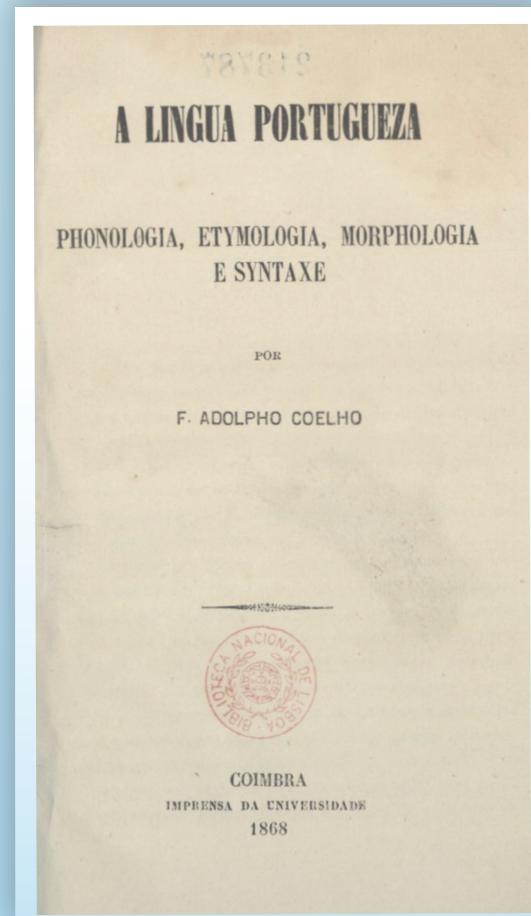


The Henry Sweet Society
for the History
of Linguistic
Ideas

Annual Colloquium 2023 of the Henry Sweet Society for the History of Linguistic Ideas



Vila Real, Auditórios B0.01 & B0.02
do Complexo Laboratorial, 4-6 September 2023

Universidade de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro (UTAD)
Centro de Estudos em Letras (CEL)

CONFERENCE HANDBOOK

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Centro de Estudos em Letras
Universidade de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro
Vila Real - MMXXIII

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do Complexo Laboratorial, 6-9 September 2023)

CONFERENCE HANDBOOK

Centro de Estudos em Letras
Universidade de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro
Vila Real, Portugal
2023

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Annual Colloquium 2023
of the Henry Sweet Society for the History of Linguistic Ideas

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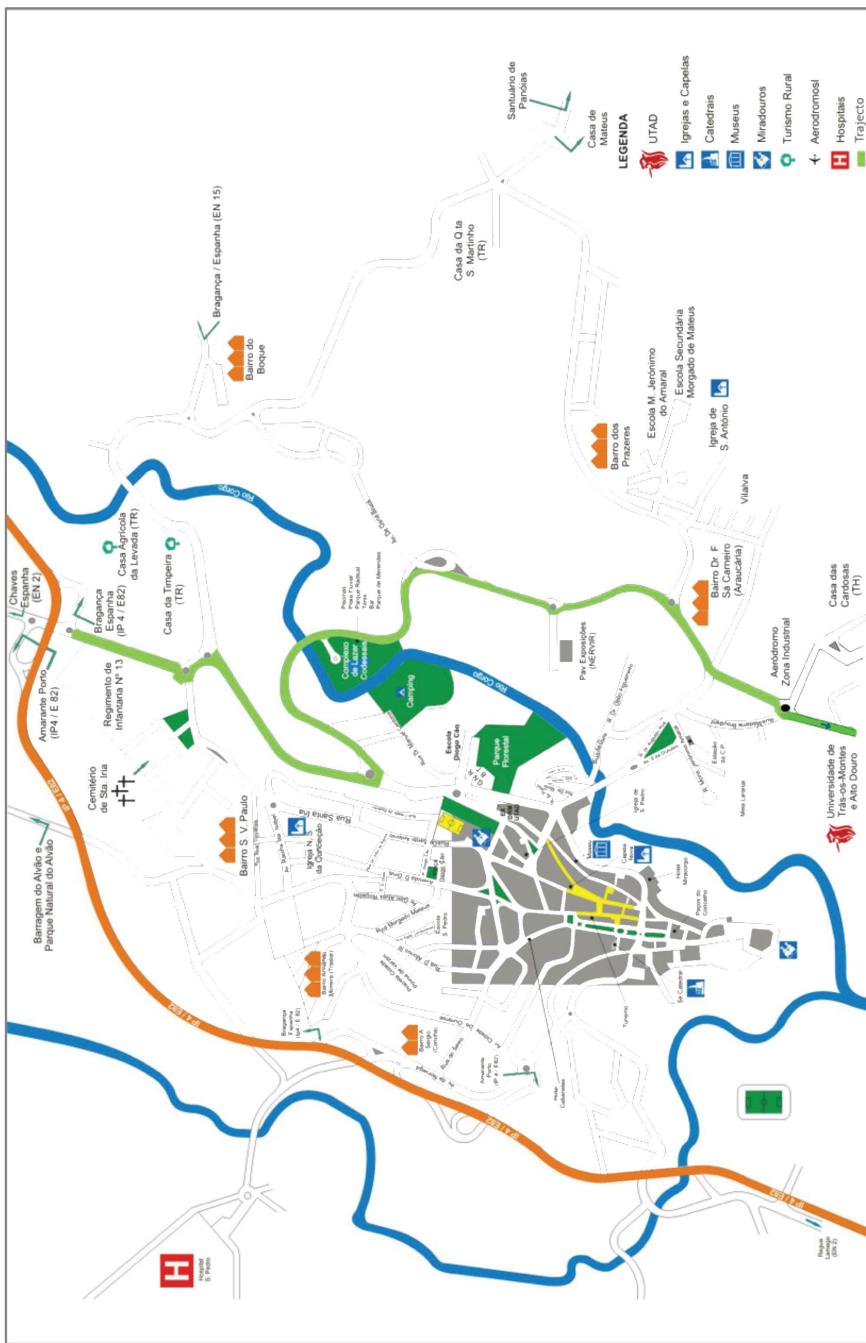
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Maps

Vila Real



Campus Quinta de Prados



Foreword & Acknowledgements

After the realization of the *VII Congreso Internacional de la Sociedad Española de Historiografía Lingüística* (3-6 November 2009) and the *13th International Conference on the History of the Language Sciences* (ICHoLS XIII; 25–29 August 2014), it is a pleasure and a privilege for the Centro de Estudos em Letras (CEL) of the Universidade de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro (UTAD) to host yet another major conference dedicated to the History of the Language Sciences.

With the present *Annual Colloquium 2023 of the Henry Sweet Society for the History of Linguistic Ideas*, once again an impressive showcase is presented, with colleagues from a variety of countries giving talks on related to the history of linguistics from almost all over the world.

In our call for papers we pointed out in the explanatory note of the event topic “What counts as a scientific approach in the history of linguistics?” that

Every scholar who does research in the History of the Language Sciences has an idea of what approaches are 'scientific', what are 'pre-scientific', or even what might be unscientific. In many ways, we associate these beliefs with certain 'canonical' works, to which the literature ascribes an exemplary function in relation to works that appeared later. Are these divisions as clear-cut as we often think they are, or perhaps not?

Indeed, many of the talks planned for this colloquium deal with this general topic and promise many fascinating discussions both during the working hours of the colloquium, but also afterwards a smaller and more private setting in the evening hours...

We warmly welcome all colleagues to the 2023 HSS Colloquium in Vila Real who have proposed their abstracts and without whose collaboration and input this conference would not exist. Besides, our special thanks go to Anneli Luhtala (Helsinki) who has taken it upon herself to deliver the 2023 Leslie Seiffert Memorial Lecture.

Last but not least, we would like to acknowledge the funding of the Centro de Estudos em Letras (CEL), a research center supported by the Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia (FCT), the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology; the Rectory of the Universidade de Trás-os-Montes and Alto Douro (UTAD), for the availability of all facilities, services and human resources; all members of the Executive Board, the travel agency *Realvitur*, the Municipality of Vila Real and all other colleagues for their crucial efforts toward the successful outcome of the *Annual Colloquium 2023 of the Henry Sweet Society for the History of Linguistic Ideas*: to all, our warmest thank you.

Program

Monday, 4 September 2023

9:00 - 17:00 – Conference office open from 9:00 AM on (Reception Desk – Foyer between B0.01 & B0.02)

09:30 - 10:00 – Welcome, Opening Session (B0.01)

10:00 - 11:00 – Session 1 – B0.01:

Mira Harjunpää: "**Aristotle's four causes in 13th and 14th century teaching grammars**"

Andy Peetermans, Raf Van Rooy & Maxime Maleux: "**Clenardus at the crossroads? Nicolaus Clenardus' Greek grammar and early-sixteenth-century trilingualism**"

10:00 - 11:00 – Session 2 – B0.02:

John E. Joseph: "**Ferdinand de Saussure, the post-structuralist**"

Mariarosaria Zinzi: "**"Le verbe indo-européen": Saussure and Bally in comparison**

11:00 - 11:30 – Coffee break

11:30 - 13:00 – Session 3 – B0.01:

Elizaveta Zimont: "**Gabriel Meurier's lexicographical œuvre: the lifetime work of a French schoolmaster in early modern Low Countries**"

Toon Van Hal: "**Early Birds: Early Modern Visions of Linguistics as an Independent Science**"

Daniel Russo & Angela Andreani: "**Mapping the history of language-related terminology in English (1500-1700): A corpus-based collocate approach**"

11:30 - 13:00 – Session 4 – B0.02:

Marc Delarue: "**Le mot mot en histoire des théories linguistiques: un espace discursif où se négocie la question du statut du discours scientifique**"

Sébastien Moret: "**Thirty years later, a look back at The Earliest Stage of Language Planning: The Case of the First World Esperanto Congress**"

Silvia Frigeni: "**An amphibious notion: Antoine Meillet's idea of civilisation**"

13:00 – 14:30 Lunch break

14:30 - 16:00 – Session 5 – B0.01:

Nicola McLelland: "**Language learning and teaching in the eighteenth century – art and/or science?**"

Ute Tintemann: "**German for French in exile: Madame de Genlis' Manuel du voyageur (1799)**"

14:30 - 16:30 – Session 6 – B0.02:

Margaret Thomas: "**What counted to Leonard Bloomfield as a society for the ‘scientific’ study of language?**"

David Moore: "**A Scientific Training: Malinowski and language**"

Camiel Hamans & Marcin KilarSKI: "**Gerlach Royen (1880–1955): A now forgotten typologist and historian of linguistics**"

16:30 - 17:00 – Coffee break

17:00 - 18:00: Session 6 – B0.01 – The Leslie Seiffert Memorial Lecture

Anneli Luhtala (University of Helsinki, Finland):

"Grammar as a rational art and as an Aristotelian science"

18:00 - 19:00: Business Meeting of the *Henry Sweet Society for the History of Linguistic Ideas* – B0.01

All participants of the Colloquium are welcome!

Tuesday, 5 September 2023

9:00 - 17:00 – Conference office open from 9:00 AM on (Reception Desk – Foyer between B0.01 & B0.02)

09:30 - 11:00 – Session 8 – B0.01:

Luz Van den Bruel: "**Schlegel the Historian? Reconsiderations on Friedrich Schlegel's Language Studies**"

Serhij Vakulenko: "**East or West, which language is best? A scholarly sally into an unscientific subject, exemplified by two little-known classical theories**"

Bruno Courbon & Nicolas Gignac: "**Reflections on the formation of the notion of polysemy by French and German scholars from the outset of its conceptualization**"

09:30 - 11:00 – Session 9 – B0.02:

Changliang Qu: "**The Sources that Misled N.S. Trubetzkoy: Scientific and Unscientific Presentations of Mandarin Chinese Tones in Some Early 20th Century Linguistic Works**"

Hans Basbøll: "**Glossematic expression analysis from Phonematics to Cenematics: scientificness and empiricalness**"

Mohammad Amin Shakeri: "**Glossematics' Capital Criteria for Scientificity**"

11:00 - 11:30 – Coffee break

11:30 - 13:00 – Session 10 – B0.01:

Jacques-Philippe Saint-Gerand: "**«Un drôle de petit drame» Construction, Syntaxe, Rhétoricité et Scénographie: Représentation de la phrase au XIXe siècle**"

Virginia Meirelles: "**Evolution of Noah Webster's linguistic ideas**"

Maria Laura Pierucci: "**The metalanguage of Linguistics in the making: the case of community**"

11:30 - 13:00 – Session 11 – B0.02:

Andrei Onighi: "L'iconicité, de Peirce à Jakobson et après:
développement d'un domaine d'étude et changements
épistémologiques"

Davide Mocci: "The explicit nature of scientific approaches: Insights
from Pāṇini and generative grammar"

Tinatin Bolkvadze: "Scientific and non-scientific in Soviet linguistics"

13:00 – 14:30 Lunch break

14:30 - 16:30 – Session 12 – B0.01:

Bejjia Chen: "The Neogrammarian school revisited"

Gerda Haßler: "When does comparative linguistics begin? On the
Historicity of the Criteria of Scientificity"

Sophie Jollin-Bertocchi: "The energy of language: a pre-scientific
metaphor"

14:30 - 16:30 – Session 13 – B0.02:

Raúl Aranovich: "Ergative Man: The life and works of W. K. Matthews"

Bryan Fleming: "Exploring Language and Nationalism through
Primers"

Michael Ashby & Boikanyego Sebina: "Informant turned analyst: the
role of S. T. Plaatje (1876–1932) in pioneering work on the
phonetics of Setswana"

16:30 - 17:00 – Coffee break

17:00 - 18:30 – Session 14 – B0.01:

Gonçalo, Fernandes, Carlos Assunção, Rolf Kemmler & Ezra Nhampoca:
"The Portugaliae Monumenta Linguistica (PML) database"

Maria do Céu Fonseca & Fernando Gomes: "Qu'est-ce que le canon dans
l'histoire des idées linguistiques?"

Richard Steadman-Jones: "Science, Affect, and Linguistic Fieldwork"

17:00 - 18:00 – Session 15 (Panel: "Beyond Science") – B0.02:
Kelly McCay: "**From Letters to Symbolicals: English Shorthand and its Place in Seventeenth-Century Linguistic Thought**"
Liesl Yamaguchi: "**Spectral Sounds: Phonology's Colored Vowels**"

19:30 – *Colloquium dinner* (Restaurante Borralha Guest House,
Travessa Moreira de Carvalho, 2, 5000-423 Vila Real)

Wednesday, 6 September 2023

9:00 - 16:00 – Conference office open from 9:00 AM on (Reception Desk – Foyer between B0.01 & B0.02)

09:30 - 11:00 – Session 16 – B0.01:

Eun Mi Bae: "**Cross-Linguistic Challenges in Cultural Translation: Vocabulario japonés-español (anonymous 1630)"**

Rebeca Fernández Rodríguez: "**Didactic materials and intercultural communication in the late eighteenth-century Philippines"**

Ling Li: "**The challenges of Chinese: An analysis of Father Joaquim Gonçalves' perceptions of Verbo Difficeis, e Chinismos"**

09:30 - 11:00 – Session 17 – B0.02:

María José Corvo Sánchez & María Jesús Barsanti Vigo: "**El carácter científico en los manuales de lenguas extranjeras (I): Los tratados gramaticales de Juan Ángel de Zumaran"**

María José Corvo Sánchez: "**El carácter científico en los manuales de lenguas extranjeras (II): A propósito de la Grammatica y Pronunciacion Alemana y Española. Española y Alemana de 1634 de Juan Ángel de Zumaran"**

Teresa Moura: "**As características fonéticas nas «Remarques du Traducteur» do Maitre Portugais (Lisboa, 1799)"**

11:00 - 11:30 – Coffee break

11:30 - 13:00 – Session 18 – B0.01:

Matteo Migliorelli: "**O cânone descritivo gramatical das gramáticas missionárias do malayalam do século XVIII"**

Cristina Muru: "**Asserting rights, reclaiming recognition: Balthasar da Costa's Arte Tamulica (17th cent.)"**

Anna Pytlowany: "**Putting words to things: translating culture-specific concepts by the Dutch in the Mughal India"**

11:30 - 13:00 – Session 19 – B0.02:

Raquel do Nascimento Marques: "**L'horizon de rétrospection des grammairiens portugais au XIXe siècle"**

Susana Fontes & Sónia Coelho: "**"Luise Ey's contributions to Portuguese Conversation-Grammar (1912) from the Heidelberg publishing house 'Julius Groos Verlag'"**

Monica Lupetti & Marco E.L. Guidi: "**"Languages for Specific Purposes in Nineteenth-Century Portuguese-Italian Conversation Guides"**

13:00 – 14:30 Lunch break

14:30 - 16:00 – Session 19 – B0.01:

Wei Chen: "**Consistency as a feature of scientific linguistic research: a case study of James Summers' (1828–1891) research on Chinese particles"**

Théophile Rabu: "**Building a scientific subdiscipline: The “Great Minority-Nationality Language Survey” (民族语言大调查 Minzu yuyan da diaocha) in the early People’s Republic of China (1956-1959)"**

14:30 - 16:00 – Session 20 – B0.02:

Cínthia Cardoso de Siqueira: "**What counts as scientific in Brazilian grammars published between the 1870s and 1920s"**

María Alejandra Regúnaga: "**Scientifically based systems for the transcription of Yaghan between the 19th and 20th centuries"**

Guillermo Toscano y García: "**"Lo científico es un deporte de combate. Sobre algunas intervenciones de Amado Alonso (1927-1930)"**

16:00 - 18:30 – Visit to the *Casa de Mateus*

19:30 – Goodbye Dinner for the HSS Colloquium and Welcome Dinner for the SGdS-Kolloquium (Restaurante Stop, N313, n.º 50 – Vila Nova de Baixo, 5000-105 Vila Real).

Cozy get-together – each participant pays their own expenses.

Abstract of the 2023 Leslie Seiffert Memorial Lecture

Grammar as a rational art and as an Aristotelian science

Anneli LUHTALA
University of Helsinki, Finnland

Marcus Terentius Varro's treatise *On Latin Language* (116 BC–27 BC) includes the earliest systematic presentation of the parts of speech of Latin, which marks grammar's divorce from philology. Another important step in this development was taken by the Greek grammarian Apollonius Dyscolus (2nd cent. AD), who emancipated the grammatical syntax from logic. By now grammar had established itself as an independent *ars*, with a specific scope of its own, and the grammarians used the standard methods employed in *artes*, that is, divisions, partitions and definitions. By borrowing these tools of analysis from dialectic, grammar became a rationalistic art, occupying a place in the scheme of the Liberal Arts. However, the grammatical treatises also incorporated plenty of ‘empiricist’ material, echoing the early ‘empeiria’ of the Alexandrian grammarians.

In the Middle Ages, grammar developed into an Aristotelian science. Consequently, the *grammatica speculativa* was concerned with the unchangeable universals of language, as opposed to the *grammatica practica*, describing the particulars of different languages, which were liable to variation. In the late 15th century, the intimate association of grammar with Aristotelian philosophy came under attack by prominent humanists, such as Lorenzo Valla (1407–1457) and Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466–1536), and a more ‘empiricist’ movement arose emphasizing the study the particulars of language.

In my talk, I will illustrate the methods used in the ‘rationalistic’ and ‘empiricist’ approaches to language study, raising the following questions: For what purpose was language studied? To what extent was the study of language understood as an autonomous discipline and an aim in itself? What were the standards of a ‘science’ at the time? Are we allowed to judge the methods of pre-nineteenth century scholarship as less than scientific, considering that the Aristotelian worldview was dominant until c. 1600 and remained influential throughout the seventeenth century?

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- Henry, John. 1997. *The Scientific Revolution and the Origins of Modern Science*, London: MacMillan (Studies in European History).

Abstracts of papers

Ergative Man: The life and works of W. K. Matthews.

Raúl ARANOVICH

University of California Davis, United States of America

My presentation will argue that William Kleesmann Matthews (1901-1958) was instrumental in the recognition of the universal character of the Ergative Construction (EC). In «The Ergative Construction in Modern Indo-Aryan» (*Lingua* 3(4): 364-387, 1953), Matthews carefully described the EC in Hindi/Urdu and related languages. He noticed that, despite its apparent passive form, the EC functions as an active construction. The passive elements, Matthews argued, had allowed Indo-Europeanists to sidestep the problems posed by the EC's anomalous active function. To support his analysis, Matthews summoned evidence from other language families in which an EC exists without passive-like formal components, producing the first systematic synthesis about ergativity in independent languages or language families.

Matthews was Estonian, born to a British father. He learned German and Russian as a child. During the war he was evacuated to Australia, where he studied Aboriginal and Oceanic languages. His wife spoke Hindi. As a professor of Russian and Slavic languages in London, he reviewed and summarized the linguistic literature from the Soviet Union. He was influenced by the works of Marr, Meschaninov, and Kurylowicz on ergativity in the Caucasus (following in the footsteps of Adolf Dirr), and in the languages of Siberia, which was not broadly disseminated. Matthews's life and professional history, I will argue, had brought him to a place where he served as the junction between the disparate earlier descriptions of ergativity, and the more deliberate typological research into alignment patterns that followed. His contribution merits rescuing from historical obscurity.

Informant turned analyst: the role of S. T. Plaatje (1876-1932) in pioneering work on the phonetics of Setswana

Michael ASHBY

University College London, England

Boikanyego SEBINA

University of Botswana, Botswana

In general, little is known about the native-language consultants who assisted European linguists in their early encounters with undocumented and under-described languages around the world. Commonly, not even their names are preserved, and any role their own insights may have played in the analyses they enabled goes unconsidered.

In this paper we draw attention to a notable exception, Solomon Tshekisho Plaatje (1876-1932). He has attained almost legendary status as a founder member of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC), now known as the African National Congress, who fought tirelessly for the rights and liberation of black people in South Africa. Most importantly, he was a gifted linguist too.

On a visit to London in 1915 he met British phonetician Daniel Jones (1881-1967), a meeting which quickly led to their joint pioneering work on the phonetics of Plaatje's native language, Setswana, published under their two names the following year.

We show that their collaborative work on Setswana was crucial in the refinement of Jones's descriptive phonetic apparatus (their joint work of 1916 was an early application of the then-new Cardinal Vowel system), of the phoneme theory (the 1916 work presents a sophisticated phonemic analysis, and lacks only the term 'phoneme'), and the comprehensive understanding of linguistic tone. Plaatje took easily to the use of transcription, and his attachment to phonetic symbols for the accurate representation of Setswana stayed with him and informed the battles that he later fought over standardizing the orthography.

Cross-Linguistic Challenges in Cultural Translation:
Vocabulario japonés-español (anonymous 1630)

Eun Mi BAE
Independent Scholar
Centro de Estudos em Letras, Portugal

European missionaries produced a tremendous amount of works on Far Eastern languages from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Until recently, grammatical and lexicographical studies were dismissed as unscientific and mostly neglected. As a result of the rising interest in Historical Linguistics, the study of Missionary Linguistics has gained appeal as a traditional prescientific grammar. Nonetheless, there are countless other topics to research in the field of Missionary Linguistics in the Far East. We analyze and assess reinterpretation traces by following them within the scientific purview of not just Historical Linguistics but also History of Linguistics.

As a case study, this survey examines *Vocabulario japonés-español* (unknown 1630), a Japanese-Spanish lexicographical text published in Manila, the Philippines. It has been identified as a literal translation of the Japanese-Portuguese lexicographical work *Vocabulario Iapam-portugués* (anonymous 1603-1604), which was published in Nagasaki, Japan. There is no monograph or thorough analysis of *Vocabulario japonés-español* from the scientific standpoint of historical linguistics or history of linguistics.

This survey's goal is to present a multidisciplinary perspective on cross-linguistic issues in cultural translation. It has two goals: to provide early modern conceptualizations of language translation in the context of cultural translation, and to explore the recontextualization of cross-linguistic ideologies as a practical challenge in cultural translation.

Glossematic expression analysis from Phonematics to Cenematics:
scientificness and empiricalness

Hans BASBØLL
University of Southern Denmark, Denmark

The canonical work of Glossematics – the theory worked out by Louis Hjelmslev (1899-1965) and Hans Jørgen Uldall (1907-1957) in the 1930es and intensely discussed in the *Cercle linguistique de Copenhague*

– was Hjelmslev's OSG (1943). A key concept in OSG (11-12) was empiricalness: that any scientific description should be contradiction-free, exhaustive, and the simplest possible (in that priority order). Their application of simplicity will be discussed departing from Hjelmslev's and Uldall's papers on 'Phonematics' (London 1935) and Hjelmslev's analyses of the Danish and French 'Expression system' (lectures 1948).

A large anthology (Cigana & Gregersen 2023) offers new details to this picture: Hjelmslev's relation to Otto Jespersen (1860-1943) and Holger Pedersen (1867-1953) is discussed by Henrik Jørgensen; Hans Basbøll also treats the role of Jespersen, and of André Martinet (1908-1999) as well, in the context of Glossematics. The Memoirs of Martinet (1993) amply reveals his strong – and changing – attitudes towards Hjelmslev.

Finally, the relation between Hjelmslev's ('scientific') principle of empiricalness, and the concrete glossematic expression analyses emphasizing combinatorics, will be summarised and concluded.

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Russian Antistructuralism: V. I. Abaev

Tinatin BOLKVADZE
Tbilisi State University, Georgia

The paper deals with three theories and their scientific and non-scientific foundations:

- 1) The Japhetic theory of Nikolay Marr, which for 30 years was considered the main achievement of Soviet linguistics and the ideological opposition to Indo-European linguistics, i.e. historical-comparative method;
- 2) Iberian-Caucasian linguistics, the main purpose of which is to prove the relationship between the North Caucasian and South Caucasian languages. This trend is still being developed by some linguists in Georgia and the North Caucasus.
- 3) The theory of linguistic unions, in which one of the important works is «Indo-European Language and Indo-Europeans» by Thomas V. Gamkrelidze and Vyacheslav V. Ivanov, the preface to which was written by Roman Jacobson, an outstanding representative of the Prague Linguistic School and the founder of the Eurasian theory together with Nikolay Trubetzkoy and Pyotr Savitsky. This theory was based on the theory of language unions.

The last part of the paper deals with the common scientific and non-scientific grounds of these three theories.

The Neogrammarian school revisited

Beijia CHEN
Freie Universität Berlin, Germany

The Neogrammarians have not only contributed to the development of modern linguistic ideas, but also served as an interesting research object for the history of science. This study tries to clarify two of the most discussed but still ambivalent issues on the Neogrammarians.

The first dissension concerns the identity of this group: what was the nature of the scientific group built by the Neogrammarians, and who constituted its members? Since the emergence of the Neogrammarians, they have been labeled as a *school*. However, who should be considered as its member remains controversial. By reconstructing the history of the appellation 'the Neogrammarian school' and examining the scholarly citation networks of the linguistic journal articles of its time, this paper finds that the so-called Neogrammarian school exhibited no features of citation that were characteristic of a *school* in its most common use in the debate among linguists around 1900, and therefore proposes that the name *school* is inappropriate or even misleading. Instead, a Neogrammarian

thought collective in the sense of Ludwik Fleck may be a better description for this scientific group in linguistic historiographic research.

The second controversy relates to the role of the Neogrammarians. Previous studies on this issue have mainly used models from natural sciences, such as Thomas Kuhn's 'paradigm change'. Though these models have revealed certain universal features of the history of science, they are not fully applicable to linguistics and could sometimes blur some specialties of the history of linguistics. Instead of the natural sciences-oriented programs in the sociology of science, this study suggests a network perspective in the linguistic historiography, which is more compatible with soft sciences, and rethinks the role of the Neogrammarians with the help of Social Network Analysis (SNA).

Consistency as a feature of scientific linguistic research: a case study of James Summers' (1828-1891) research on Chinese particles

Wei CHEN

University of Malta & Leiden University, Malta & Belgium

This paper claims that self-consistency, i.e., applying a particular theory or a method throughout the entire study without contradicting oneself, is a very important scientific feature of linguistic research. The paper focuses on analysing the study of Chinese particles by James Summers (1828-1891), the first British professor of Chinese, who conducted systematic research on the Chinese language. Summers analysed Chinese particles in detail and classified them into thirteen categories in his most comprehensive Chinese-related work, *A handbook of the Chinese language* (1863). He focused on the function of particles and proposed two, namely, to make the sentence sound well and to express feelings or emotions, and to mark the relationship between concrete words, mainly verbs and nouns. These two functions served as the thread running through his entire research: they were the focal point in Summers' discussion of whether a word counts as a particle; they were also considered essential when he subcategorised particles; furthermore, these two functions were again his primary concern in his explanation of scenarios in which the quirky Chinese particle de 的 can be omitted. His study of Chinese particles shows self-consistency to a great extent, suggesting that Summers' research on Chinese particles was pretty mature as early as the nineteenth century.

El carácter científico en los manuales de lenguas extranjeras (I): Los tratados gramaticales de Juan Ángel de Zumaran

María José CORVO SÁNCHEZ
Universidad de Vigo, Spain

María Jesús BARSANTI VIGO
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Hasta la investigación llevada a cabo por Corvo Sánchez en su tesis doctoral defendida en 2002, Zumaran y su obra eran muy poco conocidos. Con este estudio, Corvo Sánchez consiguió rescatar a este maestro de lenguas extranjeras de un injusto olvido, que había sido quebrado tan solo por breves referencias a su existencia y a algunas de sus obras; en este conjunto, destaca la edición de la *Grammatica* de 1634 realizada por Dieter Messner (1942-2022) y publicada en el año 2000.

Tomando el trabajo de Corvo Sánchez como punto de partida, este trabajo se centra en el estudio de los tratados gramaticales en los *Sprachbücher* o libros de lenguas de Juan Ángel de Zumaran, prestando atención a las siguientes cuatro ediciones: *Tyrocinium* (1617) o «Grammatica, Francesa, Italiana, & Tedesca»; *Das Newe Sprachbuch* (1621) o «Libro muy prouechozo para aprēder las lenguas» y más concretamente «las quatro mas famosas y principales lenguas que en Europa se hablan a saber Español, Frances, Italiano, y Aleman»; *Thesaurus fundamentalis* (1626) o «Tesoro fundamental de cinco» y *Grammatica y Pronunciacion Alemana y Española: Española y Alemana* (1634).

De manera concreta, presenta un análisis descriptivo de los tratados gramaticales, observando cada una de las diferentes 'clases', unidades o instrucciones que los integran. El objetivo de este trabajo es servir como introducción a la propuesta (II), en la que se analizará el contenido gramatical en la *Grammatica* (1634), con el fin último de valorar el carácter científico de la gramática en los manuales de este maestro.

**El carácter científico en los manuales de lenguas extranjeras (II):
A propósito de la *Grammatica y Pronunciacion Alemana y Española:
Española y Alemana* (1634) de Juan Ángel de Zumaran**

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Una valoración general de los *Sprachbücher* o libros de lenguas de Juan Ángel de Zumaran nos lleva a hablar de falta de carácter científico, debido a que su labor no es la del lingüista, sino la del maestro de lenguas. Por ello, Zumaran en sus manuales no presenta el léxico de las lenguas de forma teórica, ni tampoco pretende escribir sus gramáticas en sus tratados gramaticales. Dicho de otro modo: su intención es redactar manuales de lenguas extranjeras. Y lo hace de forma sencilla para que resulten útiles y prácticos, para lo cual solo necesita describir las lenguas aplicando la gramática y reuniendo el vocabulario básico cotidiano y necesario que necesitan aprender quienes específicamente aprenden lenguas con sus libros o quienes los emplean con el fin de enseñarlas. Sin embargo, a pesar de pretender solo esto, este maestro forma parte del grupo de los primeros en la historia de la lingüística europea en hacer descripciones gramaticales de una lengua moderna europea: con sus tratados gramaticales en alemán y con los redactados en otras lenguas modernas sobre esta lengua.

Apoyándose en la propuesta (I), de la que se sirve como introducción al estudio de los tratados gramaticales en la obra lingüística de Zumaran, este trabajo busca profundizar en el carácter científico de la obra de este maestro a través de sus gramáticas. Para ello, analiza cómo describe las lenguas aplicando la gramática, como decíamos. De forma ilustrativa, se sirve de su *Grammatica* (1634), el primer manual bilingüe español-alemán conocido.

Reflections on the formation of the notion of polysemy by French and German scholars from the outset of its conceptualization

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Examining the development of a scientific discipline through modern digital means provides a deeper insight into the way linguistic concepts are formed. Michel Bréal's name has been associated with the development of semantics in French linguistics since the end of the 19th century (Bisconti & de Mauro, 2018; De Paulo, 2016); Bréal has commonly been credited with coining the term and the concept of polysemy. However, forms of conceptualization of semantic plurality can be observed decades before Bréal discussed this phenomenon using the neologism *Polysemy*. How lexical-semantic plurality is conceived in the period before the creation of the term *Polysemy* has received relatively little attention in the history of linguistics. This is notably observed in Schmitter (2008) and Courbon (2020). Particularly, most studies in the history of semantics do not deal with how formulations expressing the notion of semantic plurality emerged and circulated. Our contribution aims at documenting the different terms and formulations that preceded the establishment and diffusion of Bréal's polysemy from the early 19th century onwards. Through automated data extraction, a corpus consisting of digitized texts written by some twenty German and French authors (from 1813 to 1897) will be systematically analyzed to compare the terminological and conceptual trends and evolutions as well as the potential transfers from one author to another. The early stages of the development of the notion of polysemy will be considered in their contemporary cultural and historical contexts, with emphasis on the importance of the knowledge transfer between Germany and France in the linguistics of the time.

Le mot *mot* en histoire des théories linguistiques: un espace discursif où se négocie la question du statut du discours scientifique.

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Nous proposons d'examiner la question du statut du discours scientifique à travers l'analyse de différents usages du mot *mot*, dans trois textes appartenant à trois moments de l'histoire des théories linguistiques¹. Nous montrerons que la notion de *mot* peut être considérée comme un espace discursif où peut s'observer la diversité des modalités d'élaboration du discours scientifique.

Dans le 1^{er} texte, la linguistique saussurienne se fonde scientifiquement sur la distinction entre la notion de *mot*, désignant une donnée immédiate, et celle de *signe*, désignant un construit théorique. Si elle marque un changement de paradigme, cette distinction ne traduit cependant pas une rupture entre discours scientifique et discours non scientifique.

Inversement, dans le 2^{ème} texte, Sablayrolles oppose radicalement le discours scientifique aux autres types de discours, et réfute l'emploi du terme *mot* qu'il considère comme un pseudo-concept inopérant dans une approche scientifique. Il lui substitue donc le terme de *lexie*.

Enfin, dans le 3^{ème} texte, Branca-Rosoff, dans une approche historique de la linguistique, mais non épistémologique (la question de la scientificité du discours n'est pas posée), présente le mot comme une notion hétérogène, dont les propriétés varient en fonction des approches.

La confrontation des emplois du mot *mot* dans ces trois textes le fait apparaître comme point d'appui récurrent pour fonder le discours scientifique : bien qu'il y soit réfuté, il figure dans les trois textes comme un mal nécessaire, qui met en crise et donc permet de fonder l'approche retenue, rappelant que le discours sur la méthode scientifique est «[...] toujours un discours de circonstance [...]» (Bachelard 1968: 104).

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The *Portugaliae Monumenta Linguistica* (PML) database¹

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The *Centro de Estudos em Letras* (Center for Studies in Letters; CEL) is developing the database *Portugaliae Monumenta Linguistica* (PML) [Monuments of Portuguese Linguistics]. It is a database to support the dissemination, consultation, and research of old linguistic texts of Portuguese origins, such as grammars, orthographies of Portuguese and other metalinguistic contributions by Portuguese missionaries and laypeople of the countries from Portuguese Patronage during the colonial period, i.e., from 1482 until 1975. As a Digital Humanities project, this database aims to provide worldwide scientific researchers with a set of hardly available primary sources, consisting of scientifically well-designed and digitized semi-diplomatic and facsimile editions. It is a project of Open Science to complement the sources and information of the other worldwide databases and partners of this project, such as RELICTA (*Repertory of Early Modern Linguistic and Catechetical Tools of America, Asia, and Africa*) in Belgium, CTLF (*Corpus de Textes Linguistiques Fondamentaux*) in France, João Roiz Databases in Japan,

¹ The development of this database portal was funded by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT) through the Programmatic Funding of the Center for Studies in Letters (CEL), reference n.^o UIDP/00707/2020.

and CLP (*Corpus Lexicográfico do Português* [Lexicographic Corpus of Portuguese]) in Portugal.

The website functions as a dynamic database in which researchers can look for works by titles, authors, sentences, and single words, among other aspects. For CEL researchers or other authorized investigators, it also allows a continuous updating of the database through the back office, either by inserting new works or updating information on the works recorded.

The technologies used are ASP.NET and the JavaScipt library jQuery, HTML5 and CSS3. The platform's layout is responsive, thus adapted to any device (PC, smartphone, tablet). Regarding the database system, this is based on a MS-SQL database. For the platform's architecture, a multilayer system was implemented in which each would assume different responsibilities within the system. The proposed system also ensures data integration and integrity, thus automating processes as well as avoiding duplication of information in the database.

Thus, in this talk, we intend to present the project, its objectives, work plan, expected results, and the work in progress.

Didactic materials and intercultural communication in the late eighteenth-century Philippines

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During the late eighteenth century, the increase in commercial and strategic contacts between Western countries – other than Spain – and the Philippines resulted in new didactic materials and methods to learn the local languages, mainly Tagalog and Pampango. Until that moment, second language acquisition in the Philippines had a long tradition of using a combination of bilingual grammars and dictionaries as the most common method, as well as a sort of total immersion with the native speakers they could encounter. There was a sudden need for manuals of conversation. One of the earliest was *Vademecum filipino o Manual de conversación familiar español-tagalo* (1869) by Venancio María Abella and reprinted fourteen times by 1876. That same year, Eligio Fernández published his *Nuevo diccionario o Manual de conversaciones en español, tagalo y pampango*. These two publications became important textbooks to satisfy the demand both for primary schools and the general public in

the last quarter of the nineteenth century. My presentation will focus on the dialogues they include as didactic material, which represent a cross-culture communication offering insights into both cultures. The selected topics and expressions and what these tell us about the time and the intentions of the authors are an excellent window into how the Spaniards and the Philippine people interpreted each other. I will also analyze how ethnographic and pragmatic information is presented in the transactional process in which people from different backgrounds – but who share a common syncretic culture – create shared meanings.

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Exploring Language and Nationalism through Primers

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How important is language in the construct of national identity? Discussions of nationality often include language as an important component. This certainly holds true for Yugoslavia and the present-day states it once comprised, where language has played a vital role in the national stories and regional history. Robert Greenberg (2004: 15) writes that «in ex-Yugoslavia, linguists have been major actors on the political stage». Governments also seem to have been quite involved in linguistics. The decisions these actors made and the language-related documents they created give us a particularly powerful insight into the importance of language to a given regime's nationalistic projects.

Through the analysis of primers and other elementary-level language-teaching books dating from the early-20th century to the present day, I will explore the role these texts played in shaping and reinforcing a particular national identity in the region. In addition to the historical interest, this analysis also allows us to measure the importance a government gives to language as a component of national identity. Certainly a government's

language policy reveals a lot about what it sees as important, but there is something else that can strengthen their efforts and, potentially, have even longer-lasting effects: teaching children. There is a strong case to be made that where governments go to great lengths to create textbooks and require their use in schools, the beliefs and ideologies of that government are reflected in these books' content. This includes language-instruction texts. The particular language – or variant thereof – that the government sees as the one important to the nation's identity will be the one that is taught to the children. Moreover, what better way to inculcate the ideologies of the regime than to embed them in the example phrases, poems, and stories found in elementary pupils' primers, ABC books, and readers? In this presentation, we will see examples of such efforts in the Balkans during the 20th century. For example, the 1941 primer *Moj Dom* [My Home], published by the Independent State of Croatia, is full of images and stories celebrating the nation and promoting certain social mores – as well as a purely Croatian language variant. The *Reader for the Croatian or Serbian Language* (Koska 1975), published in 1975, which includes both Latin and Cyrillic texts in different regional variants, is full of supra-national **Yugoslav** themes and heroes all in the interest of 'brotherhood and unity'. There is even a primer for illiterate soldiers published by the Yugoslav Army in 1945 that is packed with Yugoslav slogans and ideals – as well as wartime vocabulary.

Primers and other such texts have proven to be a wonderful source of insight into the relationship of language and national identity and the real importance both governments and the people place on language as a part of their identity.

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Qu'est-ce que le canon dans l'histoire des idées linguistiques?

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En littérature, dans les études culturelles et dans les sciences sociales en général (telles que conçues dans la modernité de l'*Encyclopédie*), la notion de canon a fait l'objet de nombreux débats, tant au niveau épistémologique, au sens de la connaissance interne des textes, qu'au niveau de la dimension institutionnelle/sociale qui maintient une telle notion, au sens d'œuvres et d'auteurs universels, les 'chefs-d'œuvre' et les 'classiques'. D'autre part, des tendances récentes vers une histoire globale (par exemple, Sebastian Conrad dans *What is Global History?*, 2016) remettent en question les notions de canon national et de canon universel, et exigent une réévaluation de son rôle hors du paradigme eurocentrique et occidental. En ces termes, en dépit de la consécration/sacralisation d'un corpus d'œuvres et d'auteurs intemporels,

l'idée du canon comme discours normatif, dominant et scientifique sera toujours une construction liée à l'historicité des textes. La dichotomie entre œuvres majeures vs. œuvres mineures (considérées œuvres de consommation facile) dépend des contingences d'époque, c'est-à-dire de ce qui constitue, dans le champ historiographique des idées linguistiques, la problématique externe des sources, des documents ou des matériaux sur les langues, situés dans un axe temporel donné et conditionnés par un horizon de rétrospection. En réponse au thème proposé pour le Colloque annuel 2023 de la *Henry Sweet Society for the History of Linguistic Ideas*, cette communication propose une réflexion brève et générique sur des sujets déjà discutés par S. Auroux, K. Koerner entre autres, tels que ceux de la relativisation des canons et des facteurs de fixation/transmission des canons dans l'histoire des savoirs linguistiques.

**Luise Ey's contributions to the *Portuguese Conversation-Grammar* (1912),
published by the Heidelberg publishing house 'Julius Groos Verlag'**

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At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, many textbooks were published for learning and teaching modern foreign languages and the Heidelberg publishing house 'Julius Groos Verlag' stands out in the Portuguese market for foreign language learning.

Based on the teaching concept known as the 'Method Gaspey-Otto-Sauer', the *Portuguese Conversation-Grammar*, by Gustav Carl Kordgien (1838-1907) and Emil Kunow (fl.1902-1907), was published for a specifically English target audience in 1902. Ten years later, Luise Ey (1854-1936), an eminent philologist and promoter of the Portuguese language and culture, was responsible for a new edition of this grammar. This author had a vast experience in foreign language teaching, translation and in the production of metalinguistic textbooks, such as grammars and dictionaries, which allowed her to produce a new edition of this grammar that was very different from the first one, privileging the contact with the living language and getting closer to the reality of the learner's reality.

In this paper, we intend to highlight the importance that this woman had in the cultural scene of the time, her vision of teaching and the contributions she brought to the *Portuguese Conversation-Grammar* and to the teaching of Portuguese as a foreign language.

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An amphibious notion: Antoine Meillet's idea of civilisation

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When Antoine Meillet gave at the European Center of the Carnegie Foundation his conference on the new Baltic states' civilizations, on 9th March 1928, he was undisputedly the French master of comparative and historical grammar. The conference's theme, fully developed in *Les langues dans l'Europe nouvelle* (1918), establishes the place that the notion of civilization holds in Meillet's linguistic theory. As Meillet's student Benveniste will point out later, the concept of civilization constitutes one of the focal points of the European modern thought. Its ideological, historical and philosophical nature makes its use at the hands of Meillet all the more ambiguous, and constitutes a sort of pre- or non-scientific side of his work.

According to contemporary scholars, two theoretical currents would lay under this use in Meillet's work: either the persistence of a German Romantic idea, positing a language that gives birth to the nation to which it is naturally linked, or rather a more Enlightenment and French perspective, that considers language a means to the unification of an already existing state. I

propose to situate this amphibious notion (half-political, half-ideological) in the context of Meillet's ideological and political background, with particular attention to his involvement in the post-war Comité d'études that helped governments to decide the new borders of Europe. My purpose is to individuate the place that the concept of civilization takes in linguistic theories such as the speakers' role in language change, and the role of this heterogeneous element in Meillet's historical and general linguistics.

Gerlach Royen (1880–1955): A now forgotten typologist and historian of linguistics

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In this paper we evaluate the contribution of the Franciscan Gerlach (Nicolaus Jacobus Hubertus) Royen (1880–1955) to descriptive and typological linguistics as well as the historiography of linguistics. Royen is now mostly remembered for his interest in the spelling reform of Dutch and nominal classification systems. In 1929 Royen published his epoch-making study *Die nominalen Klassifikations-Systeme in den Sprachen der Erde*, an extended version of his Leiden PhD dissertation (1926), which he wrote under the supervision of Christianus Cornelius Uhlenbeck (1866–1951). In this 1030-page typological and historiographic survey, Royen argued for an interdisciplinary approach to nominal classification which allows for social, ethnological, and anthropological perspectives. The book is encyclopaedic and advanced by modern standards but had a minimal impact on later approaches to nominal classification; it is virtually unknown in present-day scholarship, with only occasional citations in a field that otherwise echoes his methodological assumptions.

The reason that Royen and this monumental book have been forgotten lies on the one hand in the fact that Royen, who was a professor of comparative and general linguistics at the University of Utrecht from 1932 to 1951, increasingly moved in his further career and publications to the field of Dutch studies, where he made an important contribution with his unfinished work on nominal flexion (Royen 1947-1954). On the other hand, he was seen as a populariser, who, especially with his many

polemical contributions on spelling reform – he was in favour of a more phonetic spelling – no longer needed to be taken seriously as a linguist.

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Aristotle's four causes in 13th and 14th century teaching grammars

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In my presentation, I will discuss how Aristotle's four causes were used to teach the categories of syntax of cases, *regimen*, on the secondary level education. Aristotle discusses causes (material, efficient, formal, and final) in his *Physics* and *Metaphysics*, which were translated into Latin during the 12th century. Not only could the causes be applied to the study of grammar or another discipline as a whole, but also to the constituents of construction (Law 2003: 165).

Alexander of Villa dei's *Doctrinale* (c. 1200) is the earliest secondary level grammar to contain the Aristotelian causes in the *regimen*. After the *Doctrinale*, the causes remained an important part of the syntax of cases until the Humanist grammars. Although the secondary and university level *regimina* were seen as distinct (Kneepkens 1978: 123), teaching the causes through *regimen* prepared the students for a yet more scientific approach at university level. The example phrases and clauses used in secondary level grammars clarify the different possible senses of each Aristotelian cause.

In my talk, I will present the application of Aristotelian causes to the *regimen* through the *Doctrinale* and four 13th century and two 14th century pedagogical grammars.

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When does comparative linguistics begin? On the Historicity of the Criteria of Scientificity

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One of the commonplaces in linguistic historiography is that comparative linguistics is supposed to have become established as a science with the introduction of the historical-comparative method in the early 19th century. But the comparative analysis of Indo-European languages goes back much further, and Sanskrit had also been known as a cognate of, for example, Latin since at least the 16th century. The exclusive attribution of scientific validity to a particular approach to historical-comparative linguistics and the disregard of works written with philosophical-anthropological aims was obviously a common move around the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries. This period had seen the emergence of language collections, such as those by Pallas (1786), Denina (1804), Hervás y Panduro (1800-1805) and Adelung / Vater (1806-1817), which pursued differentiated anthropological and philosophical-evaluative objectives. In this context, the explanation of the reasons for linguistic changes lies within the framework of climatic-geographical influences on human life, from which a deterministic conception of the organisation of man and his cognitive and linguistic abilities was derived. In some authors, this deterministic factor is complemented by education and collective habits. Hervás, in particular, explicitly considered his catalogue of languages as a continuation of his anthropological work on culture and history. In his *Philosophisch-kritische Vergleichung und Würdigung von vierzehn ältern und neuern Sprachen Europens* (1796, [Philosophical-critical comparison and appraisal of fourteen older and newer languages of Europe]), Daniel Jenisch himself expressed the view that the era of a different kind of language comparison had dawned, which rendered his writing the final example of the literature-oriented, largely speculative approach to language in dealing with linguistic material. What entitles us today to retrospectively classify this work as pre-scientific? Is it the speculative approach that the empirical approach of historical-comparative linguistics was later to distance itself from? Thinking in terms of rules for the development of phonetic forms was also still largely alien to these authors. The particularisation of language as the sole object of research had not yet developed, nor had its institutional basis. Perhaps the scientificity of language thinking should be determined on the respective time horizon, which includes criteria to be defined historically in each case.

The energy of language: a pre-scientific metaphor

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Metaphors are components of scientific style and can play a theoretical or didactic role. The definition of 'energy' in physics is «The potential or capacity of a body or system to do work» (OED), but the word has no single literal meaning: it means «acting force, physical or moral». This paper considers the status of the notion of energy applied to language, first in seventeenth and eighteenth century French texts, questioning its metaphorical status. It comes from the ancient philosophy of Aristotle and is used by grammarians and rhetors, who make two distinctions whose effects and causes they examine: the energy of language vs. the energy of discourse, within the framework of rhetoric, where it is a quality of style; the energy of languages vs. the energy of a particular language. Energy is often glossed with the metaphor of strength and co-occurs with that of clarity.

In the first third of the 19th century, the German language philosopher Humboldt developed a dynamic vision of languages conceived as *energeia*, productive, creative activity, and not as *ergon*, result, product. This notion is based on that of the force regulating the internal form (*innere Sprachform*) of each language. Humboldt thinks of the internal organisation of the constitutive forces of languages in a pre-scientific perspective. This raises the question of how Humboldt's metaphor relates to the vitalist linguistics of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

In the light of these precursors, the energy metaphor is undoubtedly to be placed in the category of metaphors representative of the 'linguistic imaginary' (Houdebine-Gravaud), which constitutes a third possible status for metaphors, relevant for pre-scientific texts.

Ferdinand de Saussure, the post-structuralist

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In an answer to an exam question one of my students recently wrote what has become the title of this paper. It is wrong in chronological terms (one point deducted), since even to label Saussure a 'structuralist'

is arguably anachronistic. But in intellectual terms, it produces a compelling insight (one point added).

It is not at all clear that linguistics has moved out of the structural period. Those who have used the term 'post-structural' since the late 1960s have mainly applied it to other fields. Linguists typically maintain that their structuralist period ended with the ascent of Chomsky, yet the key doctrines which separated Chomsky from the earlier generation of American structural linguists in the 1960s have since been, in some cases renounced, in others marginalised, leaving linguistics in the 2020s essentially structuralist. In Joseph (2022) I have argued that the universalism central to generativism can implicitly be attributed to Saussure, and that generativism embodies classic structuralist principles more profoundly than did the neo-Bloomfieldian that preceded it.

The present paper will suggest that principles of Saussure's linguistics offer a way out of certain impasses in current 'late structuralist' linguistics. It will engage both with Meschonnic's (1989) critique of mid-20th century structuralists for departing from Saussure's principles, and with a scenario in which – joining here with ideas put forward in De Palo & Gensini (eds, 2022) and other recent work – future paths are mapped out by Saussure, the always-already post-structuralist.

The challenges of Chinese: An analysis of Father Joaquim Gonçalves' perceptions of *Verbos Difficeis, e Chinismos*

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The *Arte China* (1829) is a comprehensive Chinese textbook of Father Joaquim Gonçalves' (1781-1841) authorship designed for Westerners in Macau. This bilingual primer offers a complete learning approach of the Chinese languages from the compositional analysis of the Chinese characters to the introduction of applied writing skills. Its third chapter, entitled *Grammatica* depicts the author's grammatical conceptualization of the target learning languages, classifying the Chinese grammar into a total of thirteen categories: *Palavras Simplices, Artigo, Plural, Generos, Adjectivo, Comparativo, Superlativo, Numeros, Addições numeraes, Ordinaes, Pronome, Verbo* and *Verbos Difficeis, e Chinismos*. Although this categorization reflects influences of the Greco-Latin language analyzing

model, the author's observations as for the morphological characteristics of the Chinese words besides several traditional Chinese language categories could be seen. After briefly introducing this primer, this study focuses on the last section of the third chapter, where a collection of Portuguese and Chinese contrastive examples is listed without further information concerning its criterion. Surprisingly most of the difficulties hereby witnessed, which probably originated from a direct comparison of Chinese to Portuguese, continue to challenge the modern teaching-learning of Chinese to Portuguese L1 speakers. The potential reasons why the author considers such verbal structures as the most difficult ones are of great interest especially when it comes to the contrast of the two involved languages. Therefore, the study aims at presenting a possible classification of the available bilingual examples considering the typological differences in cause, which would greatly contribute to the didactics of Chinese to European Portuguese speaking learners.

Languages for Specific Purposes in Nineteenth-Century Portuguese-Italian Conversation Guides

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Among the language teaching tools most in vogue in the 19th century were multilingual conversation guides, the potential recipients of which ranged from students to travellers (for leisure, for commercial reasons or in search of a job), artists, technicians and scientists, military personnel, and missionaries.

By their hybrid and versatile nature, such guides were conceived either as complements to grammars and foreign language learning methods, either employed in language teaching or used as self-learning tools, or as handbooks to be consulted in first contacts with foreign countries. In addition to essential grammatical information, they typically contained glossaries and collections of elementary phrases and conversations, ordered by semantic fields relating to everyday life, sociability and conversation, professional activities, and travel. The

guides also contained practical information on weights and measures, currency units and exchange values, as well as models of letters, bills of exchange and contracts in different languages.

Usually originating from bilingual prototypes, these guides developed into a range of polyglot versions (composed of three, four, six and more languages), from which in turn sprang a wide array of further bilingual versions that reused – also from a purely typographical point of view – the terminological, phrasal, and dialogical corpora built up for the polyglot editions.

The phenomenon of multilingual conversation guides was not new in the 19th century: instruments of this kind – some of them very well known, such as Berlaimont's *Colloquia* – were already circulating in 16th- and 17th-century Europe, following the revival of trade and the major conflicts between nation states. However, in the 19th century they experienced a phase of intense proliferation, not only on a European but also on a transcontinental scale, progressively encompassing the Americas, Eastern Europe and the Near East, thanks also to the first industrial and 'multinational' publishing enterprises such as J.-P. Aillaud, the Librairie Européenne de Baudry, the Garnier brothers and the Laemmert brothers. The languages routinely documented in these manuals included both Italian and Portuguese – the corpora on which the present paper focuses – at first thanks to native initiatives blossoming in Lusitanian lands (Antonio Michele 1807), then within the main polyglot guides (Fonseca 1836, Hamonière 1840, Smith, Adler-Mesnard, Ronna, Ochoa & Roquete 1842, Bellenger, Witcomb, Steuer, Zirardini, Pardal & Moura 1846, Clifton, Vitali, Ebeling, Corona Bustamante & Duarte 1859, Strause 1870), and finally as bilingual re-editions, or Portuguese and Brazilian reworkings, of the latter (Lopes 1864, Gervais ca.1882, Nabantino and Monteiro 1889, Ramsey Johnston 1896, Angeli 1900, Vitali & Pinto ca.1913).

Among the language domains selected – in varying proportions – in the conversation guides are some languages for specific purposes: economic and financial, legal, administrative, military, but also botanical and chemical.

The present paper sets out to analyse these lexical, phrasal and conversational corpora, both from the point of view of strictly linguistics issues (such as contact between languages and related phenomena of foreignisms and loans, lexical variety, diachronic evolution and emerging diatopic varieties, as between European Portuguese and Brazilian

Portuguese), as well as from a terminological perspective, in relation on the one hand to the evolution of theories, and on the other (particularly for economics and law) to the changing historical contexts with which the relevant specific languages interact.

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L'horizon de rétrospection des grammairiens portugais au XIXe siècle

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Dans ce travail, nous analysons trois œuvres représentatives du mouvement tardif de la grammaire générale au Portugal: *Gramatica portugueza* (1804), de Manuel Dias de Sousa; *Gramática filosófica da linguagem portuguêza* (1818), de João Crisóstomo do Couto e Melo; et *Grammatica philosophica da lingua portugueza* (1822), de Jerónimo Soares Barbosa. En dépit de leur caractère philosophique, dans la mesure où les grammairiens proposent des explications rationnelles des faits linguistiques, ces grammaires présentent une configuration éclectique justifiée par la structuration de l'horizon de rétrospection de leurs auteurs, structuré comme connaissances communes, ou indexé avec des auteurs et/ou des dates. Remontant au court terme, ces ouvrages s'inscrivent dans la tradition de la grammaire générale française élaborée au XVII^e siècle dans la *Grammaire générale et raisonnée* (1660) et développée dans la grammaire encyclopédique (XVIII^e siècle) et idéologique (début du XIX^e siècle), par Du Marsais, Beauzée, Condillac, Court de Gebelin, Destutt de Tracy. L'objectif de ce travail est donc de vérifier comment l'horizon de rétrospection (Auroux 1986, 2006, 2007) des grammairiens portugais, c'est-à-dire l'ensemble des connaissances sur la théorie générale de la grammaire française, oriente leurs travaux en ce qui concerne la description et l'analyse de la syntaxe, en particulier le phénomène du complément, montrant comment ce phénomène est affecté par la temporalité. Les résultats indiquent que l'horizon de rétrospection des grammairiens portugais varie, diversifiant les types de références (citation littérale, descriptions définies, allusions), et que Barbosa (1822) non seulement applique des connaissances linguistiques sur le complément, mais aussi les développe.

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Language learning and teaching in the eighteenth century: art and / or science?

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For Diderot in his *Encyclopédie* (1751), the terms art or science apply to «a system of instruments, or of rules [...] all directed toward the same object» [...] «If the object leads to action, we give the name of 'art' to the compendium of the rules governing its use and to their technical order. If the object is merely contemplated under different aspects, the compendium and technical order of the observations concerning this object are called science». Diderot gives the example of grammar, «the name of a system of instruments and rules that relate to a specific object; this object is articulated sound».

In the course of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, grammar was applied to the vernacular languages as well as to Latin, and the process of standardizing linguistic knowledge was underway, part of a more general standardization and disciplining (in Foucault's sense) of practices. In language learning manuals of the eighteenth century, practical 'know-how' or 'tacit knowledge' of the vernaculars was turned into discursive knowledge, to be passed on explicitly to language learners. Language masters also described and reflected on their role in transmitting their expert knowledge to language learners. I shall analyse emerging and changing perspectives in eighteenth-century language manuals on questions including:

- What kinds of language knowledge can be captured in rules and/or described discursively?
- What can (or cannot) be passed on discursively by a master to a learner?
- What kinds of knowledge must be practised, how, and what is the role of the language master in such practice?

Evolution of Noah Webster's linguistic ideas

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The present study adheres to the idea that for a better contribution to the development of the history of linguistics, «[...] historians of linguistics must also be linguists [...]» (Koerner 2002: 292) by analyzing Noah Webster's works. Frequently, the author's conflicting personality has been considered the source of the contradictions in his writings – and has often received more attention than his development as a grammarian. It is true that there are many inconsistencies when comparing his initial and final publications and writings. Webster, at first, encourages language standardization as part of his plan to promote national unity. Yet, his idea of a standard language requires a model of 'pure English', which could not be the English spoken in England because it had been corrupted. His solution is to search for the 'true principles' in the English spoken by ordinary people in the United States. Accordingly, he develops a roughly descriptive scheme to explain «the true construction of the English language» that gives more attention to the popular use of language. However, when writing his speller and his school material, Webster faces a dilemma because he cannot upset his readers by introducing his novel ideas. Still, he eventually becomes mostly descriptive when his approach emphasizes the need for evidence and the need to test hypotheses against observations. Thus, the presentation traces the development of the author's (conflicting) ideas from prescriptive to (almost) descriptive.

O cânone descritivo gramatical das gramáticas missionárias do malayalam do século XVIII

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As considerações linguísticas sobre os sistemas 'exóticos'² testemunhadas através dos textos redigidos por clérigos têm sido raramente de interesse para a comunidade académica: a causa residia na falta de rigor científico atribuída aos Padres.³ A situação mudou desde os anos 1990; a partir da VII^a edição da ICHoLS (1996),⁴ um novo âmbito de estudo, chamado de Linguística Missionária, tomou o seu espaço dentro da disciplina da Historiografia Linguística. É nesta área interdisciplinar que se insere a minha investigação, dialogando com o conceito de cânone atribuído ao paradigma gramatical greco-latino, modelo de descrição linguística adotado pelos missionários⁵ frente aos novos sistemas linguísticos.

O universalismo deste paradigma encontrou as peculiaridades das línguas não indo-européias, pelas quais a grelha tradicional e o limitado repertório de regras linguísticas comumente conhecidas não podiam ser aplicados totalmente; consequentemente, os Padres tiveram que formular novos expedientes para colmatar as lacunas, adaptar o modelo, abandoná-lo ou, até, construir novos, tendo em conta os aspectos peculiares dos sistemas e dos padrões gramaticais locais, quando presentes. Deste modo, surgiram diferentes tradições gramaticais que, ao longo dos séculos, assumiram novas estruturas consoante às informações relevadas e partilhadas pelos missionários, que em muitos casos alcançaram resultados científicos notáveis e válidos ainda hoje.

² De acordo com Zwartjes (2011: 1), o uso do adjetivo 'exótico' é uma mera convenção linguística que se coloca para além de qualquer juízo de valor eurocêntrico ou supremacista.

³ Por exemplo, Humboldt (1905 em Esparza Torres 2010: 203) julgava [...] que los misioneros eran "poco aptos para indagar lenguas cuyas estructuras singulares eran totalmente nuevas".

⁴ Onde Hovdhaugen (1996: 7) declarou que «a satisfactory history of linguistics cannot be written before the impressive contribution of missionaries is recognised».

⁵ Chamados por Errington (2011: 19) de 'colonial (proto)linguists'.

No caso específico do meu estudo, apresento sete gramáticas de malayalam, língua dravídica india, do século XVIII, produzidas por carmelitas e jesuítas, com metalinguagem latim, português e inglês;⁶ através da análise comparativa do esquema descritivo gramatical das obras, destacarei os pontos de permanências, ausência e mudanças do paradigma tradicional e, ao mesmo tempo, delinearei o perfil desta tradição.

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⁶ As que foram localizadas.

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The explicit nature of scientific approaches: Insights from Pāṇini and generative grammar

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By means of two case-studies, I argue that if an approach in the history of linguistics is explicit – namely, if it specifies the principles yielding certain outputs and excluding other outputs, ideally without shortcuts (Chomsky 2015: 2-3) – then that approach is a good candidate to count as scientific.

The first case-study concerns long-distance agreement (see 1): *is* agrees not with the closer unit *dogs*, but rather with the more distant unit *cat*, while infinitely many words may in principle appear between *cat* and *is* if the dots are recursively filled with other sentences.

(1) The cat₁ that was chased by the dogs ... is₁ old.

In a foundational work of generative grammar, Chomsky (1956) provided an explicit account of long-distance agreement via context-free rules, which hierarchically group English words under symbols that are not English words (e.g., $S \rightarrow NP-VP$ or $NP \rightarrow D-N-S$). This account persists, in its essentials, in current syntactic theory (Moro 2017: 243-244).

The second case-study concerns Sanskrit compounding. Compounds (*aśva-śaphá-* [horse-hoof]) are meaning-equivalent to combinations of fully inflected words (*áśvasya śapháḥ* [horse's hoof]). The ancient Indian grammarian Pāṇini (4th c. B.C.) offered an explicit account of this equivalence by taking compound-members as words endowed with silent case-endings (Candotti & Pontillo 2019: 31): *aśva-Ø^{GEN} śapha-Ø^{NOM}*. With little modifications, this account can still be maintained nowadays (Mocci & Pontillo 2019).

In sum, old but explicit accounts of simple linguistic facts (long-distance agreement; meaning-equivalence between compounds and phrases) are held in high regard in the contemporary scientific community. From this, I conclude that explicit approaches are good candidates to count as scientific in the history of linguistics.

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A Scientific Training: Malinowski and language

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This paper examines 'science' in Malinowski's writings, a century after *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (Malinowski 1922) appeared. Bronislaw Malinowski has often been regarded as the founder of modern anthropological fieldwork and significantly influenced contemporary linguistics (Robins 1971). In *Argonauts*, his classic account of the Trobriand Island culture, Malinowski discussed his immersion in Trobriand culture and the advantages of in-depth fieldwork, assisted by his ability to master the local language. *Argonauts* was said to herald the beginning of a revolution in anthropology. For the first time, Malinowski equated meaning with function (Henson 1974). This paper investigates the questions of: What was science and what was a scientific training for Malinowski? The term 'science' conveys prestige and credibility. However, the new science was not a revolution but the continuation of earlier views with a move towards positivism which focused upon visual observation rather than hearing language speakers (Moore 2020). I contend that, because of his prejudice against contemporary language science and its practitioners,

Malinowski remained unenlightened about language. This had far reaching and regrettable consequences for linguistics.

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Thirty years later, a look back at *The Earliest Stage of Language Planning*: The Case of the First World Esperanto Congress

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Thirty years ago, in 1993, appeared the famous collection of articles edited by Joshua Fishman on the first congresses of a language: *The Earliest Stage of Language Planning*. Eighteen languages and eighteen congresses were presented and analyzed, and an introduction and a conclusion, written by Fishman, attempted to link these different examples together to generalize and characterize what Fishman calls the 'phenomenon of the first congresses'.

Thirty years later, *The Earliest Stage of Language Planning* has not lost its relevance and its importance remains for the sociology of language or for the history of linguistics, and for history in general. On this anniversary, I would like, in this contribution, to reread the conclusions and observations of this work in the context of a first congress which did not appear in the 1993 book: the first world Esperanto congress, in 1905 in the French town of Boulogne- sur-Mer. After recalling the history, the context and the ambitions and goals of this first *Universala Kongreso*, I will examine if this first Esperanto congress shares the general characteristics of the first congresses or if, on the contrary, the first

congress of an artificial language with an international vocation must be considered from another point of view. To refine my remarks and my conclusions, some connections and comparisons will be made with the first congress of the Ido language which was held in Zurich in 1928.

As características fonéticas nas «Remarques du Traducteur» do *Maitre Portugais* (Lisboa, 1799)

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O próprio título da obra faz com que pareça evidente que o tradutor anónimo do *Maitre portugais ou Nouvelle grammaire portugaise et françoise, composée d'après les meilleures grammaires et, particulièrement, sur la portugaise et angloise d'Antoine Vieyra Transtagano* (1799) tenha beneficiado (pelo menos parcialmente) da estrutura e do conteúdo da gramática anglo-portuguesa *A new portuguese grammar in four parts* (1768) de António Vieira Transtagano (1712-1797).

No entanto, uma consulta do livro permite a constatação que este tradutor não se limitou a traduzir simplesmente a obra inglesa, uma vez que acrescentou catorze subcapítulos com títulos como 'Remarques du Traducteur' (*Maitre Portugais* 1799: 9-13, 14-17, 18, 22-23, 24-26), etc. Nestes textos, bem como noutrios comentários semelhantes, o autor acrescenta à informação traduzida a partir da gramática anglo-portuguesa as suas próprias observações, que têm em conta as propriedades e as diferenças específicas entre as duas línguas.

Na nossa comunicação, tentamos apresentar alguns dos elementos mais importantes que nos permitem compreender as ideias linguísticas do autor e enquadrá-las no seio da linguística portuguesa e franco-portuguesa contemporânea.

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Maitre Portugais. 1799 = MAITRE PORTUGAIS, / OU / NOUVELLE GRAMMAIRE PORTUGAISE / ET FRANCOISE, / COMPOSÉE D'APRÈS / LES MEILLEURES GRAMMAIRES, / ET PARTICULIÈREMENT / SUR LA PORTUGAISE, ET ANGLOISE / D'ANTOINE VIEYRA TRANSTAGANO, / Maitre des Langues portugaise, et Italienne, / Et arrangée de manière à pouvoir servir aux Fran- / çois qui désirent apprendre le Portugais. / LISBONNE. DCC. XCIX. / DE L'IMPRIMERIE DE SIMON THADDE'E / FERREIRA. / Avec Approbation du Desembargo do Paço. / Chez la Veuve Bertrand, et Fils, Libraires, au / Chiado à Lisbonne.

Vieira Transtagano, António. ¹1768. *A NEW / PORTUGUESE / GRAMMAR / IN FOUR PARTS; / CONTAINING / I. Rules for the modification and use of the different / parts of speech. / II. The Syntax, in which are explained, after a more / copious manner than hitherto attempted, the pe- / culiar uses of the PORTUGUESE PARTICLES. / III. A Vocabulary, more particularly containing the Terms / of COMMERCE, WAR, and NAVIGATION, with a va- / riety of Phrases and familiar Dialogues, taken from common conversation, and the best authors. / IV. Various Passages extracted from the most approved modern and ancient writers, with a view to facilitate the reading of the ancient and most valuable Portuguese books. / By ANTHONY VIEYRA TRANSTAGANO. / Teacher of the Portuguese and Italian Languages. / Necesse est enim quos mercaturæ & contractuum sint, inter eos / quoque sermonis esse comercia. UBERTUS FOLIETA // LONDON, / Printed for J. NOURSE, Bookseller to His MAJESTY. / MDCCCLXVIII.*

Asserting rights, reclaiming recognition: Balthasar da Costa's *Arte Tamulica* (17th century)

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If it is true that the scientific literature dealing with the history of the description of the Tamil language recognises the proper space and authority to the early grammar of Tamil composed by Henrique Henriques (1520-1600) in ca.1548 or to the famous later ones like *kōtuntamil* (1738 [1728]) written by Costantino Giuseppe Beschi (1680-1747) or *Arte Damulica* (1716) by Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg (1682-1719), usually only a few lines are spent for the *Arte Tamulica* composed by the Jesuit Balthasar da Costa (ca.1610-1673).

Costa was born in Aldeia Nova (Guarda) ca. in 1610. He was a *pañāraswāmi* who professed in the Madurai province and who applied himself to the study of Tamil. Historical documents available today attest how he became proficient in the language: he composed a Portuguese-Tamil dictionary (printed in Ambalacat in 1680 – no copies exist today) and the grammar of Tamil. Despite his work being well known such as the reference made by Hervás y Panduro in *Idea dell'Universo* (1785, tome XVIII: 92–93) highlights, as well as the five copies of his manuscript existing today, suggest, his work has not received the deserved attention. How and why is it important to disclose it? This is what this presentation aims to do, revealing in what way and at what extent Costa's work influenced later Tamil grammar, nowadays largely recognized having thus an impact also on the modern descriptions of the Tamil language.

L'iconicité, de Peirce à Jakobson et après: développement d'un domaine d'étude et changements épistémologiques

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Venue à l'attention des linguistes après l'article de Roman Jakobson *À la recherche de l'essence du langage* (anglais 1965; français 1966), la problématique de l'iconicité a mis à jour un long débat présent tout au long de l'histoire de la linguistique, celui de la nature du langage. Les actualisations du problème du langage comme *physei* ou *thesei*, pour reprendre les termes de Platon, ont pris de différentes formes à travers le temps, théorisées par Raffaele Simone (1990) sous la forme deux *paradigmes*, 'de l'arbitraire', le paradigme dominant, et 'de la substance', dont les exponents «[...] have generally been marginal and isolated figures» (Simone 1990: 128).

Partant de la classification tripartite des signes de Peirce, Jakobson définit l'iconicité d'une manière différente de celle de Peirce. Ainsi, nous essayerons d'étudier comment une théorie sémiotique de Peirce se transpose dans une théorie linguistique chez Jakobson, y compris les changements épistémologiques impliqués dans ce passage, afin de devenir opérationnelle sur plusieurs niveaux de l'analyse linguistique (phonétique, lexical, syntaxique, discursif, etc.).

Nous tâcherons par la suite d'analyser l'essor, suite à la parution de l'article jakobsonien, des études concernant l'iconicité aux Etats-Unis et puis en Europe, dans des séries thématiques et dans des colloques réguliers qui lui sont dédiés, dirigés par des linguistes comme John Haiman, Talmy Givón, Raffaele Simone, Olga Fischer, Philippe Monneret, etc.

Étant donné le background structuraliste de Roman Jakobson – l'un des membres exponentiels de l'École linguistique de Prague –, la question qui va gouverner notre démarche est de comprendre jusqu'à quel point Jakobson propose une théorie contraire à l'arbitraire du signe, principe sur lequel se fondait la linguistique en tant que science, et qui ferait par conséquent de l'iconicité une théorie *non-scientifique*.

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Clenardus at the crossroads? Nicolaus Clenardus' Greek grammar and early-sixteenth-century trilingualism

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Today, the Brabantian humanist Nicolaus Clenardus (Nicolas Cleynaerts; 1493-1542) is best known for his lifelong fascination with Arabic and Islam; in the early modern period, however, he was first and foremost a highly influential grammarian of Greek and Hebrew. Having enjoyed a philological formation at the Trilingual College of Louvain, Clenardus composed grammars of these two languages, whose first editions were printed in Louvain around 1530. Both of these works enjoyed enormous popularity and played a formative role in the early development of the Jesuit educational system.

Clenardus' grammaticographical activity was part of a highly dynamic episode in the history of European grammar writing, in which the scope of grammar widened beyond its traditional attention to Latin to include Greek and Hebrew, a development which led to interactions between the grammatical and lexicographical traditions of the Latin, Byzantine and Jewish worlds. This contribution wishes to explore how Clenardus' Greek grammar fits into the broader landscape of early-sixteenth-century humanist grammar by suggesting answers to the following questions:

- (1) To what extent was Clenardus influenced by the Greek grammar of Hadrianus Amerotius (Adrien Amerot), which was printed in Louvain in 1520?
- (2) Both Amerotius and Rutgerus Rescius, Clenardus' Greek teacher in Louvain, had studied with Girolamo Aleandro in his Parisian period. To what extent can Clenardus be considered an intellectual heir of this member of Aldus Manutius' Venetian circle?
- (3) Can Clenardus' (and Aleandro's) involvement with Hebrew be shown to have had an impact on his description of Greek?

The metalanguage of Linguistics in the making: the case of 'community'

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Although the notion of 'community' was problematic and problematized during the second half of the 20th century and has in the last decades been subject to partial resemanticizations, it is still essential – in some ways, 'canonical' – to both the theoretical and terminological framework of linguistics.

This paper aims at investigating the origins of the specialization of the term 'community' within the field of general linguistics, being the very first occurrences of its technical use traced back to the second half of the 19th century, in a sort of 'pre-scientific' horizon, and since it is only later on, well into the 20th century, that 'community' would permanently enter into the metalanguage of linguistics.

This investigation intends to retrace the main steps of the specialization process of the term, along with its semantic shifts. A survey of uses and meanings is presented as evidence of the difficulties for a broadly accepted definition of 'community' within the history and historiography of linguistics.

With a focus on the innovating role played by William Dwight Whitney (1827-1894), despite the inevitable historical and sometimes documentary discontinuity, some pivotal moments of that long conceptual and lexical process are going to be pointed out, giving prominence to the strides which ultimately lead to the standardization of the term 'community' within the metalinguistic paradigm of linguistics.

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Putting words to things: translating culture-specific concepts by the Dutch in the Mughal India

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This paper presents a historical and linguistic analysis of the 18th century Dutch-Hindustani-Persian vocabulary composed by Joan Josua Ketelaar, with a particular emphasis on the loanwords later used in his work correspondence. Ketelaar was a Dutch merchant who at one point, acted as an ambassador to the Mughal court in India and to the Safavid court in Persia. His extensive reports to the Dutch East India Company (VOC) officials and his letters to other agents provide a rich source of loanwords that shed light on the linguistic and cultural exchange between Dutch, Hindustani and Persian speakers during this period.

Apparently, Ketelaar's use of loanwords was shaped by a complex interplay of social and political factors, but his own linguistic background had an influence as well. Some loanwords used in his reports appear to have been adopted directly from local contacts and from his interactions with the Mughal court as well as from the broader Indian cultural context; others were already borrowings from languages such as Arabic and Persian, likely used by the VOC's extensive network of trade and diplomatic contacts across Asia. In the dictionary, however, strategies such as adaptation and conceptual transfer were used to elucidate the meaning of culturally 'alien' terms.

My analysis reveals a broad scope of 'ephemeral' loanwords from a variety of domains, including military, administrative, and cultural, as well as use of other translation strategies that attest to the linguistic creativity and adaptability of Dutch speakers in the pre-colonial context of the early 18th century.

The Sources that Misled N.S. Trubetzkoy: Scientific and Unscientific Presentations of Mandarin Chinese Tones in Some Early 20th Century Linguistic Works

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Though by no means a Sinologist, Nikolai S. Trubetzkoy (1890-1938) fully understood the important role of the Chinese tones in the universal phonological system he endeavored to establish. He privately expressed his lack of knowledge of it in his correspondence to Roman Jakobson, and then openly listed it as a limitation of his «Zur allgemeinen Theorie der phonologischen Vokalsysteme» (1929). However, as his knowledge of it expanded, he astonishingly declared in «La phonologie actuelle» (1933) that Mandarin Chinese belongs to the type in which both tones and vowel quantities are distinguished phonologically. Though this classification facilitated the incorporation of the Chinese tones into his universal system of prosodic properties, it nevertheless contradicts to some linguistic facts as well as what he called native speakers' 'phonologisches Bewusstsein'. His belief was yet persistently reiterated in *Anleitung* (1935), *Grundzüge* (1939) and some shorter works, and an investigation into them reveals that his sources about the Chinese tones came mainly from four monographs by European linguists of various backgrounds: Franz Finck's *Die Haupttypen des Sprachbaus* (1910), Maurice Courant's *La langue chinoise parlée* (1913), Bernhard Karlgren's *Études sur la phonologie chinoise* (1915) and E.D. Polivanov's *Vvedenie v jazykoznanie dlja vostokovednych vuzov* [An Introduction to Linguistics for Oriental Studies] (1928), where Chinese tones were sometimes treated scientifically but sometimes not. Exploring the descriptions and methodologies in these books as well as Trubetzkoy's interpretation of the information therein, the present essay attempts to find out the rationale behind Trubetzkoy's inappropriate, if not incorrect, conclusions on this phonological issue.

Building a scientific subdiscipline: The «Great Minority-Nationality Language Survey» (民族语言大调查 Minzu yuyan da diaocha) in the early People's Republic of China (1956-1959)

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In early 1956, around 500 young students were recruited for a short training course in linguistic fieldwork in the PRC. They were then integrated into the first centrally planned and state-wide survey of the languages of 'minority-nationalities'. The results continue to be viewed as a milestone in the development of scientific knowledge on non-Sinitic languages of the PRC. This paper sketches the historical construction of scientific standards in this state-commissioned linguistic research by drawing on the published lectures of the training course as well as the notes fieldworkers composed for internal circulation.

Despite an explicit promotion of 'scientific' standards, many of the students involved had no prior experience of linguistics. The 1956 training course was thus meant to convey norms of scientific linguistic fieldwork which could be efficiently understood and replicated by these novices. While the 'advanced experience of the USSR' did serve as a canonical point of reference in the lectures, this reference was communicated by scholars who had been primarily conversant with Euro-American linguistic literature before the establishment of a communist government in 1949.

Once this ambivalent and abbreviated theoretical equipment was carried onto the field, the students quickly remarked on its insufficiency. In order to attain the ideals of 'scientific work', fieldwork participants resorted to multiple strategies: they referred to their hierarchical superiors in 'work-teams' rather than to a disciplinary canon; implemented collective decision-making within local working groups to resolve disputes; and drew on popular representations of 'scientific discovery' to stage the legitimacy of their own activities.

Scientifically based systems for the transcription of Yaghan between the 19th and 20th centuries

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Yaghan is a dormant indigenous language of the extreme south of Argentine and Chilean Patagonia. Extensive documentation on this language is available; for this presentation, we focus on sources collected by members of two missionary groups between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The first missionary group is the *South American Missionary Society* (SAMS), an Anglican group which was established in Yaghan territory between the mid- and late 19th century. Most of the documentation on this language was done by Thomas Bridges, who adopted an innovative phonetic system for the linguistic register that emerged at the time as part of the English-Language Spelling Reform: the Ellis and Pitman's phonotypic system (1847).

In the first quarter of the 20th century, Martin Gusinde, of the Society of the Divine Word (*Societas Verbi Divini*; SVD), conducted four expeditions to Tierra del Fuego, in which he collected a great deal of anthropological, ethnographic and linguistic information; for the transcription of the linguistic data Gusinde chose another phonetic system, the Anthropos Alphabet, which had been developed by Fr. Wilhelm Schmidt SVD and published in 1907 in the second volume of *Anthropos*, the journal he founded and edited at the time.

The contrast between the transcription systems used for Yaghan in the two missionary congregations shows the consolidation of phonetics as a fundamental part of linguistics and demonstrates how the advances that this new discipline was experiencing – both theoretically and methodologically – influenced the emergence and proliferation of new transcription systems between the centuries.

Mapping the history of language-related terminology in English (1500-1700): A corpus-based collocate approach

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As part of our corpus-based study of early modern English texts dedicated to or including discussions of vernacular languages (MetaLing project), we propose to test a method for the retrieval of the metalanguage that was created to analyse, compare, appraise and classify vernacular languages between 1500 and 1700. Our aim is to observe the development and adaptation of terminology (often not canonical, 'pre-scientific' or 'unscientific') across a variety of early modern English sources, adopting what we have termed an «onomasiology-oriented corpus-based collocate method». In fact, various studies in the last two decades (e.g. Grzega 2002; Geeraerts 2009; Fernández-Domínguez 2019; Keersmaekers and Van Hal 2022) show the potential of syntactic relations as a way to expand our lexicological knowledge starting from context rather than from lexical items intended as lemmas. One way to apply this approach to our project is to browse an existing corpus of historical texts of the period under investigation (i.e. EEBO) using corpus linguistics tools to find collocates of the terminology that have emerged from the use of traditional lexicographical methods. EEBO is available on the corpus manager and text analysis software Sketch Engine (Kilgariff et al. 2004, Kilgariff et al. 2014). By analysing the word 'sketches' (collocates) and the concordances of terms, we will illustrate how a corpus-based approach can be employed effectively in mapping the history of language-related terminology and concepts.

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«Un drôle de petit drame» Construction, Syntaxe, Rhétoricité et Scénographie: Représentation de la phrase au XIXe siècle

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La notion de paradigme scientifique, telle que Thomas Kuhn l'a définie⁷ dans la représentation de l'évolution du savoir scientifique, a vu se substituer le phénomène de *rupture* au principe d'accumulation des connaissances. En cela Kuhn a théorisé le principe de discontinuité que René Thom élaborait par ailleurs dans le secteur de la topologie lorsqu'il s'intéressait aux changements brusques de formes dont des fonctions sont capables. Représentation qui fut ultérieurement nommée «théorie des catastrophes». Le domaine des sciences du langage n'échappe pas à une telle représentation, que ce soit dans le domaine de la grammaire des langues ou dans celui des principes généraux de la linguistique, historique, comparée ou générale.

Dans un article des *Cahiers de Praxématique*, Marc Arabyan (2014) a retracé et analysé le parcours de la métaphore qui fait de la phrase «Un drôle de petit drame». Il me semble toutefois manquer à sa brillante démonstration la référence à Henri Weil qui, en 1844, reprend à son compte cette métaphore: «Cette loi [la loi de la syntaxe] veut que nous

7 Voyez *The structure of scientific revolutions* (Kuhn 1962) et 'Second edition enlarged' (Kuhn 1970a). Traduction française: *La structure des révolutions scientifiques* (Kuhn 1970b).

revêtions nos pensées d'une forme, non pas métaphysique, mais essentiellement dramatique. L'être qui agit, l'action, l'être qui subit le choc de l'action, celui qui en est affecté d'une manière plus indirecte, le temps, le lieu de la scène, etc., voilà les rôles et les éléments du drame syntaxique. Les rapports grammaticaux ne sont que les relations qui existent entre les personnages immuables de ce drame» (Weil 1844: 18-19). La métaphore employée par Weil se distingue toutefois dans son emploi de celui de ses prédécesseurs car, d'une part, elle est intégrée, comme l'indique le titre, à un raisonnement comparatif et historique, et, d'autre part, comme l'ont montré André Chervel (1977) et Bérengère Bouard, elle survient au moment précis où l'analyse logique, dérivée des principes de la grammaire générale des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècle, cède la place dans les grammaires à une analyse de la nature des parties du discours et des fonctions qu'elles assument dans le discours. La kyrielle, entre autres, des compléments.

L'objectif de cette communication est de montrer que la rupture qui s'opère ici dans le cadre de la grammaire, singulièrement de la grammaire scolaire, résulte pour une large part de la mise en application effective de l'opposition entre syntaxe et construction que Dumarsais avait formalisée dans son article de l'*Encyclopédie*.⁸ Pour Dumarsais, la construction est marquée par un arrangement particulier, une combinaison des mots caractéristique rendue possible grâce aux règles générales de la syntaxe qui soutient la rhétoricité du langage. C'est ce rapport construction / syntaxe qui permet à H. Weil de répartir les langues en deux groupes, celles, comme le français, dans lesquelles la construction est liée à l'organisation syntaxique des unités (langues à construction fixe), et celles, comme le latin ou le grec, où « [...] la syntaxe ne fait pas loi pour l'arrangement de la phrase [...] ». Ce faisant Weil (1844: 54) promeut une scénographie de la phrase dans laquelle les compléments mettent en valeur le sujet de la pièce en relation avec le régisseur que continue d'être le verbe.

8: Dumarsais (1754: 73): «Je crois que l'on ne doit pas confondre *construction* avec *syntaxe*. *Construction* ne présente que l'idée de combinaison et d'arrangement. Cicéron a dit, selon trois combinaisons différentes, *accepi literas tuas*, *tuas accepi literas*, et *litteras accepi tuas*: il y a là trois *constructions*, puisque trois différents arrangements de mots; cependant, il n'y a qu'une *syntaxe*, car dans chacune de ces constructions, il y a les mêmes signes des rapports que les mots ont entre eux; ainsi ces rapports sont les mêmes dans chacune de ces phrases».

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Glossematics' Capital Criteria for Scientificity

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Hjelmslev's Glossematics, with its abstruse and meticulous apparatus of *Sprogteori*, is typically referred to as a peculiar linguistic (and/or semiotic) theory whose ambitiousness becomes troublesome for the scholars of the discipline. However, a closer look at the theorist's enterprise reveals the fact that Glossematics proposes, above all, a new 'epistemology', and, one might say that this is the very source of its peculiar and troublesome nature. Epistemology is to be considered here as a field that studies the possibility of science(s). Thus, as one might expect, the glossematic epistemology offers its own original solution to the core problem of scientificity. The criterion to determine what is scientific is in fact anchored in the single principal of the *Sprogteori* – i.e. the so-called 'Empirical Principle' (EP). This principle, as understood within the framework of immanence –the overarching characteristic of Hjelmslevian epistemology– provides an alternative to the well-established approaches

to the matter of scientificity, which are rather based on criteria such as confirmation, verification, falsifiability, etc. In my lecture, I will first examine Glossematics' criteria in order to shed some light on the special conditions of rationality that govern its mode of thinking. Then, conducting my discussion to some critical consequences at the theoretical levels, I will explore the classification of glossematic objects (semiotic, metasemiotic, meta-(scientific semiotic), semiology, etc.) to check the possibility of interpreting it as a new basis for a taxonomy of sciences.

What counts as scientific in Brazilian grammars published between the 1870s and 1920s

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The *Grammatica Portugueza*, by Júlio Ribeiro (1845-1890), initially published in 1881, is generally regarded as Brazil's initial milestone of scientific grammar (cf. Cavaliere 2014). However, an analysis of grammatical texts that precede Julio Ribeiro's work, such as *Grammatica Philosophica da Lingua Portugueza* (1877), by Ernesto Carneiro Ribeiro (1839-1920), reveals linguistic knowledge from the scientific perspective, as well as foundations of theories considered pre-scientific in Julio Ribeiro's grammar and later works. In this study, we analyze the presence of the scientific grammar theory and other theories in the already mentioned Brazilian grammars and two later works: *Grammatica Expositiva* (1907), by Eduardo Carlos Pereira (1855-1923), and *Grammatica Secundaria da Lingua Portugueza* (1923), by Manuel Said Ali (1861-1953). By considering the 'climate of opinion' (Koerner 2014) at the time of publication of each work, we investigated, through the 'horizon of retrospection' (Auroux 2008), in 'general' and 'specific' levels (cf. Leite 2021; Leite & Siqueira 2021), the theoretical affiliation of the authors, and we seek to show how the theory(ies) to which they declared to be affiliated, and also other theories, are evidenced in their grammars and, from these findings, we discuss the scientific and pre-scientific aspects present in these 'linguistic instruments' (Auroux 2008).

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Science, Affect, and Linguistic Fieldwork

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Discussions of the scientific status of linguistics typically focus on cognitive issues: What is our understanding of the term 'linguistic data'? What forms of analysis do linguists engage in? What is the status of theory in their work? Increasingly, however, it has become common to ask questions about the place of affect – or emotion – in scientific research. This development arises partly from the recognition that cognition and affect are elaborately intertwined. (See, for example, chapter 6 of physicist Tom McLeish's 2019 book *The Poetry and Music of Science*, the focus of which is 'emotion and reason in scientific creation'.) And it also arises from the increasing emphasis on affect within the discipline of history. (See, for example, Rob Boddice's 2017 survey of this development in *The History of Emotions*, which examines a range of

influential ideas from the field including Barbara H. Rosenwein's account of 'emotional communities'.) Read together, these two streams of thought invite us to think of science as a rich site of emotional experience and to characterise that experience not as epiphenomenal but as an integral part of the process of scientific 'discovery'.

This paper will offer some consideration of the implications of this viewpoint for the history of linguistic thought and will exemplify its argument with reference to a practical text on the conduct of linguistic research, William Samarin's 1967 book, *Field Linguistics: A Guide to Linguistic Fieldwork*. Samarin characterises fieldwork as an activity replete with affect both for researchers and for their informants and the affective economy he describes provides an excellent example of the kinds of phenomena that might be susceptible to analysis in terms of the emotional communities characteristic of twentieth-century scientific practice.

What counted to Leonard Bloomfield as a society for the 'scientific' study of language?

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The year 2024 marks the centennial of the Linguistic Society of America. The first five pages of the first issue of the LSA's flagship journal *Language* published Leonard Bloomfield's rationale for founding the LSA, an essay entitled 'Why a linguistic society?' (Bloomfield 1925). Bloomfield offered two motivations. First, forming a society would build professional and personal solidarity among American linguists, offsetting their geographical dispersal. Second, it would ensure the establishment of linguistics as 'a science of language'. He identified linguistics as a science 24 times in his essay, comparing its methods and results to those of the natural sciences; noting that collection of linguistic data requires close observation and 'highly specialized equipment' (p. 4); and pointing out that the findings of linguistics sometimes run counter to common sense.

Bloomfield was by no means the first to identify linguistics as a science. But what did it mean to be a 'science' in the United States in 1924? A striking feature of the social-intellectual climate was the extent to which it was saturated with attitudes and practices we would now identify as *racist*. What is remarkable, and difficult to grasp from the perspective of

the 21st century, is that early 1900s laws constraining the rights of African Americans, immigration restriction initiatives, eugenicist social engineering, and disregard for the autonomy of Native peoples, were considered to be based on incontestable scientific evidence. The so-called 'scientific racism' of the late 1800s into the early 1900s had been worked out by biologists, natural historians, anthropologists, and scholars of medicine. Their research claimed to have proven that humans belong to separate racial groups, whose immutable characteristics made them variously eligible to assume positions of authority and to enjoy social, economic, and educational privileges. Political, legal, and social leaders and academics – themselves almost uniformly identified with the most favored white racial class – accepted these self-serving claims at face value. To oppose this tableau would be to oppose the authoritative conclusions of science, which was the most culturally powerful mode of discourse, held up as 'an apolitical, nontheological, universal, empirical, and uniquely objective...form of knowledge' (Stepan & Gilman 1991: 77).

Therefore, to what extent were answers to the question 'Why a linguistic society?' shaped by the racism of the day? Many founders and early Presidents of the LSA were Jewish. Many were first- or second-generation immigrants to the U.S. who arrived near the peak of the anti-immigrant fervor – prominently featuring anti-Semitism – that had been building since the late 1800s. In the same year that the LSA was founded, the Johnson-Reed Act culminated forty years of immigration restriction legislation that had no plausible rationale other than race (Lee 2019; Okrent 2019). The 1920s were also an active decade for the Galton Society, an exclusive New York-based association of eugenicists dedicated to turning around, by law if necessary, what members considered the catastrophic erosion of America's white Anglo-Saxon gene pool.

Linguists may have sought professional and personal solidarity in the LSA as they weathered this uninviting climate. They may also have been agents, not merely patients, of racism. At least one early organizer, George Melville Bolling, was the son of a decorated Confederate Army officer. Bolling served as LSA President in 1932, when laws in his ancestral state of Virginia restricted African Americans' opportunities to vote, travel, own property, start businesses, borrow money, attend schools, and feel confident that their fellow citizens would respect their civil rights. In addition, racism figured in one of American structuralists' trademark achievements, the recording and analysis of Native American languages. Surely some linguists in the early days of the society were

neither themselves subjected to discriminatory treatment on racial grounds, nor did they consciously subject others to it. Nevertheless, since institutional racism affects all parties, none of us is naive.

My presentation aims to answer two questions: first, where did linguists, individually and in their incorporation into an inward-looking group, stand with respect to these consequential matters?; second, what did it mean to insist on the 'scientific' character of linguistics in the United States in an age of scientific racism?

German for French in exile: Madame de Genlis' *Manuel du voyageur* (1799)

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In 1799, while living in exile in Berlin, Félicité de Genlis published a French-German *Manuel du voyageur* textbook as the second volume of Samuel Henri Catel's *Exercises de prononciation, de grammaire, et de construction pour faciliter aux François l'intelligence et l'usage de la langue allemande* (1798). Genlis' textbook consists of 52 dialogues describing situations a person might encounter while travelling and/or migrating: from preparing for a journey to settling in a German-speaking country. *Manuel du voyageur* also contains letters and «itinéraires raisonnés de quelques voyages». Genlis is the author of the French texts, which were translated into German by Samuel Henri Catel.

In my paper, I will firstly talk about the content of *Manuel du voyageur*, which can be partly interpreted as an autobiographical reflection of Genlis' own journey to exile. Then, I will analyze the linguistic and didactic concept of the book, as developed by Catel in *Excercises*. His textbooks are addressed to readers with little experience in second language learning. His intention is to teach the German language by usage and not by grammar, with a focus on reading and translations. Catel criticizes most French-German textbooks for translating sentences by phrases rather than word for word. According to Catel, the German phrases are often rather indirect translations and thus, the lexicon does not directly correspond to the French source. To facilitate learning, Catel places a German interlinear version next to the French source text in the *Exercises* as well in the first twelve dialogues of *Manuel du voyageur*.

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Lo científico es un deporte de combate: Sobre algunas intervenciones de Amado Alonso (1927-1930)

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Si la pregunta por lo 'científico' resulta una variable decisiva para examinar el desarrollo histórico de la reflexión sobre el lenguaje, su centralidad resulta todavía más evidente en el marco de los procesos de institucionalización de los estudios lingüísticos (en términos de Bourdieu, la emergencia de un *campo científico*). En esta comunicación, me propongo examinar ese proceso, que en la Argentina tiene lugar a partir de la fundación en 1922 del Instituto de Filología de la Universidad de Buenos Aires, a partir de un conjunto de intervenciones que el filólogo español Amado Alonso, director del Instituto entre 1927 y 1946 y una de las figuras más importantes del hispanismo y la romanística de la primera mitad del siglo pasado, realiza desde su llegada a Buenos Aires y hasta 1930. En este corpus, busco identificar el modo en que Alonso ofrece una configuración de lo 'científico' que se despliega en varios niveles: como una intervención teórica (es decir, qué teorías lingüísticas pueden ser consideradas 'científicas' y cuáles no), como una agenda de investigación (que supone privilegiar ciertos objetos de investigación en desmedro de otros), como una disputa con otros agentes en el campo (cuya autoridad se rechaza como no científica) y, finalmente, como la construcción de un relato historiográfico (según el cual lo 'científico' se inscribe como continuidad de una tradición histórica que se reivindica).

East or West, which language is best? A scholarly sally into an unscientific subject, exemplified by two little-known classical theories

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From the scientific point of view, as it holds today, the issue of the relative perfection of languages is scandalizingly transgressive, as the common opinion of the scholars regards them all as basically equal in satisfying human needs. In the 19th century, however, it was a legitimate part of theoretical reflection on the world's langustic diversity. In particular, two scholars held in high esteem in their respective countries and internationally sometimes mentioned as forerunners of modern linguistic trends, the Ukrainian Alexander Potebnia (1835-1891) and the Swede Esaias Tegnér (1843-1828), expressed in this respect almost diametrically opposed judgments. Whereas Potebnia considered the inflecting Indo-European languages to be the apex of a millenia-long evolutionary process, Tegnér explicitly rejected this 'outdated' view and insisted on the communicative parity of all the mankind's idioms in existence (while also predicting the future leading status of English in the world due to its intrinsic qualities, i. e. the decay of inflection). His criterion was the language's efficiency in transmitting mental contents from the speaker to the hearer, measured against an ideal practically identifiable with angelic speech. By contrast, Potebnia focussed on the role of language in the formation of thought and denied the very possibility of transplanting the latter from one individual mind to another. Largely sharing the same intellectual background of comparative study of languages, both authors thus differed in their conception of what exactly *scientific* means when applied to their domain. The arguments they used offer interesting prospects also for today's linguistics.

Schlegel the Historian? Reconsiderations on Friedrich Schlegel's Language Studies

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A change in perspective on what constituted as science during the early 19th century can reopen debates concerning well researched figures. Friedrich Schlegel (1772-1829) is most famous in the history of linguistics for his work *Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier* (1808). The book is divided into three parts – «Von der Sprache» (Schlegel 1808: 1-86), «Von der Philosophie» (Schlegel 1808: 87-153), and «Historische Ideen» (Schlegel 1808: 155-219) – the first of which is dedicated to the Sanskrit language and its affinities with other languages (Struc-Oppenberg 1975). In historiography, the first book is often put forward as the most important, as it viewed as one of the first 'scientific' works on languages, as it foreshadows theories and methods later optimized by figures such as Franz Bopp (1791-1867) and Rasmus Kristian Rask (1787-1832) (Timpanaro 1977: XI). Yet, I argue that the other two parts were vital to Schlegel's views on language studies and their purpose.

This paper aims to present the wide ranging scope of language studies for historical knowledge, focusing here on how the idea made its way into Schlegel's works. Language studies with historical purposes are found throughout the centuries in a large variety of forms. Although this type of scholarship is not formally recognized as a science today, we do see in history how the idea that the study and comparison of languages can provide information about the earliest history of humanity returns. It is my aim to estimate the dominance of this idea, as well as its impact on the formation of now separate branches of the humanities by looking at specifically at Schlegel's third book «Historische Ideen».

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Early Birds: Early Modern Visions of Linguistics as an Independent Science

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During the early modern period, the study of historical and comparative linguistics was closely linked with other disciplines, such as history, theology and ethnology, and thus lacked a distinct and autonomous status. However, some early modern scholars recognized the need to approach language study in a more independent way by advocating for the creation of a separate (sub)discipline. The Leiden professor Philippus Cluverius (also Philipp Clüver; 1580-1622) was one such scholar, who hinted upon a research program for a branch of learning focused on the history and relationships of languages in 1616 ([when it comes to language similarity and agreement, as well as to language origins, the primeval matrix language, the field is far more extensive and vaster than should or could be treated here. But I am well aware that in this field great and wonderful mysteries lie hidden]; «Sed de linguarum similitudine et convenientia, item de origine earum, ac matrice illa primaeva lingua, multo latior, spatirosorque est campus, quam qui hoc loco pertractari vel debeat, vel possit. Magna, mirandaque ea in re latere μυστήρια, et quae nemo nisi omnium prope linguarum peritus, aperire possit, haud nescius sum»; Cluverius 1631 [=1616]: 60.)

This presentation will explore similar proposals made prior to the nineteenth century and investigate the contexts in which they were launched. It will examine whether these proposals were acted upon and if so, how they influenced linguistic research in the early modern period and beyond. Additionally, it will consider the implications of these early programmatic visions of linguistics as an independent science.

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Gabriel Meurier's lexicographical œuvre: the lifetime work of a French schoolmaster in early modern Low Countries

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It was not until the 16th century that the French language became the object of a lexicographical description in its own right. While in France the foundations for French lexicography were laid by Robert Estienne in the second edition of his learned *Dictionnaire Francoislatin* (1549), in the Low Countries a number of 'French schoolmasters' set about creating an entirely new type of lexicographical product: the bilingual vernacular-to-vernacular dictionary in which French was contrasted with Dutch.

Among the pioneers, Gabriel Meurier, a French schoolmaster of Picardian descent established in Antwerp, stands out because of the volume and variety of his lexicographic output that includes onomasiological vocabularies and large (by Renaissance standards) semi-alphabetical dictionaries. Unlike most early modern vernacular lexicographers, Meurier took great care to improve his works. He was particularly keen on enhancing his French-to-Dutch dictionary of which as many as six different versions were printed between 1557 and 1584.

The major differences between those versions can be summarized as following: (i) typographical modifications partially linked to the technical progress made by Meurier's editors; (ii) entry number and arrangement modifications; (iii) amount of supplementary metalinguistic information

provided beside the Dutch translations. A comparative analysis of the six versions will help us retrace the evolution of Meurier's views on the French language and on the function of *dictionary* as a learning tool within the context of early modern language teaching methods. In particular, the place of idiomatic expressions, homonymy and polysemy as well as diatopic variation will be zoomed on.

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'Le verbe indo-européen': Saussure and Bally in comparison.

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After the death of Ferdinand de Saussure, Charles Bally, his former student at the University of Geneva, took his place at the chair of general linguistics, comparative linguistics and Sanskrit at the same university in 1913. In 1913-1914 Bally gave a class on the Indo-European verb: his notes are still unpublished and are kept in the *Fonds Bally* of the *Library of Geneva* (BGe, Département des manuscrits et des archives privées). Twenty years before, if our reconstruction is correct, Bally attended a class on the Indo-European verb given by Saussure: his student notes are also part of the *Fonds Bally*.

We are editing the manuscripts of both sets of notes, taken by Bally as a student and as a professor. The edition and the study of both manuscripts aims at investigating if and to what degree Bally's class is indebted to some Saussure's cues of reflection either given by Saussure during his class on the Indo-European verb of 1893-1894+1894 or collected by his students in the *Cours de linguistique générale*. This talk presents a first comparison of Saussure's and Bally's approaches on the same subject and focuses on the notion of 'système'.

Panel «Beyond Science»

This panel investigates how terms and discourses situated outside of the strictly scientific can inflect and illuminate our understanding of the linguistic history. The first paper, «From Letters to Symbolicals: English Shorthand and its Place in Seventeenth-Century Linguistic Thought», demonstrates how the decidedly *unscientific* enterprise of 17th-century shorthand helped shape conceptions of language in early modern England. The second paper, «On 'nativeness' and 'native-like' speech: Perspectives from colonial and missionary linguistics», draws on political discourses of the 19th century to show how semi-technical designators used in linguistic science (*indigènes*, *naturels*, *autochtones*, *natifs*) participate in, but also complicate prevailing colonial linguistic ideologies. The last paper, «From *Langue* to *Langage*: Excising Anatomy from Phonological Science», analyzes the systematic but ultimately unsuccessful exclusion of anatomical reference ('tongue', 'aperture', 'labial', etc.) from the technical jargon of 20th-century phonology, exposing the integrality of 'unscientific' bodily terms to the science predicated on their exclusion. Although diverse in terms of the centuries, languages, and geographical areas they treat, the three papers are united in their curiosity about what extra-scientific discourses reveal about the history of linguistic science.

From Letters to Symbolicals: English Shorthand and its Place in Seventeenth-Century Linguistic Thought

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Isaac Newton, Samuel Pepys, Jane Seager, and Goodman Scuttle – a mathematician, naval administrator, lady-in-waiting to Queen Elizabeth I, and fictional basket-maker – all had one thing in common: they all wrote in shorthand. Beginning in the late sixteenth-century, stenography became a common feature of early modern English manuscript culture. Over 150 shorthand manuals were printed by 1700, each promising to teach the dedicated learner one of some 30 shorthand systems available. In appearance as in formation, early modern shorthand was remarkably divergent from its longhand counterpart. Part phonetic, part morphologic, part ideographic, and part uninhibited play upon all of the above, shorthand inventors made use of any written or verbal components of language that occurred to them, all in the pursuit of a writing system that would be swift, secret, and short (i.e. that would take up very little space). This paper will consider the structure of shorthand systems – and the ways in which that structure was presented to uninitiated readers – as a window into the linguistic conceptions of their inventors. Those conceptions were sometimes sophisticated, sometimes sophomoric, but were nearly always rooted in a blurring of the boundaries between speech, script, and meaning. While not itself 'scientific', by either contemporary or modern definitions of the word, the peculiarities and promise of shorthand not only speaks to early modern English conceptions of language, but helped to define them. In addition, it served as a direct inspiration for major scientific ventures undertaken by the Royal Society at its founding, including the development of a real character/philosophical language and manual alphabets designed to support language-learning among the prelingually deaf. While largely ignored in scholarship, this curious yet commonplace writing system had a rippling impact highly relevant to the history of linguistic thought and the history of science in seventeenth-century England.

Spectral Sounds: Phonology's Colored Vowels

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This paper investigates the prevalence of color language in technical discussions of vowels in 20th-century phonology, focusing primarily on NS Trubetzkoy's *Grundzüge der Phonologie* (1939) [translated as *The Principles of Phonology* (1969)] and Roman Jakobson's *Kindersprache, Aphasie und allgemeine Lautgesetze* (1941) [translated as *Child Language, Aphasia, and Phonological Universals* (1968)]. After briefly reviewing nineteenth-century phoneticians' efforts to model universal vocalism on a color triangle, the paper turns to the uncanny resurgence of vowel-color analogy in phonology: a new discipline determined to distinguish itself from phonetics and to establish itself as a modern, 20th-century science. The color analogy embedded in phonology's vocalic terminology would appear to fly in the face of both of these aspirations. But in the hands of Roman Jakobson, the nineteenth-century analogy of dubious scientific validity emerges as a crucial link between synesthesia and language, as well as a necessary basis for sound symbolism. Just as the aberrant speech of aphasia and infancy proves revelatory of the structures of language writ large in Jakobson's account, so does synesthesia emerge as affording a privileged view into universal language processes. Suspecting colored hearing to be a vestigial condition, common to all in the last stages of infancy and surviving with varying degrees of strength into adulthood, Jakobson suggests that its structures might well be integral to the acquisition of speech, our mastery of maximal phonic oppositions aided and abetted by the relationships we perceive between visual shades and hues. Our lingering notion of certain vowels as 'dark' or 'bright,' then, would derive from a synesthetic vowel-color correspondence that was once vital to us, but which, ceasing to be necessary as we mastered the sounds of a mother tongue, receded all but irretrievably into oblivion. Such a correspondence would make itself felt only when suddenly realized in an utterance perfectly aligning its elements – or, perhaps, misaligning them so perversely as to make us realize that we had a notion, however dim, of what 'perfection' might be.

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