also encourages people to discuss their experience of teaching the subject more and suggests that a bulletin board may be useful for this purpose. I greatly appreciate this idea and feel that we can all profit from it, teachers, researchers and students alike. I am sure that all of us know that teaching can sometimes be really great and at other times students feel as though the teaching on the course does not really help them very much. I am also absolutely sure that all of those who have ever taught a course know how much you yourself can learn while you are preparing your lectures and workshops, while you are trying to find good ways to explain things or trying to find ways of making it easier (and perhaps more fun) for the students to learn. Richard is trying to find ways to develop the teaching in this field and I hope that readers will find this interesting and that it will stimulate further comments and discussion on how history of linguistics can be taught and how electronic media can be used to facilitate our work as teachers.

I would like to encourage our readers to submit short articles, long articles, reviews, reports and announcements. We are very interested in hearing what the recent developments in the history of linguistics are and hope to see publications relating both to 'finished' research and work in progress. We are also always happy to accept suggestions regarding special issues, and remember that if there is a book in the list of publications received that you would like to read and feel you could write a review on, don't hesitate to contact Richard Steadman-Jones (review editor).

It has been my intention since I became editor to move towards greater consistency in the layout of the contributions of this bulletin. One step in this process is the publication of a style sheet which is included in this issue and which will also be made available on our website. In the past there has been an informal style sheet that we have tried to use while editing the Bulletin, but I hope that by publishing a style sheet I will help submitters understand which formats we prefer and how the procedure works and that this will lead to improved consistency and higher efficiency in handling submissions and in their preparation for publication. The proof reader of the last couple of issues, Chris Stray, has helped me a lot in developing this formal style sheet. While he has been proof reading he had pointed out certain inconsistencies which I may otherwise have missed and thereby forgotten to produce a guideline for.

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[1] http://groups.yahoo.com/group/linghist/
[2] http://www.shef.ac.uk/english/language/research/forum.html

Thanks Chris, for your hard, efficient and thorough work as proof reader. Sorry that some mistakes managed to get in anyway due to last minute changes and unfamiliarity with MS word sections.

Therese Lindström Tiedemann, *Groningen*
Editor

Note from the Chairman

The idea for a category of corresponding member was first prompted when Jan Noordegraaf stepped down from the Committee. His nomination is to honour the long-standing Dutch connections of the Society, and his own contribution to the field.

　　　　Other nominations are likewise leading specialists in the history of linguistics, Even Hovdhaugen being perhaps the most notable name in the Scandinavian area, Irène Rosier being a noted historian of classical and medieval linguistic thought and Peter Schmitter both a prolific writer and editor, including a multi-volume series on the history of semantics. We have over the years profited greatly from their contributions to our colloquia. Shoichi Watanabe may himself be less well known to members of the Society, but he has been regularly represented in recent years by several of his former students who have flown over to Europe to attend our meetings. Professor Watanabe studied in Münster and Oxford in the 1950s, in the latter place under E.J. Dobson (author of the two-volume history of English pronunciation). The Society is pleased to honour these scholars, and looks forward to future contact with them.

David Cram, *Oxford*
Chairman

Anna Carolina Paues (1867-1945)

Anna Paues
A pioneer in Swedish anglistics

Mats Rydén
Uppsala

The teaching of modern languages at Swedish universities started in the seventeenth century, but not until 1738 did Uppsala get its first *språkmästare* (language master) in English. Modern languages were chiefly or solely learnt and taught for practical purposes, as *exercitia*, skills.

The first Swedish chair in modern languages was established at Lund in 1816, at Uppsala as late as 1858. Around 1890 this chair was divided into one Romance and one Germanic branch. The first holder of the chair of Germanic Languages was Axel Erdmann (1843-1926), who in 1904 was to become Uppsala's and Sweden's first professor of English (see Rydén, 1999 and 2000).

Erdmann was born in Stockholm in 1843 and studied at Uppsala University between 1862 and 1871, in which year he took his Ph.D. His dissertation yielded him a 'docentship' in Old English.

During his time as professor (1892-1909) Erdmann reformed the study of English and German at university level. Erdmann's main pedagogical ambition, suggestive of later lines of development, was to emphasize the importance of the contemporary language, without neglecting the historical aspects. In particular, he stressed the crucial significance of a good pronunciation for prospective teachers. This was well worth emphasizing at a time when the study of modern languages, both at schools and at universities, focused on the reading and interpretation of written texts. Erdmann was here influenced by scholars such as Henry Sweet (1845-1912), Otto Jespersen (1860-1943), Wilhelm Viëtor (1850-1918) and the Swede Johan August Lundell (1851-1940).

Erdmann's seminars, which he often ran in co-operation with his native English and German lecturers, also implied something new, with topics, in addition to the study of literary texts, such as modern slang, newspaper language and English sports terms. Erdmann's inaugural lecture (1904) was significantly on 'Some characteristic features of Modern English'.

Erdmann had many pupils, the most famous of whom were Eilert Ekwall (1877-1964) and Erik Björkman (1872-1919). Ekwall was professor at Lund University between 1905 (1909) and 1942. Björkman was to become Erdmann's successor at Uppsala. Erdmann's scholarly publications, which cover various fields, include – apart from early and modern English – Scandinavian linguistics, Old German and Romance philology. His most substantial contribution to English philology is his edition, based on 21 MSS and two early printed versions, of John Lydgate's *The Siege of Thebes* (ca. 1420). Erdmann was for his day a widely travelled man, whose scholarly itineraries took him to philological (and manuscript) centres such as Leipzig, Paris, London and Oxford. Axel Erdmann's wide range of interests

encompassed his home province, Uppland, and Swedish dialects. He was also a great lover of music and natural scenery.

Axel Erdmann, who died in 1926, is characterized by his friend and pupil Eilert Ekwall, in a *Memoir* of 1930, as 'warm-hearted and enthusiastic in a quiet way, […] a humanist in the broadest sense of the word'.

Under the aegis of Axel Erdmann Anna Paues defended, on the 28th of May 1902, her doctor's thesis *A Fourteenth Century English Biblical Version.*[1] It was printed at Cambridge, at the University Press. A second, thoroughly revised edition, with a reduced title, appeared in 1904 (likewise printed at Cambridge). In her preface to this edition the author states that 'I hope later to complete the historical introduction and expand it into a separate volume.' This plan was never fulfilled.

Anna Paues was the first Swedish woman to obtain a Ph.D. in English (for a list of early Swedish women doctors of English see Rydén, 2002b).

However, Anna Paues was not the first Swedish woman to take a Ph. D. in a language. The woman to be credited here is Anna Ahlström (1863-1943), who in May 1899, at Uppsala University, defended her thesis *Étude sur la langue de Flaubert* (see Jonasson & Ransbo, 2000). It may be mentioned here that Sweden had its first woman doctor of German in 1912, in Scandinavian Languages in 1924 (three doctors!) in Latin in 1926 and in Greek in 1934 (see Rydén, 2002b and Mähl, 2003).

It was not until 1926 that Anna Paues was followed by other women doctors of English in Sweden, viz. Augusta Björling (1884-1969) at Lund and Asta Kihlbom (1892-1984) at Uppsala. Asta Kihlbom was to become a professor at Oslo and Bergen.

Anna Carolina Paues was born on the 26th of September 1867 in the parish of Acklinga, in the province of Västergötland. She was the oldest of the eight children of Johan Wilhelm Paues and Gustava Andersson. Johan Paues was a non-commissioned officer and, in those days, a farmer. He was also a highly respected local politician. One of Anna's brothers became chargé d'affaires and Swedish envoy in Rio de Janeiro. Her most beloved brother, Axel, took at the age of 26 a Ph. D. in Greek at Uppsala, but tragically died soon afterwards.

After passing her 'mogenhetsexamen' (with honours) in 1886 at Wallinska Skolan, Stockholm, Anna went abroad for language studies, spending for instance some time in Italy.

In 1894 Anna Paues came to Cambridge and Newnham College, where in 1897 she passed the examination for the Medieval and Modern Languages Tripos. Lectures attended by Anna at the time included those by W.W. Skeat on 'Elene' and on 'English poetry from Chaucer to Milton' (see Ekwall, 1950/51). Towards the end of the 1890s Anna Paues studied on a research scholarship at Heidelberg,[2] where she attended lectures and seminars given by, among others, Professors Wilhelm Braune (1850-1926) and Johannes Hoops (1865-1949) (see Ekwall 1950/51).

Thus well versed in English, German and Germanic philology Anna Paues matriculated at Uppsala University on the 24th of August 1900. After merely two semesters she took her Fil.Lic. degree in Germanic Languages (for Professor

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[1] The full title of the thesis is: *A Fourteenth Century English Biblical Version consisting of a Prologue and Parts of the New Testament. Edited from the Manuscripts together with Some Introductory Chapters on Middle English Biblical Versions (Prose-Translations).*
[2] The Marion Kennedy Studentship.

Erdmann) and Scandinavian Languages (for Professor Adolf Noreen). Because of her scholarly background she was exempted from the basic degree of Fil.Kand. (B.A.). Notes taken by Anna Paues at Professor Noreen's lectures on Old Swedish declensions and Swedish semantics, in the autumn term of 1900 and the spring term of 1901, are preserved (Ekwall, 1948/49 and 1950/51).

As stated above, Anna Paues defended her doctor's thesis (with distinction) after only two years' studies at Uppsala University in May 1902. In his official report on the thesis Professor Erdmann praises Dr. Paues's learning and deep insight into manuscript studies.

It must be supposed that Anna Paues's thesis had advanced fairly far by the time she arrived in Uppsala. Axel Erdmann appears to have had little to do with the composition of the book, which is rather loosely structured. Neither in the first nor in the second edition is he mentioned. In her preface to the second edition the author thanks 'Docent Eilert Ekwall of Upsala for reading proof-sheets of Chapter III of the introduction, and for many helpful suggestions in connection therewith'. Ekwall was one of Anna's fellow students during her residence at Uppsala in the years 1900-02. He published his dissertation *Shakspere's Vocabulary. Its Etymological Elements I.* in 1903.

It is noticeable that, as appears from the preface to her thesis, Anna Paues had even then a revised edition of the book in mind, 'in its completed form'. The thesis gives in certain respects an impression of haste. In a letter to Adolf Noreen (undated but most probably written in May 1902) she fears that she 'started printing too late.'

After her Ph. D. at Uppsala Anna Paues returned to Cambridge and Newnham College, where she became a Research Fellow and Lecturer in English. Between 1927 and 1936 she was University Lecturer in Swedish. She threw herself with zest into her pedagogical and scholarly assignments. She had a natural talent for teaching. In particular, her lectures on Chaucer turned out to be very popular (cf. Ekwall, 1948/49). She took a very active part in the teaching of Swedish to English students. 'There are some indications that Dr. Paues planned a book on Swedish pronunciation' and 'that she contemplated a Swedish Reader for English students' (Ekwall, *op. cit.*).

Even before her graduation Anna Paues had published a paper, 'Engelska namn i vår almanack' (= English names in our almanac), in *Språk och stil* 1901.

As a scholar, Anna Paues 'was primarily a student of manuscripts' (Ekwall 1948/49). She discovered, in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, a new manuscript of the 13th century poem *Poema Morale* (see *Anglia* 30, 1907). But she also edited the first five volumes of the *Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature* (1920-24), an exacting task, and she contributed to the *Cambridge History of English Literature* (1907-08) and to learned journals.

She was interested in the history of early Modern English pronunciation. She discovered a copy of Christopher Cooper's *English Teacher* of 1687 in the Cambridge University Library (see Ekwall, 1948/49 and Sundby, 1953). 'She submitted a hand-written transcript of the first 20 pages as a specimen for the Uppsala chair of English in 1920 and signalled the reappearance of the work in a note, appended to the transcript.' However, 'the intended publication never came off [...], but the transcript and the note form part of Anna Paues's literary remains now kept in the University Library at Lund' (Sundby, *op. cit.*).

However, her printed works are comparatively few. It is indeed 'to be deplored that she found time to complete so few of the works she had planned and made preparations for' (Ekwall, 1948/49). For an evaluation of Anna Paues's scholarly works, published and unpublished, see Ekwall 1948/49 and 1950/51 and his official report ('sakkunnigutlåtande') for the Uppsala chair of English Language in 1921. To Anna Paues's varied linguistic and cultural interests testifies the fact that she was one of the founders of the English Place-Name Society (1923).

Anna Paues applied for Swedish professorships three times (Gothenburg 1912 and Uppsala 1911 and 1920). She met with respect and appreciation from the experts. At the Uppsala competition of 1920 she was placed second, after R. E. Zachrisson (1880-1937), by two of the experts (Eilert Ekwall and E. A. Kock (1864-1943)), whereas the two other experts (W. A. Craigie (1867-1957) and Ferdinand Holthausen (1860-1956)) did not place the candidates in order of preferment. In his official report Ekwall states that Dr. Paues's works 'testify not only to erudition ('en sällsynt lärdom') but also to acumen and ingenuity'. Zachrisson was appointed to the chair.

Anna Paues was also very actively instrumental in entertaining the cultural relations between England and Sweden. For some years in the 1930s she was president of the Cambridge University Scandinavian Society.

Anna Paues's merits met with official Swedish recognition. She received in 1922 the medal *Illis quorum* and in 1934 she was the first woman of Swedish descent to be awarded the honorary title of Professor by the Swedish Government.

She was in correspondence with many of the Swedish intellectuals of the day, for instance, Selma Lagerlöf (1858-1940) and Ellen Key (1849-1926), some of whose books she was planning to translate into English. Ellen Key was in favour of the project, but no publisher was found.

Anna Paues is said to have been a talented painter and she enjoyed gardening.

At the outbreak of World War II Anna Paues left England and settled in Stockholm, in the suburb of Liljeholmen, where however, after so many years abroad, she felt 'as a stranger in her own country' (in a letter to Ellen Hagen 14.10.1942).

On her death on the 2nd of September 1945 Anna Paues was honoured by friends and pupils, for instance in Swedish newspapers. Although outwardly a somewhat austere lady, she had a very courteous and amiable personality. 'She was as great-hearted as she was stately', as one of her pupils put it. She had a great gift for friendship.

One of Anna Paues's friends and pupils was the well-known scholar Dorothy Whitelock. The following commemorative words by her may fittingly conclude this biographical sketch:[3]

> The death of Anna Carolina Paues in Sweden on 2nd September, 1945, came as a sad blow to her innumerable friends, including a long succession of former pupils. It is as one of these that I am privileged to write a few words on her career as a scholar and teacher.

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[3] My thanks are here due to Ms Anne Thomson, Newnham College Archives.

She came to Newnham in 1894, and she took the Mediaeval and Modern Languages Tripos in 1897; as Marion Kennedy Student she studied in Germany between 1898 and 1900, and the result of her research is embodied in *A Fourteenth-Century English Biblical Version*, first published in 1902, and re-issued in an expanded form in 1904, a work which obtained for her the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of Uppsala. She was College Research Fellow of Newnham College from 1902 till 1906 and Fellow and Lecturer in English from 1906 till 1927. During these years the bulk of her work was produced: she made two important discoveries of manuscripts, the Pepys manuscript of the *Ancren Riwle* (later published by Pahlson in 1911) and the Fitzwilliam Museum manuscript of the *Poema Morale*, which she edited in *Anglia* in 1907; another entry in this manuscript led her into an investigation which resulted in the scholarly and detailed article 'The Name of the Letter Z' in the *Modern Language Review*, 1911; meanwhile in 1908 she had produced at very short notice the admirably clear chapter 'Runes and Manuscripts' for the *Cambridge History of Literature*. From 1920 to 1924 she edited the first five volumes of the *Annual Bibliography of English Literature* for the Modern Humanities Research Association and she was one of the founders of the *English Place-Name Society* in 1923, on whose first council, Professor F. M. Stenton informs me, she was a most helpful member. She examined for the University of Leeds from 1916 to 1919, and in 1922 she received the Swedish honour of the Royal Gold Medal [*Illis quorum*].

She did not retire into inactivity in 1927, for she lectured in Swedish in Cambridge from 1927 to 1936 and examined for the Mediaeval and Modern Languages Tripos from 1927 to 1937. She was also working on an early Modern English orthoepist whom she had discovered, and used sometimes to discuss with me the problems presented by this work. Her last published work, to my knowledge, was a note in the *Modern Language Review*, 1931, consisting of an ingenious elucidation of a phrase in one of my *Anglo-Saxon Wills* that had defeated me. In 1934 she was the first Swedish woman to be awarded the honorary title of Professor.

It is not easy to state briefly what Miss Paues's pupils owed to her. We derived inspiration from a consciousness of her contacts with the general world of scholarship, and by the meticulous care with which she taught us she deepened our standards of accuracy and precision. My first coaching with her was a revelation to me: I had prepared several pages of text, and we barely got through the first paragraph in an hour, but in that hour I got an insight into the significance of detailed linguistic study; for, though by my time she was saddened by the shift of interest in Cambridge away from pure linguistics, and knew that we had other interests which she could not share, she took care to give us a secure linguistic basis for all our subsequent work, and my sense of debt to her training has steadily increased as the years have passed. My research was not done under her supervision and owes much to others, but when I was

beginning she gave me one piece of advice: 'Always go behind everybody's references.' After several years' experience, I do not think I can improve on it.

Miss Paues did not think her responsibilities to us ended in the classroom. There were other things than book-learning to be learnt in Cambridge, and she saw to it that her students had opportunities of social experience perhaps lacking in their lives at home. Her hospitality was famous, and if apprehension mingled with our pleasure on receiving her invitations – for we might have to help entertain a foreign scholar of imperfect English or an undergraduate as tongue-tied as we were – we had many happy parties and met interesting people at her table. Her easy good-humour laughed us out of affectations and she took care that we developed no conceit. I remember receiving a letter of congratulation on an award that contained the sentence: 'Fortunately this year the other candidates were few and indifferent.'
I could write much of Miss Paues's charm and sympathy as a friend, but others will do so. She had always a warm welcome for a returning pupil and was ready with sympathetic understanding and sound advice. Almost the last letter I received from her assured me that the flat she had taken outside Stockholm had a bed at the disposal of any old pupil who cared to visit her, and it is with a sense of deep personal loss that I realise how much poorer than I had visualised will be my next visit to Sweden.

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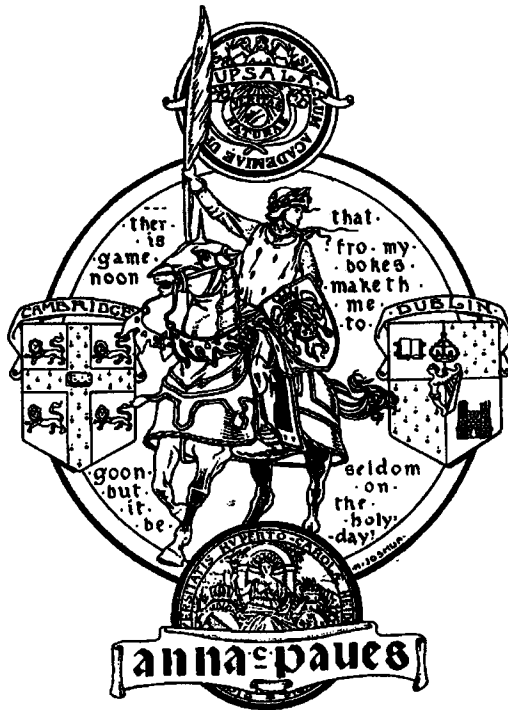
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Anna Paues's Ex libris found by Mats Rydén in a book that she used to own.

Friedrich Max Müller's
Lectures on the Science of Language Made Silly
Lewis Carroll's Alice *books as a reaction to*
Max Müller's popular lecture series?

Patricia Casey Sutcliffe
Hamilton, New York

L ewis Carroll's play with language in his *Alice* books is commonly referred to in linguistic literature. For example, in Fromkin and Rodman's widely used *Introduction to Language*, Carroll is cited fourteen times, often to illustrate an example of a linguistic feature (1998). Analyses of his use of language have also been undertaken, most notably and thoroughly in Sutherland's *Language and Lewis Carroll* (1970). However, despite all this attention to Carroll's use of language, it has never been adequately historicized: Why did Charles Lutwidge Dodgson (1832-1898), the Oxford mathematician behind the Carroll pseudonym, write his timeless literary nonsense, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, and *Through the Looking-Glass and What Alice Found There*, when he did in the 1860s and 1870s? Although these books have been examined from a variety of perspectives, Carroll's *Alice* books have not, to my knowledge, been interpreted within the context of nineteenth-century philology, more specifically, as a reaction to the ideas of continental comparative philologists who were so active in the new field during this period, except in my master's thesis, Sutcliffe 1993. This paper will expand on this thesis, in particular revealing the influence of Friedrich Max Müller (1823-1900), a German-trained philologist who lived and worked at Oxford from 1848 until his death in 1900. Max Müller was well acquainted with Dodgson and also famously popularized many of the ideas of continental philology in his *Lectures on the Science of Language* delivered and published in the same period in which Dodgson was writing his *Alice* books.

I. The Friendship of Dodgson and Max Müller

To his credit, in his *Language and Lewis Carroll*, Sutherland does sketch out the historical philological context of Carroll's books and points out the friendship between Max Müller and Dodgson (1970: 44-46). Yet he is content to conclude generally that Dodgson most probably 'would have learned something about [...] comparative philology' during his friendship with Max Müller, and takes the issue no further (1970: 44). Sutherland does categorize Max Müller as a continental philologist, claiming that '[...] Müller brought with him to England the knowledge and analytic methods of Contintental scholars.'[1] He also points out Max Müller's popularization of linguistic science in England (1970: 46). Yet, in conclusion to the historical chapter of

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[1] 'Max' is regarded as part of Müller's surname in the United Kingdom, especially, but this use is not consistent in literature about Max Müller. I have used Max Müller throughout this paper to distinguish him from the linguist Friedrich Müller (1834-1898) in particular, but I have left the name as given in quotations. Also, Dodgson refers to the family as the Müllers in his *Diaries*.

his book, Sutherland claims that Dodgson's knowledge of comparative philology was limited by his inability to read French and German, so that whatever he did learn was second hand through his association with Max Müller and other linguistic scholars at Oxford (1970: 66).

Sutherland's claim, however, is false. Not only was Carroll able to read some French and German,[2] but Max Müller, as a continental scholar, trained in Germany but living and working in England, provided Dodgson with first-hand knowledge of continental linguistics, as I will attempt to show below. To be sure, Max Müller had some idiosyncratic notions in his theory of language that were not shared by most continental philologists. One such idea was his belief that religion evolved from over-literal interpretation of nature metaphors (Max Müller, 1887: 101). Another more central but also unusual tenet of his linguistic philosophy was his assertion that language and thought were identical, for which he has been ridiculed.[3] Nevertheless, Max Müller was essentially a proponent of contemporary 'continental' ideas, even prefiguring the Neogrammarian view of language as a psychological/physical phenomenon (Sutcliffe, 2000: 124-127). That Sutherland discounted Max Müller's possible influence on Dodgson as second hand (and therefore second rate) is surely a consequence of Max Müller's treatment in most traditional linguistic history.

In traditional linguistic history, Max Müller is typically remembered for having been famous but not having produced much of lasting importance. In the reference work, *Lexicon Grammaticorum: Who's Who in the History of World Linguistics*, for example, Cawthra notes, 'Now largely forgotten, M[üller] was in his own day a household name in Britain.' After lauding the value of his work on ancient Indian texts, she remarks that his influence was on laymen rather than fellow scholars (1996: 659). Hans Arens, for his part, in his comprehensive history of the language sciences, *Sprachwissenschaft*, only brings up Max Müller in order to compare the value of his ouevre to that of Karl Verner (1846-1896). He concludes that Verner's tiny *oeuvre* has had more lasting value than Max Müller's giant one (Arens, 1969: 325, see also Sutcliffe 2000: 44 and Sutcliffe 2001: 22).[4] Importantly, Arens thus excludes Max Müller from the canon of (at least German) linguistic history, not even providing a summary of Max Müller's achievements with which the reader can evaluate the validity of his dismissive claim.[5]

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[2] Evidence to support this was provided to me by a personal communication from Edward Wakeling, the editor of the complete Carroll diaries. In his files, Wakeling has letters written by Dodgson in French. Dodgson also supervised the translation of *Alice* into French in 1869. He had some German as well and traveled through France and Germany in 1867.

[3] I will return to this point and exemplify this ridicule below.

[4] '[Verner's Oeuvre ist] jedoch stärker und nachhaltiger als mancher durch ein umfängliches wissenschaftliches Oeuvre (beispielsweise der weiland so populäre Max Müller)' (Arens, 1969: 325).

[5] This German dismissal of Max Müller is rather ironic when one considers that Goethe Institutes, whose purpose is to promote awareness of German language and culture around the world, are called Max Müller Bhavans in India, as he was a German figure well-known and admired among Indians. In an interesting twist on German historical treatment of Max Müller, Beyer (1981), in his dissertation on German influences on English linguistics, counts Max Müller's works among the most representative of English rather than German linguistics of the period (1981: 206 footnote 3, see also Sutcliffe, 2000: 281).

Although some linguistic historians give a more balanced treatment of Max Müller's work (e.g. Jankowsky, 1979 and Söhnen-Thieme, 1994), it seems that some Carroll scholars have got their information from the more dismissive sources, and it is perhaps for this reason that not more attention has been paid to the important relationship between Dodgson and Max Müller. For example, in the most widely distributed and abridged version of Dodgson's *Diaries*, when Max Müller's name appears, the editor, Roger Lancelyn Green, describes Max Müller as 'a great influence in his day, but only his work in Sanskrit scholarship was of permanent value' (1971: 192), essentially paraphrasing Cawthra's assessment as given above. If we reevaluate Max Müller's value in linguistic history, then we must also reevaluate his influence on Dodgson to show that it was perhaps greater than Sutherland suggested.

Although Sutherland sketched out some of the details of Max Müller and Dodgson's friendship already in 1970, abundant new evidence has become available in the last decade with the publication of an unabridged version of Dodgson's *Diaries*, or much more widely available with the publication of his *Oxford Pamphlets*.[6] Max Müller or members of his family are mentioned twenty-two times in Dodgson's unabridged *Diaries* between 1863 and 1891. These entries have to do primarily with three things: dining, photography and, in 1876, with a political pamphlet Dodgson wrote involving Max Müller. The first surviving entry mentioning Max Müller is dated February 16, 1863, in which Dodgson mentions dining with Müller at the Deanery (Wakeling, 1993-2003, iv: 161). Six entries between 30 May 1867 and 8 May 1872 record photography sessions with various members of the Max Müller family, including his daughters Ada, Beatrice and Mary.[7] Then, in 1876, six entries over a two week period from 3 February to 15 February chronicle Dodgson's account of a pamphlet he wrote against a decree that was to benefit Max Müller: the decree, which passed, allowed Max Müller to retire and still receive half his salary, while a deputy would be hired to fulfill all the teaching duties at half the salary. Dodgson argued in three different versions of the pamphlet, which he published and distributed vigorously before the vote on the Decree in Convocation on February 15th, 1876, that the issues of Max Müller's pension and the salary of his successor should be considered independently. Significantly, Dodgson described his relationship with Max Müller in these pamphlets as 'an unbroken friendship of years' to emphasize that his opposition was based on principle and not motivated by personal hostility (Wakeling, 1993: 123).

While Max Müller and Dodgson's friendship may have been subtly influenced by this political disagreement, it was not ended. Dodgson mentions Max Müller six more times in his *Diaries* after 1876: he dined at the Harcourts and met the Müllers on 5 Nov 1878, called on the Müllers' twice in 1879 on 24 May and 4 November but found them out; he again met the Müllers while dining, this time at the Inces'

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[6] Only seven of the nine volumes of the unabridged version of the Diaries have as yet been published. I am grateful to Edward Wakeling for supplying a list of references to Max Müller to me personally, including those in the as yet unpublished volumes.

[7] Max Müller had four children, Adelaide Ashley (Ada), Mary Emily, Beatrice and Wilhelm (G. Müller, 1901, ii: 15 &16). Ada was the eldest, and might possibly have been the reason Dodgson chose the name Ada in Ch.2, *Alice's Adventures*: "'I'm sure I'm not Ada,' [Alice] said, 'for her hair goes in such long ringlets, and mine doesn't go in ringlets at all; and I'm sure I ca'n't be Mabel...'" (Carroll, 1996: 27).

residence on 3 February 1880; on 19 May 1883 Dodgson noted that Mary Müller was to marry, and finally, on 9 November 1891, Dodgson recorded a train trip with Müller and his daughter Beatrice. Dodgson's attempts in 1879 to call on the family, his interest in Mary Müller's marriage, and the train trip in particular indicate that the friendship between the Max Müller family and Dodgson indeed remained 'unbroken,' even if the two men did not visit terribly often. Significantly, these final six entries between 1878 and 1891 are not present in the abridged version of Dodgson's *Diaries* edited by Roger Lancelyn Green. This omission may have led Cohen to suggest a rift between the two men in his biography of Dodgson. Cohen (1995) suggests that Max Müller was covertly criticizing Dodgson in his essay, 'Dean Liddell as I Knew Him,' when he wrote unconditional praise of Henry Liddell (1811-1898) and scorned his detractors as in the following quotation: 'Even in the University there were those who could not bear [Liddell's] towering high above them as he did...in character and position. Nasty things were said and written, but everybody knew from what forge those arrows came.' (Cohen, 1995: 390, Max Müller, 1901a: 329). There is, however, no evidence to support this speculation, and the final six diary entries between 1878 and 1891 make it seem quite unlikely. In sum, Dodgson's *Diaries* prove that Max Müller and Dodgson were friends between at least 1863 and 1891.

Yet there is reason to believe that the relationship between Max Müller and Dodgson predated Dodgson's first reference to Max Müller. The first reference in 1863 is not anything special; Dodgson does not record meeting Max Müller for the first time. Moreover, four volumes of Dodgson's thirteen-volume *Diaries* and ten pages of the surviving nine volumes are missing (Wakeling, 2001: 53, 57).[8] The first missing volume, Vol. 1, began somewhere between 1850 and 1853, most probably around the time that Dodgson came to Christ Church in January 1851 (Wakeling, 2001:52) and continued through the end of 1854. The second missing volume, Vol. 3, covered the period October 1855 to December 1855. Volumes 6 and 7 covering approximately April 1858 to May 1862 are also lost. Max Müller first came to Oxford in 1848 to work on translating the RigVeda and began work there as a professor of modern languages in 1851. He was appointed an honorary MA of Christ Church in 1851 and was a frequent visitor in the Common Room (G. Müller, 1902: 128). Dodgson, for his part, matriculated at Christ Church in 1850 where he received his BA in 1854, an honorary MA in 1855 and his MA in 1857 (Wakeling, iii: 3; 20, iv: 247 n.402). He was also a frequent visitor to the Common Room, and was its curator for nine years later in life, from November 30th, 1882 to late summer, 1892 (Cohen, 1995: 303). In the relatively small world of Christ Church, Dodgson and Max Müller's first encounter must have occurred long before 1863, and during the period of one of the missing diaries, most probably the very first one which covered Dodgson's early years at Christ Church.

In essence, the diaries were lost both for the period when Dodgson and Max Müller's friendship was being established, and, with volumes 6 and 7, for the period when Max Müller's influence would have been most important for the development of the *Alice* books. Max Müller's first series of lectures was delivered in 1861. The 'golden afternoon' that saw the birth of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* was July 4,

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[8]   This information is also available on the website of the Lewis Carroll Society:
http://lewiscarrollsociety.org.uk/pages/lewiscarroll/carrolldiary.html

1862 (Wakeling, 1993-2003 iv: 94-95). From this date to February 10, 1863, Dodgson worked on the project (1993-2003 iv: 95) and presented the manuscript to Alice Liddell (1852-1934) as a Christmas present on November 26, 1864 (1993-2003 iv: 96). Max Müller's first series of lectures was published in 1862, and would have thus been available during the period that Dodgson was working so tirelessly on *Alice's Adventures*. Finally, Dodgson had begun work on *Looking-Glass* as early as 1866, at roughly the time he first mentioned photographing the Max Müllers and within a year of the publication of Max Müller's second series of lectures (1865), even though *Looking-Glass* was not published until December 1871 and dated 1872. Significantly, all of these things happened in the period for which Dodgson and Max Müller's friendship is attested. Yet the loss of Dodgson's diaries in the years immediately preceding the creation of Alice's Adventures during the time that Max Müller was presenting his first series of lectures means that we can only speculate about the degree of direct influence Max Müller may have had on Dodgson. Thus, we must seek Max Müller's influence indirectly through parallels in their ideas.

II. Parallels in Dodgson's and Max Müller's Linguistic Theories

In Sutcliffe 1993, I claim that Dodgson's *Alice* books constituted a world of their own within which Dodgson had the freedom to play with philosophical ideas about the nature of language he was developing (1993: 2). The creatures of the fairy-tales adhere to a specific set of linguistic rules that is foreign to Alice. The humor in the stories comes in large part from her linguistic culture clashing head-on with that of the creatures. Thus, from the stories, we can deduce Dodgson's philosophy of language and compare it to Max Müller's philosophy of language as explicated in his lecture series. The significant parallels between their philosophies are striking, suggesting that Dodgson may have got some of his notions about language through his acquaintance with Max Müller.[9] Three major parallels will be considered here, all of which are linked to linguistic relativity, the idea that language acts in constructing our perception of the world.

The first parallel is the rejection of the eighteenth-century view of language as a logical system of representation corresponding directly to universal logic. Dodgson and Max Müller both recognized that language does not correspond to a set external and knowable reality, but rather shapes that reality by its form.

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[9] A number of Dodgson's ideas about language were fairly common in nineteenth-century continental philology, and thus, could be said to have been 'in the air'. I think it likely that Dodgson may have been exposed to these ideas from a variety of sources, including possibly his acquaintance with the Dean of Christ Church, Henry Liddell, a Greek lexicographer and the father of Alice Liddell, the child who inspired the books. Another likely source is Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834), whose *Aids to Reflection* Dodgson read at least three times during the 1850s (Cohen, 1995: 117, 357). Interestingly, Coleridge, too, was influenced by German comparative grammar, having spent 1798-1799 at the University of Göttingen (McKusick, 1986: 2). This would be an interesting topic for someone familiar with Coleridge's works and philosophy to pursue. The point I want to stress here, however, is that Max Müller was one such important source of continental philology for Dodgson, doubtlessly also a reinforcer of many latent ideas about language Dodgson may already have had.

Dodgson reveals his linguistic relativism by making Wonderland a world in which language does function as a rigorous logical system within which each sign corresponds to one and only one thing, and the signifier is equivalent to the signified. The results are nonsense, showing the fallacy of believing language to be anything like a logical system. The situation of The Mad Tea Party provides a clear example of this. The Mad Hatter has had a disagreement with 'Time,' a singular entity who controls the clocks. Dismayed with the Hatter, 'Time' has set the clocks perpetually at tea time. The creatures of Wonderland are bound by this representation to have tea *ad infinitum*. The representation determines their reality absolutely; the representation *is* their reality (Sutcliffe, 1993: 14). In the same way, numerous creatures of Wonderland are brought into existence by their names alone, and are determined by them. The Dormouse is always sleeping because his name is derived from the French word for sleep (Carroll, 1996: 66); the Bread-and-Butterfly of the Looking-Glass is actually made of buttered slices of toast, the Rocking-Horse-Fly is a Rocking Horse that flies (Carroll, 1996: 151-2). Moreover, Looking-Glass creatures derived from nursery rhymes such as Tweedledum and Tweedledee, Humpty Dumpty, and the Lion and the Unicorn, are bound by the verses they come from to act out what is narrated therein (Carroll, 1996: 156, 179, 190). Finally, the Red Queen of the Looking-Glass essentially dictates this unique, all-powerful characteristic of Carroll's language when Alice tries to correct herself after misspeaking. The Red Queen tells her, 'It's too late to correct it [...] when you've once said a thing, that fixes it, and you must take the consequences' (Carroll, 1996: 219).

Whereas these creatures are absolutely determined by their names, Dodgson gives a glimpse of an alternative world beyond language and names in a Looking-Glass scene, the Wood with No Names. In this scene, Alice enters the Wood and instantly loses her name. Bewildered but at peace, she encounters a Fawn, who leads her out of the Wood again. While in the Wood, Alice has her arms 'clasped lovingly round the soft neck of the Fawn,' (1996: 155), but once out of the Wood, the Fawn recognizes her as a human child, fears her, and bounds away. Alice, too, regains her identity. This scene suggests that outside of language, no divisions or classifications are possible, so the world is experienced as an intimate whole.[10] Within language, on the other hand, these divisions are inescapable and determine our perceptions and behavior. Thus, the Wood with No Names is a metaphor for the mystical experience of oneness with the universe that can only be obtained in the absence of identity and ego, which are contained in one's name and in the 'I' pronoun of language. In other words, this oneness is only possible outside of language (Sutcliffe, 1993: 30-31).

Turning now to Max Müller, it is apparent that he, too, rejects the idea of language as a logical system and believes in linguistic relativism from his above-mentioned, infamous claim that language and thought are identical. He expressed this most succinctly in the phrase, 'No speech without reason, no reason without speech,' which he placed on the flyleaf of his lecture series (Sutcliffe, 2001: 25-26). Max Müller was strongly criticized for this claim by William Dwight Whitney (1827-1894), as well as in subsequent linguistic histories, although his critics have largely misunderstood his true meaning. Whitney, for one, believed that Max Müller meant

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[10] This scene presents a simplified version of this issue, of course, since Alice and the Fawn are without names only (common and proper nouns) and not completely without language.

that language and thought were one and the same thing, such that no idea could be conceived of if no word for it existed (Whitney, 1873 [1987]: 248; Sutcliffe, 2001: 26). Could it be that Dodgson was also making fun of this idea when he made words and reality one and the same thing in Wonderland? However, Max Müller's true meaning of the identity of thought and language was that thinking and speaking are mutually dependent processes, inseparable from one another, as he later explained in *Science of Thought* (1887: 28).[11] Max Müller's identity of thought and language, therefore, is an expression of linguistic relativity, the idea that thoughts are dependent upon the shape language gives them, just as language is shaped by thoughts. In other words, we cannot know the world outside of language. It constructs our perceptions and experience. Max Müller also clarified much later in *The Science of Thought* that his identification of thought and language was grounded in a Kantian conception of human understanding wherein the world cannot be directly known but must be shaped to some extent by *a priori* categories of the perceiving subject (1887: 127-151).

A second parallel between Max Müller's and Dodgson's linguistic theories is closely connected with Max Müller's identification of thought and language: the idea that language has a dual nature, that is, language both influences thought and is influenced by the speaking subject. However, the power of the individual to shape language is limited by the larger community of speakers. Max Müller points out this dual nature of language in describing how languages change: '[Language change] combines in one the two opposite elements of necessity and free will. Though the individual seems to be the prime agent in producing new words and new grammatical forms, he is so only after his individuality has been merged in the common action of the family, tribe or nation' (1862: 49-50; for a more complete discussion of the dual nature of language in Max Müller's theory, see Sutcliffe, 2001).

Dodgson, for his part, reflects on the dual nature of language in the *Alice* books by juxtaposing Alice with the creatures of Wonderland. She has some power over her language, but they do not, as the illustration of the Mad Tea Party above has shown. Throughout both *Alice* books, Alice repeatedly overcomes her puzzlement by reassessing her situation, and coming up with new classifications to understand her new experiences. For example, in the *Looking-Glass*, when she sees the elephant bees at a distance, she is at first puzzled because in her experience, and, indeed, in her language, there is no such thing. She tries to comprehend them by relating them to what she knows. They make honey like bees, but they are far too large to be bees. She finally decides that they are 'elephant bees,' elephants that act like bees. She creates a new classification to deal with a new experience, and thus, has some creative power over her language. Yet the fact that she must relate her new experiences first to the categories already given in her language and experience shows the power of language over her as well.

Humpty Dumpty, at first glance, seems to provide a contrast to the linguistically determined creatures of Wonderland. In an oft-quoted sequence, he declares that he can make words work for him by defining them however he chooses, which would seem to give him power over language. But ultimately, words are the master of him

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[11] Wilhelm von Humboldt, too, claimed that language and the intellectual activity accompanying it are one and indivisible from one another (Humboldt, 1835 [1963]: 426, see also Sutcliffe, 2001: 26). Max Müller may well have modeled his use of this idea on Humboldt.

because his fate is sealed by the eponymous nursery rhyme. He has no free will, but must fall off the wall as is written in the poem (Carroll, 1996: 190). Perhaps Dodgson is cagily suggesting the *hubris* of believing ourselves to be entirely the master of words and failing to recognize the power they exert over us. Again, the contrast between Alice's questioning use of language and the creatures' linguistic determinism serves to emphasize its dual nature.

The case of Humpty Dumpty can also be used to illustrate the third and final parallel between Max Müller and Dodgson: their belief in the conventionality of language. This view is diametrically opposed to the eighteenth-century view of language as a logical system, acknowledging that language has the form that it has not because it corresponds to any external universal logic, but because the community of speakers has settled upon it through tradition and use. Of course, the conventionalist view of language also correlates closely with the dual nature of language, as it is the community of speakers, or convention, that constrains the freedom of the individual.

Alice's reaction to Humpty Dumpty in the afore-mentioned scene reveals Dodgson's adherence to a conventionalist view. As we saw, Humpty Dumpty claims to make words mean whatever he likes, as when he defines 'glory' as 'a nice, knock-down argument.' But Alice rejects this definition and wonders aloud whether one can make words mean so many different things (Carroll, 1996: 184). Her question itself shows that one can not, because to use a word in ways that are not conventional means that the larger community simply will not understand what one says. Interestingly, Dodgson wrote in *Symbolic Logic* (1896) that a writer may arbitrarily define his terms however he chooses, but added that he must make these definitions known in the beginning. Humpty Dumpty, too, acknowledges that Alice will not understand him unless he explains his terms. He just chooses to reverse the chronology and explain himself afterwards (Hancher, 1981: 52). When Alice says she does not understand what he means by glory, he smiles contemptuously and says, 'of course you don't – till I tell you.'

Max Müller's conventionalist view of language can be seen already in the quotation given above, in which the individual's use of language must 'be merged into the common action of the family, tribe' or nation,' in order to make its way into the language. Elsewhere, we can find these ideas expressed again, albeit in even more political language. In his second series of lectures, Max Müller describes language as a 'commonwealth of ideas' and a 'republic of words' into which new combinations must be admitted to survive (1865: 325). Thus, speakers vote with their usage for or against novel meanings and forms, and if they vote against them as a group, as Alice did when she rejected Humpty Dumpty's definition of 'glory,' then language remains unchanged.

III. Conclusion

In conclusion, the three parallels in the basic understanding of language that Dodgson and Max Müller had, the rejection of language as a logical system and its corollary, that language shapes our perception of the world, an understanding of the dual nature of language, and the view of language as a convention, suggest that Dodgson may well

have derived some of his ideas about language from Max Müller. One might argue that these ideas were shared by other philologists of the era; in fact, in my thesis of 1993, I show these ideas in the linguistic philosophies of Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) and Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835), especially (Sutcliffe, 1993: 54-57). However, these ideas about language were not yet commonly accepted outside of philology as they are now. Moreover, the attested friendship between Max Müller and Dodgson and Max Müller's great fame at Oxford, all make it very likely that Max Müller would have been a principal source, though not necessarily the only one, for these ideas.

Did Dodgson hear or read Max Müller's *Lectures*? Did Dodgson and Max Müller talk over these philological issues in a spirit of good fun while dining at the Deanery? Were the *Alice* books at least partly inspired by Dodgson's attempts to have some fun by taking Max Müller's language philosophy to its extreme logical conclusions? The loss of many of Dodgson's diaries means we will never know. Yet, by pointing out Max Müller's possible influence on Dodgson, I hope I have reestablished Max Müller as a valuable proponent of nineteenth-century continental philology deserving more attention in linguistic history than he has traditionally received. At the same time, I hope to have shown that we can gain new insight into Dodgson's *Alice* nonsense by placing it within this historical, philological context.

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Popular Views in the History of Linguistics:
the case of language superiority

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Serious-minded linguists (at least since about the time of the Junggrammatiker) have generally shied away from language issues that might be called variously "popular" or "folk mythology". Given the very ill-defined, subjective value-laden and emotive arguments around questions of "right" and "wrong" or "superior" and "inferior", it is hardly surprising that the "debates" should create more heat than light and that serious scholars should avoid them. On the other hand, some more heroic souls have attempted to engage in wider public education to eradicate at least some of the myths. Such a course has been easiest in accounts of the history of languages. Popular accounts of synchronic linguistics are bedevilled by, *inter alia*, the inevitable simplifications and implicit theoretical preferences of the writer. However, one should bear in mind also that "serious" linguistics can shade into more popular issues. The inevitable selection of norms for the teaching and learning of languages and the description of those norms, for example, can be couched in terms of what is of most use to the learner, but the justification of the selection of norms is still related to value judgements and, in the public mind at least, to ideas of better or superior. Similarly, what is known as the "external" history of languages is frequently concerned with the account of the codification of a given variety as the prestige or standard form of a language. In the case of well-known languages such as English or French, the standard variety (or varieties) has (have) become languages of wider communication and the reasons for the spread of such languages are rightly discussed. Now, accounts of that sort may shade into, or give rise to, social, political or ethical debates involving considerations well beyond what is purely linguistic. The apparently endless discussion of the nature and status of English as a global language or of "francophonie" are other examples of the shading of linguistic issues into non-linguistic ones.

Among the reasons frequently discussed for the emergence of a variety as standard form of a language as a vehicle of wider communication is the intrinsic nature or merit of the variety or language in question. This issue of the alleged inherent linguistic superiority of some varieties or languages has a long history, as do other "popular themes". There is a place, then, for a history of popular views in linguistic debate, and the theme of "superiority" is part of it.

The case is so much stronger because of the undeniable fact that very serious and scholarly linguists of earlier generations published quite extensively on popular themes, including questions of "progress or decay in language" (Jespersen, 1860-1943), "profit and loss" (Bradley, 1845-1923) or "gain and loss" (Trench, 1807-1886). Charles Hockett (1914-2000), in his introduction to Whitney's (1827-1894) *Life and Growth of Language,* points out:

> ... nineteenth-century scholarship firmly held that some dialects, languages, cultures and species are inherently better or "higher" than others. That yielded a

typology in the form of a linear, evolutionary scale, so that if two languages differed in any essential way it could only be that that one was less fully evolved than the other. Whitney often seems torn between that attitude and the disinterested egalitarianism of natural science, and the modern reader is pleased at the frequency with which the latter gets the upper hand. (Hockett in Whitney, 1979: xvi)

Hockett may have had in mind Whitney's reasonable warnings against insular value judgements (1979: 222-3), but we must bear in mind that Whitney was writing a section on the "comparative merits" of languages and wrote:

In another sense also a language is what its speakers make it: its structure, of whatever character, represents their collective capacity in that particular direction of effort... Whether, however, the language-making capacity can be correlated with any other, so that we may say, a highly organized speech could not be expected from a historical community whose work in this or that other respect shows a deficiency of excellence, is extremely doubtful; thus far, at any rate, nothing of value has been done in that direction. The Chinese is, as we shall see in the next chapter, a most striking example of how a community of a very high grade of general ability may exhibit an extreme inaptitude for fertile linguistic development. (1979: 224)

The point here, of course, is not to criticise Whitney's views but rather to show that questions of "comparative merit" and relative "aptitude" and "excellence" were part of the accepted universe of discourse of the day. That discourse was clearly influenced by a (misplaced) Darwinism. As Hockett points out, Whitney "was excited by the Darwinian hypothesis" (1979: xvii). Whitney was not alone and it was not just nineteenth century linguists who had discussed the relative merits of languages. No doubt, the Darwinian views of the origin of species, fitness for survival and evolutionary adaptation fitted very well with the historical orientation of many disciplines, including linguistic ones, and they were particularly in tune with views on the emergence of dominant varieties and languages. As Lyons says:

With the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859) and the substitution of the principle of natural selection for the notion of purpose or design... the whole idea of "evolution" was thought to have been put on a sounder, "scientific" footing. There are many particular features of nineteenth century linguistic thought which can be attributed to evolutionary biology... (1968: 33).

Darwinian views[1] came to influence linguistic arguments on the grander scale of the spread of languages and on the smaller scale of the survival of individual words. Jespersen, for example, tells us that, "sound symbolism makes some words more fit to survive and gives them considerable help in their struggle for existence" (*Language*, 1922: 408). Some of the linguists influenced were rather surprising. Trench in *English*

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[1] Darwin's influence on perceptions on language and linguistic change are a popular theme clearly needing more detailed attention than can be given here.

Past and Present (1868) writes: "it is the essential character of a living language to be in flux and flow, to be gaining and losing" (1868: 169). Such a state is part of "that great struggle for survival, which is going on here, as in every other domain of life" (1868: 173).

But the discussion of linguistic superiority had started much earlier. It can be seen, for example, in the attitude of Latin grammarians and thinkers to Greek, in attitudes to Latin, French and English in medieval England and in attitudes to Greek and Latin in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In a famous section of the chronicle of Robert of Gloucester (1260-1300), the high status and prestige of French in thirteenth century England is revealed, "vor bote a man conne Frenss me telth of him lute" (in Barber, 1993: 136).We find it in Rivarol's (1753-1801) famous eulogistic essay on *l'universalité de la langue française* and in Voltaire's (1694-1778) famous remarks on French:

> la langue française est, de toutes les langues, celle qui exprime avec le plus de facilité, de netteté, et de délicatésse tous les objets de la conversation des honnêtes gens; et par là elle contribue dans toute l'Europe à un des plus grands agréments de la vie (Seguin, 1972: 14).

People across Europe were inclined to agree, as can be seen in the well-known attitudes of, for example, Frederick the Great of Prussia (1688-1740). Voltaire's rather vague and value-laden criteria are not untypical of the ways languages were compared. Sir William Jones's (1746-1794) famous remarks on Sanskrit show the same ill-defined evaluations (whatever other merits they may have had):

> The Sanskrit language is ... of a wonderful structure: more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either...

The criteria used by Voltaire and Jones for evaluating languages are not dissimilar to those set up by Jenisch (1762-1804) in his prize-winning essay, *Philosophisch-kritische Vergleichung und Würdigung von vierzehn ältern und neuern Sprachen Europens*, presented to the Berlin Academy (1796) for "the best essay on the ideal of a perfect language and a comparison of the best known languages of Europe as tested by the standard of such an ideal" (Jespersen, *Language*, 1922: 30). Jespersen decribes Jenisch's criteria as 1. richness, 2. energy or emphasis, 3. clearness, and 4. euphony. It is obvious that such measures are, at best, impressionistic, and may be influenced by prejudices or prior experience. Thus, Jones clearly considered the morphological complexity of Sanskrit to be a "perfection". These criteria for the comparison of languages have been discussed by Hüllen (2002: section 5). Conversely, it was natural for people to feel a certain linguistic inferiority where languages were either less widely spoken or had not been "ascertained and fixed" as Swift (1667-1745) puts it for English in his *Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Tongue* (1957). He says:

> But the English tongue is not arrived to such a degree of perfection, as to make us apprehend of any thoughts of decay; and if it were once refined to a certain

standard, perhaps there might be found ways to fix it for ever. (quoted by McArthur, 1998: 119).

A similar theme to that dealt with by Jenisch was taken up by T. Watts (1811-1869), Keeper of Printed Books at the British Museum (entry in DNB), speaking to the Philological Society in 1850. Watts addressed the probable future position of English and began by asserting that:

> Since the revival of letters there has been a general tendency to the establishment of what may be called a universal language, that is, a language universally understood by those who make any at all an object of liberal study. (1850: 207)

Watts considered that the universal language of the day was French, and that previously Latin had occupied an even more prestigious status. He touched on the rise of German as an international language and considered the prospects of other languages such as Spanish or Hungarian. Ignoring the cultural loss involved in the demise or decline of other languages, he asserted that:

> It will be a splendid and a novel experiment in society, if a single language becomes so predominant over all others as to reduce them in comparison to the proportion of provincial dialects. To have this experiment fairly tried is a great object. (1850: 214)

Watts suggested that German might emerge as the universal language "were it not for the existence of another language [English] whose claims are still more commanding" (1850: 211). That German should be prevented from becoming the world's universal language "must be the wish, not only of every Englishman and Anglo-American, but of every sincere friend of the advancement of literature and civilisation" (1850: 214). Apart from the blatant nationalism here, Watts argued that English would have a global role because it was expanding. His comments on the reasons for its spread are similar to some of those usually given today – even if the tone is somewhat different:

> At present the prospects of the English language are the most splendid that the world has ever seen. It is spreading in each of the quarters of the globe by fashion, by emigration, and by conquest. The increase of population alone in the two great states of Europe and America in which it is spoken, adds to the number of its speakers in every year that passes... (1850: 212).

Watts went on to assert that one of the great reasons for the suitability and superiority of English as a universal medium of communication is its intermediate or hybrid nature. This has sometimes been claimed subsequently (see elsewhere in this article):

> The English is essentially a medium language; – in the Teutonic family it stands midway between the Germanic and Scandinavian branches – it unites, as no other language unites, the Romanic and Teutonic stocks. (1850: 212)

Trench took up Watts' theme. He wrote (1868: 35):

> It would be difficult not to believe, even if many outward signs did not suggest the same, that there is an important part in the future for that one language of Europe to play, which thus serves as a connecting link between the North and the South, between the languages spoken by the Teutonic nations of the North and by the Romance nations of the South; which holds on to, and partakes of, both; which is as a middle term between them. (1868: 35)

Jespersen, keen admirer of English that he was and careful observer of the advantages and disadvantages of linguistic forms, later tried to throw some cold water on the idea of the inherent superiority of English when he wrote:

> It would be unreasonable to suppose, as is sometimes done, that the cause of the enormous propagation of the English Language is to be sought in its intrinsic merits... nor is it always the nation whose culture is superior that makes the nation of inferior culture adopt its language... a great many social problems are involved in the general question of the rivalry of languages and it would be an interesting, if difficult, task to examine in detail all the different reasons that have in so many regions of the world determined the victory of English over other languages... Political ascendancy would probably be found in most cases to have been the most powerful influence. (1943: 232-3)

But the idea that English has inherently advantageous qualities was always a potent force. It was taken up by, for example, Bradley, who wrote in his *Making of English*:

> Modern English, viewed with reference to its grammar, has certain merits in which it is scarcely rivalled by any other tongue (1904: 76).

Those included its freedom of grammatical category and concomitant analytic syntax. Another "merit" of English has been taken to be its capacity of borrowing and lexical hybridisation. This is merely a modern version of the views expressed by Watts and Trench. This alleged advantage of English was discussed by Baugh (1891-1981) and Cable (1993: 9-13). The high proportion of Latin-based vocabulary combined with its Germanic vocabulary along with its receptivity to loans is proposed by them to be one of the reasons for the suitability of English as a global language. Such views are not really far removed from those of Watts and Trench. Fennell, in discussing such views of the inherent suitability of English as a global language echoes Jespersen's critical comments on the idea. Fennell says:

... there is nothing inherent in the language that equips it uniquely for the role of global language. The fact is that English could not have spread without the social, economic, technological and political developments of the English-speaking world of the past two centuries. (2001: 261).

It has often been forgotten that the classical languages had achieved prominence with fixity of grammatical category and synthetic syntax, and that the dialects of Indo-European had had similar characteristics while they spread across significant portions of the Eurasian landmass. We have here an example of the tendency to see "superiority" in the successful and to make value judgements in relation to the characteristics of that successful language or variety. Similarly, earlier linguists tended to make value judgements in relation to the characteristics of the classical languages. Giving a higher valuation to success is part of the darwinian picture, rather like the positive feedback cycle in biology which involves the favouring of successful gene mutations, which thus become more successful, and hence more favoured, *etc.*

A particular variant of the alleged superiority of English is its suitability and supposed destiny to be the vehicle of Christian reconciliation and evangelising.

Trench speculated on those lines:

There are those who venture to hope that the English Church, having in like manner [an intermediate position between North and South like the English language, noted above] two aspects, looking on the one side towards Rome, being herself truly catholic, looking on the other toward the protestant communions, being herself also protesting and reformed, may have reserved for her in the providence of God an important share in that reconciling of a divided Christendom, whereof we are bound not to despair. And, if this ever should be so, if, notwithstanding our sins and unworthiness, so blessed an office should be in store for her, it will be no small assistance to this, that the language in which her mediation will be effected is one wherein both parties may claim their own, in which neither will feel that it.is the adjudication of a stranger, of one who must be alien from its deeper thoughts and habits, because an alien from its words, but a language in which both must recognize very much of that which is deepest and most precious in their own. (1868: 39-40)[2]

Trench clearly identified the hybrid nature of English as an advantage (as others have done, above) and associated that hybrid character with suitability as a vehicle for religious reconciliation. Trench claimed, with more than a touch of complacent pride, the support of Grimm (1785-1863) for the destiny of English as a global language (1868: 41-2):

In truth, the English language, which by no mere accident has produced and upborne the greatest and most predominant poet of modern times... may with all right be called a world language; and, like the English people, appears

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[2] As noted by various observers, Trench sometimes confuses philology with the pulpit, see Rastall, 2001: 27

destined hereafter to prevail with a sway more extensive even than its present over all the portions of the globe. (Trench's translation from Grimm's *Über den Ursprung der Sprache*, Berlin, 1832, p. 50)

Trench did not go so far as to claim English as the medium for evangelisation, but the Religious Tract Society by an anonymous author in 1848 certainly did so:

This language of ours [English] stands pre-eminent even among the languages of the West. It abounds with works of imagination, not inferior to the noblest which Greece has bequeathed to us [...]

It was proposed, in the seventeenth century, to invent a philosophical language for universal adoption, with a view to facilitate communication amongst learned men of all nations. This project engaged some attention, but it was soon felt to be impracticable. The present age has witnessed the efforts of a few ardent spirits to break down the barriers to national intercommunication by the formation of a universal written language. This ingenious attempt is likely to prove a failure. Christian and philanthropic men look, however, with hope to the wider diffusion of the English language as the ordained means, in the hand of God, of extending the blessings of civilisation and of Christianity with unparalleled rapidity among the nations of the Earth.

Never, perhaps, were the prospects of a rapid expansion of our language so hopeful as at the present eventful period of time. The competitors for the extension of any one language are now greatly diminished. (1848: 189-90)[3]

The anonymous author went on to point out the demise of Latin and Greek as languages of wider communication and the apparent decline of French, German, Spanish and other languages. We are told:

In politics, philosophy and religion, England has now the pre-eminence. The overthrow of the French empire checked the progress of its language and the consolidation of anglo-saxon power on the American continent is extending ours. (1848: 190).

We are told of British ascendancy in trade of the freedom of the English press, and of the expansion of the "anglo-saxon race" in many parts of the globe and we are informed:

Even in India, it [English] is spoken by the higher classes of natives at the seats of government, and is likely to become the language of commerce throughout the seas of the east. (1848: 191)

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[3] A more extensive section from this publication is discussed in my letter to *English Today*, no. 66, 17/2, 2001, pp. 63-4.

These views clearly stem from a sense of linguistic superiority and lead the writer to an extreme position in the question of the language of evangelisation. The idea that a single language is appropriate as the medium of religion may be in tune with the idea of English as a "bridge" between cultures, but it is clearly at odds with a long tradition of conveying the missionary message in the local language. The latter tradition is seen from the Old English bible translations and the work of Sts. Cyril (d. 869) and Methodius (d. 885) in developing Church Slavonic through to the policies of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The promotion of English as the language of (Christian) religion looks more like the insistence on Latin in some parts of the Catholic church or the insistence on Koranic Arabic in Islam.

From our point of view, the striking points in the above are the gradual shading of legitimate areas of scientific concern into more subjective evaluation, and the interconnection of scholarly and more popular themes. The factual dominance or historical emergence of a given variety easily shades into misleading notions of superiority through partially legitimate speculation on the inherent suitability of the variety in question among the likely reasons for its emergence. This is plainly the case in discussions of the emergence of English, where sometimes undesirable confusions (linked to nationalism or misplaced darwinianism) have arisen around the notion of linguistic "superiority".[4]

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REVIEW

David Cram, Jeffrey L. Foreng and Dorothy Johnston (eds.)
Francis Willughby's Book of Games. A Seventeenth-Century Treatise on Sports, Games and Pastimes.
London: Ashgate, 2003. 344 pp.
£65, USD 114.95 (25% discount for members of the Henry Sweet Society)

Reviewed by: Werner Hüllen, Düsseldorf.

Francis Willughby (1635-1672) is well-known as a representative of seventeenth-century natural history and as one of the earliest members of the Royal Society. He belonged to that group of men who were (and still are) called *virtuosi* and whose influence on the development of the intellectual life of their time is frequently not adequately recognized. This influence not only pertains to the sciences (as we understand them today) but also to innovative knowledge in a much wider sense and, above all, to the cultivation of a descriptive, plain and factual style of scientific discourse (see, e.g., Houghton 1942, Cawdill 1975, Shapiro and Frank 1979, Hüllen 1989, esp. 133-136). The majority of *virtuosi* were well-to-do country gentlemen, amateur scientists, doctors or clergymen rather than professors or professionals with stable connections to universities. Robert Boyle (1690), for example, described himself as the "Christian virtuoso" whose pious attitude to the world was not endangered by his scientific principles. *Virtuosi* liked to establish networks of mutual information by means of letters and personal contact, travelled extensively, often as pairs of friends, and often founded collections of specimens of natural and artificial objects. In such a way, the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford and even the British Museum in London, but also botanical gardens, came into being.

     The *virtuosi* were inspired by the Baconian conviction that true knowledge could be derived only from experience. Their ideal was to put together taxonomies of various kinds of phenomena in so-called natural histories (of fishes, birds, quadrupeds, etc.). It was in the interest of scientific credibility to testify where (and often when) these phenomena had been observed by them and, thus, to bring a regional criterion into play. 'Natural histories' could therefore also pertain to phenomena of various kinds to be found, for example, in counties (like Yorkshire, Staffordshire, etc.). Here, the *virtuosi* were not only interested in 'nature' (according to C.P. Snow's two cultures of the twentieth century), but also in folklore, art, customs, heritage, and even language. It was taken for granted that those scholars who are nowadays called scientists wrote books on language. The mathematicians Wallis (who wrote a grammar) and Wilkins (who planned a universal language), the chemist Boyle (who reflected the style of scientific treatises), and the botanist Ray (who compiled a dictionary) did this. It is therefore not at all astonishing that Francis Willughby, when travelling on the Continent together with Sir Philip Skippon, collected not only samples of natural objects like plants and animals, but also words of various languages by using a Latin prompt list of some 500 lexemes. The step from observing nature to

observing linguistic behaviour was just as natural as the step from there to observing people playing their games. These men, who were the early instigators of our modern sciences, possessed a comprehensive outlook.

Francis Willughby is known for his works on birds and fishes. But David Cram, Jeffrey L. Forgeng, and Dorothy Johnston present him to us as an expert on sports, games, and pastimes. They do this by publishing for the first time a *Book of Games* taken from Willughby's unpublished legacy, which is kept at the University of Nottingham. Because of the seventeenth-century author's premature death, which meant that even his two main works were published posthumously by his friend John Ray, his substantial notes on sports and games have remained in notebooks and on single sheets. These were transcribed and put together by the three editors – not an easy task, as everybody who has had the experience knows. It has been carried out by them with meticulous care, sensitive historical understanding, and common sense, resulting in an extremely readable and enjoyable text, whose original state in the manuscripts is conscientiously documented in interlinear remarks and in footnotes. Some original sample pages are given in photocopy. The printed text includes many figures from Willughby's pen. Glossaries of games and of obsolete terms help the reader to understand a remarkable historical text which has no parallel.

In their extensive introduction, underpinned by a plethora of references to the general literature on games, the three editors/authors give this hitherto unknown manuscript of Willughby's its proper profile. They do this with pertinence to the author and with pertinence to the topic. Concerning pertinence to the author, whose life and human contacts are reported in detail, they show that sports, games, and pastimes were a field of taxonomic classification for him just as birds and fishes were. One remembers that Willughby's contemporaries John Ray and John Wilkins worked in exactly the same way in their lexicographical works, and that, as late as 1852, P.M. Roget (a medical doctor by profession) professed that the classifications of the sciences were the leading principles of his *Thesaurus*. There is also a remarkable parallelism between Willughby's own commonplace book, which survives, and this book of games. The technique of commonplacing lends itself to inductive work, such as that done by the *virtuosi*, as well as to classificatory and taxonomic pursuits (as the introduction rightly points out (36-37)).

Concerning pertinence to the topic, the three editors/authors show games and pastimes to be an outstanding domain of European (and certainly also of wider) culture which has its historical roots in sports, warfare, theatre, religious practice, and other routines. There are many proofs of this in cultural history and literature. Note, for example, the relevant entries in many topical glossaries and dictionaries.

It is therefore hardly astonishing that much archetypal wisdom is incorporated in the rules of games with balls, with cards or special artefacts. Willughby's own mathematical and astronomical interests, for example, made him look for related phenomena in this seemingly unrelated field. He explains, for example, the counting in tennis as depending on 45 = a game, "then 45 x 4 = 180, ½ of the degrees of a circle, and 8 games, that is as manie as both sides should get, are = 360, the degrees of a circle or the dayes in 12 Aegyptian monthes" (107). Similar deductions are given for "Tables".

The games are described so as to introduce neophytes to their rules and practice. In this respect, the author makes, occasionally, great demands on his readers' imagination. He obviously relied on their common knowledge and immediate experience. It is quite interesting that games from tournaments or from high society pleasures (as we find them in the German collection of *Frauenzimmer Gesprächsspiele* by Johann Georg Harsdörffer, 1644) are lacking. The scientist in Willughby may have prompted him to turn to what had 'naturally grown' rather than to what had been concocted by somebody on a high and sophisticated level. The book by the three editors/authors illustrates how comprehensively and holistically the thinkers of the seventeenth century approached reality, including language. This perfect result of editorial work is most welcome and we should not forget that producing it was neither a game nor a pastime.

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PROPOSAL / REVIEW ARTICLE

Flying a Kite

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A t this year's AGM I was very excited by the willingness of members to discuss questions of teaching and learning. Those of us who work in teaching institutions frequently promote the quality of our provision by describing it as 'research-led' and, for that reason, it seems appropriate to make a little space in the schedules of research conferences to discuss our 'other lives' as teachers and facilitators of learning. This, at any rate, was my feeling, and it was encouraging to find that so many others seemed to agree.

During the round-table discussion on the Tuesday evening I talked a little about my own enthusiasm for using web-based learning materials with students. I mentioned that there are some excellent pedagogical sites devoted to the History of Rhetoric and I was thinking in particular of Gideon Burton's site[1], 'Silva Rhetoricae: The Forest of Rhetoric', hosted by Brigham Young University. Burton's site provides an excellent introduction to classical and renaissance rhetoric and has been developed on the premise that:

> Sometimes it is difficult to see the forest (the big picture) of rhetoric because of the trees (the hundreds of Greek and Latin terms naming figures of speech, etc.) within rhetoric.

The site does not shy away from providing explanations of tropes and figures, and an impressive list is provided in a frame on the right-hand side of the page. However, on the opposite side of the page is another frame, presenting a much broader picture of what rhetoric is. Here, for example, students can find links to pages discussing persuasive appeals, the genres of rhetoric, and the five arts, as well as to a useful 'rhetorical timeline'.

What is particularly clever about the site is that it makes such imaginative use of hypertext to lead students between the two levels: from the general to the particular and back again. Students who choose to read about the five arts can opt to look at a more detailed text on invention, for example. Here they are offered a link to material dealing specifically with the topics. On this page they find further links to short texts describing and exemplifying particular topics – 'cause and effect' or 'possibility', for example. And in this context they will find links to an array of figures that are particularly associated with texts built upon whichever of the topics they have chosen to consider. One of the wonderful things about the site is the rich and wide-ranging

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[1] The URL is http://humanities.byu.edu/rhetoric/silva.htm. I also very much like Joseph Petraglia-Bahri's 'Rhetoric Resources', hosted by the Georgia Institute of Technology. The URL for this site is http://www.lcc.gatech.edu/gallery/rhetoric/.

array of examples provided to help students get a confident grasp of each of the terms and concepts. (I particularly like the use of Prospero's 'cursing prophecy' to illustrate the term 'cataplexis'!)

In my experience it is perfectly true that, when students encounter rhetoric for the first time, they find it difficult to see the wood for the trees, and I find that the site works very well in tackling this problem. What is more, the students respond enthusiastically to the material and, in particular, to the way in which it is organised. One student said at the end of a seminar on the subject of the five arts, 'I feel a bit embarrassed to say this but I spent hours on this site. It made me feel so enthusiastic about the subject.'

At the conference I sounded a slightly reproachful note, suggesting that we needed sites like this in the History of Linguistics and wondering aloud why we didn't have them. Of course I was being hasty and several people have pointed out extremely interesting material in our field ranging right across the levels, from sites suitable for first-year undergraduates to others catering for experienced research students. Having examined some of this material in more detail since the conference I am ready to apologise if my tone seemed a little too hectoring. To mention just two online sources, there are the materials offered by SHEL and the emergent TULIP project, both of which are very valuable sources indeed. At the same time, I still think that we, as an intellectual community, could be doing more to facilitate the teaching of our discipline through a creative use of the web, and, for this reason, I'd like to suggest two possible ways in which the Society could contribute to the visibility of the History of Linguistics on the internet. In both cases I'm very happy to be the organising force behind the developments, but I'd appreciate support from other members of the Society, not least in the form of ideas, suggestions, and constructive criticism.

1. A Workshop on the Web

My first suggestion is that we develop a space on our own website devoted to teaching and learning. Therese Lindström Tiedemann has already established an excellent site for graduate students in the field[2] but I am thinking of something aimed more at teachers than students. This on-line workshop might include lists of links to useful resources, ideally supported by reviews like the one I wrote for Gideon Burton's site. It might also include short accounts of successes, failures, problems, and possibilities in the teaching of the History of Linguistics. With the author's permission, for example, we could begin with the essay published by Jan Noordegraaf in issue No. 33 of the Bulletin, although shorter pieces reflecting on a particular point or problem would also be useful and, while few members will want to write article-length discussions of teaching and learning, more perhaps would be prepared to write a couple of hundred words on a really good idea they have tried out recently with their classes. It might even be possible to mount a bulletin board on which those of us who

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[2] The URL is http://www.shef.ac.uk/english/language/research/forum.html.

teach the History of Linguistics could discuss our work and ask for advice in the style familiar from the Linguists' List.

I shall shortly be taking over the job of maintaining the website and could easily develop materials of this kind. I hope the idea will be relatively uncontroversial and that I can go ahead and do this without a long process of consultation. What I really need, though, is ideas. So, if you think this would be a useful development and if you have views on what kinds of links, texts, tools, or structures might enrich the workshop on the web, I'd be delighted if you'd be in touch. My e-mail address is at the end of the article, but here it is as well, just to encourage you! (r.d.steadman-jones@sheffield.ac.uk)

2. The Forest of Grammar?

My second suggestion is more ambitious and involves developing a site like 'The Forest of Rhetoric' but one that focuses on rhetoric's sister art, grammar. I am not literally suggesting that it be called 'The Forest of Grammar' but I am thinking of something that would be like Gideon Burton's site in that it would help students to obtain an overview of the grammar both as a textual genre and as a set of analytical tools. The site could borrow the structuring principle of 'The Forest of Rhetoric'. It could offer a picture in broad brush strokes on the left of the page – the place of grammar in the hierarchy of disciplines, the divisions of the grammatical text, the word classes, major grammarians of English, and so on. And it could also offer a detailed inventory of terms on the right – 'declension', 'ablative', 'preterite', 'concord', to name a few. Hypertextual pathways would lead students from left to right: 'divisions of grammar' to 'accidence' to 'verb' to 'tense/aspect' to 'preterite', for example. As with the Forest of Rhetoric, the point would be to allow students to begin with general, accessible material, and move to more detailed discussion at their own pace and in their own way. The site would exemplify all the terms and concepts with contemporary linguistic examples as well as ones quoted from grammars of earlier periods. It should also be visually attractive with an accessible layout, plenty of graphics, and good typography. (One of my few criticisms of Burton's site is that he insists on using Times New Roman, which doesn't adapt well to the computer screen.)

Again, I would be happy to develop this site in the sense of coordinating the production of text, developing a design, collecting images, writing the HTML, and maintaining the online files. In terms of content, though, I would very much value the ideas of colleagues. What exactly should be in the left-hand column? How could the site deal with the variability of grammatical terminology both among texts and over time? What would constitute a really good thirty-word explanation of the term 'ablative' for students of English?

Can I begin by asking colleagues to contact me if they feel this would be an interesting project for the Society to undertake? If you have time, please take a moment to look at Gideon Burton's site (the URL is in the notes) and consider whether you'd like to see something similar available in our field. If there is no enthusiasm for this idea, I might just do it myself on a very small scale. But if others are interested, perhaps we could develop something more substantial, agreeing the architecture of the

site together and giving the job of writing texts – and, do remember, the whole point is that they should be *short* texts – to people with particular interests in the relevant areas. Do let me know what you think and I shall report back in the next Bulletin on the kind of response that I've had.

I hope that the ideas I've presented here will seem interesting to at least some of you. As I said at the opening of this essay, there is clearly considerable interest in the field of teaching and learning among the members of the Society and it would be wonderful if we could make something concrete of that shared enthusiasm and, in the process, benefit both ourselves and others.

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THE HENRY SWEET SOCIETY
FOR THE HISTORY OF LINGUISTIC IDEAS
ANNUAL COLLOQUIUM

Jesus College, Oxford (13th –16th September, 2004)

Conference Report

Jesus College hosted the 2004 Colloquium with the lavish and courteous hospitality Oxford colleges are known for. The colloquium was notable for its international character, and for the wide range of the papers presented.

Among the most important issues broached was the place of the history of linguistics within the discipline at large, and how to teach it. Perhaps the most important question raised in the papers and discussion devoted to this topic was overcoming the stereotypes with which students come to the discipline of linguistics and the rather forbidding aura which the word, science, tends to give linguistics. Reference was also made to the problems of overcoming the ahistorical proclivities of those of our colleagues who still have to be convinced that the history of his discipline is relevant to a scientist.

Many of the other papers followed on from work presented last year in Dublin: those on speech pathology and nineteenth-century developments in diagnosis and treatment traced the early relationships between neurology and language theory, and the Japanese papers of language teaching demonstrated the continuing influence of Harold Palmer and other British linguists who had worked in Japan during the first half of the twentieth century. The papers on language teaching in Europe investigated the development of teaching methods in their social and educational context, together with, one should add, some interesting sidelights on the production and format of textbooks. The Eastern European papers, which were still largely concerned with Soviet developments and the transition from them after the break-up of the Soviet Empire, gave a rather sobering view of the influence of politics and the social milieu on academic priorities. This theme raised its head again in the two papers on European approaches to South American languages and in the interesting discussion of writing systems in the Sudan.

Attention was also paid to personalities and institutions. The papers on the early history of the Philological Society, the *New English Dictionary* and the International Conferences of Linguists were a strong reminder that linguistics has not always been as professionalised as it is at present, and that where personalities and national sensitivities are concerned, history is not always what it seems. With a couple of lapses the standard of the papers was high: a pity that on at least two occasions the reliability of the technical aids did not match the quality of the papers they were meant to illustrate.

Taken as a whole, the papers convincingly demonstrated the diversity of linguistics, its inherent interdisciplinarity, and the place it has held for centuries at the

junction of the human sciences. It was particularly good to see young academics giving the veterans among us a run for their money. This was the sort of conference where there was something good in practically every paper one heard, and reason to regret that through attending one's preferred session, one missed something good in another.

Louis Kelly, *Darwin College, Cambridge.*

Abstracts from the Annual Colloquium

Tupi and Guarani: War and Linguistic Typology
in Nineteenth-Century South Brazil

Cristina Altman (University of São Paulo, Brazil)

While it seems that there is no doubt about the strong similarity among Tupi and Guarani within South American linguistic literature (cf. Montoya's 1640 *Tesoro de la lengua Guarani, o Tupi*), the political, geographical or genetic relationships that underlay its wide-spread use was not an issue at least until the eve of the separatist wars in the South of Brazil (c. 1830–1860), when the primacy of Guarani as the mother tongue of Tupi (cf. Hervás' *Catálogo* of 1800 [1756]) was strongly mistrusted within Brazilian territory. In this paper, I shall relate part of the controversies surrounding the relationships of these languages by tentatively building a link between the emergence of the comparative study of the 'exotic' languages and the social and political organization of their speakers. The paper hopes to be a contribution to the history of language classification and linguistic typology as part of the construction of the historical and descriptive methods, as we understand them today.

Language Future of Mankind: Monoligual or Multilingual

Tinatin Bolkvadze (Tbilisi Iv. Javakhishvili State University)

In the first part of the paper is discussed the view of eastern Christian holy fathers about the language future of mankind. They tried to assert the idea of the equality of all languages on the basis of the universal law of language division.

In the second part the theories of J. Stalin, N. Marr and N. Trubetskoy are characterized. J. Stalin initiated the policy of bringing closer the nations which, in his opinion, eventually would result in the fusion of languages. Under the conditions of political, economical and cultural cooperation hundreds of languages would form separate enriched zonal languages which finally would be melted into a single international language, a new language including the best elements of the national and zonal languages. Long before J. Stalin N. Marr emphasized the necessity of zonal languages, as an example of this he referred to the significance of creating a common Caucasian language. Not a single language shall avoid this global process. The mankind, speaking one language, will have a single written language, – Marr wrote.

N. Trubetskoy thought that the fusion of languages and the using of one language by mankind contradict the "law of articulation" which results in the multiformity of the languages and cultures. N. Trubetskoy resolutely opposed the idea of monolingual mankind in whatever distant future it might emerge and accordingly opposed all the steps that might bring closer the uniform world culture, not divided according to the national features; still, the understanding of the "language union" which means the unity of the heterogenic languages spread in one area, can very easily

lead to the notion of the zonal language, which Stalin considered to be the stage preceding the common language of mankind.

In the final part of the paper some opinions of modern scholars about the language future of the Eurounion are compared with the ideas discussed in the first and second parts of the paper.

Who Initiated the First International Congress of Linguists (1928)?

Saskia Daalder (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)

In this paper, the question will be asked who were the initiators of the organisation of the First International Congress of Linguists, which was held in The Hague in April 1928. Because of its location in the Netherlands and the all-Dutch organising committee, the answer has seemed obvious to several researchers: the Dutch general linguists C.C. Uhlenbeck (1866-1951) and Joseph Schrijnen (1869-1938), chairman and secretary of the congress respectively, must have had this idea of an international meeting of students of the new discipline of (general) linguistics. And from his position in the organising committee, busybody Jacques van Ginneken (1877-1945), a general linguist and scholar of Dutch, cannot but have left his mark on the organisation of the congress, too, it has been thought. But is this the true and full story of the birth of the First International Congress of Linguists? The paper will argue that it is not and will point to a decisive influence coming out of another quarter of international linguistics.

(Anti-)Psychologism in Linguistics

Els Elffers (University of Amsterdam)

The view that Chomsky brought about a definitive *psychologization* of linguistics around 1960 is as vulnerable to criticism as the view that Husserl and Frege brought about a definitive *de-psychologization* of logic around 1900. In my lecture I will present a more differentiated view of (anti-)psychologistic developments in linguistics, in relation to other disciplines (especially logic), from the nineteenth century onwards. The following aspects are relevant:

- nineteenth-century "Urtheilstheorie", a psychologistic project shared by linguists, logicians and psychologists,
- nineteenth-century   anti-psychologism   in   linguistics   (organicism, Völkerpsychologie),
- the small impact of the Husserl-Frege argument on linguistics,
- other anti-psychologistic (e.g. sociologistic) arguments in early twentieth-century linguistics,
- Chomskyan vs. other (weaker) forms of psychologism in later twentieth-century linguistics,

- occasional anti-psychologism in later twentieth-century linguistics. Revival of the Husserl-Frege argument, platonism and sociologism,
- anti-psychologism as well as neo-psychologism in logical semantics.

Instead of presenting scattered details about all these issues, I will concentrate on the main lines of development, with special attention to anti-psychologistic argumentation in linguistics. I will argue that

- early anti-psychologism was much more widely accepted in logic than in linguistics. On the other hand, there was (and is) much more variety of anti-psychologistic argumentation patterns in linguistics than in logic, due to differences between the objects of research of both disciplines,
- a fully-fledged linguistic anti-psychologism, is, contrary to the received view, a relatively recent, post-Chomskyan phenomenon.

German Influence on English Studies of Japan in its Early Stage

Hiroyuki Eto (Yokohama/Japan)

During the period of modernization or westernization of nineteenth-century Japan, the leaders in various areas eagerly imported from the West the "ideal forms or types" for promoting and fostering science and technology, establishing and managing new institutions and organizations.

In the study of language, considered broadly as a branch of humanities, there is no exception to this rule. Besides our own traditional *kokugaku* national study, the new wave of philology and linguistics was introduced into Japan and extended its influence over the academic world. Regarding English philology, or the scientific inquiries into the English language, the academic world in Japan was strongly influenced by the western scholars especially German linguists.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, Germany or rather, German speaking regions had been the center, among many other disciplines, of the study of language. Germany was the center of language study in the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Europe, and historical-comparative linguistics was the first and foremost discipline in the study of language.

Therefore, logically enough, the students and scholars of language in Japan at that time were under the decisive influence of German scholars or those of other countries trained in Germany, who scrutinized particular languages in a scientific manner, i.e., from the historical and comparative perspectives.

In this paper, I will examine this influence from the attitude or philosophy of the English language studies of Japanese leading philologists of that period.

La conception de l'aspect verbal chez Michel de Neuville

Jean-Marie Fournier (Université de la Sorbonne-Nouvelle, Paris III)

Il s'agit d'un grammairien peu connu, mais dont l'œuvre présente un grand intérêt d'un point de vue historique:

i) il est le premier à utiliser le terme 'aspect', pour désigner un complexe de notions qui relève effectivement de l'aspect verbal. S. Auroux a signalé cet emploi dans un article sur la théorie des temps publié dans les *Mélanges offerts à Jean-Toussaint Desanti*. Michel de Neuville est en effet l'auteur d'une théorie du verbe très sophistiquée à l'élaboration de laquelle il semble avoir consacré de nombreuses années, fortement liée à la tradition de la grammaire générale et aux idées sur le temps qui se sont développées chez les grammairiens du 18eme siècle, et qu'il expose dans sa *Grammaire transcendante* (1826). Ses contributions (11) à partir de 1818 aux *Annales de Grammaire* ont pu contribuer à diffuser ses idées et l'on peut faire l'hypothèse d'une influence de certains aspects de sa doctrine dans le contexte de la grammaire générale tardive assez loin au cours du 19eme siècle. Si cette hypothèse peut être confirmée, elle permettrait de montrer que certains aspects de la réflexion qui s'est développée ensuite sur le problème de l'aspect, par exemple chez Guillaume, sont moins le résultat d'une influence des travaux sur les langues slaves que le prolongement d'une réflexion continûment représentée dans les grammaires françaises depuis le début du 17eme siècle. La réflexion sur l'apport de cet auteur à la réflexion sur l'aspect permet donc de poser des questions plus générales comme celle des contours d'une invention, ou celle des limites d'une tradition, ou d'un 'paradigme'.

• d'un point de vue sociologique Michel de Neuville représente un type à la fois original et représentatif : formé à l'Ecole Centrale de son département, il s'engage à 20 ans dans les armées napoléoniennes et participe à toutes les campagnes jusqu'à Waterloo (1801 à 1815). En dépit de nombreuses lettres à l'Académie, ses œuvres grammaticales restent celle d'un amateur qui ne parvient pas à accéder à un statut professionnel ou institutionnel.

The Genesis of the Philological Society's *New English Dictionary*

Peter Gilliver (Associate Editor, Oxford English Dictionary)

The events leading to the Philological Society's decision to embark on the compilation of what eventually became the *Oxford English Dictionary* have often been described, notably by Hans Aarsleff (*The Study of Language in England, 1780-1860*; Princeton, 1967, reissued 1983) and Elisabeth Murray (*Caught in the Web of Words*; Yale, 1977). My paper aims to review the established account of these events in the light of various unpublished documents in the archives of Oxford University Press and elsewhere, and to reassess the part played in the enterprise by each of the three members of the "Unregistered Words Committee" set up by the Philological Society in the summer of 1857: Herbert Coleridge (later the Dictionary's first Editor), Frederick Furnivall, and

Richard Chenevix Trench. I hope to examine the cultural context in which the Philological Society's first discussions took place in early 1857, and to follow the story through to the early years of Furnivall's struggle to sustain the project following Coleridge's death in 1861.

Towards Uniformity in Grammar Teaching

Hedwig Gwosdek (Tübingen)

A number of commentaries and complaints from about 1480 onwards from different authorities and perspectives reflect the diversity of textbooks in teaching Latin in grammar schools and throw light on the process towards a uniform grammar. This grammar was finally introduced by royal proclamation in 1540. "We will and commaunde, and streightly charge al you schoolemaisters and teachers of grammer within this our realme, and other our dominions, as ye intend to auoyde our displeasure, and haue our fauour, to teache and learne your scholars this englysshe introduction here ensuing."

This paper will discuss the question of uniformity of school grammar and its impact for grammar writing and teaching during the early Tudor period. Before examining sources for what they reveal about the stages towards the introduction of a uniform grammar, I will draw attention to the evidence of the textbooks themselves. In addition, I will consider the following questions: What was the impact of printing in this process? What influence did the leading grammar schools have in this respect? What role did politics and the change in religion play? Finally it will be asked whether this process has come to completion by the grammar which had been given a royal monopoly and was the only such work officially permitted.

Ideological Motives behind Nubian Scripts,
Emblems of Identity over Thirteen Centuries

Muhammad Jalaal Haashim and Herman Bell (Oxford)

This presentation explores the ideological motives behind three competing scripts used for writing Nubian languages. Present-day debates among Nubian intellectuals focus on the Roman script, Arabic and 'Old Nubian'. Almost as old as the earliest English texts, the Old Nubian language began to be written thirteen centuries ago. Although the written language was eclipsed by Arabic in about 1500 AD, the Old Nubian script is now being resurrected for modern Nubian languages.

Most of the characters of Old Nubian are taken from Greek and Coptic. Certain sounds alien to those two languages (e.g. /ŋ/ and /ñ/) are represented by distinctively Nubian letters. These letters appear to have been derived from Meroitic writing (2nd century BC to 5th century AD), although the documentary evidence for Meroitic is more than three centuries earlier than written Nubian. A hypothesis is advanced that

the writing of protective texts and amulets may account for the hidden link between Meroitic and Old Nubian.

The Old Nubian script has two well-established rivals. It is argued that Arabic characters provide a bridge to Arabic, the principal language of Egypt and the Sudan, where the Nubian homelands are located, and that Arabic characters likewise serve the cause of unity in the Islamic world. On the other hand, the Roman script also has an international clientele including Nubians of the diaspora. The Roman script has had a major role in international communication and Bible translation. Particular attention should be given to C. R. Lepsius who produced *Das allgemeine linguistische Alphabet* (1855) and the *Standard Alphabet* (1855 & 1863 [2nd ed.]) as well as a major *Nubische Grammatik* (1880).

A number of Nubian intellectuals are now applying their mediaeval alphabet to modern Nubian languages as a badge of identity. Prominent among these is the late M. Khalil [Kabbara] with his dictionary of modern Nubian in the Old Nubian script (1996). This approach does not adopt the prominent model of Standard Arabic involving the maintenance of an ancient language. Instead, present-day Nubian scholars aim to establish a 'middle way' between the mediaeval and the modern by adopting the Old Nubian script and reviving items of mediaeval vocabulary. They aim to produce a Nubian 'Katharevousa' (via media) as an emblem of their historic identity.

What was Old is New Again:
The Rehabilitation of Whorf's Linguistic Relativity Principle

Sam Hardy (University of South Carolina)

This paper addresses the history of Whorfianism over the last 50 years, and the renewed interest in linguistic relativity recently shown by empirical researchers. It surveys: (i) the problematic history of the principle; (ii) strong *a priori* and empirical criticisms of it; (iii) John Lucy's rehabilitation of Whorfianism; and (iv) recent research that has been conducted in light of Lucy's formalization.

Whorf's definition of linguistic relativity – most commonly defined as the idea that language influences, determines, or affects thought in some way – is problematic because of his notoriously opaque articulation of it in his extant writings. As John Joseph has pointed out, this poor articulation, coupled with the incompatibility of the theory's antecedents, has contributed to problems that have plagued subsequent research.

These epistemic faults have contributed to a host of criticisms on both *a priori* and theoretical/methodological grounds. Paradoxically, though, these criticisms have been open to the same epistemic faults as the theory itself. Researchers and critics have had to first establish what exactly Whorfianism is before going about refuting it, often leading to countercharges of misrepresenting or misinterpreting Whorfianism.

Recently, John Lucy has attempted to formalize, operationalize, and rearticulate Whorf's ideas in order to place the theory on firm theoretical and methodological ground. His work has served as a point of departure for recent empirical work, greatly

improving its epistemic foundations. This paper will explore the influence of Lucy's work on these resurgent investigations.

Barlow's 1877 Case of Acquired Childhood Aphasia
and its Significance for Neurolinguistic Theory

Paula Hellal and Marjorie Lorch (Birkbeck College, University of London)

In the nineteenth century interest in acquired disorders of language were motivated by a desire to understand how the language faculty was organized in the brain. In 1877 Thomas Barlow published an unusual case of a child who had suffered right-sided hemiplegia and aphasia, recovering both language function and muscular control within one month. Three months later he developed left-sided hemiplegia and was again aphasic. His condition changed little before his death a few weeks later.

This case was cited regularly throughout the next 50 years as evidence for a number of different hypotheses concerning 1) the localisation of language in the human brain, 2) the involvement of the right hemisphere (in right handed individuals) in the recovery of language function after aphasia, and 3) the early plasticity of the infant brain with later developing lateralisation of language function.

The original archived case notes for this patient have been found to contain several significant discrepancies from the details in the published report. The interpretation of the evidence and its contribution to the development of theories about language organization in the brain will be considered.

"Le diable et sa grand-mère":
discours psychiatrique et tradition philologique à l'aube du XXe siècle

Pascale Hummel (Paris)

Dire que l'histoire de la linguistique propose seulement l'histoire des savoirs relatifs aux langues est un peu court. La linguistique, en tant que science et avatar moderne de la philologie, n'existe pas isolément des autres savoirs analysant les différents aspects de la réalité disponible. Prise pour elle-même sans référence à son aînée pluriséculaire, il apparaît qu'elle naquit à une époque où les postulats de la modernité modifièrent en profondeur l'appréhension du monde et la pensée. La jeune linguistique est contemporaine notamment de la psychologie, de la psychanalyse et de la psychiatrie. Les deux groupes de disciplines renouvellent des savoirs déjà existants (notamment la philologie et la théologie/philosophie), inventent un langage propre et fondent à leur tour une tradition. Rapprochées d'un point de vue dialectique et polémique, la philologie et la psychographie nous en apprennent autant sur la langue, le langage et le discours que la linguistique proprement dite.

The Experimental Phonetics of Abbé Rousselot
as a Starting Point of Modern Linguistics.

Irina Ivanova (Lausanne / Saint-Petersburg)

Abbé Rousselot started his investigations in experimental phonetics at the end of the nineteenth century, when the historical-comparative method was the leading one in European linguistics. In 1889 he introduced the teaching of experimental phonetics in the programme of the Catholic Institute of Paris and in 1897 he founded a laboratory of experimental phonetics at the College of France. Due to activities of Rousselot, this new science was spread all over Europe and opened the development for a new object in linguistics. The comparative studies of written texts, research into phonetic laws and the reconstruction of proto-languages created space for the speaking person (*homme vivant et parlant*) and his speech activity. Therefore, experimental phonetics was first to reveal the problems of the analysis of oral language.

This new object of linguistics imposed new methods of investigations, which led to introducing natural and rigorous methods in linguistics. The linguistic facts, which were found out from these new methods, have since been used in the teaching of modern languages, in the treatment of speech and hearing pathologies, and in the art of public discourse. In this way, the development of the experimental phonetics led to the introduction of linguistics into the new paradigm of sciences.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus as a Historian of Linguistics:
The History of the Theory of the 'Parts of Speech' in *De compositione verborum* 2

Casper C. de Jonge (Leiden University / Christ Church, Oxford)

In his rhetorical works, Dionysius of Halicarnassus (who was active in Rome from 30 to 8 B.C.) made use of views on language that had been developed in various ancient language disciplines. His most important contribution to rhetorical theory, the work *On Composition (De compositione verborum)* could be considered a synthesis of earlier grammatical, metrical, musical, philosophical, literary and rhetorical theories, which Dionysius combines in order to establish the criteria of effective composition. In the second chapter of *On Composition*, Dionysius describes the history of the theory of the 'parts of speech' or word classes, thereby presenting himself as one of the first historiographers of linguistic theory: the traditional account of the development of the theory of the parts of speech, as accumulating in measured stages from Aristotle to the technical grammarians, goes back to this chapter of Dionysius' *On Composition* (cf. Taylor 1987: 3). Although modern scholars have paid attention to other linguistic theories in Dionysius' rhetorical works (cf. Schenkeveld 1983), the chapter on the history of the theory of the parts of speech has never been the object of a systematic study. My discussion of the chapter will deal with (1) the relation between this passage on the history of linguistic theory and Dionysius' compositional theory, (2) some problems in the interpretation of the passage, and (3) the similarities and differences

between Dionysius' account of the history of linguistics and the accounts of Quintilian (Inst. Orat. I.4.17-21), ancient grammarians, and modern historians of linguistics (Robins, Taylor).

A Historical Review of the Ancient Japanese Vowel System

Ken-Ichi Kadooka (Ryukoku University, Kyoto)

This paper is a brief review of the controversy in the ancient Japanese vowel system from a historical viewpoint. Some scholars insist that there were eight vowels in ancient Japanese (6th century to 794 A.D), while others think it should be five. The current Japanese (Tokyo dialect) has five vowels /i e a o u/.

The origin of the controversy is from what is called 'the ancient special kana distinction.' The following twenty syllables were orthographically distinguished in those days:

/e, ki, ke, ko, so, to, no, hi, he, mi, me, yo, ro, gi, ge, go, zo, do, bi, be/

In each of these twenty syllables, different Chinese characters were adopted so that these two groups should not be merged. The first 'discoverer' of this distinction was Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801). His disciple Tatsumaro Ishizuka (1764-1823) developed this finding into a note on the kana syllabary. In these 100 years, this hypothesis has been changed into a controversy on the number of vowel phonemes. Some scholars, such as Professor Ôno Susumu at Gakushuin University, insist on the difference of /i1, i2, e1, e2, o1, o2/, hence the eight-vowel system. Others, represented by Professor Matsumoto Katsumi at Tsukuba University, claim that the orthographical distinction does not lead to the phonological reflection of the vowel phonemes, maintaining the five-phoneme-system theory. As a conclusion, this issue is still controversial.

The Puritan Apothecaries: Translation and Education

L.G. Kelly (Darwin College, Cambridge)

Puritan apothecaries produced an impressive list of English versions of Latin pharmacopoieas and books on surgery and medicine to teach the poor how to look after their health and to break the power of the medical profession. These apothecaries owed their skill in Latin and Greek to Puritan schools which sought to instil godliness and a classical education. Inculcating a sense of English style was an important aim of Classics teaching, and the Classical doctrine that style was consonant with subject was embodied in the principle that good style in Latin and English was a sure sign of virtue. The major teaching technique was translation from and to English. Originals were first construed and their grammar and style searchingly discussed, the construe then became a "grammatical translation", which was then made into an "oratorical translation". As language was the dress of thought, it had to be honest. Honesty entailed avoiding rhetoric, which Puritans, like certain Church Fathers, compared to a

prostitute's makeup. On the principle that technical matter demanded plain style, our apothecaries produced grammatical translations, which observe the Senecan norms of purity, brevity, clarity and plainness. But like Seneca's Latin, their English is carefully crafted, and at times very epigrammatic. Ironically our apothecaries had the same stylistic ideals as the College, who were to present them as proper to Gentleman. I shall be examining the apothecaries' ideas on language and show how they were applied in their translations.

Pour une Historiographie Engagé;
or What's Wrong with the History of Linguistics

E.F.K. Koerner (Zentrum für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, Typologie und Universalienforschung (ZAS), Berlin)

Several years ago, members of the Henry Sweet Society got to read a lengthy quotation from Frederick Neumeyer's introduction to his 1996 book Generative Linguistics: A historical perspective in which he reports that many of his colleagues "feared that [he] would become tarred with the brush of being an 'historian of linguistics', who, [...], occupy a status level even lower than that of a 'semiotician'" (*HSS Bulletin* 26.25). Newmeyer explained "That this attitude results from the belief that most people who write on the history of linguistics have only the mot minimal training in linguistics in modern linguistics and devote their careers to attempting to demonstrate that their pet medieval grammarian or philosopher thought up some technical term before somebody's else's pet medieval grammarian or philosopher" (1996: 2). This is no doubt a caricature of what most of us have been doing during the past twenty and more years, but the suspicion may be lurking that on some aspects Newmeyer's friends may not have been entirely off the mark. One does not have to share Rüdiger Schreyer's more recent assessment either according to which "nobody takes much interest in, or notice of, linguistic historiography — nobody in the big world beyond the ivory towers [of academe] and nobody in the linguistic community that is the natural habitat of the linguistic historiographer" (2000: 206), and maybe this would be too much to expect: 'beyond the ivory towers' even Noam Chomsky would not be known had he not become a critic of American foreign policy. One may be more inclined to share Peter Schmitter's disappointment that the findings of linguistic historiography have not successfully entered into textbooks, dictionaries of linguistic terminology, and other such places. He is no doubt right in saying that it is not enough to write 'intelligent treatises on the necessity and usefulness of historiographic research', but he concedes (2003: 214) that he himself has no concrete proposal to make as to how to remedy the situation. It may well be that many practitioners of linguistic historiography have become too self-satisfied and inward looking over the years, given the availability of three journals, several bulletins, an ever increasing number of colloquia, conferences, and other international meetings around the world. It seems to me that there is enough blame to go around. The present paper intends to voice a series of critical observations based on the author's thirty-five years in the

field, while at the same time offering a number of suggestions as to how the history of linguistics may improve its scholarship, and its image.

The Study of Foreign Languages
and the Utilization of Modernizing Knowledge by the Japanese

Marek Koscielecki (Da-Yeh University, Changhua, Taiwan)

An important reason why the Japanese have been so successful in penetrating foreign cultural contexts with their entrepreneurial skills is that they have taken the trouble to learn the languages and customs of other countries through various contacts developed through the centuries with both Eastern and Western civilizations. These contacts were often established in response to pressure from foreign sources, such as missionaries, traders or dignitaries representing interests of foreign governments.

The contacts which served to contribute to the improvement of Japanese social conditions were usually maintained through the languages of countries which at the time exerted economic and technological power.

In this presentation it is argued that the principle of the utilization of modernizing knowledge was applied in the study of Chinese classics, Dutch learning, French, German and the English language through different periods in the Japanese history.

The Japanese experience with foreign languages and cultures which from time to time exerted influence on Japanese culture and language was protected by the concept of "wakon-kansai" [Japanese spirit with Chinese skills] and "wakon-yosai" [Japanese spirit with western skills].

The diachronic description of the language situation in Japan through various stages of contacts with other cultures and languages has proved that during the initial contacts with Chinese and Korean cultures and languages a number of "ideologies" were permitted to enter Japan. On the other hand, in most cases the contacts with European languages were used for pragmatic rather than sentimental or ideological reasons.

Claimed and Unclaimed Sources of *Corpus Linguistics*

Jacqueline Léon (CNRS, Université Paris 7)

'Corpus Linguistics' is a term which covers various heteregeonous fields, the sole common point being the use of large computerized corpora. The promotion of this term used by the actors constitutes an explicit attempt to create a new mainstream in linguistics, and several devices have been used for this purpose: the publication of many text books since the 1980s; a first international conference which took place in 1991 and was edited by Jan Svartvik in 1992; a set of propositions put forward by Geoffrey Leech in 1992; the creation of a journal the *International Journal of Corpus*

Linguistics in 1996; a common history retrospectively set up in the 1990s, essentially dating the beginning of corpus back from the 1950s.

It is this last issue which is adressed in my paper to see on which conditions, but also at which costs a common history has been largely claimed by the actors of corpus linguistics in order to found a new linguistic stream. The common history maintains that corpora were flourishing in the 1940s-1950s. After that, owing to Chomsky's attacks in the late 1950s, corpus linguistics went to sleep for twenty years and only came back with the development of computers in the 1980s. A slightly modified version settles the Brown corpus (Kucera and Francis, 1967) as the first computerized corpus made available and favouring general linguistics investigations instead of word frequency counts only.

It can be argued that even if the Brown Corpus can be counted among the first computerized corpora, its anteriority and its status of pioneer can be questioned. Significative works have been underestimated or overlooked, such as the Survey of English Usage, empirical methods used in Machine Translation and the French tradition of vocabulary studies. The Brown Corpus has antecedents. It has a double filiation, of both empirical British and American traditions of corpora, to say nothing of the slavist tradition of genre studies. Word frequency counts corpora like the Brown corpus, were not the direct target of Chomsky's criticisms against statistics and probabilities. Chomsky essentially aimed at the use of corpora and/or information theory in syntax. Contrary to the alleged story, there had been no break in the construction of corpora between the 1960s and the 1990s.

This way of building retrospectively one's own history as a factor of unification and legitimation is rather common in the history of sciences; what is original in corpus linguistics is the attempt of making a new school out of the gathering of many various fields, without succeeding in finding a fitful precursor, maybe because corpus linguistics is in the first place a practice linked to a growing technology – i.e. computing – and a method before or instead of being a theory.

Ernest Renan (1823-92):
From Linguistics and Psychology to Racial Ideology

Joan Leopold (London and Los Angeles)

Ernest Renan is usually counted among the outstanding liberals of the nineteenth century, having stood fast against Church and Government forces in France which sought to defeat his humanistic and historical interpretation of the Bible and Jesus in his *Life of Jesus* (1863).

However, there is another set of variables under which Renan can be viewed, showing him to be wavering – in the 1840s through 1860s – and perhaps evolving from a natural scientific and linguistic orientation influenced by Humboldtians such as Pott and the Völkerpsychologist Steinthal to a racial ideology similar to that of the more historicist linguist Max Müller, who had a similar set of early influences, such as their common amateur mentor Baron Ferdinand von Eckstein and Collège de France

professor Eugène Burnouf. Renan's ambiguous relationship with the racial theoretician Comte Arthur de Gobineau will also be explored.

     This paper will seek to sketch this trajectory in Renan's career, in the context of contemporary historical events, and propose a hypothesis about the effect it had on the various versions of his prize-winning Prix Volney Essay of 1847, "Essai historique et théorique sur les langues sémitiques en général, et la langue hébraique en particulier" which was then published, only in part, in 1855 as Part I. *Histoire générale des langues sémitiques* of his planned *Histoire générale et système comparé des langues sémitiques*. Such a hypothesis will need to be tested later by further analysis of the versions of the Prix Volney Essay.

The Reciprocal Influence of Language and Opinions:
A Prize Competition in Berlin, 1759

Avi Lifschitz (Lincoln College, Oxford)

The competition sponsored by the Berlin Academy in 1759 on the mutual influence of language and opinions (understood as thought) has been retrospectively overshadowed by a more famous academic contest in Berlin, that of 1771 on the origin of language. In recent historiography it is still referred to as 'an ill-formed question' or an interim stage towards the development of new theories of language by Herder and Humboldt. In this paper I would like to avoid a teleological interpretation and focus on the 1759 competition in its own right. The topic reflects a lively debate within the Berlin Academy over the relationship between language and thought, triggered by works on language by Condillac, Rousseau, Maupertuis, and Süssmilch. The 1759 competition constituted a point of convergence of several intellectual developments, such as the formation of a new interpretation of the ancient Middle East and the emergence of an innovative concept of historical and philological scholarship at the University of Göttingen. Both are manifest in the prize essay by Johann David Michaelis, the renowned orientalist of Göttingen. The original features of Michaelis's essay distinguish it from conjectural histories of language and mind in the tradition of Condillac and Rousseau.

Bilingualism and Memory:
Early Nineteenth-Century Ideas about the Significance of Polyglot Aphasia

Marjorie Perlman Lorch (Birkbeck College, London)

In the second half of the nineteenth century, there was very little attention given to bilingual subjects within the growing clinical literature on aphasia. The first major publication, that of Pitres (1895), appeared 3 decades after Broca's seminal work. Previously, Ribot (1881) had discussed the phenomenon of bilingual aphasia in the context of diseases of memory. Although interest in the language faculty was in fact present throughout the century, the theoretical implications of the knowledge of more

than one language did not appear to be linked to this issue. A number of British authors writing in the first half of the nineteenth century have been identified (Abernethy, 1797; Cooper, 1824; Abercrombie, 1830; Osborne, 1835; Craig, 1836; and Cheyne, 1843) who did consider the significance of these cases. Importantly, these writers speculated on the implication of bilingual aphasia specifically with regard to ideas about memory rather than language. Consideration of these writings helps to illuminate the history of ideas about the organization of language in the brain and concepts of lexical storage and access.

An Update on Tulip

Jaap Maat (University of Amsterdam)

The Tulip website, The Universal Language Internet Portal, is designed as a resource for teaching and research in 17th-century linguistic ideas. It is a collaborative project, authored by David Cram and myself, and developed by the Academic Computing Development Team of the University of Oxford. Plans for this project were explained at the previous Henry Sweet Society Colloquium in Dublin, and the present paper reports on the progress we have made in the meantime.

A pilot version of the site has been set up, which is however not yet publicly accessible. Most of what can be found on the provisional site concerns what is designed to be the centrepiece of the final site, namely a hands on introduction to Dalgarno's universal language (1661). This introduction comprises textual explanations enabling the user to quickly understand how the language works as well as a number of interactive tools. Thus, there is an online facility for looking up the meaning of words of Dalgarno's language, which also parses inflectional endings. Further, there is a utility enabling visitors of the site to create their own compound words, using Dalgarno's radicals. Compounds thus created are stored and made available to other users for evaluation.

Work on the site continues so as to include further tools and facilities, as well as a number of sections devoted to the intellectual background in which Dalgarno's language emerged.

Thomas Hewitt Key and the Philological Society of London: A New Period of Influence

Fiona Marshall (University of Sheffield)

The resignation of Edwin Guest (1800-1880) from the position of Secretary of the Philological Society in 1853 proved to be a defining moment for Thomas Hewitt Key (1799-1875) and the Society itself. Whilst Key was both a founder member of the original Philological Society established at London University (ca. 1830) and a prominent figure in its subsequent incarnation of 1842, his presence during the first decade or so had been largely overshadowed by Guest. The purpose of the present

paper is firstly to show that, although his takeover was subtle and therefore neither immediate nor devastating, Key slowly began to ingratiate himself into a position of power within the Society (initially as Co-Secretary (1853-1862), and subsequently in the roles of Vice-President (1862-1869) and President (1869-1871)). Secondly, the paper will examine Key's persistent attempts, in the face of substantial opposing evidence, to prove that Finnish and Sámi belong to the Indo-European family of languages. The paper will conclude by arguing that Key's position on the relative value of German scholarship, which was to change from one of complete reverence to one of mild superiority, represents an important milestone in the history of British linguistics vis-à-vis the changing view of German philology in 19th-century Britain.

The Doctrine of Verbal Moods by Stoics and Roman Grammarians
of the First and Second Centuries A.D.

Vladimir Mazhuga
(Institute for History, St. Petersburg/Russian Academy of Sciences)

Stoics had developed their doctrine of verbal moods as a part of their theory of acts of language, such as question, order, adjuration, wishing, supposition or address. The older Stoics saw in such utterances an identity of the expression and the action.

The attempt to determine more precisely the phenomena perceived and expressed by the means of language led Stoics to a new interpretation of the predicate in the indicative form. The new generation of Stoics had treated this verbal form as indicating a certain fact most directly.

Stoics proceeded by the dividing of the significance of the simple verbal form in whatever mood into an action itself (*prâgma*) and the interior disposition of the speaker toward this action. In the case of the indicative, the disposition of the speaker consisted in indicating an action. The indicative was claimed *horistikà rhēmata*, or in Latin *verbum finitivum* and so on. Since the 1st century A.D., the term *indicativus* was also used.

Agroecius, a very well instructed grammarian of the Vth century, had presented most clear in his unpublished and heavily interpolated manual (BNF Lat. 7491, f.88,13 ff.) the idea of the indicative, which the Stoics had. We are told, the future of indicative wrongly is called, on the say of some grammarians, *indicativus*, for it doesn't indicate a fact, but only promises something (*non indicat, sed promittit* – f. 90v,31 ff.).

Ockham's Razor in the Hands of Roman Jakobson:
An Episode in *Distinctive Feature Theory*

Kevin Mendousse (University of Auckland)

In "Tenseness and Laxness" (Jakobson and Halle, 1962), Jakobson set out to account for Jones's (1918) set of English chronemes in terms of a phonetico-phonological

opposition of tenseness/laxness, as first advocated by Bell's *Visible Speech* (1867) and Sweet's *Handbook of Phonetics* (1877). Yet the tense/lax vocalic features of English are strangely absent from his seminal *Preliminaries to Speech Analysis* (Jakobson, Fant and Halle, 1952), whose publication unveiled what was to be Jakobson's only exhaustive and explicit phonological representation of the vocalic system of English.

While the description of the phonetico-phonological content of English vowels has long been the object of extensive investigation, with vigorous debate centering both on short/long and tense/lax oppositions and on the binary/scalar values of their terms (Mendousse, 2003), the absence of vocalic tenseness/laxness in Jakobson's 1952 feature theory of English seems to have been wholly overlooked.

This paper acknowledges the turn around in his subsequent developments of the theory and addresses the issue of the phonetics/phonology divide in his acoustico-articulatory treatment of English vowels. An historical and epistemological analysis from the earlier period of Jakobson's distinctive feature theory to its later versions will unravel the mystery by showing how the integration of the tense/lax opposition into his 1952 phonological model of English vowels was simply incompatible with his radical belief at the time in the principle of Ockham's razor.

European Approaches to Sanskrit

Iwona Milewska (Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland)

The paper consists of three parts. In the first part it includes a short glimpse on the major personalities and facts marking the history of European contacts with India. It focuses on the ways Europeans have chosen to know Sanskrit linguistic tradition. Main names, books and sources are mentioned. In the second part major instruments elaborated by Europeans for the knowledge of Sanskrit are specified and shortly characterized. It covers the period of about 300 years. In the third part methods of applied linguistics used in the European tradition of teaching Sanskrit are enumerated, discussed and compared with chosen Indian methods. Final comments and questions are obviously included at the end of the paper.

Case and Tense in English Grammar 1586-1801

Masataka Miyawaki (Senshu University, Kanagawa, Japan)

In this paper I will examine the treatment of case and tense in some fifty English grammar books published between 1586 and 1801, and deploy these grammatical categories as correlative parameters that indicate the different ways in which English grammarians applied formal and/or semantic criteria to their description of the noun and verb.

The earliest English grammarians had no choice but to accept Latin grammar as the framework within which to describe their vernacular. Accordingly, they mapped the cases and tenses as found in Latin on to their semantic or functional equivalents in

English. A major innovation was made by John Wallis, who in his *Grammatica* (1653) declared, on formal grounds, that in English the noun has no cases, and that the verb has only two tenses. However, not all subsequent grammarians followed suit; they can be grouped into three types:

1. Those who continued to accept the Latin framework, recognising virtually the same cases and tenses as in Latin.

2. Those who, like Wallis, recognised no cases or only the formally marked one(s) (*genitive* or *nominative* and *genitive*) and only the formally distinct tenses (*present* and *past*).

3. Those who, on the one hand, recognised no cases or only the formally marked one(s), but, on the other hand, continued to count as tenses not only the morphologically differentiated forms (*love, loved*) but also such periphrastic forms as *have loved, had loved, will love.*

As far as I know, there are no grammarians who continued to recognise as many cases in English as in Latin but at the same time confined the category of tense only to the morphologically differentiated forms, though this fourth alternative is a logical possibility. In other words, although a sizable number of grammarians applied formal criteria to their description of case and at the same time employed semantic or functional criteria in their treatment of tense, no grammarians did the other way round. I will explore the implications of this asymmetry for the grammarians' conceptualisation of the noun and verb.

Ignes fatui or apt similitudes? — The Apparent Denunciation of "Metaphor" by Thomas Hobbes

Andreas Musolff (University of Durham)

Thomas Hobbes's (1588-1679) condemnation of metaphor as one of the chief "abuses of speech" in the *Leviathan* occupies a famous (to some critics, infamous) place in the history of thinking about metaphor. In *Metaphors we live by* (1980), Lakoff and Johnson cite Hobbes and John Locke (1632-1704) as the founding fathers of a tradition in which "metaphor and other figurative devices [became] objects of scorn", and in his overview over "Metaphor in the Philosophical Tradition" (1981), Johnson interprets Hobbes's theory as the expression of a "literal-truth paradigm". Similar verdicts on Hobbes and on Locke as arch-detractors of metaphor can be found in many other historical references, e.g. by Cohen (1979), Cooper (1986), Bertau (1996), Goatly (1997) and Leezenberg (2001). However, these indictments stand in marked contrast to a considerable number of scholarly publications especially over the past two decades that have shown that Hobbes's assessment of rhetoric and metaphor is far from being a 'straightforward' denunciation of anything non-'literal' (cf. Ball 1985, Bertmann 1988, Condren 1994, Isermann 1991; Johnston 1986; Jong 1990, Prokhovnik 1996; Skinner 1978, 1991, 1996, Wagner and Zenkert 1995). In this paper I shall use results of this research in an analysis of key-passages from *Leviathan* to re-assess Hobbes's views on metaphor. I will argue that some critics of Hobbes have overlooked crucial differentiations (in particular, of different kinds of *metaphor* and

similitude) in his work and that Hobbes's foregrounding of the dangers of deception-by-metaphor should be seen as an *acknowledgement* rather than as a denial of its conceptual and cognitive force.

Dutch Nineteenth-Century Linguistics
and the Rise of Afrikaans as a Standard Language

Jan Noordegraaf (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)

The year 1875 saw the founding of the "Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners', a society which aimed at the recognition of Afrikaans as a standard language in South-Africa. In 1876 the first grammar of Afrikaans appeared in print at the city of Paarl, near Cape Town. A dictionary was to follow many years later.

In their battle against the two established languages, viz. English and Dutch, the members of the society sought theoretical arguments to support their belief that Afrikaans, at the time just a spoken language which had not yet been codified at all, could be raised to the level of a written language to be used for cultural, political and scholarly purposes.

On the basis of a few case studies it will be shown that the linguistic underpinnings of their enterprise were provided by contemporary Dutch linguists, who were not only acquainted with the tenets of comparative historical grammar, but also with crucial insights from the Humboldtian tradition. As it appears, the idea of 'progress in language' was fashionable in South Africa as early as 1875.

The "American Type": On the Troubles of Describing and Understanding
Polysynthesis

Elke Nowak (Technische Universität Berlin)

When Peter Stephen Duponceau (1760-1844) introduced the term "polysynthesis" into the debate on the diversity of languages, the "comprehensive grammatical forms which appear to prevail with little variation among the aboriginal native of America, from Greenland to Cape Horne" (Pickering 1834:3) had been described by grammarians for a long time. In my presentation I will discuss some of the difficulties polysynthesis provided for representations in a grammatical frame work largely based on Latin.

But polysynthesis not only troubled missionary linguists, most of whom never understood its nature. Polysynthesis equally troubled scholars. Humboldt could not share Duponceau's and Pickering's enthusiasm for the richness and elegance of the American languages. In his *Mexican Grammar* he takes great care to distinguish the genius of Ancient Greek from the superfluity and clumsiness of Nahuatl.

Was it just the poor descriptions which made it difficult if not impossible for European scholars to view the American languages in a more favorable light? Or was

it a collective refusal to listen, based on a firm belief in cultural superiority which justified the widespread disregard or even despice.

La question de l'arbitraire du signe et la réception du saussurisme et du structuralisme dans la linguistique francophone et le contexte français.

Christian Puech (Université Sorbonne Nouvelle Paris III)

Quoique réputée connue, la réception des idées de Saussure et du *Cours de linguistique générale* en France garde encore quelques mystères.

      Notre contribution voudrait revenir sur une séquence courte de cette réception: l'article de E. Pichon en 1937 « La linguistique en France, problèmes et méthodes » dans le *Journal de psychologie*, va donner lieu à toute une série de réactions en France et en Suisse. L'article d'E. Benveniste sur l'arbitraire saussurien en 1940 est souvent commenté. On a oublié qu'il fait partie d'une constellation dans laquelle C. Bally, A. Sechehaye et H. Frei, les revues *Acta linguistica* et les *Cahiers F. de Saussure* s'étaient activement impliqués. La tournure du débat conduira même la Société genevoise de linguistique a publier un manifeste « Pour l'arbitraire du signe ». Nous pensons qu'il s'agit là d'un épisode important (quoique paradoxal) pour la compréhension de la réception de Saussure en France: celui-ci commence sans doute avec la retraduction par V. Cousin du *Cratyle* de Platon en 1841, il se poursuit par toutes les attaques «spiritualistes » contre l'héritage de Condillac et des Idéologues, il perdure dans les grammaires psychologique de l'entre-deux guerres (Damourette et Pichon, F. Brunot... Quels enjeux s'attachent alors dans les années 1940 à cette « bataille du signe » au point de donner lieu à un manifeste? Dans quelle mesure sera-t-elle déterminante dans l'acclimatation tardive (les années cinquante) du *CLG* au contexte français?

De quelques emplois des 'termes de supplément' dans la Grammaire Générale française

Valérie Raby
(Université de Reims, UMR CNRS 7597 'Histoire des théories linguistiques')

Le programme théorique de la grammaire générale (énoncer les règles de formation des énoncés dans toutes les langues) impose de ramener la variété des énoncés observables à des transformations opérées à partir de structures simples. Dans la première version de la grammaire générale, celle de Port-Royal, les énoncés donnés comme sous-jacents sont composés d'énoncés attestables mais plus simples que les énoncés observés (*Dieu invisible a créé le monde visible* sous-entend ainsi trois propositions : *Dieu est invisible, Dieu a créé le monde, le monde est visible*). Chez les continuateurs, en particulier Beauzée, Condillac et Destutt de Tracy, se développent des modèles explicatifs recourant à des séquences inattestables, appelées « termes de supplément » par Beauzée. Je m'intéresserai particulièrement à l'emploi de ces

séquences pour l'analyse de la forme *que*, qui donne lieu à des restitutions au statut problématique. J'en donne deux exemples: pour Condillac, « *je vous assure QUE les connaissances sont surtout nécessaires au prince*, est pour *je vous assure CETTE CHOSE QUI EST, les connaissances sont surtout nécessaires au prince* »; pour Destutt de Tracy, « L'homme *que* vous aimez, c'est l'homme *que-le* (homme) vous aimez ». D'un point de vue épistémologique, on peut se demander ce qui autorise la grammaire à de telles réécritures.

The Status of Translation in *Guarani* Jesuit Grammars

Carolina Rodríguez-Alcalá (University of Campinas, Brazil)

The Jesuit missionaries wrote the first Guarani grammars in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in order to attend the needs imposed by their project of evangelization of the natives. This process of *exogrammatization* (Auroux, 1992) was not reversed afterwards, either by national grammar tradition, or by native speakers. Such grammars, with their religious-cultural content, were written by and for foreigners and remained always contrastive and pedagogical in nature. This constituted a stability factor in the treatment of the examples included in these grammars, which always implied *translating*.

This paper aims at analyzing matters embedded in this translation process and its related consequences to the status of the examples included in these grammars. In terms of their *legitimacy*, this has to be accounted for in relation to both the *indigenous language* and to the *religious doctrine*: one must *know* the language and not incur in *heresy* (a fact that led some to question some of the examples). And in regard to their *representativity*, the examples used neither constitute a register of "the whole indigenous language", nor a register, even if a partial one, of its attested/attestable facts: what is at stake is a deliberate work of creation and modification of the structure of the native language, bearing in mind the religious-cultural content to be translated. This "invention" of examples acquires a radical sense: they represent and fix a language created by the missionaries in the process of *grammatization* itself.

Reason and Usage in Early Modern Linguistics

Gijsbert J. Rutten (University of Nijmegen)

In seventeenth and eighteenth century Dutch linguistics *usage* (*gebruik*) and *reason* (*rede*) are common regulative and normative principles. Usage and reason are not mutually exclusive. Authors appealing to usage defend reason as well, and so-called analogists or rationalists often admit the power and legitimacy of practical usage. Thus, usage and reason, *anomalia* and *analogia* – often treated as opposites because of the supposed grammatical battle over these terms in Antiquity – appear to be reconcilable in some way. The question is how exactly.

I try to answer this question with reference to German, French and English linguistics of the same period, in which the concept of *good usage* (*guter Gebrauch, le bon usage*) made possible the convergence of the in principle diverging notions of usage and reason. On the one hand, usage is good and normative insofar as it is reasonable, i.e. insofar as it corresponds to linguistic axioms or deviations from these axioms can be accounted for. On the other hand, reason can only come to the fore in actual language, i.e. when it manifests itself in good usage. In this way good usage entered into a monstrous alliance with reason, harmoniously combatting *bad usage* (*Missbrauch, le mauvais usage*).

The History of Linguistics in an Interdisciplinary Curriculum

Richard Steadman-Jones (University of Sheffield)

Since 1999 I have been teaching topics in the History of Linguistics as a means of bridging the two main subject areas of a degree programme in English Language and Literature. My experience shows that, while fields such as Stylistics straddle the border between linguistic and literary study in a more obvious fashion, the History of Linguistics can also make a valuable contribution to interdisciplinary teaching across this subject boundary.

My presentation will describe the last of five interdisciplinary modules that students take over the three years of the programme. The module examines ideas about language and literature current in four different periods from the late eighteenth century to the present. For each period students study one text concerned more with language and one concerned more with literature, exploring connections between the two. Inspired by Dennis Taylor's monograph, *Hardy's Literary Language and Victorian Philology*, for example, I ask students to read the second of Max Müller's *Lectures* along with Thomas Hardy's preface to the dialect poetry of William Barnes. This pairing of texts allows us to examine the relationship between the 'new philology' of the nineteenth century and the rise of dialect representation as a strategy in Victorian literature, a topic with connections to a range of issues studied elsewhere in the degree.

As well as describing the module, I shall also report on students' reactions to it and on ways in which I would like to develop the place of the History of Linguistics in our degree programme.

Oral History as a Research Technique in the History of Linguistic Thought

Richard Steadman-Jones (University of Sheffield)

In this paper I shall report on a project that I am conducting in the field of oral history. The central aim of the research is to work with British participants who learned either an Asian or African language in the context of the colonial and post-colonial encounters of the 1950s and 1960s, eliciting from them personal narratives concerning

their experiences both of studying and using those languages. These narratives constitute a new body of textual material against which it is possible to read published sources such as grammars, dictionaries, and phrase books and, in so doing, open up new and important research questions.

I shall argue that the texts available to Europeans working in the colonies and ex-colonies of Asia and Africa played an important role in mediating encounters with the languages of those regions. To learn another language, particularly one with a structure very different from that of one's own native language, is to open oneself up to difference in a way that can be productive of both anxiety and pleasure. Pedagogical linguistic descriptions mediated this experience of difference in diverse ways, some attempting to minimise the 'strangeness' of the language they presented by assimilating it into familiar patterns of analysis and others arguably increasing it through the use of contemporary metalanguages unfamiliar to learners who had undergone very traditional experiences of language-learning in British schools. Oral historical techniques enable us to examine the affective dimensions of texts that, at first sight, seem so technical as to preclude affective response and in this way link the study of linguistic work to other research on the cultural dimensions of encounter.

Musings on the Development of a Philosophical Language:
A Study of John Wilkins' *Mercury: or the Secret and Swift Messenger.*

Joseph Subbiondo (California Institute of Integral Studies, San Francisco)

In his monumental *An Essay towards a Real Chartacter, and a Philosophical language* (1668), John Wilkins (1614-1672) produced the most comprehensive philosophical language in the seventeenth century. The *Essay* was the culmination of years of work by Wilkins and his many collaborators who were instrumental in the formation of the Royal Society. Given that the *Essay* overshadows Wilkins' earlier work *Mercury: or the Secret and Swift Messenger* (1641), *Mercury* has been understandably relegated to a minor position by historians of the seventeenth-century universal language movement. This has been unfortunate because in *Mercury* one finds the initial musings of Wilkins on the development of a philosophical language.

In this paper, I will comment on *Mercury* by examining Wilkins perspectives in his selection of prefatory poems and his musings regarding the relationship between secret language and natural knowledge, history of secret communication systems, the design and benefit of a universal character, and history and consideration of non-verbal expression. While *Mercury* is a notable contribution in the history of cryptography, its significance lies in its revealing of clues of how Wilkins' early thinking shaped his approach in designing his philosophical language.

Against the Arbitrariness of the Linguistic Sign:
Soviet Linguistics in 1920-1930

Ekaterina Velmezova (Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow – University of Lausanne, Switzerland)

In 1920-1930, there appeared a number of linguistic theories in the Soviet Union, which ran counter to the famous thesis by F. de Saussure about the arbitrariness of the linguistic sign. In these theories, sounds and even letters got particular meanings. One of such linguistic theories was represented by the phenomenological current of *imjaslavcy* (P.A. Florenskij (1882-1937), G.G. Shpet (1879-1937), A.F. Losev (1893-1988)) who laid down the foundations of the "philosophy of name" in Soviet linguistics. Almost all of them were victims of the Soviet regime. Another trend, however strange it could seem, was represented by the followers of N. Ja. Marr (1864-1934), whose theories, on the contrary, were "officially recognized" and accepted by the Soviet powers. Studying the so-called "ideological semantics" (to begin with V.I. Abaev, 1900-2001), they established semantic correlations between the words having similar phonetic structures (to be compared with the "folk etymology" principle). At the same time, the "ideological semantics" of letters, about which N. Ja. Marr was the first to speak, made "ideologically important" the elaboration of alphabets for the numerous peoples in the USSR which still had no writing.

The philosophical and epistemological premises of these linguistic trends, which seem incompatible as to their other aspects and their places in Soviet linguistics and philosophy of language, will be analysed in our study in the light of the reception of F. de Saussure in the Soviet Union in 1920-1930.

Synchronic Theory and Diachronic Phonology
in Generative Historical Linguistics

Stijn Verleyen (Fund for Scientific Research, Flanders)

In this paper, we propose to examine the generative diachronic model of phonology developed by linguists as Kiparsky (1965), Postal (1968) and King (1969). Generative Theory, inaugurated by Chomsky (1957) and subsequently refined in Chomsky (1965), was soon applied to phonology, as is apparent from publications such as Chomsky – Halle – Lukoff (1956), Halle (1962), Chomsky (1964) and Chomsky and Halle (1965, 1968). The phonological component was conceived of as an interpretive device which applies to the output of the generative (syntactic) core of the grammar, and the formalism adopted was very much like the one used in syntax.

In the mid 1960's, synchronic phonological theory was applied to diachronic phonology. The rule formalism was used to offer new explanations of traditional problems of sound change, and it was claimed that generative theory, unlike traditional approaches to sound change, allowed an explanatory account of phonological change. "Sound change" came to be viewed, not as change in (external) speech, but as a modification of the speaker's mental grammar.

We claim that generative diachronic studies never transcended the formalism of synchronic generative phonology (in which, incidentally, synchronic and diachronic data were not always clearly distinguished), and that the specific character of the diachronic model is entirely determined by the nature of the synchronic theory. In many cases, diachronic data only served as a corroboration for certain synchronic analyses (cf. Kiparsky 1968).

Furthermore, we would like to argue that generative diachronic phonology, being a simple transposition of a static, synchronic model, was untenable in the long run, as is obvious from the evolution of the model from an extremely formalist approach to a more functional, substantive outlook (cf. Kiparsky 1971, King 1975).

Reflections on Law and Language in Nineteenth-Century Habsburg:
What did Mauthner Learn from Merkel?

Frank Vonk (Doetinchem)

In nineteenth-century Habsburg legal procedures relied heavily upon the positivistic strand in law as was among others proposed by Adolf Merkel (1836-1896) and precursors in Germany and Vienna like Friedrich Karl von Savigny (1779-1861) or Rudolf von Ihering (1818-1892) who focussed upon the law as a historical phenomenon to be described in a methodologically sound way. Adolf Merkel, being a professional philosopher of law in Prague, more or less comes to the same conclusion when he maintains that "[m]any legal terms have a blurry quality. Their areas of application are not delineated by insurmountable fences, but rather they spill over into neighbouring areas." (cf. Philipps 1999). Merkel was one of the many professors in Prague who was visited by Fritz Mauthner and Mauthner considered Merkel to be one of the important academic teachers who was aware of the fact that legal concepts do not create a world of their own but are related to our understanding of social life and the historical dimensions of law and legal settings. In my contribution I will elaborate upon the relation between Merkel (law) and Mauthner (critique of language).

The English Patient:
Grammar in Twentieth-Century England and Wales

John Walmsley (Bielefeld)

The twentieth century witnessed a progressive reduction in the language component both in the school curriculum and in degree courses in English in England and Wales. From being a traditional part of the curriculum (in various manifestations) since the Middle Ages, 'grammar' became marginalised in the twentieth century to such a degree that it largely disappeared from the curriculum of state schools for over thirty years. Parallel to this, moves were made to peg back the linguistic or 'philological' component of degree courses in English to the point where it was either non-existent or available only as a low-level option. These developments reflect changes in how

'grammar' was perceived, and the relationship between grammar and other areas of 'English'.

Although similar developments were under way in other countries in the western world, there are nevertheless factors peculiar to the British Isles. This paper will consider in how far the present situation is a consequence of readjustments to the relations between philology and linguistics, and at the same time demonstrate how the history of linguistics can shed useful light on current situations in which political decisions have to be taken.

Eto, H. (2003) *Philologie vs. Sprachwissenschaft*. Muenster: Nodus.

The Introduction of the Grammar-Translation Method in Dutch Foreign Language Teaching: Sources and Success.

Frans Wilhelm (University of Nijmegen)

For a long time Dutch foreign language teaching (FLT) was dominated by the grammar-translation method, roughly between 1800 and 1970. One may well wonder what the roots of this method were and why it became so successful.

When in 1794 the French language master Antoine Nicolas Agron (1762-1799) published his Verzameling van Opstellen, geschikt om de Nederlandsche jeugd, door middel van haare moedertaal.... tot de kennis der Fransche taale opteleiden, it was an immediate success. Within a few years there were many reprints and editions and in book reviews Agron's textbook was highly praised. Its success seems to have been partly based on the high quality of the language content and partly on a new teaching method that was employed, a method that had never before been used so systematically in Dutch FLT. Agron's French textbook was quickly followed by similar textbooks for French, English and German. This paper addresses the question what authors and textbooks played the leading part in this process and what their sources were. It also proposes to answer the question why the grammar-translation method caught on so quickly in the Netherlands.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

(to 1st November 2004)

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

Dr Richard Steadman-Jones
Dept of English Language & Linguistics
University of Sheffield
Sheffield   S10 2TN

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

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

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

BEAL, Joan C.
English in Modern Times
London: Arnold, 2004. xvi, 264 pp. ISBN • 0-340-76117-2. GBP. 14.99.

KOERNER, E. F. K.
Essays in the History of Linguistics
Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2004. x, 271 pp. ISBN • 90-272-4594-0. EUR. 99.00

ARTICLES AND REVIEWS

BEAL, Joan C.
"John Walker: Prescriptivist or Linguistic Innovator?".   In: Marina Dossena and Charles Jones (eds) *Insights into Late Modern English.* (Bern, Berlin, Bruxelles, Frankfurt am Main, New York, Oxford, Wien: Peter Lang, 2003), 83-104. ISBN • 3-906770-97-4 (Eur.); ISBN • 0-8204-6258-6 (US).

NOORDEGRAAF, Jan
"De Afrikaanse connectie van Taco H. de Beer II. De 'verlore bladsye' van Arnoldus Pannevis", *Trefwoord*, (April 2004), 15 pp.

NOORDEGRAAF, Jan
"Van *Kaapsch-Hollandsch* naar *Afrikaans*: visies op verandering". In: Saskia Daalder, Theo Janssen and Jan Noordegraaf (eds) *Taal in verandering: Artikelen aangeboden aan Arjan van Leuvensteijn bij zijn afscheid van de opleiding Nederlandse Taal en Cultuur aan de Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam.* (Amsterdam: Stichting Neerlandistiek VU; Münster: Nodus, 2004), 169-84. ISBN • 90-72365-81-X; ISBN • 3-89323-744-5.

NOORDEGRAAF, Jan
"A matter of time: Dutch philosophy of language in the eighteenth century". In: Thomas F. Shannon and Johan P. Snapper (eds) *Janus at the Millennium: Perspectives on Time in the Culture of the Netherlands.* (Dallas, Lanham, Boulder, New York, Oxford: University Press of America, 2004), 211-225. ISBN • 0-7618-2832-X.

STEADMAN-JONES, Richard
"Lone Travellers: The Construction of Originality and Plagiarism in Colonial Grammars of the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries". In: Paulina Kewes (ed.) *Plagiarism in Early Modern England.* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 201-14. ISBN • 0-333-99841-3.

STEADMAN-JONES, Richard
"Richardson's Barometer: Colonial Representation in Grammatical Texts". In: Natasha Glaisyer and Sarah Pennell (eds) *Expertise Constructed: Didactic Literature in England 1500-1800.* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 152-68. ISBN • 0-7546-0669-4.

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

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

SUBMISSION PROCEDURE: All submissions should be sent to the editor in electronic format, preferably as an e-mail attachment in .rtf format (if this is not possible then please use .doc). If special characters, including IPA or characters with umlauts for instance, are used the author is also requested to send a hard copy, or a .pdf version to the editor.

PEER REVIEWS: All submissions are read by the editor and passed on to a suitable reviewer on the Henry Sweet Society Committee, or when this is not possible the editor will try to approach someone outside the committee with special knowledge in the relevant area.

   After the peer review, comments are sent to the author together with a note to tell him/her if their submission has been accepted and if so if any further work needs to be done before it can be published. (This is normally done via e-mail, so the person submitting something for the Bulletin is asked to make sure that he/she includes an e-mail address that is checked on a regular basis.)

ABSTRACTS: Authors of (short) articles are also asked to submit a 150-200 word abstract which can be used to give information of the contents of the most current issue of the Bulletin on the Henry Sweet Society Web pages. In the future this might also be published as part of the article, in order to help readers get a quick overview of the contents.

PROOFS: Before publication the first proofs are sent to the author and after they have been approved by the author the paper is sent to a proof reader. If further changes need to be made according to the proof reader a new set of proofs will then be sent to the author.

TITLE: Centred, bold, 16 points. The first letter of each content word should be upper case and the rest of the main title should be in lower case. If there is a subheading this should be presented in italics, 14 points, without capitalisation of the first letter in content words.

HEADINGS FOR REVIEWS: The heading should be left-aligned, 16 points, Times New Roman. The author(s) / editor(s) of the reviewed volume should be presented in bold, on the next line the title in bold italics, followed by place of publication, publisher, year, pages and the price when known on the third line in regular, 14 points. If a discount is available for members of the Henry Sweet Society for the History of Linguistic Ideas it would be good if information of this could also be included.

example:
David Cram, Jeffrey L. Foreng and Dorothy Johnston (eds.)
Francis Willughby's Book of Games. A Seventeenth-Century
Treatise on Sports, Games and Pastimes.
London: Ashgate, 2003. 344 pp.
£65, USD 114.95 (25% discount for members of the Henry Sweet Society)

Reviewed by: Werner Hüllen, Düsseldorf.

AUTHOR: The name, possible affiliation and place of residence of the author should be given below the heading of articles, reports, proposals etc leaving two lines between the heading and the name. This should be 13 points, centred, the author's name given in bold and the affiliation, and/or place of residence given in regular font style.

Authors of reviews are also asked to include their name and affiliation after the review heading. One line should be left between the review heading and the author. The author's name should be left aligned, bold, 13 points, Times New Roman and it should be introduced by '**Reviewed by:**' and the name followed by a comma and then his/her affiliation (and/or place of residence) in regular, 13 points, Times New Roman (see above).

The author's address details should be given at the end of the article. These should be aligned to the left-hand margin of the page. Two lines should be left between the references and the details about the authors. These details should come after the heading 'Contact Details' (13 points, left aligned, bold) and should include postal address and e-mail address, unless the author would prefer not to publish one of those and then this should be discussed with the editor.

example:
Contact details: therese.lindstrom@lingfil.uu.se [tab: 3.75 cms]

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

SECTIONS OF THE BODY TEXT: It is up to the author if he/she would like to divide their paper into sections. Sections should be divided into 1., 2., 2.1, 2.1.1. The headings for these sections should be in Bold Italic 13 points for 1., 2. etc., italics only for 1.1, 1.2, etc and underlined for 1.1.1, 1.1.2, etc. There should always be two blank lines before a 1., 2. etc section starts, one blank line before a 1.1, 2.1, etc section start. After each heading there should also be one blank line.

QUOTATIONS: Quotations should be clearly marked as such, with the reference given in the following manner (Smith, 1999: 34). Quotations that are less than three lines long should be cited within citation marks in the text ['x', "x"]. Authors are requested to use curved quotation marks and to be consistent in their use of single or double.

Quotations more than three lines long should be indented by 1.27 cm on the left-hand side. If the author chooses to leave out part of a quotation this should be represented by [...].

REFERENCES: All works that are referred to in the paper should be given full references at the end of the paper. Full names (given name and surname) should be given for all authors, unless an author is referred to who prefers to use initials only in their own publications, then initials should normally be used. However, if in such cases the full names are in general circulation it is up to the author of the submitted text to decide whether to represent that scholar by his/her full name or only initials and their surname. References should be given in the following style:

Monographs
Max Müller, Friedrich. 1862. *Lectures on the Science of Language Delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain in April, May and June, 1861.* New York: Charles Scribner.
-----. 1865. *Lectures on the Science of Language Delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain in February, March, April and May, 1863.* New York: Charles Scribner.

Article in journal
Hancher, Michael. 1981. 'Humpty Dumpty and Verbal Meaning.' *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 40: 49–58.
Rastall, Paul. 2001. 'Richard Chenevix Trench – not just a populariser?'. *Bulletin of the Henry Sweet Society for the History of Linguistic Ideas*, 37: 22–39.
Sutcliffe, Patricia Casey. 2001. 'Humboldt's *Ergon* and *Energeia* in Friedrich Max Müller's and William Dwight Whitney's Theories of Language.' *Logos and Language (Topics in the Historiography of Language Theory).* 2 (2): 21–35.

Reprint or Paper in an edited volume
Humboldt, Wilhelm von. 1836 [1963]. *Ueber die Verschiedenheit des menschlichen Sprachbaues und ihren Einfluss auf die geistige Entwicklung des Menschengeschlechts.* In: *Werke in fünf Bänden.* Vol. III Schriften zur Sprachphilosophie. Ed. by Andreas Flitner & Klaus Giel. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft. 368–756 .
Rydén, Mats. 1999. 'Axel Erdmann: Sweden's First Professor of English.' In: *Thinking English Grammar: to Honour Xavier Dekeyser, Professor Emeritus.* Ed. by Guy A. J. Tops, Betty Devriendt & Steven Geukens, Leuven: Peeters; Hadleigh: BRAD. 297–305.

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

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

LIFE DATES: All scholars that are mentioned in the Bulletin should normally be provided with information about when they lived on their first mention in an article or review. However, scholars that are still alive need not be given life dates, unless the article / review treats the recent history of linguistics and the author feels that it may be useful to include information about when the scholar was born, an alternative in this case may be to include information about when they graduated.

Therese Lindström Tiedemann, *Groningen*
Editor
November 2004

The Henry Sweet Society
for the History of Linguistic Ideas

Minutes of the 2004 AGM

The Annual General Meeting of the Henry Sweet Society was held on the 15th September, 2004, during the Society's Annual Colloquium, which took place this year at Jesus College, Oxford.

Werner Hüllen (Vice-President) chaired the meeting.   Richard Steadman-Jones (Assistant Secretary) took the minutes.

Apologies: Anders Ahlqvist, Nicola McLelland.

1.   Minutes: the minutes of the previous meeting had been circulated in the Bulletin and were also made available at the meeting.   They were agreed.   Under 'matters arising', John Walmsley asked how often the opportunity of bidding for AHRB ring-fenced awards came up and it was noted that the process will not be a regular one.

2.   New Category of 'Corresponding Member' of the Society: David Cram explained the rationale behind the creation of the new category of 'Corresponding Member'.   This was to be an honorary position intended to 'add luster' to the Society in the spirit of the Royal Society's institution of the same name.   Corresponding Members were to be active researchers normally resident outside the UK and associated with English Language research in the History of Linguistics and with the Henry Sweet Society itself.   There were to be only six at any time.   Corresponding members were to be nominated by the Executive Committee and the nominations ratified by the Society at the AGM.   The Committee had already written to the first six nominated candidates: Even Hovdhaugen, Konrad Koerner, Jan Noordegraaf, Irène Rosier, Peter Schmitter, and Shoichi Watanabe.   All had accepted.   Discussion of this development dealt with several issues.

Vivian Salmon suggested that individuals should be able to apply for corresponding membership and also asked that brief accounts of the grounds on which particular people had been nominated be published in the Bulletin as a means of ensuring transparency.

Joan Leopold suggested that, since a number of the nominated candidates were already members and the Society has a broadly based membership, a position of this kind was perhaps unnecessary.   Rosemary Combridge also asked for clarification of the rationale for the decision.   John Walmsley noted that the idea had emerged when Jan Noordegraaf expressed his wish to leave the Executive Committee and members had wanted to recognize the bond he had with the Society in some particular way.   The position was then widened to include others, for example Shoichi Watanabe, who

cannot usually attend meetings in person, although his students frequently do. Werner Hüllen stated that the position was not entirely honorary and that the corresponding members were to provide advice to the Executive Committee. John Flood noted that it would also be helpful to have a specific group of distinguished colleagues abroad who could comment on debates taking place within British education, over studentships, the Research Assessment Exercise, and so on. On this note, David Cram noted that SHEL has an international committee that performs this kind of function.

Jaap Matt asked why there were only to be six Corresponding Members and Andrew Linn suggested that limiting the numbers added to their value as a mark of respect.

Earlier in the discussion Vivian Salmon asked if the position was to be held for life and went on to propose that the views and suggestions of members be sought in the next edition of the Bulletin. Werner Hüllen expressed reservations about this as a way of canvassing opinion and suggested that the arrangement be reviewed at an AGM after five years.

Vivian Salmon proposed that the whole idea of introducing this category of membership be advertised in the Bulletin and opinion sought. Andrew Linn objected that the function of the AGM was to allow members to voice their opinions and that this was the usual constitutional means for the development of new schemes within the Society.

Taking up Werner Hüllen's suggestion, Rosemary Combridge proposed an amendment to the motion that Corresponding Membership be limited in time to four years. Werner Hüllen seconded this proposal David Cram suggested that the memberships could also be staggered so that the whole slate would not come to the end of term at the same time. The amendment was accepted, as was the amended motion.

Rosemary Combridge asked that it be minuted that none of the objections to the scheme were in any way personal to the people nominated.

[Since the AGM, Konrad Koerner has withdrawn his acceptance of the role of Corresponding Member.]

3.   Committee Membership: It was noted that two members of the Executive Committee wished to step down: Chris Stray and Jan Noordegraaf. The committee nominated Rachael Gilmour as a new Committee member. Vivian Salmon suggested that nominations for membership be elicited in the Bulletin. Werner Hüllen stated that this procedure had been dropped because it rarely produced any nominations. Werner Hüllen asked if the AGM accepted the nomination of Rachael Gilmour. The nomination was accepted.

4.   Colloquium Matters: It was reported that, since 2005 is an ICHOLS year, the Society will hold a one-day conference at Darwin College, Cambridge in mid-March. Louis Kelly was to organize the venue and Richard Steadman-Jones, the programme. Conferences had been provisionally arranged in Glasgow for 2006 and Sheffield for 2007, although offers of alternative venues were welcomed. Werner Hüllen noted that it would be desirable to organize details of conferences well in advance and that this

would create the opportunity for the organizers of successive conferences to work together more closely.

5.   Financial Report: The Treasurer's report was circulated, although Nicola McLelland was not present to speak to it.   John Flood noted that in previous years, a substantial proportion of the Salmon-Verburg fund was held in the Dutch Postbank and asked if this was still the case or whether the fund had now run down to the sum of £2195.54 mentioned in relation to the Sterling bank account. It was also noted that the arrangement of text next to the final balance was slightly misleading since it seemed to relate to the preceding item. The balance of the accounts was accepted.

David Cram reported that this year the Society had received a large number of applications for bursaries funded by the Salmon-Verburg fund. It had proved difficult to select two of these because the claims of each case were very different. Vivian Salmon had kindly offered to contribute more money to the fund in honour of Paul Salmon. For this reason, it had been possible for all the applicants to receive funding and, of the six bursaries offered, all but one had been take up. David Cram noted that it was encouraging to see younger scholars coming to the society and thanked Vivian Salmon for her generosity.   She had initially intended to make the donation anonymously but had accepted the guidance of the Executive Committee, which felt it should be public.

6.   Membership Matters: Rhodri Lewis noted that membership numbers have declined over last couple of years and measures had been taken to remedy this. New members had been signed up at this conference and fliers had been produced to publicize the Society at other organizations. Members were encouraged to ask for fliers and distribute them. Rosemary Combridge also urged members to pay by direct debit and in this way avoid the necessity of renewing their membership each year. John Flood suggested that the text of the flier be sent to all members as an e-mail attachment so copies could be made as required.   Konrad Koerner noted that NAAHOLS has life memberships, for which members pay a flat rate. Werner Hüllen added that Japanese members sometimes pay for five years at a time in order to save on bank charges and suggested that this idea be included in the next Bulletin. It was also suggested that members paying in this way might be charged slightly less to make the option more attractive.

7.   Publication Matters: Andrew Linn, speaking on behalf of Therese Lindström, asked members to submit work for publication in the Bulletin. He noted that a peer review process has now been introduced. He also noted that, although the article section is described as containing 'short' articles, it might well be possible to carry longer ones. Members were also encouraged to send unsolicited reviews. Finally he noted that the Bulletin carries biographical sketches of new members and encouraged anyone who had joined recently to send their details for publication. Werner Hüllen supported the call for submission by noting that the Bulletin is only as rich as members make it through their contributions.

Andrew Linn noted that the most recent book in the Henry Sweet Society series is currently with Nodus. It is entitled *Flores Grammaticae* and is a collection of

essays in memory of Vivien Law. It will be available at a reduced rate to members and, in fact, all the volumes published by Nodus are available to members at a reduced rate.

8.   HSS WebPages: Richard Steadman-Jones noted that the Society's website was soon to be moved to Sheffield but that the present address could be retained.

9.   Nomination by the Society for the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE): It was reported that the Executive Committee had, on behalf of the Society, nominated John Joseph as a possible panel member for the 2008 Research Assessment Exercise. John Walmsley asked whether it would be possible to nominate people from overseas in future RAEs. John Flood stated that, in the last one, each panel had had to nominate four or five international consultants and this time there would be one person from abroad in each panel. However, it was not possible for us to influence the process of appointment.   He suggested that in future it might be possible to nominate a Corresponding Member.

10.   Any Other Business: The Society offered its thanks to David Cram for organizing the conference and to the Master and Fellows of Jesus College for a warm welcome. David Cram thanked the Executive Committee for advising on the planning and selection of papers.   Konrad Koerner requested that members take a list of publications which can be purchased from Benjamins at a 20% discount and distribute them to friends.

PhD Theses Abstracts

Acquired Childhood Aphasia:
Historical and Theoretical Perspectives

The "traditional concept" of Acquired Childhood Aphasia (ACA) has been derived from a limited number of late nineteenth century cases. The concept can be summarised as:

a) Language comprehension is preserved relative to expression.
b) Recovery is swift and complete.
c) ACA is found after right as well as left cerebral lesions.

This "traditional concept" has been contested by late twentieth century reports of sensory aphasia, auditory comprehension deficits and poor prognosis in childhood. It now seems less certain that the clinical description of ACA is as homogeneous as first thought.

Reconsideration of the early modern period of neuroscientific research typically considers work carried out on the Continent. This study critically examines clinical research carried out in England to determine whether the "traditional concept" of ACA is accurately reflected in nineteenth century British medical opinion.

The study reviews cases of ACA drawn from the archives of Great Ormond Street Hospital covering the period 1860-1900. These cases illustrate the characterisation of language difficulties in various modalities and reflect assumptions regarding development and organisation of mental faculties. They also reveal information about which variables were considered significant. The etiology and prognosis of these ACA cases together with possible variables such as the child's age and gender are discussed in the light of contemporaneous medical opinion. Comparison of archived casenotes with cases published in English medical journals reveals biases in the evidence selected to serve as the basis for the standard view of presentation, recovery and pathology of ACA.

The study concludes that, from the English language literature, there is little evidence to support the "traditional concept" of ACA. Cases of aphasic children presenting adult-like long term language impairment (including comprehension deficits) appear both in the archived and published papers from this period, while few cases of ACA following right cerebral lesions are to be found.

Paula Hellal, *Birkbeck College, University of London*
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The History of the Concept of Grammaticalisation

The present thesis discusses the history and meaning of the term and concept called *grammaticalisation*. Linguists usually ascribe the coinage of the term *grammaticalisation* to Antoine Meillet (1866-1936), who allegedly played a vital role in the history of grammaticalisation. It is also widely acknowledged that grammaticalisation was in some way 'revived' during the 1970s, and that Talmy Givón had an important role in this, as demonstrated by the popularity of the saying "Today's morphology is yesterday's syntax" (taken from one of his articles).

I show that Meillet wrote little about grammaticalisation and that he hardly ever used this word, and possibly did not mean for it to be viewed as a term / label. Moreover, the paper in question (Meillet, 1912) is basically a general introduction to a concept which he sees as a continuation of a notion with a long history. In addition, I prove that there are no clear links between Meillet and Givón's work in the early 1970s.

Despite the general acceptance that Meillet coined *grammaticalisation,* my thesis proves that it could have been coined more than once, and that it does not always mean the same thing to all users. I show that sometimes the term is accompanied by examples which others have used to illustrate *lexicalisation*, a term which some employ for a process that is seen as the opposite of grammaticalisation. I therefore advocate careful use of our definitions of terminology and concepts, and insist that we should define our notions, instead of letting examples do the work of illustration and definition.

Finally, I question whether it is true that grammaticalisation is unidirectional. I research the history of the view that grammaticalisation is a unidirectional process. Grammatical relations can be expressed by different means – e.g. word order, content words becoming grammatical markers, or parts of words being given a function. I believe all these should be compared, in order to improve our knowledge of how languages change and why. I claim that they all represent sub-processes of a superordinate category which I have labelled *supergrammaticalisation*.

Therese Lindström Tiedemann, *University of Sheffield*
therese.lindstrom@lingfil.uu.se

Neue chinesische Publikationsreihe zur Sprachwissenschaftsgeschichte: die *Beijing Studies in the History of Linguistics*

Nach längerer Vorbereitung (vgl. die SGdS-Internet-Rundbriefe [http://go.to/sgds] der Jahre 2000 bis 2003 sowie die Dokumentation auf den Seiten 342 bis 351 des im folgenden genannten Bandes) ist der 1. Band der *Beijing Studies in the History of Linguistics* am 1.9.2003 erschienen. Zur Begründung der Lancierung dieser neuen historiographischen Reihe schreibt der Reihenherausgeber, Prof. Yao Xiaoping von der Beijing Foreign Studies University, im englischsprachigen Vorwort: "Now that 'history of linguistics' has been taught at Chinese universities and some of the linguists more or less specialize in the study of the history of their subject, it is good time to start a special series to promote the related studies" (S. X).

Um diese Reihe aber nicht nur national, sondern auch international zu etablieren, wurde ihr neben einem "Chinese Advisory Board" ebenfalls ein "International Advisory Board" beigegeben. Mitglieder des chinesischen Komitees sind: Gu Yueguo (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing), He Jiuying (Peking University, Beijing), Hu Mingyang (China People's University, Beijing), Li Kai (Nanjing University, Nanjing), Lu Jianming (Peking University, Beijing), Shao Jingmin (East China Normal University, Shanghai), Shen Jiaxuan (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing), Song Shaonian (Peking University, Beijing), Wang Hongjun (Peking University, Beijing) und Zhao Liming (Tsinghua University, Beijing). Dem International Advisory Board gehören an: Julia S. Falk (Michigan State University, USA), Gerda Hassler (Universität Potsdam, Deutschland), Konrad Koerner (University of Ottawa, Canada [jetzt emeritiert und angebunden an das Zentrum für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, Berlin, Deutschland]), Peter Schmitter (Universität Münster, Deutschland & Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, Seoul, Korea) und Pierre Swiggers (Universiteit Leuven, Belgien).

Band 1 der *Beijing Studies in the History of Linguistics* ist der Grammatik von Ma Jianzhong (1845-1900) gewidmet, zu dessen 100. Todestag am 3. und 4. Juni 2000 ein spezielles Symposium in Beijing stattgefunden hat. Mas Grammatik ist "the first Chinese grammar written by a native scholar", weshalb auch Ma selbst als "the father of Chinese grammar study as a modern linguistic subject" (S. IX) angesehen wird.

Die Ergebnisse dieses Symposiums bilden also den Kern des hier vorgestellten Bandes, dessen Titel wie folgt transliteriert und ins Englische übersetzt werden kann (Transliteration und Übersetzung nach den mir vorliegenden Angaben von Yao Xiaoping): *'Ma Shi Weng Tong' yu Zhongguo Yuyanxue Shi. Shou Jie Zhongguo Yuyangxue Shi Yantohui Wenji* ['Ma's Grammar' and the History of Chinese Linguistics. Collection of papers presented on the First Symposium on the History of Chinese Linguistics]. Ed. by Yao Xiaoping. Beijing: Waiyu Jiaoxue yu Yanjiu Chubanshe / Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press 2003, XII, 380 pp.; ISBN 7-5600-3679-1.

Im einzelnen enthält dieser Band die folgenden in chinesischer Sprache verfassten, aber mit einer englischsprachigen Zusammenfassung (vgl. S. 352-363)

versehenen Artikel (die Wiedergabe der Aufsatztitel entspricht der Formulierung und der Schreibweise des jeweiligen Abstracts):

He Jiuying: Preliminary Remarks on the Historiography of Chinese Linguistics

Hu Mingyang: Reflections on Books Reviewing the History of Chinese Linguistics

Shao Jingmin / Shui Changxi: A Critical History of Chinese Grammar

Shen Jiaxuan: Analysis vs. Synthesis: A Survey of Grammatical Studies since *Ma's Grammar*

Li Juan: *Ma's Grammar* and Its Relation to Western Linguistic Tradition

Zhao Liming: *Xiaoxue Kao* - the Earliest Work on the History of Chinese Linguistics

Feng Xiaohu: Metaphor Study in Ancient China

Jiang Wenye: Two Notes on Ma Jianzhong's Life Story

Yao Xiaoping: On the Sources of *Ma's Grammar*

Wang Zhiping: *Ma's Grammar* and Chinese Essay Writing

Meng Pengsheng: On different approaches of *Ma's Grammar* and *Jing Zhuan Shi Ci* to the study of particles

Song Shaonian: Reinterpreting Sentence and Phrase Theory in *Ma's Grammar*

Liu Yonggeng: Ma's Idea of 'Ci' (case) and His Contribution to Chinese Grammar

Zhang Heyou: The Concept of 'Ci' (case) and Relating Questions. An Analysis of Ma's Theorizing of Syntactic Structure

Li Chunxiao: The Idea of 'Immediate Constituents' in *Ma's Grammar*

Li Kai: Ma's Approach to the Noun and Its Significance

Zhang Meng: The Duality of Ma's Concept of 'Zhi-ci' and a Classification of Verbs in Classic Chinese

Shao Aiji: An Analysis of 'Jia-ci' in *Ma's Grammar*

Li Shaoqun: Is 'Lian-zi' (conjunction) Equivalent to 'Lian-ci'? - Questioning 'Lian-zi' in *Ma's Grammar*

Li Zuofeng: The Particle 'Ye' in *Ma's Grammar*

Qi Yongxiang: A Helpful Lesson Forever. A Self-criticism of My Article "Yu Yue's [1821-1907, P.S.] *Gushu Yiyi Juli* was a work plagiarized from Jiang Fan's [1761-1831, P.S.] *Jingjie Rumen*"

Lin Yushan: 20th Century Chinese Linguistics in Retrospect

Yao Xiaoping: "The First Symposium on the History of Chinese Linguistics" (Beijing, June 3-4, 2000). A Brief Survey.

Weitere Bände dieser Reihe sind in Vorbereitung.

Peter Schmitter, *Hankuk University of Foreign Studies*
Corresponding Member

Robert Burchfield
(January 27, 1923 – July 5, 2004)

A scholar and editor of the four-volume *Supplement to the Oxford English Dictionary*, Robert Burchfield was born in Wanganui, New Zealand. He came to Oxford in 1950 as a Rhodes scholar. Burchfield became a college lecturer in English Language and Literature immediately after his graduation. While teaching at Magdalen College at Oxford, he was encouraged by C.T. Onions, a former editor of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, to become involved in the field of lexicography. In 1966 he, along with G.W.S. Friedrichsen, assisted in editing one of Onions's projects, the *Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*. In 1957, Burchfield was appointed editor of the *Supplement*. His many valuable contributions to the Dictionary's expansion include re-establishing the reading programme originally set up by founding editor James Murray, and broadening its scope to include words from many countries including North America, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Pakistan, and the Caribbean. He also instituted increased coverage of scientific and technical terms, as well as slang and colloquialisms. His policies continue to serve as guidelines for the Dictionary.

R.W. Burchfield was a long-standing member of the Henry Sweet Society. He joined the Society in 1986, and presented a paper at the annual colloquium that year on the topic of 'The completion of the O.E.D.'. His contributions to the Society will be greatly missed.

Tribute to R. W. Burchfield by John Simpson, Chief Editor, Oxford English Dictionary

The death of Bob Burchfield (or 'RWB' as he was always known to his staff, in the manner of those days) has robbed English lexicography of a scholar of international stature. He was a mixture of Johnson and Fowler, recording and documenting the vocabulary of English with painstaking detail, a scholar's neutrality, but with occasional tinges both of linguistic purism and of humour.

When he was appointed Editor of the *Supplement to the Oxford English Dictionary* in 1957 (a post which he held until 1986), he put aside his Middle English research in favour of the study of the modern lexicon, but never lost the dogged rigour in his medieval work. He joined the ranks of a group of distinguished medieval scholars from New Zealand central to scholarly work on the language in Oxford for a generation.

Indeed, he was single-handedly responsible for re-establishing a tradition of historical lexical research on the *OED* which had evaporated with the disbanding of the original *OED* staff on the completion of the First Edition of the Dictionary (1884-1928). As an academic colleague of C. T. Onions (one of the editors of the First Edition) in the 1950s he ensured editorial continuity between the early editors of the Dictionary and their modern successors.

He will perhaps be best remembered for two things: for championing the 'varieties' of world English, and ensuring that these were accorded their rightful place in the Dictionary, and as the editor responsible for including the previously 'taboo' Anglo-Saxon four-letter words in the *OED*. The editorial traditions of the *OED* today owe much to Bob Burchfield's no-nonsense, practical approach to a task of gargantuan proportions. He didn't suffer fools gladly; he didn't suffer fools at all.

The Henry Sweet Society for the History of Linguistic Ideas

Spring Colloquium

March 2005

A Spring Colloquium of the Society is planned for Friday 18 March 2005, in Darwin College, Cambridge. Coffee etc. will be available from 10.30 am. and the first paper will be at 11 am. Details of the programme will be placed on the Society's webpage by early February 2005, and circulated to members either by email or post. Note that there is a meeting of the Philological Society at St John's College at 4.15 on the afternoon of Saturday 19 March.

CALL FOR PAPERS: Papers (30 minutes including discussion) are invited on any aspect of the history of linguistic ideas. Please send your proposals to Richard Steadman-Jones, Department of English Language and Linguistics, University of Sheffield, Sheffield, S10 2TN (r.d.steadman-jones @sheffield.ac.uk) **by January 18th 2005**.

VENUE: Darwin College is located in Silver Street at the junction with Newnham Road. It is about 10 minutes' walk from the Drummer Street Bus Station, and about 35 minutes from the Railway Station. There is a shuttle bus from the Railway Station to the town centre. Information about Darwin can be located via the links at www.dar.cam.ac.uk/visitors/travel.shtml. Cambridge streets are not designed for cars, and the latest roadworks in the city centre have been built to discourage drivers. It may be possible to get limited parking rights on the Sidgwick site, about 5 minute's walk from Darwin. Parking elsewhere in the centre of Cambridge is prohibitive, so delegates are advised to use public transport.

COST: The cost per head, including coffee, lunch and tea, will be £20, to be paid on arrival.

ACCOMMODATION: The College has a limited number of guest rooms. I have been advised to enquire about their availability closer the time of the colloquium. Maps of Cambridge and its surroundings can be downloaded in pdf format from www.visitcambridge.org/other/map.php. There is a list of guesthouses, hotels etc. on www.visitcambridge.org/visitors/wheretostay/php. Before you book a place check it out on the town map. The Newnham area is closest to Darwin. **Delegates from abroad should feel free to contact the local organiser for help with booking.**

BOOKING: Would those wishing to attend the colloquium please send the following information by **15 January 2005** to Louis Kelly, Darwin College, Cambridge CB3 9EU (email lgk21@hermes.cam.ac.uk). There is no separate booking form, and email responses are appropriate.

    Name:
    Address:
    Email address: (if appropriate)
    Accommodation requested: (overseas delegates only)
    Any special dietary requirements:

Worldwide Universities Network Consortium in the History of Linguistics

Introduction

We are very pleased to be able to announce that the Worldwide Universities Network has agreed to include the history of linguistics in the portfolio of humanities disciplines it supports. The only other humanities subject area formally backed by WUN is medieval studies, so this is a very significant development both for research in the arts and humanities in general and for the study of the history of linguistics specifically.

WUN

The Worldwide Universities Network is a partnership of research-intensive universities across the world. Each member university contributes to the funding of WUN, whose remit is to provide support for research and for postgraduate study in a way that would not be possible if those universities were working alone. The history of linguistics is a particularly good example of a subject where there are very few scholars in any one university, but taken as a whole the WUN universities represent a significant research community.

The WUN universities are currently the following:
- In the US
    - Pennsylvania State University
    - University of California - San Diego
    - University of Illinois - Urbana Champaign
    - University of Washington - Seattle
    - University of Wisconsin - Madison
- In Europe
    - University of Bergen
    - University of Bristol
    - University of Leeds
    - University of Manchester
    - University of Oslo
    - University of Sheffield
    - University of Southampton
    - University of Utrecht
    - University of York
- In China
    - University of Nanjing
    - University of Zhejiang

The History of Linguistics

We are interpreting the history of linguistics quite broadly in order to embrace as many scholars and research interests as possible. In this context, then, to study the history of linguistics is to investigate the full range of what people have thought about and done with language. If historical linguistics is the study of what has happened to languages with the passing of time, then the history of linguistics deals with the (ongoing) history of reflection about language and that of conscious efforts to change it. So, as well as fostering research into traditional history of linguistics topics like grammar and dictionary writing and attempts to explain the nature of language, the WUN consortium seeks to support work into areas such as the history of language policy, of language attitudes, of folk linguistics and so on.

In response to the research interests of colleagues, the WUN consortium has identified the study of **language reform** as the topic for a specific research project. Again this can be interpreted quite freely in order to maximise participation. Examples of the kind of topics that will contribute to this project are: spelling reform; language standardisation; language planning and language policy; the invention of universal languages; language teaching reform.

What can WUN provide?

WUN is about creating links and networks. Money is available for postgraduate and faculty exchanges between member institutions and corporate partners to enable people to spend time working in different research groups.

WUN can also assist in the setting up of conferences and meetings, especially using new technologies to do so and in the development of electronic resources to support research and postgraduate teaching. A further valuable contribution is the backing of grant bids: WUN support means that grant applications in the history of linguistics are backed by a large research organisation, and the Chief Executive of WUN is happy to write letters of support to accompany such bids. To get a better idea of the sort of activities fostered by WUN, see the website at http://www.wun.ac.uk.

Activities

Money is already available for exchanges (see the WUN website), but other activities are now open for discussion. If you have ideas about how WUN could support existing activities, help pilot new collaborations, create electronic resources to enhance teaching or research, or enable one-off research events, please pass on your ideas to one of the members of the management group (details below). We will be meeting in January 2005 in order to plan activities and put proposals to WUN, so the more ideas we have, the more effective we can be. Both the consortium and the language reform project will be launched formally at the International Conference on the History of the

Language Sciences, held at the University of Illinois – Urbana-Champaign, 1-5
September 2005.

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