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John Haryngton.

ÆTATIS SUE 30.

A Short History of the International Language Movement



A SHORT HISTORY OF THE INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE MOVEMENT

BY
ALBERT LÉON GUÉRARD

185214.

S. 11. 2

BONI AND LIVERIGHT
PUBLISHERS NEW YORK

Printed in Great Britain

A THERINA GUÉRARD

Ætatis suæ XI

*Mignonne fée aux yeux d'aurore,
Donne-moi ta petite main.
Tu ne saurais comprendre encore
Quel rêve éclaire mon chemin.*

*Tu l'apprendras : sous leur cuirasse
A l'éclat brutal et trompeur,
—Orgueil de caste, orgueil de race—
Les hommes sont ivres de peur.*

*Malgré le fracas des armures,
Seul, dans la nuit, j'ai cru saisir
Un bruissement dans les ramures,
Frisson d'espoir et de désir.*

*Chassant la peur, chassant la haine,
Tu souriras sur les sommets,
Aube de justice sereine,
Que mes yeux ne verront jamais !*

*Qu'importe ? J'ai transmis la flamme.
Qu'importe ? J'ai vécu ma foi.
Chair de ma chair, fleur de mon âme,
Prends donc ce livre : il est pour toi.*

SAN FRANCISCO.

16 Août 1921.

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FOREWORD : THE PROBLEM

THE world, in this third decade of the twentieth century, offers a tragic contrast. On the one hand, material obstacles between the remotest parts of the earth are fast crumbling down. On the other, there have never been deeper chasms between race and race, or between nation and nation.

Science is universal in its principles and in its results, cosmopolitan in its personnel, international in its activities. It would be ludicrous to speak of "French astronomy" or "American mathematics." The applications of science to industry have radically transformed the conditions of life. The world is larger to-day than it was a hundred years ago, and infinitely more complex ; but it is also infinitely more cohesive. The heart of Asia, Africa, South America, can now be reached in a railroad car ; intelligence is flashed from continent to continent in less time than, a century ago, news could be carried by the swiftest messenger to a neighbouring city. Thus the interdependence or solidarity of nations has become an actual fact rather than an ideal. Railroads, steamships, telegraphs, wireless stations, have made the whole world immediately sensitive to everything that happens anywhere on its surface : they have created a universal consciousness—the inevitable forerunner of a universal conscience.

These considerations are commonplace enough : we trust that their natural consequences will seem no less obvious. We should work in the sense of this evolution,

and, by helping it, help ourselves. Reverse the current we cannot, and would not if we could. Instead of straining our futile efforts against the stream, why not consciously add our forces to the forces of nature, and steer instead of drifting ? *Organization*, for the prevention of waste and conflict, is the order of the day ; and organization, to be fully efficient, must be worldwide in its scope. The organization of the world is the task now before us. The scientific organization of the world, through international research foundations and bureaux ; the economic organization of the world, through the increased efficiency of transportation and finance, through the proper adjustment of labour laws and custom tariffs ; the sanitary organization of the world, for the stamping out of contagious diseases ; the judicial organization of the world, for substituting law to violence between people and people, as between man and man ; the religious organization of the world, through its evangelization in the true spirit of Christ and the abolition of sectarian strife : multiform aspects of the same cause, all bound together and helping one another. An immense and glorious task indeed, the like of which was never offered to men before.

But, whilst this great task of organizing the world lies before us, what do we see ? The leaders of European culture escaping at last from the throes of war ; devastation on an unexampled scale ; a holocaust of millions ; and, worse than bloodshed or arson, a sowing broadcast of hatred lasting and bitter, of which our children and their children after them will taste the fruit : all that in the name of civilization. Whilst Christianity, science, industry, democracy, social reform, are making the world increasingly one, a wrong conception of national honour and of national culture tears it apart. And if we look closely into the causes of the conflict, we find that they were not strictly national or racial, but linguis-

tic. The "German culture" that Germany was attempting to impose was German-speaking culture. The root of the evil, in Alsace-Lorraine, in Slesvig, in Poland, in Macedonia, was linguistic. In spite of notable exceptions, language is everywhere taken as the surest sign of a common culture. Whatever your race or nationality may be, if you speak the same language, you have a bond of union, a means of approach. To speak different languages is the one impassable frontier. What is the use of living under the same flag? If we cannot communicate, we are strangers. What if science and industry are accumulating their wonderful inventions? You may multiply printing presses, mail service, telegraph, telephone: if the people do not speak the same language, these agencies are but a mockery. A common language is the one great invention that is needed to crown all the others and give them their full value.

We do not wish to imply that the possession of a common medium will immediately make war impossible. There have been long and bitter wars between sections of the same country, as in the United States, or between countries which spoke the same language, like Austria and Prussia. But it is a fact that a war between two English-speaking nations, or between two German-speaking nations, would more and more be considered in the light of a civil strife. And civil strife, although not unthinkable, is universally condemned as a crime. Convince the nations that all wars are civil wars, and much will have been achieved for the cause of permanent peace. But this cannot be done until the nations have been made to realize their common interests, their common culture, by means of a common language.

Such a language, this must be made plain at the outset, is not meant to supersede the existing national tongues,

any more than the League of Nations is meant to absorb the existing national States. Its ambition is to serve as a mere auxiliary: it will in no wise compete with French, English, German, or even Albanian in their own domains; it will not even interfere with the cultural study of foreign literatures. Artists and patriots, therefore, need entertain no fear. An auxiliary language has for its purpose, not to suppress diversity, but to promote co-operation.

Another word of caution before we proceed. We do not wish to assert that the organization of the world depends altogether upon the adoption of an international language. By the intensive study of many modern languages, almost the same results could be attained. At present, an idea has to pay toll at every linguistic frontier; but the most rigid policy of protection never absolutely prevents the international exchange of merchandise or the diffusion of thought. Our present method is cumbrous, that is all: it is not unworkable. We shall progress, even with the curse of Babel still upon us. We would have progressed even if the printing press and the steam engine had never been invented. No single discovery is absolutely indispensable to the development of civilization. But should we deny ourselves the use of a wonderful instrument, simply because we could exist without it? Had this spirit prevailed, mankind would not even have taken the trouble of chipping flint.

The international language *problem* is not a fad and not a Utopian dream: it is a fact. British and American officers during the Great War had to face it every day: at times it was pressed upon their attention with tragic insistence. Men who speak different languages have business with one another—this cannot be helped. When half a dozen Europeans, who may have been born within a hundred miles of each other, are gathered

together, the difficulty arises. How shall we meet the situation? Shall we have to learn ten languages beside our own, or five, or two, or one? And on what basis will the favoured tongues be selected? It is the various solutions proposed to this problem that we shall examine in this little book.

PART I
NATURAL LANGUAGES

CHAPTER I

FRENCH

I

“ A TOUT seigneur tout honneur ” : French deserves that its claims should be examined first, for they rest upon a tradition of seven hundred years. As early as the thirteenth century French had become, next to Latin, the common language of Western culture. It was in French that Dante's master, Brunetto Latini, composed his *Treasure of Wisdom*, and not in Italian, for, he said, “ the speech of the French is more delectable and more common to all men.” It was in French, again, that Marco Polo dictated to Rusticiano de Pisa the record of his marvellous adventures. The infidels knew all Westerners as Franks, and French was the official language of the quaint little feudal states planted in Asia Minor by the knights of the Cross : the *Assizes of Jerusalem* and the *Assizes of Antioch* were written in French. We have traces of French influence in Greece, in Germany, in Spain. But the greatest conquest of all was that of England : for three hundred years after Hastings, French was the sole language of royal administration, the dominant language of polite intercourse. The kings who defeated the Valois in the Hundred Years' War were still French of speech. The exclusive use of French in Parliament was unquestioned until 1386 ; the victory of English was not decisive until 1489. Who knows ? Had not Joan of Arc broken the power of the English king in France, the decadence of French as an official and aristocratic language across the Channel might

have been averted, and England might have remained bilingual, as Finland is to-day.

This supremacy of French went down in the protracted agony of the Hundred Years' War; the France that emerged at the end of the fifteenth century was not fit for leadership. For a hundred years or more, pride of place had to be yielded to the revived classical tongues, to Italian, and even to Spanish. But, with the second half of the seventeenth century, French was restored to a position of unique splendour. Political power, the magnificence of the Court, and the achievements of the great classicists made the lead of French secure. The Rebellion drove away to France a number of English gentlemen, who returned in 1660, un-Englished and Frenchified to an amusing degree. Even the worst error of Louis XIV, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, dispersed throughout Northern Europe a number of men who clung tenaciously to their native speech. Leibniz, not without reluctance, felt compelled to use French a great deal, as the best vehicle of modern culture.

In the eighteenth century, the visible rottenness of the French Government, the repeated disasters that attended its armies and its diplomacy, the growing suspicion that Boileau had not said the last word in literary doctrine, failed to dim the prestige of the language. The daring and charm of the philosophers, the attractiveness of Parisian society, silenced the first revolt of the national spirit: whilst Lessing was attempting to create a German sentiment, Frederick II, the national idol, still considered German as fit only for the rabble. In 1784 the Academy of Berlin gave a prize to Rivarol for his *Discourse on the Universality of the French Language*.

We may doubt whether French would have preserved this proud position for any length of time: signs of rebellion were not lacking. The Revolution hastened

the process : France defied Europe and paid the price. She came to be identified, in the popular mind, either with the Terrorists or with the Emigrés—we wonder which of these misconceptions was more ruinous to her prestige. In England, substantial men began despising French as the language of anarchists, infidels, and dancing masters—a prejudice which lasted until the dawn of the twentieth century ! In Germany, the loss of ground was considerable. In 1769, in his *Journal*, Herder had advocated the study of French, next to that of the mother tongue ; in 1793 he recanted. Even Goethe allowed one of his heroines, a “ beautiful soul,” to despise French as “ perfidious.” It became a commonplace to oppose the primitive purity and strength of German to the smirking sophistication of French. In 1803, when Mme de Staël visited Germany, the younger generation could no longer speak French with any fluency. On that account, although not on that account alone, Schiller dreaded an interview with the most formidable of Blue Stockings.

The career of Napoleon, meteoric as it was, could not fail to impress the world. French laws prevailed over half Europe ; Naples, Madrid, Illyria, Hamburg, Danzig, had French kings, prefects, or governors. The educated people of the Rhineland had frankly rallied to the French system and were fast acquiring the language of their new country. But Waterloo left Europe in a state of moral chaos. Among large and influential classes there prevailed an insane dread of everything French ; whilst the Revolutionary and Imperial Tricolour was secretly cherished by all democrats from Warsaw to Milan. The French themselves, yielding to the intoxicating influence of Romanticism, asserted in no uncertain voice their Messianic claims : Victor Hugo, Michelet, Quinet, were notable for their naïve fervour. France was a Prometheus among nations ; when un-

bound at last, she would impart to the rest of the world her ideal with her language. The "rest of the world," barring a few conspirators and refugees, remained sceptical about the promised redemption. Heine, half-Frenchified himself, called his Parisian friends "*les comédiens ordinaires du bon Dieu*." Carlyle and Thackeray shrugged their shoulders.

The Second Empire revived for a season the primacy of France as a military power, and of Paris as a centre of brilliant social life; but the "prestige" thus acquired was mingled with both contempt and distrust. It took a whole generation of quiet labour for France to recover her good name and her self-confidence—a reconquest more arduous perhaps than that of the lost provinces! By 1914 everyone except, here and there, a shallow journalist like Price Collier, knew that French stood for something else than salacious farces and yellow-back novels of "Parisian" life. Foreign students had found again their way to the Latin Quarter, as seven centuries before. The work of the Alliance Française for the diffusion of the French language was meeting with universal sympathy. French actors and lecturers were assured everywhere of as large and appreciative a public as could be found for those of any nation. Of the world-wide tribute of affectionate admiration that came to France at the time of her great trial, we need not speak at length, for surely it cannot so soon have passed out of our memory.

So, if we appraise the gains and losses of French during the last hundred years, we find the balance still on the right side. No doubt the growth of the French population is despairingly slow: in points of sheer numbers, French, with 45,000,000,¹ falls far behind English, Russian, German, and even Spanish. Italian may outrun it at any moment, and Portuguese may come up

¹ A conservative estimate.

to the same level within a generation. But, even in the nineteenth century, French has made notable conquests. Whilst the lost colonies, Quebec, Hayti, Mauritius, have proved wonderfully faithful, other colonies, of no mean promise, have been founded in North Africa. French is holding its ground in the Mediterranean basin, and particularly throughout the defunct Turkish Empire. Egypt was long a cultural colony of France ; so were important parts of Syria. Saloniki, where the innumerable races of Macedonia and the Levant jostle one another, is predominantly a Jewish city, whose inhabitants use a Spanish dialect ; but the language of culture is French. In Constantinople, before the war, French was used even by Italians and Germans, and was taught in all English and American colleges. In Bucarest, the aristocracy seemed for a time to forget that the language of the country was Rumanian ; French was found in the Press, on the stage, in the drawing-room, even in Parliament. The élite of Poland and Brazil still turn their eyes towards Paris.

II

It is particularly in diplomacy that the record of French is unexcelled. This privilege goes back to the end of the seventeenth century. Charpentier, in a book published in 1683,¹ gives a number of interesting examples. One of the Treaties of Nymwegen, that between Spain and the Netherlands (1678), was in French ; French, again, was used at Rastadt (1714) ; for the Preliminaries of Vienna (1735) ; for the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748). The great congresses of the nineteenth century, Vienna (1814-15), Paris (1856), Berlin (1878), used French almost exclusively. So did the two Hague Conferences, and the latest as well as the most momentous

¹ *De l'Excellence de la Langue Française.*

of diplomatic gatherings, the one at Paris in 1919. It is true that the privilege of French has never been exclusive or official; many treaties were signed in other languages,¹ and it was generally stipulated that the adoption of French for one particular treaty could not be invoked as a precedent. Custom, however, is more binding than any "scrap of paper." The bulk of diplomatic literature, like the monumental compilation of Martens, was in French, and French was considered essential to the equipment of any diplomat.

Without any formal agreement, French had thus achieved a position of primacy for international purposes. The administrative and scientific unions which have grown so healthily during the last fifty years² were naturally guided by the diplomatic tradition in their selection of an official language. It seemed but natural to urge the last step, and make the historical privilege of French definite and permanent. This solution of our problem was advocated with astonishing warmth by the well-known Russian sociologist and pacifist, Jacques Novicow.³ Under the inspiration of the Belgian scholar Wilmotte, two congresses for the diffusion of the French language were held—at Liège in 1907, at Arlon-Luxembourg-Trêves in 1908. At the second of these, M. Fürstenhof read a report in favour of French as the universal auxiliary language, which, I am told, caused a few French Esperantists to waver in their faith. The first Congress of International Societies, held at Brussels in 1910, had placed the question on

¹ Generally in the languages of the two countries concerned: e.g. Treaty of Paris, 1898, in English and Spanish; the Treaty of Portsmouth was drawn in Russian, Japanese, English, and French; but the French text alone was authoritative.

² E.g. Universal Postal Union, perhaps the best developed organ of the embryonic world federation.

³ Cf. in particular, *La Langue Auxiliaire du Groupe de Civilisation Européen*, *Les Chances du Français*, *Revue des Deux-Mondes*, Dec. 1, 1907.

its programme. Only three solutions were submitted, Esperanto, Ido, and French, the last vigorously championed by M. Wilmotte. Dr. H. Molenaar, a German Positivist, Pacifist, and Antivaccinationist of some repute—who had framed an interesting artificial language of his own—advocated the adoption of French, at least for a provisional period of ten years.¹ The enthusiasm of M. Novicow seems to have infected a few French writers and nerved them to greater assertiveness: Messrs. Jean Richepin, Remy de Gourmont, d'Haussonville, spoke of the future of French in terms which had in them the romantic ring of Victor Hugo² rather than the scholarly soberness of Paul Meyer, Brunot, and Dauzat.³

France, at the close of the Great War, had won the double crown of martyrdom and victory. Among the leaders of the Conference, M. Clemenceau enjoyed an authority second to none. If he had insisted upon the formal and exclusive recognition of French as the international language, I hardly believe there would have been a dissenting voice. Such a course was urged upon him on every side. Many Frenchmen, like Prof. Aulard, found it difficult to understand why France, who had poured her blood and her gold for the common cause, should be asked to relinquish a proudly cherished tradition, amounting almost to a vested right, and a precious part of her spiritual patrimony. Other considerations prevailed. The English-speaking nations were undoubtedly the dominant partners in the Grand Alliance. M. Clemenceau had set to himself the arduous task of reconciling President Wilson's principles with the

¹ *Esperanto ou Français? Le Français langue universelle*, Revue Positiviste Internationale, Nov. 15, 1910.

² Cf. V. Hugo, *Le Rhin*, Conclusion XVII (Juillet 1841).

³ Needless to say that the adoption of French as a universal or even as an auxiliary language is not one of the objects of those excellent institutions, L'Alliance Française and La Mission Laïque.

historical interests of France ; he found it advisable not to waste his energy upon a minor point. It so happened that neither President Wilson nor Mr. Lloyd George were diplomatists of the old school—their knowledge of French could not bear comparison with that of Mr. Balfour. M. Clemenceau, on the contrary, is a remarkable English scholar. So the meetings of the Big Three¹ were conducted in English, and bilingualism was the final solution.

French suffered a last defeat in September 1920. The draft of the Committee of Jurists for the constitution of a Permanent Court of International Justice had proposed French as the official language of the Court.² It would seem that the absolute precision required of judicial documents would preclude the cumbrous and dangerous expedient of bilingualism : yet this article was amended, so as to conform to the precedent set by the Versailles Treaty ; French and English were made jointly official.

The partisans of French, however, have not lost heart. At the first meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations, French was used much more freely than English. The report of Senator Lafontaine (Belgium), recommending that the claims of Esperanto be impartially investigated, gave M. Hanotaux the opportunity for a spirited defence of French. It is not inconceivable that both the force of tradition and the intrinsic qualities of French may yet assert themselves. There are so many advantages in using a single official language, that English may find itself relegated to a minor position, if not discarded altogether. We cannot endorse such a

¹ As Mr. Orlando was not familiar with English, the meetings of the "Big Five" were bilingual.

² Art. 37: The official language of the Court shall be French. The Court may, at the request of the contesting parties, authorize another language to be used before it.

prophecy, but it was made by some of the English-speaking reporters of the first Assembly.¹

III

This prolonged favour enjoyed by the speech of France is an historical fact, not a delusion of national pride. No language, we believe, has been so warmly eulogized by foreigners. Rivarol was not more enthusiastic than his German competitor Schwab; international-minded men from all countries—H. G. Wells, Gubernatis, Valera, Max Nordau—have paid their tribute to French. Innumerable foreign writers have adopted French as their vehicle, not only in the days of Chaucer or in those of Frederick II and Gibbon, but in our own generation. And among these adopted sons of the French spirit, we find not only critics and novelists, but poets as well—a fact which implies an extraordinary degree of loving familiarity with the language: Belgians of Teutonic origin, like Rodenbach, Verhaeren, Maeterlinck; Rumanians, like Bolinteano, Hasdeu, Macedonsky, Stourdza, Helen Vacaresco; Greeks, like Psichari and Papadiamantopoulos (Moréas); the Cuban Jose Maria de Heredia, perhaps the greatest of them all; Miguel Zamacois; Anglo-Saxons too—Swinburne, Oscar Wilde, Mary Robinson (Mme Duclaux); and even true-born Americans—Francis Viele-Griffin from Virginia, Stuart Merrill from Long Island.

“J'en passe, et des meilleurs!”

What can be the secret of this perennial and universal appeal?

Is it the intrinsic superiority of French as an instrument? Hardly. It may sound like a paradox or a sacrilege to say that French is not pre-eminently a con-

¹ French is used as the official language of the International Association of Academies.

venient or a beautiful language : yet such is our candid opinion, and our love for French is such that we can speak without fear. The qualities frequently ascribed to French exist in the French mind, not in the language itself. It is perfectly possible to be dull, ambiguous, obscure, in grammatical French, just as it is possible to be lucid and witty in German or in Volapük. French is pretty on pretty lips—in itself it is not strikingly beautiful. No one will claim that its frequent nasal sounds are musical ; its endings lack the sharpness and sonority so noticeable in Italian or Spanish ; whilst English and German, with their stronger accents, lend themselves better to poetical rhythm. The French habit of running several words together into a single stress-group is exceedingly trying to foreigners ; even fairly good French scholars might be puzzled by these two bits of conversation : “ Okifesho !-Sepakroyabastepoxi-Shtofunbok ”—“ Kakalakakri ?-Alakalashü.” The vocabulary of French is overwhelmingly Latin, but many elements have been so distorted that they can be recognized only by trained philologists ; the average student is thus deprived of the help of etymology.¹ The derivation of words is both less rich and less systematic than in German ; logic would be a poor guide to reconstruct either the form or the meaning of many French compounds. German, through its freedom of word-formation, English, through its hybrid origin, possess a much more complete vocabulary than French. French spelling is not quite such a wicked joke as that of English. You generally know how to pronounce a French word when you see it written—provided you keep in mind some thirty rules and a few hundred exceptions. But the same sound can be expressed by innumerable combinations of letters.² The attribution of genders to

¹ E.g. *avec* = with = Lat. *cum* ; from *apud hoc*.

² E.g. *o*, *au*, *eau*, *haut*, etc., up to *heaults* !

inanimate objects is perverse. The French conjugation was created expressly for the despair of men; few are the scholars whom it does not cause to trip seven times daily. There are hundreds of irregular verbs, thousands of verbal endings. If French has been so extensively used for international purposes, if it is still one of the most formidable candidates in the field, it is certainly not on account of its facility or euphony, but in spite of extraordinary complication and very glaring faults.

Students of the question frequently ascribe to French a sort of mysterious vitality, that baffles all efforts at suppression, and expands with irresistible force. Thus H. G. Wells, who is not in the habit of repeating empty phrases unchallenged, speaks of the "contagious quality of French" which is denied to English. This is not an explanation, but a restatement: French spreads because it is contagious, just as opium causes sleep because of its "dormitive virtue." I can find no fact to establish this assertion beyond dispute. Individuals who settle in France are soon assimilated; but immigration into France has never assumed the cataclysmic proportions that it reached in America before the war, and yet the American melting-pot is still performing its office pretty well. When a compact, organized, and fairly numerous group is transferred in a body to some foreign allegiance, it will resist assimilation for many generations, and possibly for ever: thus the Habitants of Quebec, and the French planters of Mauritius. But French is not unique in possessing such a power of resistance. The Boers have shown it to an equal degree, and even the Mexicans annexed in 1848, among whom a Spanish dialect still prevails to-day. When the group is too small, it is bound to be absorbed at last; this may be the last generation of the Louisianais French, proud as they were of their old-world traditions and distinctive charm. When the French settle as individuals in a

country which is already under a different flag, they are absorbed almost as easily as any other element. They were numerous among the Argonauts of '49, yet they have practically disappeared. The boundaries of the French language in Europe have fluctuated surprisingly little in the course of centuries. Almost everywhere we are able to register gains, but so slight that they would not justify the theory of a special "contagious quality." Breton is still holding its own against French in Brittany, fully as well as other Celtic dialects resisted the advance of English in Cornwall, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. Flemish, Basque, Catalanian have not been eradicated, in spite of a ruthlessly centralizing and levelling policy. After 200 years of union with France, the heart of Alsace was undoubtedly French, but her tongue was Germanic—the upper bourgeoisie alone had become bilingual. These plain facts, which can be verified in the works of unimpeachable patriots and scholars like Brunot and Dauzat, are not presented here in any disparaging spirit; our sole desire is to clear away vague assertions which have no place in a scientific discussion.

A language is the symbol of a civilization, and its prestige registers the prestige of that civilization. But what criterion will enable us to rank one civilization above another? Not mere bulk, else Chinese and Russian would be at the top of the list. Not solely military power: the Turks swept irresistibly onward for two centuries, yet they could not make Turkish prevail even in their own Empire; Greece, enslaved, and Italy, the prey of Europe, "conquered their rude conquerors." Neither is it mere wealth. Holland has long been one of the richest countries in the world, yet her cultural influence is not large. The United States, a generation ago, was already a millionaire among nations, and it counted for less in literature than rugged Scandinavia

or "barbaric" Russia. Yet bulk, power, wealth, have something to do with it. Salamis and the phalanx were important factors in the spread of Greek culture; the wealth and activity of Italian cities made Dante and Petrarch possible. Hellenism survived the Roman conquest, and the Italian Renaissance illuminated Europe even after the sack of Rome; but in both cases culture and language soon lost their vital power. French forfeited its primacy in the course of the Hundred Years' War; Sedan obscured for thirty years at least the achievements of French science and literature.

The prestige of a civilization is the result of complex factors. Essentially it is a social phenomenon, and must be appraised as such. It is not any one kind of excellence—it may not even be the highest kind of excellence—that will bring social success to a culture or to an individual. Accessibility is more important than originality. For polite intercourse, genius may be a drawback—courtesy is an unfailing asset.

Now, for reasons which we cannot analyse in this place,¹ French culture has always laid the chief stress upon the social rather than upon the individual elements—upon honour rather than conscience, upon technique rather than inspiration, upon lucidity rather than depth, upon logic rather than passion. So it was given to the French to be, not the pioneers, but the organizers, of European culture. Feudalism and chivalry may be of Teutonic origin; it was in France and in French that they were most clearly formulated. All kings had striven towards autocracy, but it was the France of Louis XIV and Bossuet that gave autocracy its perfect form. Italy had initiated the return to the classics, but modern classicism became incarnated in Boileau and Racine. The world aspired to liberty, equality, fraternity, but

¹ Cf. our *French Civilization from its Origins to the Close of the Middle Ages* and *French Civilization in the Nineteenth Century*.

England is proud of the fact that, true to her own traditions, she never wrote in abstract terms, as France did, "the Rights of Man."

For fear of advancing extravagant claims for French culture, I may have insisted to excess upon those formal elements in it which are pleasing, but shallow. I need hardly say that there is more to the French mind than "savoir-vivre." If politeness is apt to cast a veil upon rude sincerity, let us remember that for the French the veil remains transparent, and that they are fierce haters of all shams. In social life, the French are fond of conventionalities, which are naught but prejudices; in essentials, however, their chief greatness is their freedom from prejudices. A list of the "vital lies" from which such typical Frenchmen as Voltaire, Renan, and Anatole France were free, would cause an average Anglo-Saxon liberal to shudder. And yet it would be ridiculous to brand this great trio as intellectual anarchists, for all three had faith in reason, and all three concealed a passion for justice under their ironical smile.

No doubt other nations have their geniuses also, greater geniuses maybe—it would be idle to distribute prizes. But it is the easy grace of French society at its best that has enchanted Europe, in the works of Chrestien of Troyes, in those of Marivaux, of Musset, of Meilhac. The healthy iconoclasm of the French mind is exhilarating. Its rationalism is the one basis upon which we can work together. Traditions may be sweet and holy, but we cannot co-operate through divergent traditions. We can unite only in so far as we are willing to lay aside our idiosyncrasies and find a common ground. French does provide this common ground better than any other language; it rallies the "average sensual men" from all climes and races. Take a composite picture of Latin, Slav, Teuton: the result will be more like France than like England or Italy. This is

not the highest ideal, no doubt ; but it is the highest possible for immediate concerted action.

If this were the whole truth, we might prophesy the ultimate victory of French, even though English, Russian, and Spanish should outnumber it ten to one. But French culture is not merely the residuum of all European cultures, after the elimination of local traits. It has attained a high degree of conscious individuality. It is a composite picture with an unconquerable soul of its own. So if we find in French the most perfect expression of the cosmopolitan spirit, we also find in it the most ardent love of a special tradition, and a patriotism which verges on Chauvinism. This, of course, for all true lovers of France, is the greatest appeal of French literature : that, being so universal, it should also be so intensely French ; that the heroes of Racine should be the symbols of eternal passions expressed in lucid eloquence, but also seventeenth-century courtiers who learnt their graces at Versailles. But those special merits of French are objections to its international claims. To recognize French as the universal auxiliary language might give to the purely national elements in French culture a supremacy which other national cultures are not willing to acknowledge.

Would it be possible to denationalize French entirely, to make it wholly universal in spirit ? Victor Hugo thought so ; he prophesied that his beloved France would disappear in the twentieth century, absorbed in the Universal Republic. Only a language with such an ideal deserves to become the second speech of all men. But the recent trend in French thought runs quite the other way. " France d'abord ! " echoes " Deutschland über alles ! " and " My country, right or wrong ! " No doubt " France d'abord ! " means " France, the soldier of the ideal, France in the service of mankind." But is not the instrument clearer and dearer than the distant

aim ? French cannot be divorced from France, and France, we are told, means " the soil and the dead," the private property of an ancient family,¹ whose ambitions and traditions clash with those of other haughty lines. " Sacred egoism " may be the proper watchword for a nation ; but two, nay twenty, can play at that game. Clemenceau, as a nationalist, was probably right in not claiming for French a primacy which, under the circumstances, might easily have become offensive. The French of Rousseau, Hugo, Jaurès, Anatole France, Péguy at the time of the Dreyfus case, might aspire to such a position—not the French of Maurras, Bourget, Barrès.

Anatole France ! There is no better cosmopolitan, no doubt ; but he is also an exquisite artist, a thorough aristocrat of letters, and I am sure that those very words " to denationalize French " would make his blood run cold. Under the ancient régime, the international language was used only by gentlemen ; but democracy will soon conquer the last stronghold of privilege, the diplomatic service. Imagine French used officially by men who may never have trod the soil of France, never immersed themselves in French life, never made themselves thoroughly familiar with her literature ! Men who would handle it with clumsy jauntiness, as the Babus handle English ! Men who might attempt to settle the meaning of a French phrase by a majority vote, against the opinion of the French Academy ! Many lovers of French culture would say : If you need a lingua franca, manufacture one, but leave our ancient and delicate language alone ! No doubt several

¹ In this respect, the position of French, used by only one great nation, is weaker than that of English or Spanish, which are already, in the literal sense of the term, international, the common property of several independent countries, in lands old and new.

² It is said that at Portsmouth the Japanese wanted to have the French word *contrôle* mean the same as English *control*.

ancestral homes on the banks of the Loire would gain considerably in usefulness if they were turned into International Hotels. . . . When the French realize that the adoption of French as an international language would be a desecration, not a consecration, their enthusiasm falls down at once. Thus M. Archdeacon, who, in spite of his ecclesiastical name, is a very ardent French nationalist, has become one of the most active leaders in the Esperanto movement. Thus Prof. Aulard, one of the founders of an association for the diffusion of French,¹ is frankly advocating the same solution.

What the French desire, what all the friends of liberal culture should heartily desire with them, is that French should remain *an* international language. It is difficult for a teacher of French to be thoroughly disinterested in the matter: "Vous êtes orfèvre, M. Josse"; Molière's common sense should warn us in time. But men not disqualified by professional and national partiality have repeatedly affirmed the unique cultural value of French, especially for "Anglo-Saxons." French is a classic, although a living classic, and it might well challenge the primacy that Latin still maintains in secondary education. There are excellent men who have never become good French scholars; but a man who deliberately ignores French, and affects to prefer more "substantial" or more "practical" studies, argues himself thereby parochial and a Boeotian. Let French remain one of the great instruments of culture in the world, by all means.* But denationalize and officialize it? Frankly, we would rather not.

¹ *La Mission Laïque*, an association which carries on the same kind of work as the *Alliance Française*, but with special emphasis upon the modern and progressive aspects of French thought.

² Cf. Paul Hazard, *La Langue Française et la Guerre*, III, L'Expansion du français dans le monde, *Revue des Deux-Mondes*, 15 Sept. 1920.

CHAPTER II

ENGLISH

I

THAT English is fated to be the international, nay the universal, language is with many of us an article of faith. This belief is based, not on sentiment alone, but on personal experience. We all know how eagerly the better class of immigrants take up the study of the language, how loftily their children scorn any other tongue. We know that we can travel thousands of miles, through several continents, without needing any other medium of expression, possibly without hearing a single foreign word. We can roam the seven seas : the rare ships not under the English or the American flags have English-speaking officers and stewards, and, at every port of call, we shall find, in the best hotels, "English spoken, American understood." We know that we can even venture deep into continental Europe, and, if we keep on the beaten track, there will be in every town someone ready to accept our money and feign to understand our speech. Statistics give scientific support to these individual impressions. Before the war, one-half of the world's commerce, two-thirds of its shipping, one-fourth of its population, one-half of its railroads, of its newspapers, of its postal transactions, were under the control of the English-speaking countries. The world tragedy, through no fault of our own, has further increased our lead. Both England and America went out to battle without any thought of material reward—and lo ! territories and banking balances have been

poured into our lap. Linguistic and literary facts can then be brought forward in favour of English: its grammar, which in some respects is actually simpler than that of Esperanto, its international quality as a strongly Romanized language of Teutonic origin, its wonderful vocabulary, which can be extended in all directions without losing its unity; the unrivalled freedom of its syntax, which enables us to use the same word as a noun, a verb, an adjective, or a preposition; last but not least, its unbroken literary record, and myriad-souled Shakespeare as supreme argument.

The international prestige of English commenced some five hundred years later than that of French; but in the last two centuries it has made gigantic strides. The achievements of England before 1700, great as they were, were not widely known beyond her own shores; after that date, waves upon waves of cultural influences, arising in England, swept over France and the rest of Europe. Three or four instances will suffice. It was in England that Voltaire, the uncrowned king of his age, became conscious of his leading ideas—religious tolerance and civil liberty; Shakespeare, and more immediately Ossian, Byron, Scott, profoundly affected French Romanticism. Darwinism and all that it stood for gave a new colouring to Continental thought. The three great Latin nations are ruled by constitutions which are confessed pastiches of the British model.

England has thus become, and America is fast becoming, what France was of old and remains to this day—a guide among nations. Yet Anglo-Saxons are accused of “insularity.” They can rule, or they can influence through the prestige of their success: but they cannot associate with men of other races on terms of cordial equality. In Paris as well as in Rio or in Calcutta, each remains a tight little island encompassed by an inviolate sea of pride. This impression is universal, and we are

not prepared to challenge its accuracy. It constitutes perhaps the strongest objection to the adoption of English as the international language. That language is best for universal use, that embodies and diffuses the greatest amount of human sympathy.

The partisans of English could retort with a *tu quoque*. In their relations with non-European races, are the French so very different from the English? Are they mixing with the Berbers and Arabs of Algeria much more freely than the British with the Egyptians? Has the policy of assimilation gone much farther in French Indo-China than in British India or in the Philippines? Was it perfectly certain that a majority of the Syrians preferred a French to a British or American mandate? Curiously enough, those very peoples of the East, wounded to the quick by British insolence, seem to be satisfied with English as an international language. This proves, at any rate, that there are other factors at work, capable of overcoming even the reluctance of sensitive pride. There have always been men of British stock who have identified themselves, heart and soul, with the service of alien races, from Labrador to the Hedjaz, from China to the Congo. Perhaps also consistent superciliousness may prove less offensive in the long-run than alternations of familiarity and arrogance.

When it comes to relations with other white men, the stiffness of the British cannot be denied, and was particularly noticeable during the Great War. This reproach, however, cannot be urged against the Colonials and the Americans, who are now forming the vast majority of the English-speaking world. We cannot analyse here this strange British reserve, born of timidity rather than sullen pride; when it has melted, the British are found genial enough. No doubt the traditional charm of French society is one of the great assets of French, but prestige is not wholly made up of charm. It

is a fact that English possesses for many foreigners a fascination hardly inferior to that of French. Anglo-mania in externals has often coexisted with bitter Anglophobia in politics. M. Paul Bourget may preach French nationalism, but the careful reader of his works needs an English dictionary constantly at hand. This much may be affirmed : no one will be afraid of losing caste by using English.)

II

The case is strong—is it conclusive ?

Let us examine, first of all, the language itself, as an instrument of expression and intercourse. It has striking points of excellence. Terser, richer than French, it can be just as clear, if we insist upon making it so. It is certainly no less beautiful, as the unique wealth of its lyric poetry will testify. Critics who, like Dr. H. Molenaar, dismiss modern English as “ ugly ” because it is a hybrid, and who regret the beautiful homogeneous idiom of *Beowulf*, cannot be taken very seriously. But English has weaknesses of its own, especially in the spoken language. Its accentuation is capricious to a degree unparalleled in Italian or Spanish ; German, on the contrary, obeys pretty definite rules, and in French, absolute regularity prevails. And accentuation is a point of capital importance—if we fail to stress the proper syllable, the word becomes not only grotesque, but frequently unintelligible.

We need not dwell upon a few difficult sounds like the *th*, bugbear of foreign beginners, or upon the peculiarities of certain English consonants : such minor obstacles are found in every living language, and in most of the artificial schemes as well. But the vocalic system of English is entirely different from anything found in the principal European tongues. The vowel sounds in

English are seldom pure ; they are diphthongized and even triphthongized ; there usually is a “ glide ” into and away from the central sound. This creates a phonetic gulf between English and French or German. Furthermore, unaccented vowels are pronounced with a carelessness which makes them indistinct. It is hard to tell apart endings in *am*, *em*, *um*, or to emphasize the difference between *alter* and *altar*, between *capitol* and *capital*. If we add to these difficulties the deplorable weakness of the *r* in many parts of the English-speaking world, and the habit of insufficient articulation—a strange laziness of the lips—even among scholars, we may readily understand why English so completely baffles the unaccustomed ear. A man with a good reading knowledge of Spanish or German, hearing for the first time a lecture carefully delivered in either of these languages, will catch many words, possibly whole sentences ; an equivalent acquaintance with French would not yield the same results. As for English, under similar circumstances, it would sound like mere gibberish—it is only after a painful period of total incomprehension that our student would be able to make out a few phrases here and there. Hard to understand, English is not easy to speak. Prominent men have frequently been called upon to give an address in a language with which they were not familiar. With some coaching and a few phonetic signs they could deliver, in a very acceptable manner, a speech in German or in any of the Romance languages. Similar attempts in the case of English have repeatedly ended in disaster. The visit to America of Rev. Charles Wagner—he of the *Simple Life*—was greatly spoilt thereby, and M. Maurice Maeterlinck felt quite bitter over the fiasco of his “ phonetic English ” in the United States.

Let us pass to the written language. English spelling has been cursed so thoroughly by many “ hundred per

cent. Anglo-Saxons " that little need be said on that distressing subject. A few oddities or useless complications will be corrected, no doubt ; they are in the way of being corrected in America. We may soon be allowed to write " labor, plow, traveler, tho' " and even " kist " or " thru." These palliatives will leave the main evil untouched—the absolute divorce between etymological spelling and pronunciation. All the strenuousness and authority of President Roosevelt failed to acclimatize the very moderate reforms of the Spelling Board. Let us suppose, however, that we should eventually reach the far remoter goal of true phonetic spelling, the result would not be clear gain. The connexion between words of the same family would frequently be strained to the breaking-point. We should lose the enormous advantage that its international vocabulary gives to English as we write it now. " Nation " is recognizable at first sight almost everywhere ; " neishun " would be everywhere an unamiable stranger.

If spelling is more international and, on the whole, less erratic than pronunciation, why not reform pronunciation on the basis of spelling ? Why not decree that every letter or combination of letters shall henceforth have one definite sound, and one only—for better, for worse ; and that all words shall be accented according to intelligible rules ? Why not, indeed ? Simply because 150,000,000 people have made English their own, and will not allow Academies or Governments to tamper with it in such a way. We speak much more abundantly than we write ; many of us can speak who cannot spell. Spelling is the garment, speech the flesh and bone of a language ; a spelling reform is difficult but not unthinkable, a reform of the spoken tongue belongs to Wonderland. The man who should ask John Bull to alter his pronunciation so as to conform to an international standard of phonetic decency would not even seem funny.

We have mentioned a few of the faults of English as a vehicle of speech. May we add that its very virtues work against it in the international field? The *raciness* of English is its bane. There is no more strongly individualized language. On account of the very simplicity of its grammar and of its syntactical flexibility it has more idioms, and is more puzzling to the foreign mind, than either French or German. The use of prepositions, in particular, permits a wealth of terse and picturesque expressions which bring despair to the uninitiated. An international language should be as impersonal as a code; now an English-French dictionary is not the key to a code, but a unique assortment of snares. What will a continental European make out of "right away" (which puzzled even Dickens), "make up," "look out," "she cut him dead" (*elle l'a coupé mort!*), "we shall muddle through somehow"? The French translation of *Mr. Britling sees it through* came out with the unexpected title, *M. Britling commence à voir clair!* The translator is inexcusable, but the language must bear its share of responsibility. English allows the mind to take a number of short-cuts which, before we are familiar with them, are bewildering rather than helpful.

Needless to say that these difficulties, which we have not attempted to minimize, are not insurmountable. It would be ridiculous to say that English cannot be used as an international language, when it is so used at present. We wanted merely to point out that it is not free from material defects, different from those of French, but fully as great. If English is ever adopted as the international language, it will not be on account of its perfection as an instrument, but for economic, political, and cultural reasons.

III

These reasons are generally summed up in two words, "numbers" and "wealth." They are valid arguments, although their cogency is frequently exaggerated. No language imposes itself through sheer mass power, else Czech and Flemish, which had almost ceased to exist as vehicles of culture, would not have had such a brilliant revival against German and French. There is a disproportion in size, wealth, and education which may prove crushing. Cornish has gone down, Erse and Breton may follow. But even a small national language, backed by the organized power of a conscious community, will show indomitable vitality. Now, if Flemish, for instance, refuses to allow any kind of privilege to French in Belgium—and makes good its resistance—a fortiori French, Spanish, German, and Russian will indefinitely hold their ground against English in the growing commonwealth of nations. Wealth, no doubt, tells enormously; and we question whether there had ever been such an overwhelming superiority on the part of one group of nations as there is at present in favour of the English-speaking world. But there, again, the limit may soon be reached. We cannot sell unless we buy; and we cannot hope for ever to dictate to our customers in our own language—*it does not pay*. Before the war, England had discovered that Germany was forging ahead in the South American trade, because the Germans were able and willing to transact business in Spanish. The new generation in the United States have taken the lesson to heart: they are learning Spanish fully as fast as Spanish America is learning English. Spanish America and Brazil are lands of boundless possibilities, whose progress is now only in its initial stages; Germany will certainly come back; even Russia may find herself again. Fifty years from to-day, it is by no means certain

na
ct? that the preponderance of the Anglo-Saxon world will be greater than in 1921. There are already millionaires in Rio and Buenos Ayres. International marts and pleasure resorts are adding *Aquí se habla Español* to the time-honoured and ubiquitous *English Spoken*. He who pays the pipers calls the tunes, and we are likely to hear other tunes beside "Rule, Britannia!" and "The Star-Spangled Banner."

We do not care to elaborate this point : it is immaterial to our argument. For the might and wealth of the English-speaking nations are the chief obstacles to the adoption of English as the universal auxiliary language—the balance of power would seem to be destroyed in their favour. Our moral situation at present is exceedingly strong, fully as strong as our material situation. As we have suffered less than others, we are less embittered ; as we are richer, we are more willing to be lenient to debtors. It is France's misfortune that she holds a crushing bond against both Germany and Russia ; to let it go would be suicidal ; to claim payment is to court hatred. Whoever exacts a pound of flesh will ever seem a Shylock. But these conditions will not for ever prevail. The normal state of mind for the world is a feeling of dread of Anglo-Saxon supremacy. French Imperialism, if there be such a thing, can exist only so long as it is tolerated by England and America. Anglo-Saxon imperialism is a permanent and universal danger. We may say that the Anglo-Saxon world is divided, and will in all likelihood remain divided, into two parts, the British Empire and the United States ; that the former is, for all practical purposes, a League of Free Nations ; that the only principles common to all the components of that huge aggregate are ideas of fair play, individual liberty, and peaceful industry, which threaten no respectable independence. The rest of the world, from Hayti to Teheran, and from Cork to Amritsar, remains un-

convinced. Anglo-Saxon culture, varied as it is, forms a definite unit, which is not coextensive with universal culture. Have we so soon forgotten our "manifest destiny?" Have we forgotten that, less than a quarter of a century ago, Anglo-Saxondom was a religion, hardly less aggressive than Islam under Mahomet, and that Rhodes and Kipling were its prophets? The world remembers. It remembers that we have been, and may yet be again, race-proud and faith-proud and purse-proud. It remembers that we have repeatedly flung to its face the arrogant *Sinn Fein* of our "splendid isolation." That the world should ever come by force under the sway of Anglo-Saxondom is merely undesirable; but that the world should ever come of its own accord into our "gently smiling jaws" would be a psychological miracle.

The one insuperable objection to the adoption of a national language, be it French or English, is: "Designatio unius est exclusio alterius"—and that cannot be done without giving offence to the majority of mankind. The claims of English or French are invariably based upon some alleged superiority, either intellectual or material, in the races that have evolved these tongues. The claims of French, in so far as they rest upon tradition rather than upon present conditions, are not quite so objectionable; but national pride is retrospective as well as prospective, and all assumption of hegemony will be resented by self-respecting foreigners. Nor should this be ruled out of court as mere jingoistic touchiness. Even if a man were totally free from what we glorify as patriotism (who knows? it may be derided as sectionalism or parochialism within half a century), he would be placed in a position of inferiority if somebody else's mother tongue were used in international transactions. I mean physical inferiority, comparative impotency. Everyone who has used a foreign language—even one

he has thoroughly mastered, in presence of natives—as appreciative and kindly as you please—has felt that sense of discomfort and danger. One little slip of the tongue—and lo ! there flickers that irrepressible smile. It is an unfair handicap, which will not be accepted without chafing.

So it seems safe to prophesy that French, for one, will never yield pride of place to English, without a fight ; that continental Europe and South America could be relied upon to rally in defence of French, as their one bulwark against the threat of Anglo-Saxon supremacy ; and that England and America are not likely to press the matter, as soon as they realize that it might give serious offence. May we add that the dream of the universality of the English language, which has been fitting through the scholarly mind of Prof. Brander Matthews and the teeming brains of Mr. H. G. Wells, does not seem to us even an attractive dream ? The example of French in the eighteenth century proves that universality is a mixed blessing, perhaps a curse in disguise. It breeds self-satisfaction, and, by making the study of other languages less useful, it favours ignorance and one-sidedness. For many years the French smiled contemptuously at whatever was not French, unaware that they were smiling away the respect of the world. They had to learn wisdom at a very bitter school before sympathy would flow back to them. May we be spared the same temptation and its tragic consequences !

CHAPTER III

AN ANGLO-FRENCH CONDOMINIUM

OUT of the struggling mass of living languages, great and small, from Rumansch and Euskara to Russian and Chinese, a few have emerged which are actually used for international purposes. Mr. H. G. Wells, in his *Anticipations*, recognized only three such "aggregating tongues": English, French, and German. "By A.D. 2000" they would have reduced all others, even Italian and Spanish, to a secondary position. Of the three, German, too ponderous, was likely to fall behind in the race. Mr. H. G. Wells made a very good case for French, at a time when it was not yet fashionable to be a Franco-ophile. He denounced ruthlessly the faults in Anglo-Saxon culture, which were an obstacle to the spread of its language. This he did in all sincerity, no doubt, but also because it is the business of a prophet to be disagreeable to his own people, for the good of their souls. The prophets of old, chiding Israel, ended with a renewed assurance of glory to come; their British successor never had any serious doubt as to the future of the language which was to convey *Tono-Bungay* to mankind. In *The World Set Free*, some kind of pidgin English is officially adopted by the universal commonwealth.

We shall discuss later on this conception of the "three major languages." Suffice it to say that, right or wrong, it has found wide acceptance, and seems to be confirmed by recent developments. To-day German is eclipsed,

English and French are practically alone in the field. Their rivalry prevents the exclusive adoption of either. What will the next step be ?

Why not *combine* them ? English itself is a compromise between Anglo-Saxon and Norman French. There is a constant influx of French words into English—"garage," "hangar," are among the latest¹; and French has swallowed, without quite assimilating them, such expressions as "rosbif," "biftek," "high life" (pronounced "igglif"), and "five o'clock." The list could be indefinitely extended. Mr. George Henderson, who manufactured three or four different languages and generously supported several other schemes, advocated a mixture of French and English—the French vocabulary within the simple and elastic framework of an English grammar. The project has found little favour on either side of the Channel. This "compromis langue English-Français" would be an abomination to all who know and love either of the victims. The pronunciation of this strange compound would offer a difficult problem—would the national pronunciation of every word be retained ? Would that of words common to both languages be "compromised" ? I doubt not that the result would "sound unfamiliar to the English-speaking ear," as the Hibernian professor put it.*

A more feasible plan is that of a linguistic Entente Cordiale, an Anglo-French condominium. This means nothing more than organizing a spontaneous development, accelerating an evolution already well under way. If, by some diplomatic agreement, the teaching of French were made universal in the British Empire and in the

¹ Without mentioning the curious Tommy-Yank-Poilu jargon: *toot sweet, bokoo francs, vin rouge*, etc.

² P. Hoinix: *Angla-Franca*, a nouveau plan for the facilitation of international communication. London, Trübner, 1889. Cf. Couturat, *Histoire de la Langue Universelle*, pp. 393-400.

United States, whilst all students in France were required to learn English, an immense progress would be realized. 200,000,000 men would have a direct means of communication; the rest of the world, instead of remaining perplexed before the multiplicity of languages, would have two only to master.)

Such an idea had been floating in the air for a long time. The merit of presenting it as a definite solution of the International Language problem belongs to a retired business man, M. Paul Chappelier, who submitted it to the Modern Language Congress at the Paris Exposition in 1900. M. Chappelier defended his scheme with a great deal of verve, and, at times, with arguments of delightful ingenuousness. He seemed to be chiefly perturbed in his patriotism, for fear Esperanto should succeed too well, and he warned Uncle Sam in these terms: "The negroes, who form three-fourths of the population of the Southern States, extend to the English language the horror they still feel for their former masters: they would all learn Esperanto!" Such a danger can be averted only by the adoption of his "Bilingua."¹

In spite of such naïve flights of fancy, the work of M. Chappelier had much to commend it, and received the endorsement of excellent scholars, such as Prof. Michel Bréal² and Prof. Albert Dauzat.³ The moment was favourable. The Entente Cordiale had removed age-long prejudices between France and England; then the Grand Alliance cemented, to all appearances indestructibly, this fortunate reconciliation. The delegates to the Peace Conference found themselves, therefore, in

¹ P. Chappelier, *L'Esperanto et le Système Bilingue*. Paris, Grasset, 1911, pp. 73-74.

² M. Bréal, *Le Choix d'une Langue Internationale*, Revue de Paris, Juillet 15, 1901.

³ A. Dauzat: Preface to P. Chappelier's book, v.s., *Le Français et l'Anglais langues internationales*. Paris, Larousse, 1915.

presence of this definite situation : on the one hand, the traditional privilege of the French language, the fact that the Conference was held in the French capital, the unique position of France as a victim and as a victor, the personal prestige of Marshal Foch and M. Clemenceau ; on the other, the superior numbers and wider diffusion of English, the important part played by Britain's sea supremacy in the common triumph, the decisive factor brought into the struggle by an ever-growing and eager American army, the economic predominance of the English-speaking nations, and, last but not least, the moral authority of the ideal formulated by President Wilson. It was inconceivable that French should be sacrificed ; but the arguments in favour of English were irrefutable also. The public meetings of the whole Conference were carried on predominantly in French, but the secret meetings of the Big Three were held in English ; both the French and the English texts of the Covenant and Treaties were declared authoritative, and the League of Nations was launched forth with two languages as its official instruments.)

So our problem has been definitely settled—definitely, but not finally. The scheme is by no means perfect. Bilingualism is almost as great a source of difficulties as bimetallism. The best dictionaries fail to establish perfect correspondence between many French expressions and their nearest English equivalents. As the two languages keep evolving, at different rates and possibly in different directions, the precarious accuracy of the best translations may not last more than a generation. However, we are inclined to think that if bilingualism were firmly established, its difficulties would gradually grow less. A sort of linguistic jurisprudence would be established, fixing authoritatively the equivalence of corresponding phrases. This might be sufficient to arrest divergent evolutions, and keep the bilingual team

together. The task of international legislators and jurists, aided by their philological advisers, would be arduous indeed, but not impracticable.

The system is unspeakably cumbrous. If international gatherings were limited to the reading of formal papers and official addresses, bilingualism would work smoothly enough; in a lively discussion, it is apt to break down. It is difficult enough to seize exactly your opponent's meaning, and not wander from the point at issue, when all members of an assembly speak the same language, and that language their own. (But a debate in which a Japanese, speaking English, would have to reply extempore to a Czecho-Slovak speaking French, would bristle with opportunities for misapprehension.) We are now assuming the simplest case: every delegate can at least understand both French and English, and is able to speak one of these privileged tongues—no public translation is necessary. But there might well be appointed to some conference men of the high standing of Messrs. Orlando, Lloyd-George, Woodrow Wilson; for their benefit, as they do not understand both languages, every speech would have to be repeated. (The Assembly of the League has decided that speeches could be delivered in any language, provided a translation into English and French be also given: some speeches, therefore, may have to be repeated twice over. Nor is the waste of time, serious as it is, the worst objection to such a procedure. Let us take our Japanese and our Czecho-Slovak delegates again, assuming this time that each is master of one only of the international languages, and let us imagine the process. (The Japanese speaks in English, after a first mental translation, subconscious perhaps, but which none the less implies a strain; a French interpreter has to follow his speech (second mental translation) and, with the aid of hasty notes, to give it out in French; our man from Prague

follows the French version, and through a third mental translation, it reaches his Czecho-Slovakian brains. Three times over, thought had to perform the perilous journey from one difficult language into another. At every stage, some little slip of the tongue, some sluggishness of the ear, an accent slightly shifted, a vowel made a trifle too long or too short, an idiom imperceptibly twisted, may render the whole passage ridiculous or puzzling. Everybody paid high tribute to the marvellous skill of Prof. Mantoux, the official interpreter at the Peace Conference; yet President Wilson, in his return to America, once likened a translation to the "compound fracture of an idea."

If international activities were restricted to the small personnel of professional diplomatists, the defects of Bilingualism would not be so glaring. Every man in the service could reasonably be expected to master French and English. But we do hope that diplomacy will not remain the privilege of a small caste. We hope that, officially or not, business men, labour leaders, philanthropists, social workers, women, elementary teachers, will cross the frontiers with increasing frequency. Now, these busy people have had to master the technique of their own trade; they may have no special talent for language study. It needs robust optimism to expect them thoroughly to master a difficult language beside their own; it is almost Utopian to want them to learn two or even three. Yet that is what Bilingualism actually implies. The 200,000,000 French-British-Americans will be favourably situated: the rest of the world is sacrificed. M. Chappelier stoutly denied the obvious fact that the majority of mankind would have to learn two extra languages; yet it is evident that if a Brazilian, with French only at his command, met a Japanese who knew nothing but English, they would be as helpless as if they had learnt no foreign language

at all. In the case of the Czech, whose country is already bilingual, and is almost entirely surrounded by German-speaking populations, a man would have to be a tetraglot; the same obligation would rest upon all the racial minorities which the recent treaties have separated from, or failed to unite with, the bulk of their compatriots. The Szeklers and Saxons of Transylvania, for instance, will be almost compelled to learn, in addition to their mother tongue, Rumanian, French, and English. Now, a reading knowledge of the principal European languages is no formidable achievement; a jabbering acquaintance with five or six is not rare among the waiters of international hotels and the stewards of the best steamship lines. But a thorough command of French and English, such as to permit of the free and definite discussion of important subjects, cannot be acquired without long years of study and practice. International activities would be hedged round with a formidable barrier, and one that would exclude first-class workers while admitting more mediocre men. Bilingualism is not unworkable; not only is it established in many thriving countries—Belgium, Bohemia, Canada, Switzerland, South Africa—but, on a larger scale, we may say that the Mediterranean basin was bilingual, Greek and Latin, at the height of Roman power. But it does not work smoothly in our complex world, and it is a constant source of waste and delay.

With all these drawbacks, the scheme exists, and we would heartily support it, if we believed that it offered any guarantee of permanency. If it were the result of a long and irresistible process of natural selection, such as Mr. H. G. Wells outlined in his *Anticipations*, it might be expected to endure. But it is nothing of the sort. The joint privilege of English and French, confirmed in 1918-19, was naught but the translation into linguistic terms of a political situation. Germany was in disgrace,

and German was left out in the cold ; Russia was “ in the shadows,” so Russian was placed under the ban ; the three greatest Spanish-speaking countries, Spain, Mexico, Argentina, had remained neutral ; they were at times suspected of insufficient friendliness towards the Entente, consequently Spanish was ignored. But none of these conditions is permanent. Germany’s penance and probation will not last for ever. Russia will emerge—regenerated perhaps—from her long years of trial. The Spanish-speaking world is a young giant, increasing daily in size, wealth, and political experience. When these vast and powerful groups assert themselves again, the division of linguistic spoils between French and English is not likely to remain unchallenged. The nations may not resent an Anglo-French condominium quite so bitterly as the predominance of either French or English alone ; but they do resent it sufficiently to make its continuance highly problematical.

The nineteenth century has brought about no concentration of languages analogous to the Marxian concentration of wealth. On the contrary, the language map has grown more hopelessly complicated with each succeeding generation. As one nationality after another achieved consciousness, in the Balkans, in Russia, in the Habsburg dominions, it must needs assert itself through the revival of its ancient speech. Tongues which had practically disappeared as vehicles of literature and science are now cultivated with passionate care. Erse has been rescued on the brink of the grave, and dragged back to the world of the living. The Zionists are galvanizing Hebrew, which was dead at the time of Christ. Call it misdirected energy if you will ; it might have been a boon for the Rumanians and the Flemings if they had retained French as the language of polite learning ; a boon for the Bohemians if they had been satisfied with German. But, once more, there is too close a connexion

between language and national feeling for any patriot willingly to acknowledge the superiority of any foreign tongue. In a democracy of individuals, there is no room for "first-class citizens" enjoying special privileges; in a democracy of nations, the claims of the "great powers" will never be whole-heartedly conceded; and the distinction between major and minor languages likewise will ever remain offensive. Such a distinction is all the more invidious because it is so arbitrary. It is clear enough if you take your examples at the opposite ends of the scale: e.g. French and Albanian. But in virtue of what criterion shall we consign the languages of Dante, Cervantes, and Tolstoy to the second class, those of Camoens and Ibsen to the third or fourth? So every nationality wants to exist in its own rights, to express itself in all domains in its own way, to have its own courts and its own Press, its theatres, its churches, its universities. Berthelot, the great chemist, complained that, whilst in his youth, with four modern languages *only* at his command, he could keep in touch with scientific activity everywhere, he could no longer do so at the dawn of the twentieth century. Scandinavian, Dutch, and Slavonic scientists still use French or German on certain occasions in preference to their own vernaculars: the facilities for graduate study in ante-bellum Germany, the abundance of scientific magazines, gave German an undoubted advantage in that field. But there is a growing body of untranslated and often valuable work in Dutch, Danish, Swedish, Russian, Polish, and, even before the war, the unification of scientific literature under German hegemony was fast becoming a dream.¹

¹ Nyrop's lucid *History of the French Epic*, for instance, was first published in Danish, and made widely accessible not through German, French, or English, but through Italian. I remember, some fifteen years ago, a German professor, in an American university, teaching French literature with the assistance of the Italian version of a Danish original.

The force of these considerations has already made itself felt in the Assembly of the League of Nations, and Bilingualism, barely established, is already seriously challenged. In the course of the first session, it was proposed by a number of delegates that Spanish be added to English and French in the list of official languages. This motion was endorsed by French and British delegates : the Spanish-speaking countries form a powerful block in the new Parliament of Man ; England and France, sparring for position, would willingly barter their linguistic privilege for the sympathy of Spain and the numerous train of her growing daughters. The titles of Spanish cannot be brushed aside. In admitting English by the side of French, the League recognized the fact that numbers and geographical diffusion were elements fully as weighty as traditional prestige. Now, in these respects, Spanish is inferior to English no doubt, but superior to French. And the lead of Castilian is bound to increase : the French Empire offers no such field for the rapid development of the white race as does Spanish America. Spanish is more truly international than French, for it is official in sixteen to twenty different nations. This vast world of undeveloped solitudes is hospitable to all, and threatens no one. Its speech is noble and sonorous, fit at the same time for practical purposes and for the highest literature. The Italians gave notice that if Spanish were thus officially recognized, they would urge the same claim for their language—a most reasonable proposal. The motion was withdrawn for the time being. But it is held in reserve, and is bound to be heard of again.

Before the war, French, English, German, frequently Italian, and the language of the country where an international meeting was held, were used concurrently. We may soon find ourselves in a still worse plight. It is obvious that Spanish and Russian will have to be added

to the list. Then the turn of Portuguese will come. It was the Brazilian envoy at the second Hague Conference who made the most ardent plea against the distinction between first and second class powers. Brazil was the first of the so-called minor nations to indulge in the luxury of Dreadnoughts and full-fledged ambassadors. With an area equal to that of the United States and a population of some 30,000,000, Brazil can speak with authority in the Assembly of Nations. And we have so far taken it for granted that proud Japan would be satisfied with a seat very far back. Geneva will be a new Babel.

Any plea for the more general and thorough study of French in England and America, of English in France, of both everywhere, deserves our heartiest approval. So far, there is no fault to find with the arguments of Messrs. Chappelier, Bréal, Dauzat. But the Anglo-French condominium is reducing other languages to a position of inferiority, with which they will not long be satisfied. We do not venture to prophesy exactly when the present bilingual system will break down: but this much has been made manifest by the Spanish proposal—bilingualism is a precarious solution, likely to be challenged year after year with increasing force. As it is not fair, it cannot be final, for nothing is settled until it is settled right. Like many other articles in the Treaties, it is a cumbrous and unstable compromise, by which mankind will not eternally be bound.

Dreams of universal empire, for a single nation or for a small committee of nations, have not yet been fully exorcized: "If you two would work together," whispers the Tempter, "you would rule the world!" But exorcized they must be, if mankind is to know peace. Any assumption of predominance is a challenge to the self-respect of all other groups. Even if such predominance were for a while indisputable, it would remain precarious.

This is admitted by all liberal-minded men ; and it holds true in the realm of linguistics as well as in that of politics.¹

¹ Italian would no doubt be more acceptable than either English, French, or German, just because Italy has been baffled in her megalomania ; Spanish, as we have attempted to show, would be most acceptable of all. But it is beyond the range of possibilities that Anglo-Saxon pride should ever yield precedence to " Latins " or " Dagoes " ; or that, within the Latin group, France should willingly forgo her time-honoured leadership. We should have to go much farther afield to find a living language that would not be open to such objections. Malay has been proposed : that musical tongue, " the Italian of the Orient," is already extensively used as a commercial language. Not only would it be more neutral than the speech of any of the Great Powers, but it would have the advantage of recognizing the existence of Asia and her teeming masses. A competent discussion of Malay might be a valuable addition to the literature of our subject ; we confess that we are not very sanguine about the chances of Malay.

CHAPTER IV

LATIN

IF neutrality be indeed the first quality required of an international language, the chances of Greek and Latin ought to be much better than those of French and English. We are somewhat surprised that the arguments in favour of Greek have not been more insistently urged. There is no linguistic instrument of greater subtlety and beauty. Latin thought and art, in comparison, are confessedly deficient in originality, power, and charm. Greek has shown its superior vitality when, in spite of the political supremacy of Rome, it imposed itself as the language of commerce and culture, even in the Western basin of the Mediterranean. It was not in Hebrew or in Latin, but in Greek, that Christianity was first preached throughout the Empire. The revival of Greek closed the Middle Ages and was hailed as a new revelation. There is hardly any modern thought, however complex and profound, that has not been adumbrated by Greek philosophy more than two thousand years ago. Yet historical circumstances have so completely wrested from Athens and Constantinople the leadership of modern culture, that Greek has become a bye-word for incomprehensibility, and is left to a dwindling band of scholars. Even at Oxford, the days of compulsory Greek are numbered. Greek has been piously enwrapped "in the purple shroud wherein dead gods repose."¹

¹ Pantos-Dimou-Glossa, by de Rudelle, and Apolema, by R. de la Grasserie, are artificial languages: the first is not even based upon Greek elements; the second has proved that it was impossible to devise an easily accessible language exclusively with Greek as a foundation.

Latin, on the contrary, has no lack of supporters. There is in its favour the waning but uninterrupted tradition of two thousand years. No language is more universally studied—which does not mean, alas! that the number of genuine Latin scholars is very large. Latin is one of the things that a gentleman must *have known*. Important professions, like medicine or the law, are still insisting, mildly, upon a modicum of Latin. In the humblest village Latin is daily read or chanted by the parish priest. The partisans of a practical education, and those of the humanities, have been fighting for the crown for the last two generations: if Latin were made the new *Lingua Franca*, everybody would be satisfied. Latin as an International Language has been supported not only by scholars like Prof. Hermann Diels and Prof. W. A. Oldfather,¹ but by political economists like Paul Leroy-Beaulieu. Several Latin papers have been published.² The Association of High School Teachers in Berlin founded popular courses in Latin which seem to have been well attended. Determined efforts were made to “bring Latin to the people.” Everybody admires Latin, everybody knows some Latin—were it but a brief quotation—everybody would be proud of knowing more. Yet the fact confronts us that the partisans of Latin as a practical auxiliary language

¹ Cf. *Classical Journal*, January 1921.

² *Alaudæ* (1889); *Phoenix seu Nuntius Latinus Internationalis, linguae latinae ad usus hodiernos adhibendae sicut documentum editus* (1890-1892); *Præco Latinus*, *Folia Gentium Latina Menstrua Litteraria ac Critica*, ad propagandum Sermonem Latinum, necnon ad fovendum Litteras Latinas (1895-1902); *Vox Urbis*, de litteris et bonis artibus commentarius (1898); *Civis Romanus*, orbis litterarum Romanarum necnon epistulari latino commercio adjumentum (1901); *Iuventus*, Ephemeris in usum inventutis studiosae (1911); *Scriptor Latinus*, menstruus ad linguae latinae humanitatisque studium colendum commentarius (Francofurti ad Mœnum, 1903 seq.). Here may be noted a separate but parallel movement for teaching Latin in a more modern spirit and by more modern methods: “*Ora Maritima*,” “*Sprechen Sie Lateinisch?*” etc.

are a handful—those of Esperanto an army. What are the reasons of this comparative disfavour?

/ It might be objected to Latin that it is not sufficiently neutral. Latin is purely European; in Europe, it belongs to the West rather than to the East, and it might seem unduly to favour the so-called “Latin” or Romanic group. No doubt Latin is not “neutral” as only a wholly artificial language can be; but it is the heritage of no single nation, or small family of nations; it is not tinged with the fierce tribal pride which cannot be completely eliminated from French or English. Its adoption would not favour the Neo-Latin countries to any appreciable degrees. Indeed, in studying Latin, a German boy has in some respect the advantage of a French one, for he is already familiar with a flexional language; and the English boy is not handicapped either, so extensive is the Latin element in his native tongue—not seldom in purer form than in French or Italian. There is as much Latin scholarship in Germany and in England as in the Latin countries, and Saxons or Teutons have been found among the most ardent advocates of the language.

“But Latin is *dead*! Just as a living dog is better than a dead lion, the slang or jargon of to-day will serve our purposes better than the tongue of Gods and Emperors, which no one speaks and few understand.” But when we say that Latin is dead, are we not simply using a mischievous metaphor? In the same figurative style, it could be retorted that the news of its death is greatly exaggerated. / Latin remained the sole language of higher education until the seventeenth century, the sole language of diplomacy and science until its monopoly was challenged by French. / Although it has lost much ground in the course of the last two hundred years, it is far from being totally extinct. To the three recognized ages of Latin literature—Classical, Mediæval, Renais-

sance—should be added a modern period which comes down to our own days. Many people will be surprised to find among the names of Latin authors such “advanced” contemporaries as Jean Jaurès, the great socialist leader, and Romain Rolland, father of *Jean-Christophe*.¹ The Catholic Church uses Latin, not merely in her ritual, but as the language of her international administration and of her theological schools.

If we mean that Latin is no longer the home language of any living men, its supporters will reply that in that case it is dead only in the same sense as Esperanto is Utopian. Even if English were adopted as an international language, it would be, for three-fourths of mankind, a language learnt artificially, wholly different from the common speech of the people, and used only on certain occasions, like Latin. A language is an instrument, as well as an organism. It is living as long as it is used. Even if it had been discarded for centuries, it would live again if we agreed to pick it up. Latin is much more alive than Hebrew; and Jewish colonies are at present endeavouring to revive Hebrew, even as the language of daily life. There is nothing in the “deadness” of Latin—nothing in the “artificiality” of Volapük—*per se*—that should deter us from adopting either. The one question is this: Is the instrument adequate to the purpose? If it is, practice will soon make it “alive” and “natural” enough!

The objection of “deadness” may also mean that Latin is the mirror of a vanished civilization, and therefore that it is unsuited to our modern needs. This form of the argument is not so vague as the foregoing, but it also rests upon an illusion. Everything that is essential is eternal, and it cannot be contended that Latin would

¹ Until 1903, the minor thesis for the French Doctor’s degree in Letters had to be written in a classical language, which was almost invariably Latin.

not reflect essential, eternal truth as perfectly as our most highly developed languages of to-day. Much of our boasted progress is a return to Greco-Roman ideals. Does our morning paper tell us of any scandal that had not already occurred twenty centuries ago? Divorce and graft are as old as the Seven Hills. Mankind has not yet discovered a fourth cardinal virtue or an eighth deadly sin: the best and the worst in our society are strikingly similar to the lights and shadows of Imperial Rome. The Encyclical letters of the Popes discuss vigorously the most varied problems of our times—socialism, democracy, free-thought, modernism, the war—and the use of Latin seems to be no impediment. As for science, industry, politics, so intensely “modern,” is it not striking that their vocabulary is almost entirely Greco-Latin? We decorate our Ford with the hybrid classical term *automobile*, and our most up-to-date radicals talk of plebiscite, referendum, proletariat. If the noblest of railroad terminals¹ is fittingly housed in a pastiche of Roman architecture, a railroad president might not inconceivably write his report in the language of Cicero. Even slang, puns, and American humour could receive a classical garb: the sad story of the young lady from Niger has been turned into very neat Latin, and Horace, if he came back to earth, would be “syndicated” like Walt Mason.

The same objection assumes yet another form: since the world has grown away from Latin, its readoption would be a step backwards. This implies that evolution is always rectilinear, and that a return can never be a progress. Incidentally, it would condemn the Renaissance; it was long a powerful argument against the republican form of government, which Rome herself had tried and discarded. Wickliff, Luther, Calvin, emancipated religion from ecclesiastical trammels, broke

¹ The Pennsylvania Station, New York.

the seal which kept the Bible a secret book for the masses ; Descartes addressed, in the vernacular, all thinking men and women, and not scholars alone : this was good work, which no one desires to undo. Latin was then a barrier between the scholar and the rest of the world ; it conferred an excessive, an artificial privilege upon the chosen few. The quickest method of breaking down the barrier—since universal education was a far-off Utopia—was to discard Latin in favour of a language “ understood of the people.” Now this end is achieved ; learning is thoroughly democratized. But the use of the vernacular has created new obstacles, this time between scholar and scholar. Our newer ideal makes a larger synthesis possible : we may safely return to the old system of one common language of culture, because we are ready to confer the scholar’s privilege upon the whole world. After centuries of division, the immense spiral of evolution brings us back to a wider Catholicism, which might well find its expression in a revival of Latin.

The one formidable objection to the use of Latin is its intrinsic difficulty. About that difficulty there can be no reasonable doubt. Young men and women study Latin for many years—in Europe from six to nine years—and what is the practical result ? Not one in ten is capable of reading a page of unseen Latin with any comfort ; not one in a hundred could speak Cæsar’s tongue with any fluency. When Profs. Virchow and Baccelli, at a medical congress, actually conversed in Latin, the fact was blazed abroad, so marvellous it seemed.¹ It is not our purpose to examine the causes of this difficulty : it is an incontrovertible fact, which

¹ It is said that a few years ago, a Russian scholar travelling in America addressed a body of distinguished men in classical Latin. The President of a great Eastern university, nothing daunted, replied in the same language. A well-known Senator remarked admiringly : “ I had no idea X could speak Russian ! ”

we deplore as much as anybody else. The case has been stated with great clearness by a classical scholar, Prof. E. W. Fay, in an able defence of the humanities from the cultural point of view. "My personal experiences," he says, "have been entirely convincing to me. While still a college student, but with five or six years of Latin behind me, I began to study German privately, and after a careful reading, not conning, of the German grammar, I set out to read a German novel. In a few weeks I could get on with it with some ease, and much more rapidly than I could then read Latin. In the next year's work at college, Lessing's *Minna* and Schiller's *Tell*, in long assignments, caused me much less labour than Latin authors did. Even now, after two decades of Latin teaching, with forms, syntax, vocabulary under good control, the Latin language puzzle at times presents difficulties. True, I require of myself greater accuracy with the Latin, but after a few weeks' desultory dabbling with Spanish, I can read with enjoyment and a fair understanding a play of Echegaray or a novel of Galdós with far less concentration of attention than it requires to read a fresh bit of Ovid, or to reread for class preparation any but the most familiar satires of Horace."¹ "The great educative value I assign to the study of Latin," says Prof. Fay again, "lies precisely therein. The rethinking of Latin into English cannot fail to be tremendously more difficult than the rethinking of any modern cultural tongue into English."² And Mr. John Charles Tarver, in his *Observations of a Foster Parent*, insists likewise upon the fact that "the one great merit of Latin as a teaching instrument is its stupendous difficulty." We might quote innumerable authorities to the same effect, but one more will suffice. Mr.

¹ "Language Study and Language Psychology," *Popular Science Monthly*, October 1911, p. 373.

² *Ibid.*, p. 382.

William C. Collar, then headmaster of the Roxbury Latin School, recognizing that "our boys and girls do not learn to speak Latin, or to understand it, or to write it, or even to read it," seeks a first remedy in a lengthening of the course, made indispensable by the "inherent difficulty" of the language. He endorses the recommendation of the Latin Conference to the Committee of Ten in 1892: "The aggregate of 1,000 to 1,200 hours is much below the average in the schools of England, France, and Germany. . . . How can we hope to do in four or five years what foreign schools, taught by accomplished scholars and trained teachers, need EIGHT OR NINE YEARS to achieve?"¹

Eight or nine years of one's life is a heavy price to pay, even for an incomparable instrument of culture; but for a mere instrument of intercommunication, such a price is exorbitant and prohibitive. However, there may be a way out. "*Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres, quarum unam incolunt Belgæ, aliam Aquitani, tertiam qui ipsorum lingua Celtæ, nostra Galli appellantur.*" What could be more straightforward and limpid? Or again: "*Venite ad me, omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego reficiam vos.*" What could be simpler and more beautiful? The chief stumbling-block in Latin is the freedom and subtlety of the word-order; an erratic declension adds to the difficulty in unravelling the thread of the author's thought, and numerous "felicities of diction" provide additional knots for the patient scholar to loosen. But, as in the above examples, we could have Latin, correct Latin, with a simple, analytical sequence of words. The complicated language of the classics was highly artificial; it was further removed from everyday practice than Miltonian English is from our current speech. Church Latin, on the contrary, and many familiar letters from

¹ *Via Latina*, Preface, pp. iii, iv, v.

Renaissance scholars, are free from this over-elaboration. The splendid pedantry of Humanism, which restored Ciceronian and Vergilian Latin in all its intricate technique, was in all probability a misfortune. It made Latin too cumbrous for our hustling world.

“*Facilis descensus Averno*”: if we abandon the classical standard, great will be the temptation to proceed further in the way of simplification. Even with a simpler word-order, Latin would not present a perfect solution of the international language problem. Latin accidence would remain a fearful series of pitfalls. To overcome this difficulty, it has been proposed to standardize all declensions and conjugations. All words would be given their natural gender, as in English, and follow the types *bonus, bona, bonum: patrus, matra, rosum*. All verbs would conform to the conjugation of *amare*. The author of this wonderful scheme, M. Fred Isly, was on the staff of the French comic paper *Pêle-Mêle*—an appropriate occupation. The trouble with any such compromise is that it will satisfy neither the scholar nor the practical man. To the former, anything calling itself Latin, resembling Latin, and yet not Latin, is particularly offensive. *Patrus, matra, rosum*, are abominations which would simply spoil students for the real thing. And this barbarous jargon would remain inferior, so far as simplicity and logic are concerned, to the best artificial languages like Esperanto, Neutral, and Ido.

Apart from the grammar, the vocabulary of Latin would need a thorough overhauling. No doubt classical Latin can express every shade of thought and feeling—including some that we dare not express in the vulgar tongue; no doubt scientific and industrial terms can be coined in such a way that they will take their place without scandal by the side of ancient words. But every year a wealth of neologisms is cropping up from

unexpected corners of the earth ; at one time it was *kiosk*, *bazaar*, or *zouave* ; at another it may be *Bushido*, *hara-kiri*, *geisha* ; or, again, *karmah*, *tango*, *tank*, *poilu*, *soviet*. What shall we do with these intruders ? Shall we find Ciceronian periphrases for them ? Shall we have them don the classic toga, in *us*, *a*, *um*, with appropriate declension ? In both cases the result would be grotesque. But if we admit them as they are, unassimilated, barbaric, will not their mass soon snap the last thin thread that connects us with orthodox Latinity ?

The task is a delicate one. We want to save Latin ; we recognize that it needs some sort of renovation ; but when we translate this into concrete terms, humanists shudder. No compromise, we are afraid, will prove satisfactory ; every modern element that is added will be a cause of offence, every ancient irregularity that is retained will be a block of stumbling. The span is too great : no up-to-date Latin will satisfy the lovers of tradition. It would be wiser frankly to recognize the fact, and if we adopt Latin at all, so radically to transform it that it will not be a string of barbarisms, a debased jargon, but a new *Lingua Franca* clearly distinct from the tongue of Livy and Vergil. We should distinguish between the Latin grammar, which is difficult and obsolete, and the Latin vocabulary, which survives to the present day, so full of life that it is still capable of expansion. This Neo-Latin would be an artificial language no doubt, in the sense that it would have to be systematized through an act of human will. Yet it might not be an absurd paradox to call it " natural Latin," for it would represent the evolution which Latin would have followed in the main, if its freedom of development had not been arrested by grammarians, if it had not been swathed and embalmed in its own classicism. It would be the norm of the Romance languages, going farther than any of them in the way of analytical sim-

plication and unaffected by purely local phonetic influences.

This, indeed, is no new proposal. Leibniz, whose ultimate goal was an a priori philosophical language, advocated the provisional use of a rational grammar applied to Latin elements: "Grammatica rationalis tradenda est, ad latinam (linguam) applicata."¹ Prof. Peano, as we shall see, carried out this conception in his *Latino sine Flexione*. Thus, again, Dr. Rosa, in his *Nov Latin*, Mr. Henderson in his *Latinesce*, and Dr. Beermann, in the two forms of his *Novilatin*.² Such was also the solution proposed by M. Paul Régnaud, professor of Sanscrit at Lyons. The double objection raised against "simplified" Latin would fall in this case. For the practical man, the proposed speech would be as easy as any Esperanto, for it would be as regular; the scholar would have no confusion to fear between the new and the old. And the scheme would have arguments in its favour that no Esperanto could match. Much of the opposition to an artificial language would lose its meaning if, instead of a more or less arbitrary and hybrid creation, this living, analytical Latin were adopted. The new dialect would be intelligible at first sight by whoever knows some Latin, or a Romance language or the more literary element in English. It might have some educational value as a stepping-stone to the classics, for its vocabulary would be based upon that of Latin, simplified possibly, but never wilfully deformed. For the same reason, it would help people of mediocre education to get some idea of the etymology of their mother tongue. It would be all-sufficient for scientific

¹ *Nominum casus semper eliminari possunt, substitutis in eorum locum particulis . . . ut patet ex linguis in quibus nullæ sunt nominum inflexiones.*

² However, Dr. Beermann's *Novilatin*s depart so widely from classical Latin, even in their vocabulary, that they might be placed in a different category of artificial languages.

purposes.¹ Even if in some respects it should be inferior to other artificial languages, the homogeneity of its origin would give it an enormous advantage, both æsthetic and practical.

But we have already passed beyond the limits of our first part, which discusses "natural" languages. Our conclusions, so far, have been negative. The adoption of a "natural" language would be the most obvious solution; difficult as such a language may be, it exists, it has expressed the most subtle shades of human thought, it has been refined in the fire of genius, weighed and measured for several generations by the delicate instruments of philology. Unfortunately, the inevitable association of a language with a race, with a definite national tradition, leads to the clash of sensitive collective pride. English will not yield precedence to French, nor French to English, and Spanish, Italian, German, Russian, will not for ever accept a subordinate position. Latin enjoys the neutrality of death: but in its classical form, it has become a collection of dignified riddles—with a high educational value. Is there no other solution? Are we not substituting, in every domain, order for chaos, intellect for instinct, science for tradition, the organizing will of man for the blind arrangements of fate? Is it beyond the capacity of our scholars to devise a perfectly simple and perfectly neutral tongue? If we cannot yet evolve one that would be the reasoned chart of human knowledge, can we not at any rate harmonize the common elements in the three existing international languages, French, English, and Latin, so as to remove at the same time excessive complication, and the stigma of nationality?

¹ In France, for certain scientific or legal courses, no knowledge of Latin is required except such as will lead to a better comprehension of the nomenclature; I noticed in the catalogue of a college on the Pacific coast a course in "Pharmaceutical Latin," which might well be replaced by a course in Rosa's or Peano's modern Latin.

PART II
ARTIFICIAL LANGUAGES

CHAPTER I

THE ARTIFICIAL ELEMENT IN LANGUAGE

I

THE subject of artificial languages is one which popular novelists and journalists, the *Mirandas* and *Admirable Crichtons* of our age, still affect to scout as "unscientific." A language is to them a mysterious growth, far beyond the power of man to reproduce. The cranks who waste their time on artificial languages will at best manufacture a crude automaton, good for an evening's entertainment, but totally unfit for the serious business of life. We all know that mystico-sentimental and pseudo-scientific phraseology. With trifling variations, it does duty against spelling reform,¹ woman suffrage, pacifism, and other fads which are fast reshaping the world. It is the eternal defence of prejudice through metaphor, which purposeful men must eternally break down. If your opponent be of the shallower sort, you may ask him whether he objects to artificial ice or incubator chickens. Frankly concede, if challenged, that you could not create a living horse: but suggest that automobiles have their points. This little bit of verbal fencing will prove nothing, of course, for a language is neither a fowl nor a quadruped. But it will enable you to drop the subject gracefully.

To the conscientious objector and the healthy-minded citizen from Missouri, other reply must be given. Tell

¹ We have in mind the concocter of sensational plays and romances who declared that "Shakespeare's spelling was good enough for him"!

him that responsible scholars are by no means so contemptuous. Half a century ago, Max Müller said before the Royal Institution of Great Britain: "... To people acquainted with a real language, the invention of an artificial language is by no means an impossibility; nay . . . such a language might be much more perfect, more regular, more easy to learn, than any of the spoken tongues of man."¹ These emphatic words were not a mere boutade, but the conclusion of a long and sympathetic exposé of the attempts of Leibniz and Bishop Wilkins; neither should they be considered as a youthful vagary of the highly imaginative scholar, for to the end of his life he remained faithful to the same opinion. The bibliography of the subject would show beyond doubt that many philologists of note agree with Max Müller. Schuchardt, Baudouin de Courtenay, Jespersen, were not satisfied with theoretical sympathy, but took active part in the selection or elaboration of such languages. Régnaud, Monseur, Bréal, Sweet, more guarded, are on the whole favourable. A. Meillet, for many years interested but non-committal, concluded his *Languages in the New Europe*² with a sober and cogent plea for an artificial auxiliary tongue. Even the adverse criticism of men like Brugmann and Leskien proves that the question cannot be lightly dismissed as a fad or a dream.³

Another argument may be drawn from the wide diffusion and practical use of at least two artificial languages. When we speak more in detail of the different schemes, we shall have a good deal to say about the

¹ *Lectures on the Science of Language*, 2nd Series, 1863 (Scribner, 1890, p. 71).

² *Les Langues dans l'Europe Nouvelle*, Payot, Paris, 1918.

³ In a paper entitled, "Artificial Languages and Philology," on which part of the present chapter is based, I gave a brief tabulation of opinions from prominent philologists. This table will be found in the Appendix, pp. 185-7.

books, periodicals, clubs, and conventions of Volapük and Esperanto. Esperanto in particular is a linguistic experiment on an unexampled scale, and has stood the test of a quarter of a century. With the hundred magazines which came out every month until the great cataclysm of August 1914, with its thirteen great congresses, it counted for more than many "natural" tongues. It is a new portent in the world's history, as "Utopian" as the early efforts of Langley, Lilienthal, or Chanute. These are incontrovertible facts: whoever cares may check them for himself. The shrewd old lady who, being shown a live rhinoceros at the Zoo, sniffed contemptuously and said, "There ain't no such animal!" was the pattern and exemplar of those practical men who refuse to be fooled. Well! the rhinoceros can afford to smile—if that is not carrying the simile a trifle too far.

As a matter of fact, the very distinction between "artificial" and "natural," between "dead" and "living" languages, is to a very great extent arbitrary. There is much that is dead and artificial in English; much that is living in Latin even to-day; much that is natural in old Volapük itself. The most arbitrary creation, like Solresol, using natural sounds to denote natural objects, cannot get very far away from all-embracing Nature.

Without opening up the tremendous subject of the origin of language, it may safely be said that inarticulate cries and onomatopœia alone are natural. Supposing that an English Romulus were committed at birth to the care of a she-wolf, would he evolve the English language out of his inner consciousness? Language is *taught* us, by our parents, by our teachers, by our fellow-men. The instinct for language may be primitive; the forms of language are not innate. They are, at the present stage, a tradition and a convention.

Our languages are artificial in two different ways:

the wrong way and the right. The wrong way consists in preserving, in vocabulary, grammar, or spelling, cumbrous fossils, irregularities, and absurdities against which the common sense of the rising generation rightfully rebels. Exceptions, which seem to some minds the criterium of "naturalness," are in many cases maintained against the normal, or analogical, tendency. Children are taught with great pain the wrong form, which is an artificial survival. But the simplifying, standardizing forces cannot for ever be defeated; as Prof. Jespersen has shown long before he became an advocate of Esperanto-Ido, our languages are becoming more logical, more regular, simpler. It is impossible, in modern French or English, to coin an irregular verb, except in jest; irregular verbs are gradually being reduced to the prevailing type.¹ Words are constantly coined according to rule and with the help of the standard suffixes. From the chaos of usage, a few broad, logical lines are beginning to appear, and these are guiding future evolution. Our languages are becoming artificial in the *right* way, just as our laws are becoming artificial: they are growing out of, but away from, blind custom, they tend towards the ideal of languages "made to order."

There is nothing absurd or unscientific about the notion of an artificial language. As we have to combat a somewhat hasty prejudice, we may be allowed to use comparisons again—we shall give facts enough and to spare later. What is more natural than the growth of a plant? Yet we are aware that a careful selection of seeds, transplantation, fertilizers, grafting, crossing, steam-heat, are resorted to in order to reach the best results—best, that is, from the human point of view. May we not say that our fairest flowers, our most delicious fruit, are artificial, exactly in the same way as the

¹ E.g. *wrought*, obsolete except in a few definite cases.

best auxiliary languages, which are also compounded of elements selected from "nature," and mixed together in a "natural" way? The plumcot is an Esperanto among fruits; Luther Burbank is the Zamenhof of the vegetable world. Our other comparison is drawn from history: the Constitution of the United States is a paper constitution, discussed and promulgated at one given time, logical, based on principles, free from the quaint parasitical growths that almost cover mediæval charters, without any mystic halo or traditional authority. If a member of Congress wants to resign, he does not have to apply for the Chiltern Hundreds! But, as it was a wise combination of precedent, common sense, and generous radicalism, it has worked tolerably well; when we think of several sharp and almost tragic crises in the history of Great Britain, we wonder if on the whole the American system has not been the more successful of the two. We do not mean to imply that all "artificial" constitutions are bound to work well: that of France in 1793 never had any real existence, however elaborate and tempting it seemed on paper; that of 1848 ended in speedy failure after a promising start. Neither are the growths of ages proof against decay and sudden collapse! Many language schemes were still-born; Volapük lived, soon to be carried off by infantile ailments; Esperanto has reached man's estate. We *may* fail, but there is nothing in science, history, or logic that tells us, You *shall* fail.¹

The surest sign that a science is full grown is that it begins to look forward, that it is able to foretell, and to a certain extent to shape, the future. When nature ceases to be a hopeless maze, when we see with increasing

¹ Joseph de Maistre, a victim of the same anti-artificial fallacy, prophesied that the city of Washington would never be built: a precarious calling, that of prophet, dangerous especially for one whose face is obstinately turned towards the past!

clearness the laws of her evolution, then we may begin to plan ahead, defeating her by conforming to her dictates. This is the grand conquest of the world by human intelligence. This day of emancipation, of "looking forward," is at hand for comparative grammar and philology. Listen to the words of a scholar who was a prophet as well, Nietzsche: "... In some far-off future, there will be a new language used at first as a language of commerce, then as a language of intellectual intercourse, then for all, as surely as, sometime or other, there will be aviation. WHY ELSE SHOULD PHILOLOGY HAVE STUDIED THE LAWS OF LANGUAGE FOR A WHOLE CENTURY, AND HAVE ESTIMATED THE NECESSARY, THE VALUABLE, AND THE SUCCESSFUL PORTION OF EACH SEPARATE LANGUAGE ? " ¹

II

The adoption, by a large number of men, and within a limited time, of a fully elaborated artificial language, would of course be unexampled. But so was every startling invention of the last two centuries. History is full of new departures, although the apparent new departures, more closely studied, are found to be the inevitable consequences of a long development. There was no railway transportation, as we understand it, until the third decade of the nineteenth century; there we have a revolution, as sudden and as far-reaching as any in the annals of mankind. Yet the locomotive did not spring, Minerva-like, from the brains of Zeus-Stephenson. In the same way, we can trace, far back in past centuries, the pre-history of the international language question: local and crude attempts, blind gropings, half-conscious applications, early dreams.

¹ In *Menschliches-Allzumenschliches* (Human, All Too Human), I, 1876-78, §267, Viele Sprache lernen.

Ours is not the first century in which men have attempted to tamper with, or control, language evolution.

Secret languages afford a first case of artificiality. For purposes of their own, not commendable as a rule, certain sects, classes, or professions consciously adopted some form of cant or jargon. Such is the Kochemer Loschen or Rothwelsch of German Gaunertum, a thieves' jargon based on German slang, but with Gipsy and Yiddish elements; or the corresponding "Argot des Voleurs," so fondly described by Hugo in *Les Misérables*. These jargons, in the main, are the result of a semi-natural evolution; they are slang carried to an extreme, based on abbreviation and metaphor; and so bold, personal, "immediate," are some of these figures of speech that jargon might well become a source of enrichment for the academic language.¹ Sometimes artificial elements are systematically introduced, as in the "hog-Latin" of school children, or in the slang of the Parisian butchers, *largoji des loucherbems*, a deliberate distortion of standard French according to arbitrary rules. In all the above cases, the need created the instrument. The need was narrow, transient, unworthy, and the result bore the same marks. But if there be a permanent need for an artificial language devoted to higher purposes, the need will be supplied in a permanent and adequate manner.

A second instance of artificial languages is given by *compromise tongues*, on the linguistic frontiers of two or more civilizations. These tongues, very interesting

¹ However, these attempts, cryptic, limited, and ever-changing of their very nature, have not produced any literature worthy of the name, with the doubtful exception of Villon's *Jobelin*, the despair of Romance scholarship; *Les Soliloques des Pauvres*, by Jehan Rictus—a masterpiece, by the way—is slangy French rather than pure jargon; the same is true of Aristide Bruand's songs, an insincere work which brought a great financial reward; Richepin's poems in jargon are as artificial as Greek verse at Oxford.

from our special point of view, are different from the home speech of the people who use them, and are reserved for international communication; they offer certain characteristics in common: a simplified grammar and an eclectic vocabulary. To this class belong: the *Lingua Franca* of the Levant, based mostly on Italian, and which, through Molière's *Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, has its little niche in French literature; Benguela, in Portuguese Africa and the Congo region; Chinook, used by fur traders and missionaries with the North-American Indians; the *Lingua Geral*, a mixture of Portuguese and Guarani, in South America; Pidjin-English in the treaty ports of the Far East, and now Pidjin-French and Pidjin-Russian in Tonkin and in Manchuria. The same is true, although not quite so completely as it used to be asserted, of Urdu, the language of Akbar's camps; and, in various degrees, of Yiddish, whether in its German or in its Spanish form, and of Taal, the simplified Dutch dialect of South Africa. With the last three, we have crossed the line which separates compromise languages used for international communication only from compromise languages which have become "mother-tongues." Of these the mightiest is none other but English; with its minimized grammar and its eclectic vocabulary, it is indelibly stamped as "Pidgin-Saxo-Romanic," and is none the worse for that. As we have seen, the ruling classes in England continued bilingual until the fifteenth century, and the present happy compromise is the result.

A third aspect of the question is the semi-artificial revival of natural languages, so frequent in the course of the nineteenth century. Romaic, Czech, Provençal, and several tongues of the Balkans, had apparently become mere patois, no longer taught in schools nor used for cultural purposes. They had to be studied anew, standardized, furbished up, brought up-to-date. Their

rehabilitation was the conscious work of scholars, patriots, and poets ; Mistral, the most widely known of these resuscitators, was picturesquely described as holding his lute in one hand, and a lexicon in the other. Of course, in all these cases, patriotism and literary genius did not actually create a language ; they fanned dying embers into new life. Yet it may be said that there never was a man, knight, merchant, or peasant, in any *mas* or *bastide* of Provence, that spoke Mistral's eclectic dialect. The element of conscious interference with natural evolution cannot be denied.¹

Finally, we might consider codes, classifications, nomenclatures, formularies, and other means of inter-comprehension which are not complete languages, but which fulfil some of the purposes of languages. Two of them are in such constant use that we never think of their international and conventional character : numerals, and the musical notation. Perhaps picturesqueness would be the gainer, national idiosyncrasies would assert themselves more triumphantly, if mathematicians and composers of different countries wrote their figures and their notes in a mode unintelligible to foreign eyes ; if there is any advantage in the fact that Kipling and Maupassant do not use the same medium, it might have been desirable for Wagner and Debussy to have each a purely national system of notation. A brisk trade in arithmetical and musical translation would thus be created ; and earnest writers would plead that the additional difficulty is a boon to culture. The Marine Signal Code, adopted by England and France in 1862, and afterwards by the rest of the world, is a hopeful precedent for interlinguists : for fifty years, this artificial language of

¹ The same thing is true of any literary and official language : French and Italian are standardized dialects (Francian and Tuscan) which are spoken with any spontaneity by only a minority of the French and Italian population.

the sea has proved of immense value to navigators. But wireless telegraphy has rendered the signal code obsolete—it will have to be replaced by a telegraphic code, or, better, by an international language. The code, oddly enough, makes communication possible from ship to ship, but not from man to man; a doctor, summoned by signal, may find himself powerless, as soon as he has set foot on board, for lack of a common medium. Dewey's decimal classification of books, now adopted by a large number of libraries, has proved extremely useful to all men interested in bibliography. It is a sort of international vocabulary in figures, for 408.9, for instance, will convey the same meaning to whoever has become familiar with the system.¹ Mathematical treatises in which all the essential steps of the reasoning, and practically all the results are expressed in formulæ, can be understood—by mathematicians, of course—all the world over. In his *Formulario Mathematico*, Prof. Giuseppe Peano has totally eliminated language, only a few conventional signs being used. Thus most scientific works are composed at present of two parts—the more important written in some universal code, national languages filling in the gaps.

Figures are the best example of a *pasigraphy*, or universal writing: the symbol is understood by all, but pronounced in many different ways. Chemistry provides another instance: H_2O may be pronounced aitch two oh, or ash doe zoh, or water, or eau. French “ideologists” at the end of the eighteenth century devoted a great deal of attention to the problem of a pasigraphy. Figures, formulæ, and codes have a limited field: the Chinese ideographic characters come nearer the goal. They can be read by the educated throughout the Far

¹ Many “numerical languages” have been devised upon that principle of classification; the latest that has come to our notice is Timerio, elaborated by a Berlin architect, Herr Tiemer. 1-80-17 = I love you.

East, although each man will read them in his own language or dialect. The precedent of Chinese is not encouraging. Even a successful pasigraphy would solve only one-half of the problem : a means of international communication is needed for oral as well as for written intercourse.

This rapid review shows that the adoption of an artificial auxiliary tongue would not be such a radically new departure after all : it would merely be a decisive step in a progress already far advanced. It will come, "as surely as there will be aviation," said Nietzsche, as surely as we have a Universal Postal Union, as surely as we shall have a Supreme Court of the World. Historians, a century hence, will not even consider it as a revolution, but as a gradual development, which had been going on for two hundred years, and, in the fullness of time, was crowned by an official agreement. Routine and short-sightedness can only delay its coming, but cannot prevent it.

CHAPTER II

“ PHILOSOPHICAL ” LANGUAGES

THERE is no absolute line of demarcation between natural and artificial languages. What exact relation does Milton's English, or that of a mathematical treatise, bear to the vernacular that we learnt at our mother's knee? There is a far-cry from our plain everyday speech to the sesquipedalian words and elaborate syntax of *Paradise Lost*. Thus the range of “naturalness” is wide indeed, and no less wide is the range of “artificiality.” It extends from sheer arbitrariness to the careful elimination of useless irregularities. The incomprehensible jabber of a child who makes believe that he is speaking a foreign tongue is an artificial language; and artificial, in one important respect at least, is English standardized by the scholarly Simplified Spelling Board. Wilful and lawless invention, close conformity to existing models: here we have the two extremes, and the two kinds of stuff whereof vocabularies are made. Thus, for the international word “abdication” Mr. Bollack has *pnabs*, Mr. Peano *abdicatione*. There is room in between for innumerable varieties.

Roughly speaking, artificial languages may follow the a priori method, or the a posteriori method, or combine them. This classification, proposed by M. Gaston Moch, adopted by Messrs. Couturat and Leau in their masterly *Histoire de la Langue Universelle*, is generally accepted at present among students of the

problem. / An a priori language is one which is based on some logical conception, without any reference to existing forms ; an a posteriori language is one that derives all its elements from natural tongues.¹ The best of the former type deserve the name of “ philosophical ” languages. They were the first in the field, and although they are at present under a cloud, they may provide the ultimate solution.

/ In the seventeenth century, long before Latin had ceased to be the quasi-universal vehicle of culture, philosophers were already busy devising artificial languages. Their main object was not to provide an easy means of intercomprehension : both Descartes and Leibniz glanced at that aspect of the problem, and dismissed it, not as impossible or undesirable, but as too easy, and unworthy of their efforts. Their chief purpose was philosophical. As an instrument of thought and expression, a language grown in a haphazard manner like Latin seemed to them cumbrous and inaccurate. They wanted to substitute for it, or at least to supplement it with, a notation at the same time simpler and more systematic, a sort of intellectual algebra. / Such a language, compared with our rough-and-ready tools, would be an instrument of precision. It would be the flawless mirror of philosophy ; in it logic and linguistics would coincide.

/ Descartes himself did little more than formulate this ideal in a letter to Father Mersenne (1629). Dalgarno, a Scotchman, and Bishop Wilkins, one of the founders of the Royal Society, gave two systems, based on a classification of ideas. Leibniz, without leaving any single

¹ To call a priori languages *arbitrary* would be begging the question ; if they are indeed based on good logic, they are less arbitrary even than living languages. On the other hand, a scheme which borrows words at random from many languages, and deforms them without any rule but the author's fancy, is at the same time a posteriori and arbitrary.

work on the subject, or any completed scheme, devoted many years to the problem. He conceived a sort of mental arithmetic, which could be converted into a speakable language by the substitution of letters for figures. It is a striking fact that the same philosopher should have given so much of his energy to "Utopian" schemes which are very practical problems of our own age; the organization of peace and the adoption of an auxiliary language. The influence of Leibniz in this field is still considerable: the historian, and one of the foremost leaders of the movement, M. Couturat, is the best authority on the logic of Leibniz, and the editor of his unpublished manuscripts; and it was through Leibniz that Prof. Peano, the mathematician, came to be interested in the question, in which he is now taking such a prominent part.

Then the problem rested for many years. French had replaced Latin in many fields. The notion that logic should be the test and the norm of language was prevalent: classical grammarians tried to explain through subtle analyses the most disconcerting oddities of French syntax—a tendency still faintly noticeable in our own school-days. The well-known dictum, "Science is but a well-made language," implied that a well-made language should have the systematic rigour of a science. Condillac, who had given a treatise on "general," i.e. logical, grammar, was preparing an analytical dictionary of French at the time of his death. Thus he had come, by a different avenue, to the same conception as Descartes and Leibniz: language is the algebra of thought. So, quite naturally, the disciples of Condillac, the Ideologists, took up the problem of an artificial language considered solely as a classification and an abstract notation of ideas. Most of them, however, limited their field to a pasigraphy or universal writing. A section of the Institute of France, that of

“ General Grammar,” discussed the subject with great thoroughness, and Volney created a prize to encourage research in that line.¹

Romanticism, and the growth of intense national particularism, so characteristic of the first half of the nineteenth century, were evidently unfavourable to the gentle craft of language-making. Yet a few inventors were still busy. A “ Société de Linguistique ” was founded in 1855, for the purpose of impartially examining, and reporting upon, these different schemes. The committee unanimously rejected, as “ grotesque,” all a posteriori languages, of which a few crude samples had already been proposed ; an artificial language, in their opinion, should be purely philosophical, and have nothing in common with existing tongues. Of the projects that satisfied this requirement, the Committee selected those of Letellier and Sotos Ochando for special commendation ; and indeed, judging by M. Couturat’s complete and lucid account, these systems, very fully elaborated, had great merits of their own. The great philosopher Renouvier, on the contrary, whilst granting that the grammar of an artificial language should be based on logic alone, maintained that its vocabulary should be empirical, borrowed from those of natural languages.

This was the last time that the superiority of the a priori method was so solemnly and unhesitatingly affirmed ; yet it would be an error to believe that philosophical languages are abandoned, even at this late hour. Not only old Solresol, which deserves a separate notice, is still faintly alive ; but new schemes come up now and then, like Spokil and Perio. In the United States, Rev. E. P. Foster is “ boosting Ro, the World Language, and Marietta, the World City ” : Ro is based

¹ The Volney Prize is now given by the French Institute for any kind of philological research. Prof. O. Jespersen was one of the recipients of it.

on the classification of ideas, and Marietta lies at the junction of the Ohio and Muskingum rivers.

Readers of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th edition, will find a brief but able defence of the a priori method in an article by Prof. Henry Sweet, of Oxford.¹ We cannot, therefore, consider philosophical languages as a dead branch of our subject. They claim two advantages which are tempting indeed—neutrality, and a special value for the education of thought.

“The chief objection to Esperanto is that it is provincial—entirely ignoring Asia and the languages which are spoken by the vast majority of the human race.” These words of Mr. Hamilton Holt’s state with great clearness a fairly general impression. We must recognize that our a posteriori languages are not truly universal, but only Pan-European; not even that, but only Pan-Occidental, for Russian and Magyar have but little share in them; not even that, but Pan-Romanic or Anglo-Latin, for Teutonic stems seem to be admitted only on sufferance. It is hard to imagine an a posteriori language fair to East and West alike, and in which the twain shall meet. If absolute, world-wide neutrality is indispensable, then we have but one resource, and that is an a priori language.

Perhaps, however, this is carrying the principle of neutrality to an unnecessary extreme. The whole world—except one-third of Asia—is under European control; and in the fields of commerce, industry, diplomacy, science, for which the international language will be used, the reawakened East frankly acknowledges the leadership of the West. Chinese characters may remain

¹ Art. Universal Languages. Prof. Sweet, by the way, has devised a sort of phonetic pasigraphy, a script based on an analysis of sounds: his extremely ingenious alphabet bears the same relation to that of the Association Phonétique Internationale as Sotos Ochando’s language bears to Esperanto.

the vehicle of the old Oriental culture ; but the new culture wh ch is being introduced at such a rapid rate into immovable China herself is undoubtedly of “ Pan-European ” or Occidental origin. If the East accepts from us constitutional government, militarism, labour problems and the experimental method, the European names of these valuable gifts might as well be thrown in. If East and West are brought closer together, as we hope and trust they will, Eastern words will gradually invade the world-language, to express those aspects of civilization that are specially Oriental: already no a posteriori language would attempt to give European equivalents for Shinto, Bushido, harakiri, ju-jitsu, or geisha—a quintet which sums up all that most of us know of Japan. Besides, whilst neutrality would be violated by the supremacy of one national language, the predominance of that shadowy entity, a linguistic group, would not be resented in the same way. The objection to some sort of “ Esperanto ” on the score of provincialism seems to us legitimate, but not decisive. Other things being equal, the absolute neutrality of a priori languages is an argument in their favour : but are other things equal ?

Absolute neutrality could be achieved through absolute arbitrariness. Mr. Bollack drew up a list of all pronounceable monosyllabic words containing five letters or less ; then he proceeded, according to his own account, “ to give these empty forms a meaning, like Adam naming the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air.” Thus it was that PNABS came to mean “ abdication ” (why not ?), KRELV “ ablation,” and MROLM “ to be abundant.” It is true that he was often guided in his choice by resemblances with existing languages, especially the Saxon element in English and Parisian slang, both terse and expressive tongues ; but that blemish could easily be corrected. Mr. Hamilton Holt could not

accuse SKOF, SPARF, KVAF, and NABS of being provincial!¹ Such is not, however, the ideal of philosophical languages. Arbitrariness must be eschewed, or reduced to the strictest minimum. Each word, as far as possible, ought to contain its own definition. After a few principles have been mastered, the whole vocabulary would inevitably follow. Two methods are possible to achieve such an end—symbolism and classification.

The first is the method of the chemical nomenclature. With the symbols of the simple bodies, and the ten numerals, all existing bodies can be at the same time represented and defined. With the names of these simple bodies and a certain number of prefixes and suffixes, we can express these formulæ in ordinary language, although chemistry, unfortunately, does not possess a *pasilalia* corresponding to its *pasigraphy*. Supposing we could reduce all the facts of life to a small number of primary ideas: all other ideas could be expressed by a combination of these; each word would contain its analysis into elemental notions, its formula. The limit of simplicity would be reached, it seems, if there were no more fundamental ideas than there are signs in the alphabet; then to spell right and to think right would be synonymous. A magnificent ideal indeed!²

No language based exclusively on this principle has shown any sign of life.³ But we find traces of it in languages of a totally different type. Even in Esperanto, at least in the early days, the author aimed at reducing the number of roots to a minimum: on that basis, all

¹ Yes, he could; for Mr. Bollack uses the provincial West European alphabet.

² In Chinese, the number of signs is excessive, involving extreme difficulties of an intellectual as well as of a material nature.

³ Cf. Blaia Zimondal, Spokil, Programme for the Formation of a Universal Language, by A. T. von Grimm, etc.

the other words were to be self-explanatory. To what extent such an ideal could and should be adhered to is a question which we shall examine in its place. As the sole foundation of a language, it has not been found practicable so far. The first reason is that the philosopher's stone that will transmute all concepts is still undiscovered ; we cannot reduce the number of root words to a few dozens. The number of “ primary ” ideas, so far as we know, is indefinite and may be unlimited. Until we achieve permanent omniscience, the analysis proposed, and the corresponding formula, may be found erroneous, arbitrary, or over-subtle : it is almost bound to appear such in the eyes of the next generation. But, even if we were sure to be right, so complex is the formation of most analysable bodies or concepts that their formulæ would be too complex for practical use. The chemical nomenclature, the model of a “ symbolical ” language, leads to formidable compounds absolutely unsuitable for everyday use—particularly in the organic realm ; and it shows signs of breaking down, even for scientific purposes. It would take a word of a hundred letters to denote “ Baudelairianism.”

Then how shall we select our symbols for the primary ideas ? Dr. Cesare Meriggi, Dr. Nicolas, Prof. Henry Sweet believe that the symbolical value of letters should be determined, as far as possible, by their physiological formation. Prof. Sweet recognizes that such associations, as a rule, are fanciful and vague—their scientific value is not much greater than that of Arthur Rimbaud's famous sonnet on *Vowels*. Yet, he believes that there might be sufficient material to work upon if it were handled in the right spirit. However, it seems that the only way of discovering the “ symbolical ” value of a group of letters is to examine the way in which it was and is used in different languages : thus we are led to the comparative or a posteriori method.

Most philosophical languages, however, abandoning the elusive symbolical principle, are based on classification. According to that scheme, each letter has a numerical, or an ordinal, instead of a symbolical value. The form of the word does not give its analytical definition, but its place in a system of divisions and subdivisions. The method is entirely similar to that of the decimal bibliographic classification : indeed, it would be easy to transform Dewey's into the embryo of a language by giving numerals a phonetic equivalent. According to Sotos Ochando, for instance, *a* indicates inorganic objects, *ab* material objects, *aba* simple bodies or elements ; then we have *ababa*, oxygen, *ababe*, hydrogen, *ababi*, nitrogen, etc., down to *abate*, osmium.

In this case, again, the word tells its own tale—provided you have mastered, and are able to keep in mind, the classification in all its details. If I come across the euphonious word EFAGECO, and if I am acquainted with the simple rules of the game, I know at once that it belongs to the *n*th subdivision of the *n*th class of the *n*th order of the *n*th category. But this is not enlightening, unless I happen to remember the whole classification, or to have a code at hand. Then I would run EFAGECO to earth, almost as rapidly as if I looked it up in an alphabetic dictionary, and be rewarded in the end with the translation—mustard.

Dr. Sweet has put very tersely the chief objections to languages of that kind : to know by heart these endless categories, with their number and their order—for the mastery of such a system involves nothing less—is a task beyond the power of human memory. Even if we should make the attempt, the promised cultural reward would not fall to us ; for the classification is likely to be arbitrary, and scientifically useless, or, at best, it will mirror the science of to-day, and will be a hindrance rather than a help to-morrow. Classification languages,

even more than symbolical languages, are obsolete before they are completed.

But, it might be objected—supposing almost every word had to be memorized separately, without reference to the general scheme—one advantage would remain ours—the quasi-automatic formation of a perfectly neutral vocabulary, which might be as good as any: EFAGECO in Sotos Ochando looks and sounds as well as *mustard* in English. True; and we shall not retort that such a language, considered as an arbitrary code, would be more difficult than an a posteriori language for the most active part of mankind, and would repel through its total unfamiliarity; for such is the price to be paid for neutrality. But apart from this doubtful drawback, a classification vocabulary has a grave defect: words expressing closely related ideas have almost the same form, differing perhaps by their last letter only. EFAGECO=mustard; EFAGECA=radish. Now there is no mnemonic advantage in that, but rather the reverse; it would be exceedingly difficult to remember all these minute distinctions, and confusion would arise, in rapid reading and particularly in conversation. The point is not obvious, and we do not want to emphasize it unduly. But the fact remains that, attractive though the plan may seem, it has never worked well in practice: all philosophical languages have remained elaborate pastimes, logical exercises, rather than useful instruments of intercommunication.¹

¹ Prof. Jespersen relates an interesting episode which took place at a meeting of the Committee for the adoption of an international language: “Dr. Nicolas emphasized as an advantage of his system founded on ‘a priori’ principles, that it was constructed in accordance with a firm grasp of the laws of mnemonics, and therefore was especially easy to remember. Yet he was almost offended when I wished to begin examining him about his own dictionary, and so it appeared that he could not remember the words which he himself had made” (*History of our Language*, London, 1920, p. 8).

Perhaps an exception should be made in favour of a picturesque scheme, Solresol. This language is hoary with age, as such things go: for its inception goes back to 1817, and, on the eve of the Great War, it still had active supporters. The inventor, François Sudre, a music master, was struck with the fact that music was already an international language, and that the notes of the scale were known with a definite syllabic value, viz. *do, re, mi, fa, sol, la, si*, all over the civilized world. With these seven syllables only, he proceeded to make up his vocabulary, according to the principle of classification. Initial *do* indicated a class or key, that of Man, moral and physical; *dodo* gave a subclass, *dododo* a third subdivision, etc. With words of not more than five syllables a goodly dictionary could be composed: arithmetic tells us that we could have 7 monosyllabic words, 49 of two syllables, 336 of three; as for longer words, Sudre was satisfied with 2,268 of four syllables, and 9,072 of five. By shifting the accent from one syllable to another, he formed with a single stem the verb, the noun of the thing, the noun of the person, the adjective and the adverb corresponding to a given idea. Thus the resources of Solresol were practically unlimited, and the author need not have shown his French thriftiness in decreeing that all synonyms and useless figures of speech were to be abolished. With some ingenuity, one could Solresolize Shakespeare.

So far, we have in Solresol nothing but an ordinary "philosophical" language, rather poor in its elements, crudely worked out, and, of course, exceedingly monotonous. But the advantage of limiting ourselves to seven elements will soon be apparent. Solresol lends itself to all possible forms of graphic, phonetic, and optical expression. If you pronounce the seven syllables *do, re, mi, fa, sol, la, si*, in the ordinary way, you can speak the language like any other: *dore do milasi* sounds as

well as “ I do not love.” But you can sing it if you prefer ; you can play it on any instrument, and strum a message to your next-door neighbour under pretence of deciphering a difficult bit of Wagner ; with bells or horns, you can communicate with a ship in distress ; substitute the seven colours of the rainbow for the seven notes of the scale, and you have an optical language, to be *spoken* by means of flags, lanterns, or rockets. Solresol lends itself admirably to shorthand, as only seven simple signs are required. But why use shorthand ? as *do, re, mi, fa, sol, la, si* may be written *d, r, m, f, so, l, s*, anyone could type on an ordinary machine a speech delivered at breakneck speed. It is also an ideal finger language for the deaf and dumb, and provides the simplest raised-point script for the blind. The author does not add that it could also be used as an olfactive or gustative language. In short, it is truly universal in its applications.

Solresol did offer great advantages, were it only as a code of military and maritime signals, and that is why, towards the middle of the nineteenth century, it was examined with more care and sympathy than any other scheme of the same kind. It was favourably reported upon by committees of the French Institute, rewarded in international expositions, endorsed by poets, artists, scientists, and scholars of no mean repute, such as Victor Hugo, Cherubini, Arago, and Emile Burnouf. To-day, many of its adventitious advantages have been rendered superfluous by other inventions, like the telephone and wireless telegraphy. Judged merely as a language, it falls short in every respect. In 1913, there were still a few devotees of Solresol ; the leader of the movement—if the word “ movement ” can be used without irony—M. Boleslas Gajewski, was the son of a collaborator of Sudre himself ; he and his family expressed their willingness to give practical demonstrations of this truly

ingenious and meritorious invention. There is something in Solresol which reminds us strangely of St-Simonism, Fourierism, all the Utopian dreams of a naïve and generous epoch. St-Simon and Fourier, in their wild visions, were at times true prophets: why not François Sudre? We wonder if the great storm has swept away this curious survival of a bygone age? ¹

The patient and ill-rewarded efforts of the Sudre and Gajewski families prove at least that an a priori language—even of the most rudimentary type—is not totally unworkable. The interest shown in the subject by Leibniz ought to prevent us from rejecting the idea absolutely. It was an a priori language that Max Müller had at first in view when he said that it might be made more perfect, more regular, easier to learn, than any of the spoken tongues of man. Who can tell? It is quite possible that some day a classification of ideas will be devised, so simple, so inevitable, that it will be the true scientific basis for a practical language. It is not inconceivable that symbolical associations of permanent value will be discovered between notions and sounds or graphic signs. There may be untravelled seas of thought in that shadowy realm.

Be this as it may, it is manifest that the day of philosophical languages has not dawned yet. This is so evident that some of their foremost advocates recognize the necessity of some provisional solution, less perfect in the abstract, but immediately workable, and adequate for present needs. Leibniz, by the side of his mental arithmetic, which never materialized, admitted a logical simplification of Latin, which in our own days has been resolutely carried out by M. Peano; Max Müller, after praising the a priori project of Bishop Wilkins, expressed himself in favour of the a posteriori method of Dr.

¹ Cf. *Grammaire du Solr  sol*, ou Langue Universelle de Fran  ois Sudre, par Boleslas Gajewski, professeur de Solr  sol, Avenue de St-Mand  , 113.

Liptay, and approved of Esperanto ; one of the latest propounders of a “ philosophical ” scheme, Mr. Hilbe, offers by the side of his “ Zahlensprache ” a provisional a posteriori language ; Prof. Sweet, while affirming that a language based on symbolism and logic would be an aid to accurate thought instead of a hindrance, concludes that, as the need is pressing, some “ rough and ready language ” like Esperanto might profitably be adopted. As we are concerned in this book with a definite and immediate problem, not with vague and remote possibilities, philosophical languages may safely be ruled out of court.

CHAPTER III

VOLAPÜK

THE theoretical opinions of Descartes, Leibniz, Renouvier, Max Müller, which were never embodied into a definite scheme; the elaborate but impracticable attempts of Wilkins, Letellier, Sotos Ochando and a score of others, would have failed alike to convince the world. To Father Schleyer we owe the decisive step in the history of international languages. His Volapük did not remain a paper proposal, a Utopian dream: it was actually used by all sorts and conditions of men. In spite of ultimate failure, that was an object lesson which mankind did not forget. We may believe that earlier schemes, like that of Pirro in 1868, were better worthy of success; we may smile at the clumsiness of the solution; we may be out of sympathy with the policy of the inventor: yet the fact remains—he took a few stumbling steps, whilst others had merely discoursed about the possibility of walking. Professors of aeronautics are already describing with amused contempt the clumsy machines of Santos-Dumont, Wright, and Blériot; yet *they left the ground*, and without the patient, often perilous, gropings and blunderings of these practical experimenters, nothing could have been achieved. Fortunately the earth is not peopled exclusively with “angels who fear to tread,” else no progress whatever could be made. Schleyer is the great *Bahnbrecher*, the blazer of the trail.

Father (later Monsignore) Johann Martin Schleyer, a Roman Catholic priest, who was born, lived and died

near Constance, Baden, Germany, devoted much of his energy to the study of languages, of which he is reported to have mastered some fifty—we have even heard the number eighty-three mentioned by one of his admirers. Work on a universal phonetic alphabet for the transcription of proper names had prepared his mind for the idea of a universal language. He was not merely an amateur linguist of unusual ability, but a man of lofty purpose, intent on serving the cause of peace and human brotherhood. As he lay sleepless one night (March 31, 1879), the idea and the outlines of his Volapük flashed upon his mind, almost like a miraculous revelation. The following year was devoted to the elaboration of the system. Towards the end of 1880, it was given to the world. Then it spread, slowly at first, in the German-speaking countries. In 1884, the inventor was able to convene at Friedrichshafen, on the lake of Constance, a first congress of his partisans. About 1885, Volapük conquered France, whence it radiated all over the world. A second congress, at Munich, in 1887, showed the immense progress of the cause, although dissensions were already apparent. The third congress was held in Paris in 1889 : Volapük was the only medium employed, even by porters and waiters in attendance. At that time, there were 283 Volapük clubs, spread over all the continents ; 316 textbooks had appeared, 182 of them in the single year 1888 ; 25—some say 35—periodicals in or about Volapük were published. The Vice-President of the London Philological Society, Mr. Alexander J. Ellis, F.R.S., reporting adversely on a proposal of the American Philosophical Society, declared that the question of an international language was no longer in discussion, since Volapük was already universally adopted. The infection had caught even Francisque Sarcey, the popular journalist, the incarnation of French common sense. Ernest Renan anticipated, not without melan-

choly, that, "a few generations hence, naught will remain of our writings, but a few selections with interlinear translation into Volapük." The final triumph of the cause seemed at hand.

The success of Volapük is something of a puzzle to us, spoilt as we have been by far better schemes. We find the language neither easy nor beautiful. However, this is a personal impression which may be naught but a sign of our provincialism. Volapük is not easy because it does not resemble the Western European tongues with which we are best acquainted: but the Slavs and the Asiatics are entitled to a different opinion. It is ugly because it looks unfamiliar: but Magyar is fully as strange in our eyes, and the Hungarians call it a noble and beautiful language. We must bear in mind that the world was not ready for a purely a posteriori system, like that of Pirro, which is so modern and so practical in many respects: such schemes were derided as mere caricatures. Compared with Solresol or Sotos Ochando, Volapük was wonderfully easy and natural. It belongs to the class of "mixed" languages, in which borrowed and arbitrary elements are more or less logically combined. We shall not give a full description of Volapük: the subject has no interest except for the historian; besides, textbooks and dictionaries are still frequently found in good libraries. A sketch of the grammar and a few samples of the vocabulary will suffice.

The alphabet was strictly phonetical, each letter representing but one sound, and always the same. It was based on the German alphabet, including the inflected vowels *ä*, *ö*, *ü*, so difficult for English-speaking people. The author departed from German practice in the following cases: *v* and *y* as in English and in French; *h* = German *ch*; *c* = *ch* as in "church" (or *j* as in "judge," for there were some variations); *j* = *sh* as in "she" (*ji-jeval* = mare). Out of consideration for

children, old people, and the Chinese, who, taken together, form the majority of mankind, *r* was, if not totally suppressed, at least very sparingly used. Later, Mgre. Schleyer overcame his dislike for *r*, and *lusan* (Russian) became *rüsan*. We may note in this alphabet the two main difficulties which beset makers of artificial languages : the letter *c* has no international sound, and even no one fixed sound in any national language : it may be equivalent to *k*, *s*, *ts*, *ch*, or *th* ; the sound *sh*, although international and simple, is seldom expressed by a single sign (Fr. *ch*, Eng. *sh* or *ch*, Germ. *sch*), so that we must either create a new letter for it, use a digraph, or arbitrarily express it by means of any letter we may have to spare, as Schleyer did with *j*. The inclusion of the inflected vowels was undoubtedly a mistake. With that exception, the Volapük alphabet was as good as any.

Nouns in Volapük had the following declension :

	Singular.	Plural.
Nominative	DOM, house, the house, a house.	DOMS
Genitive	DOMA	DOMAS
Dative	DOME	DOMES
Accusative	DOMI	DOMIS

The existence of any synthetic declension at all was a difficulty for Neo-Latins and Anglo-Saxons, who have discarded that method of expressing relations. Yet, when we think of the intricacies of Latin and German, with their innumerable, capricious and equivocal case-endings, a perfectly regular declension effected by means of four letters only seems a wonderful simplification.

Adjectives ended in *-ik*, an international suffix ; adverbs in *i* or *o*. The personal pronouns were *ob* (I), *ol* (thou), *om* (he) ; *of* (she), *os* (it) ; in the plural, *obs*, *ols*, *oms*, *ofs*. Purists objected to the regular plural *ob*, *obs*. We know not the plural of *I* : it means you and I, they and I, not I and I. But, according to Mr. A. Meillet, Armenian

has regular plurals for the first two persons, and French for the third : Volapük is justified.

The conjugation was extremely rich, but arbitrary and complicated. To the stem of the verb were post-fixed the different personal pronouns, even though the subject were already expressed otherwise : *löf* = root of verb "to love" ; *löfom*, he loves ; *Abraham löfom*, Abraham (he) loves.

For expressing tenses other than the present, the vowels *ä* for the imperfect, *e* for the preterite, *i* for the pluperfect, *o* for the future and *u* for the anterior future were prefixed to the stem. For expressing moods other than the indicative, the syllables *-la* for the subjunctive, *ön* for the infinitive, *öl* for the participle, and *öx* for the potential, were added to the verbal form. There were no less than three imperative moods : the courteous or softened form in *ös*, or optative, expressing desire ; the simple form in *öd*, or normal imperative ; the harsh form in *öz*, or jussive, expressing positive command. Note that each mood had as many tenses as the indicative. Thus, in a single word, one could express " a positive order given to women and referring to the anterior future "—" Ladies, I charge you to have loved by a certain time " = "*Ulöfofs-öz* !" Initial *P* was sufficient to turn all these different forms into the corresponding passive. Nor is this all : when a verb refers to the habitual performance of an action, this may be indicated by adding the letter *i* (pronounced as a separate syllable) to the tense augment : that is, the "durative" or "frequentative," which modified any of the moods or tenses. Reflexive and reciprocal verbs had, of course, their separate forms. Volapük is an example of the synthetic method run riot. The inventor himself often lost his way in that rank jungle of augments and flexions. A Volapük verb, according to Mr. Karl Lentze, could take 505,440 different forms ! No

wonder that Mgre. Schleyer saw the need of italicizing the stem in such words as *palensumoms*, *liälove-poloböv*, *pasepükomöv* ! In the excessive wealth of its conjugation, Volapük had but one rival, the more or less mythical scheme of good Sir Thomas Urquhart, of Cromartie, Knight, in his *Logopandekteision* : “ . . . In this tongue . . . Verbs, Mongrels, Participles, and Hybrids have all of them ten tenses, besides the present, which number no language else is able to attain to. . . . In lieu of six moods, which other languages have at most, this one enjoyeth seven in its conjugable words.”¹ Sir Thomas is the translator of Rabelais : surely this is what we might call Pantagruelian grammar.

The vocabulary was composed of root-words, derived words, and compounds. The first, according to Col. Chas. Sprague, one of the most distinguished American Volapükists, “ were so chosen that the greatest number of persons might have the fewest unfamiliar words to memorize.”² Here we have a clear statement of the a posteriori method, and of the principle of internationality. Mgre. Schleyer himself stated that “ the Volapük lexicon was based upon the English language, because it was spoken by 100,000,000 people,” and we find in Volapük a number of English words borrowed without modifications, like *bed*, *dam*, *dog*, *frog*, *god*, *gospel*, *if*, *in*, *lip*, *metal*, *pen*, *sin*, *skin*, *tin*, *tip*. Unfortunately most English roots were curtailed or altered according to arbitrary rules. First of all, Schleyer reduced almost all roots to monosyllables ; he suppressed *r* in a large number of cases, and replaced it by several different substitutes, principally *l* ; all words ending in *c*, *j*, *s*, *x*, *z*, had to be modified so as to be able to form their plural in *s*. Certain consonantal groups were tabooed. The result was that fermentation became quite naturally

¹ W. J. Clark, *International Language*, pp. 88-92.

² *Handbook of Volapük*, Introduction.

fem ; a rose was just as sweet under the name *lol* (*r* and final *s* being excluded) ; chamber was *cem*, and friend *flen*. Col. Sprague affirms that 40 per cent. of Volapük roots are of English origin, but 39 out of these 40 have become unrecognizable. How many uninitiated readers would realize that " Volapük " is the Schleyerian transcription of " world-speech " ?

The derived words are formed by means of a large number of affixes with a definite meaning, of indeterminate affixes, and of " characteristic endings." The former are still a favourite method with language-makers ; the latter have been generally abandoned : they are a trace of the classification method of vocabulary building. Thus names of diseases end in *ip*, names of animals in *af*, names of elements in *in*. These endings are not suffixes, but they become part of the stem, which would be meaningless without them. One such ending was affected to parts of the world : *Yulop* being of course Europe, we have *Silop* = Asia, *Fikop* = Africa, *Melop* = America, *Talop* = Australia.

Compounds are formed by simple juxtaposition, as in English (e.g. steamship) or in German. The first word is generally in the genitive (e.g. Volapük). As in German there is theoretically no limit to the number of elements in a compound, and words like *löpikalarevidasekretel* or *klonalitakipafablüdaciſalöpasekretan*, coined by some Volapük wag, were not untrue to the spirit of the language. It is in the composition of words that Mgre. Schleyer showed himself most unfortunately influenced by his native language. In spite of his linguistic attainments, he was not able to get away from German idioms : thus he derives *conductor* from *to create*, because we have in German *schaffen* and *Schaffner* !

We shall conclude this sketch of Volapük by quoting the Lord's Prayer translated into Schleyer's language.¹

¹ From Couturat, loc. cit., p. 141.

*"O Fat obas, kel binol in süls, paisaludomöz nem ola!
 Kōmomōd ^{kinān}monargān ola! Jenomöz vil olik, ās in sül,
 i su tal! Bodi obsik vādeliki givolōs obes adelo! E
 pardolōs obes debis obsik, ās id obs ^{disparados}dipardobs debeles obas.
 E no obis nindukolōs in tentadi; sod āidalivolōs obis de
 bad. Jenosōd!"*

The strangest thing about Volapük was the suddenness of its collapse. In 1888-89, it seemed as though it would conquer the world: in 1890 it was dying. It lingered until the death of its inventor, in the summer of 1911, with the shadow of an academy and the ghost of a periodical. Out of that army that claimed to number a million soldiers,¹ hardly a handful of stragglers are left.

The fate of Volapük shows how useful it would be, and how difficult it is, to read aright the lessons of history. Everybody recognizes that the language is dead, but doctors called to the post-mortem disagree as to the cause of its death. Are all such schemes invariably doomed to the same failure? Was there some inherent defect in the tongue itself which made it impossible for it to live? Shall we lay the blame at the door of its inventor, for his uncompromising attitude? Or shall we make the insurgents responsible for the fiasco, on account of their lack of discipline?

First of all, are all efforts in that direction doomed to the same failure? This is the argument of Prof. Brug-

¹ This claim, often repeated and uncritically accepted by friend and foe, is manifestly extravagant. The enemies of artificial languages exaggerate the success of Volapük, in order to discount the success of Esperanto, to which they predict the same fate; the supporters of artificial languages are apt to inflate the number of Volapükists, in order to show how great the demand was, since even a very crude solution found such wide acceptance. In the heyday of Volapük, Kerckhoffs, its chief propagandist, estimated the number of persons who had studied it at 210,000 (1888), and Col. Chas. Sprague admitted that this evaluation was somewhat too high. Judging by the number of periodicals and societies, and by the attendance at congresses, Esperanto in 1913 had reached at least three times the greatest diffusion of Volapük.

mann, among others: manifestly, the collapse of Volapük has created a strong prejudice against international languages. But this is merely a prejudice, which shows signs of wearing away. There may be an inherent impossibility in the idea of perpetual motion: there is none in the notion of an artificial language. This being the case, it is unscientific to prophesy anything on the strength of a single failure. The Republic failed twice in France before striking root; after many discouraging experiences, the French discovered at last that they were making a success of their colonial empire; or—to use once more our inevitable simile—what a long list of abortive attempts, involving ruin and death, before the recent triumph of aviation! Men have been working on the helicopter for three generations, and no helicopter has yet proved an unqualified success; but no one dares to assert any more that the helicopter is an impossibility.

It is perfectly true that artificial languages, like any new idea, will first attract enthusiasts, cranks, and faddists, worthy people no doubt, but whose adhesion is no guarantee of final success. A new cause is not safe until it has been taken up by practical and even selfish men—men who will not help it unless it helps them. Some of these men, of a liberal turn of mind, are willing to take a reasonable risk: but if they see no profit except in the dim future, no theoretical sympathy will induce them to lend their support to the scheme. Between the moment when a new idea is a fad, and the moment when it becomes a money-making proposition, there is an awkward gap to bridge. Men of the right stuff are needed, enthusiastic, yet sane and patient; practical, yet disinterested. So after the first few years of growth there comes a critical period: Volapük did not survive it. It seemed as though Esperanto had sailed through the worst of the storm, when the Great War set it back.

But the International Language idea, apart from any particular scheme, is no longer the monopoly of dreamers and fanatics : the cool and steady element is already in the majority. So we may reasonably hope that the dispiriting experience of Volapük will not be repeated.

The failure of Volapük was not exclusively due to its inherent faults. Responsible writers have affirmed that the language broke down in practice : the testimony of men who have long ceased to be Volapükists, or who were hostile to the movement, disproves this assertion. It seems well established that, at the last Congress, people from different countries used Volapük freely and fluently, and that they understood one another. Complicated and arbitrary though it is, it is simple and logical compared with any living tongue. For a Frenchman, for instance, it was infinitely easier than German. That Volapük was not impracticable was, after the lapse of twenty years, the verdict of Prof. Henry Sweet, who was totally disinterested in the matter. At the same time, it is evident that the unnecessary ugliness and difficulty of Volapük (from the Westerner's point of view) must have repelled many outsiders and discouraged many sympathizers. A simpler and more beautiful language would probably have been supported with more loyalty and more enthusiasm.

It is obvious that Volapük died of the dissensions among its adherents. But who was responsible for the schism—the inventor, who wished to preserve his absolute authority, or the reformers, who were too radical and too impatient ? It is certain that a genuine language cannot be copyrighted. As soon as it is published it belongs to the world : this Mgre. Schleyer ought to have understood. It is no less certain that unity and continuity are essential to the usefulness and normal development of such a language. Both parties were earnest and meant well. The lesson, as we read it, is

this : the normal life of a language, like that of a nation, is a constant compromise between the conservative and the progressive elements ; evolution means health ; disruption spells death. But schisms and revolutions cannot be avoided, so long as there subsists any trace of sheer arbitrariness. If the norm be given by principles, not by caprice, crises may occur, but they will not prove fatal. Volapük was too much the child of individual fancy. Schleyer owned it, because he had made it in every detail : but the world saw no reason why it should for ever be bound by the *Sic volo, sic jubeo*, of a German parish priest.

There is one way, however, in which Volapük could have been saved : by means of an international, official convention. Hugo Schuchardt, the great Romanic scholar, who believed in artificial languages, but predicted the downfall of Volapük, recognized that, if it were taught in all schools for a generation, its position would be impregnable. It would have become practical and natural through constant use ; its useless complications would automatically have disappeared ; its oddities would have become familiar ; even beauty, the beauty which is never wholly lacking in living organisms, would have crowned it at last. Without official recognition, the fate of the best system is precarious ; with it, any scheme that is not totally unworkable would do well enough. And this perhaps is the most important lesson that we can derive from the strange rise and fall of Volapük.

CHAPTER IV

ESPERANTO: INCEPTION AND STRUCTURE OF THE LANGUAGE

EVEN before Volapük had flashed upon the mind of Father Schleyer, young Louis Lazarus Zamenhof, a student in the Gymnasium (secondary school) of Warsaw, was planning an international language of his own. He was born in 1859, at Bielostok, then in Russian Poland—a city which later achieved tragic notoriety for a terrible pogrom. We of the happier Western world are apt to forget the state of bitter hostility which has for centuries prevailed in Eastern Europe—race against race, language against language, religion against religion. The little Jewish boy saw in his native place a dramatic epitome of this unhappy condition : for Russians, Poles, Germans, and Jews jostled one another in Bielostok, in mutual diffidence and hatred. Thus it was that Zamenhof came to dream of a neutral language, and of a religion of universal brotherhood, the first as a step towards the second. He thought of reviving Latin ; then turned his attention to a philosophical or a priori language ; but it was the study of English that started him in the right direction. The simplicity of English grammar made him realize how useless were such complications as the unnatural genders in German and French ; the English vocabulary showed him that stems of diverse origins could be blended into a harmonious whole. While still at the Gymnasium, he had planned a *Lingwe Universala*, the embryo of our Esperanto, and he had enlisted in its favour the enthusiastic support of his fellow-students. But, during the six years of his university course, he had

to work secretly and alone, sustained by his ideal. By 1885 his task was accomplished ; the problem was to find a publisher. Zamenhof, who had graduated as an oculist, spent two years in fruitless efforts. In 1887 only, a Russian pamphlet appeared in Warsaw, describing "*la Lingvo Internacia de la Doktoro Esperanto*," the international language of Dr. Hopeful. Somehow the author's pseudonym stuck to his dialect : a piece of good luck, for its euphonious and suggestive name is one of the assets of Esperanto.

The scheme, in the author's mind, was merely tentative : Dr. Zamenhof called for suggestions and criticism. But his appeal for collaboration was ignored, for the general public was totally indifferent to such proposals. As for the partisans of artificial languages, they were devoting all their attention to Volapük, then at the height of its success. Thus Esperanto remained unchanged. Several years later, in 1894, Dr. Zamenhof took the initiative of reforms, which he submitted to his followers, through the little magazine *Esperanto*. The result of this plebiscite was negative, and the language was considered as finally settled. From that day to the present it has evolved ; but the deliberate policy of the Esperantists has been to place the fundamentals of their system above discussion. We may therefore, at this point, give a brief sketch of Dr. Zamenhof's remarkable scheme, before proceeding with the story of its hard-fought battles against indifference, rivalries, and secession.¹

¹ Esperanto has been submitted to the most searching criticism : enthusiasts, reformers, and irreconcilable opponents have minutely studied every point about it, from its spelling to its versification : Esperanto philology is already a singularly fruitful branch of science. The general reader is justified in caring little for such special discussion. Anyone interested in what might be called "prospective philology," will find in the appendix a critical comparison of Esperanto, Ido, Interlingua, and Romanal, with bibliographical references.

The study of an artificial language may conveniently be divided into three parts: (1) the grammar, or, if you prefer, the rules of the game—the most arbitrary and by far the least important of the three; (2) the selection of root-words; (3) the formation of derived and compound words.

GRAMMAR: (1) THE ALPHABET

Vowels: *a, e, i, o, u*, pronounced as in German.

Consonants: *b, d, f, k, l, m, n, p, s, t, v, z*, practically as in English.

r pronounced more clearly than in English; if possible slightly trilled.

h slightly aspirate.

c = ts.

ĉ, ĝ, ĥ, ĵ, ŝ, are special to Esperanto. *ĉ = ch* as in "church"; *ĝ = j* as in "judge"; *ĥ = German ch* as in "loch" (rarely used); *ĵ = s* in "pleasure"; *ŝ = sh* in "shall."

When these special accented letters are not available, these sounds are expressed by the following digraphs, in which *h* replaces the circumflex accent: *ch, gh, hh, ĵh, sh*.

Semi-consonants and diphthongs: *ŭ = semi-consonantal u*, somewhat like *w* in English; *ĵ = semi-consonantal i*, like *y* in English.

These two letters form diphthongs with other vowels: viz. *aŭ = ow* as in "how," "cow"; *eŭ = ey-oo* in one syllable, the stress being on the second part; *aj = eye*; *oj = as* in "boy"; *uj = as* in "hallelūja"; *ej = as* in "It will pāȳ you."

Every word is to be read as it is written. The sound of a letter does not change with its position. There might, however, be two ways of writing the same sound: e.g. *c = ts*; *ĉ = tŝ* or *tsh*; *ĝ = dĵ* or *dĵh*.

(2) ACCENTUATION

The accent falls invariably on the last syllable but one : *Esperant'o* ; each vowel being pronounced separately, there are as many syllables as there are vowels : *ne'i*, *famili'o* ; this, of course, does not apply to the semi-consonants *j* and *ŭ*, forming diphthongs with the preceding or following vowels : *ank'aŭ*, not *anka'ŭ* ; *patr'oĵ*, not *patro'ĵ*.

(3) GRAMMATICAL ENDINGS

Endings are practically the whole of the Esperanto grammar ; there are less than a score altogether, including the full conjugation of all active and passive verbs. All nouns end in *o* ; adjectives in *a* ; all derived adverbs in *e* ; infinitives in *i* ; pronouns (except personal pronouns) in *u* ; many prepositions in *aŭ*.

Nouns and adjectives form their plural in *-j* : *la bona patro*, the good father, *la bonaj patroj*, the good fathers. Feminine nouns add *-in* to the masculine : *patrino*, mother. Adjectives take the sign of the plural, but not that of the feminine.

(4) CONJUGATION

There is but one conjugation, which suffers no exception. In each tense, the form remains the same for all persons singular and plural. Twelve endings make up the whole scheme :

i for the infinitive : *ami*, to love.

-as, present indicative : *mi amas*, I love.

-is, past : *ci amis*, thou lovedst (that second person is rarely used).

-os, future : *li, ŝi, ĝi, amos* : he, she, it will love.

-us, conditional : *ni amus* : we should love.

-u, imperative : *vi amu*, love !

-u, subjunctive : *ili amu*, that they may love.

ACTIVE PARTICIPLES

Present : *amanta*, loving.

Past : *aminta*, having loved.

Future : *amonta*, about to love.

PASSIVE PARTICIPLES

Present : *amata*, loved.

Past : *amita*, having been loved.

Future : *amota*, about to be loved.

The only auxiliary is *esti*, to be. By combining the six simple forms of *esti* (*esti, estas, estis, estos, estus, estu*) with the three active participles of a verb, we get no less than eighteen possible compound tenses : e.g. *mi estis amonta*, I was about to love ; *mi estos aminta*, I shall be having loved, I shall be through with it. *Esti* with the three passive participles gives the complete passive voice. Without rivalling the fabulous wealth of the Volapük conjugation, the Esperanto verb is much richer in subtle shades of meaning than the French verb—but in one case there are 12 endings to memorize ; in the other, 2,000 or so.

(5) CASES

There is but one case ending, *n*, which is added to adjectives or nouns to express the accusative : *Mi vidas la belajn librojn*, I see the fine books.¹ This simple device enables Esperanto to avoid many ambiguities which occur in English and French, especially in inversions ; it gives the language such freedom of construction that it is possible to follow closely the word-order of almost any language—even Latin—in an Esperanto

¹ In addition to its ordinary use to denote the direct object, the accusative may also express : (1) motion, direction ; (2) duration of time, or date ; (3) measure of weight, price, length, etc. In these three cases, the accusative in *-n* can always be replaced by a preposition.

version, without endangering the clearness of the rendering.

(6) PREPOSITIONS

All prepositions govern the ^{nominative} ~~accusative~~. Each has a single and definite meaning, instead of being a Jack-of-all-trades like *at* and *to* in English, or *à* in French. If there is any reasonable doubt as to which preposition would be preferable in any given case, there is a skeleton-key or universal preposition, *je*, which can always be substituted for any of the more definite ones.

II. VOCABULARY : ROOTS

According to one of the fundamental rules of Esperanto, all words already common to the principal languages of Europe are immediately adopted in the auxiliary language. The following qualifications, however, have to be borne in mind : (1) the borrowed words are made to conform to the simple rules of Esperanto spelling (*y* becomes *i* or *j*, *ph* = *f*, double consonants are reduced to one, etc.) ; (2) these words receive the characteristic endings *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, to indicate the part of speech to which they belong : thus *opera* becomes *opero*, and *boa* *boao* ! (3) the general rule applies only to root-words. Some derived and compound words are borrowed bodily from the existing tongues ; but in general they are formed according to the autonomous Esperanto system.

The number of words common to all the great languages of Europe is surprisingly large ; but it is not sufficient to constitute a full vocabulary, and, to fill in the gaps, a lesser degree of internationality has to be accepted. In the selection of these roots, Dr. Zamenhof does not seem to have been guided by any clear-cut principle ; his spirit was one of compromise, his method that of individual fancy. There may be a reason for every single form he adopted : but to discover the

reason frequently taxes the ingenuity of the most orthodox Esperantist. A few German and Russian roots seem to have been adopted simply in order to make the whole scheme less completely Neo-Latin ; many words were deformed, so as to be recognizable by people of different nationalities : thus *fajro* is supposed to be a compromise between fire and Feuer.

A small number of purely arbitrary words were also introduced : thus *tuj*, at once. The most frequently used, and most bitterly assailed, of these artificial forms are the "correlative words," pronouns and adverbs expressing relations of time, place, manner, cause, possession, etc. They are found in a highly ingenious table, which seems a survival of the old-fashioned philosophical systems right in the centre of a modern a posteriori language.

In spite of such traces of arbitrariness, the Esperanto vocabulary is intelligible, practically at first sight, by anyone who knows French and German ; 75 to 80 per cent. of the roots can be recognized, without difficulty, by people who know French or English only. The vocalic endings give the language a pleasing sonority ; as these endings are not accented, no monotonousness results from their frequent recurrence.

III. DERIVED AND COMPOUND WORDS

All living languages rely on the formation of words through prefixes and suffixes, or through the juxtaposition of two simpler words. English possesses this faculty to a higher degree than French ; the possibilities of German in that line are almost boundless. In Esperanto, the root-words are but the raw material with which everyone is expected to fashion his own language so as to suit his own fancy. Word-formation becomes a linguistic and psychological game which is both fas-

cinating and instructive. In forming freely new compounds, new associations of ideas become clear to your mind. This advantage is common to practically all artificial languages. The merits of the Esperanto system are its simplicity and naturalness. Most of the prefixes and suffixes used in Esperanto are international ; several, which are arbitrary, are singularly " life-like " and take easily their place in the student's memory (e.g. *eg*, augmentative : *vento*, wind ; *venteto*, breeze ; *ventego*, gale). The only one which is decidedly objectionable is *mal* used to express the reverse of. *Malfermi* conveys the meaning of " to close imperfectly " rather than that of " to open."

Esperanto forms compounds simply by joining two stems or more, the most important coming last. This method, as we know, is used in English (*steamship*), and is carried to excess in German (*Frau Hofhühneraugen-operateurin*). Although there is no rule to that effect, compounds of three stems are rare in Esperanto (e.g. *tagnoktegalco*, equinox), and those of more than three stems are used only when a humorous effect is desired.

The most difficult problem that faces the language-maker is that of derived and compound words. If all international words are adopted bodily, then a regular, simple, autonomous system of word-formation becomes impossible. If the new language forms its own derivatives and compounds according to its own laws, it will have to create artificial words by the side of terms which are universally understood. To take the simplest examples, *virino* and *patrino*, regularly formed from *viro*, man, and *patro*, father, are much less intelligible than *femina* and *mater*. Neither in theory nor in practice has Zamenhof ever taken a clear stand on this question. According to the *Fundamento*, it is allowable both to borrow compounds ready made, when they are already international, or to create them exclusively with

simple Esperanto elements. Esperanto has not followed German into the absurdities of a linguistic Sinn Fein: telephone is *telefono*, not *malproksimenparolilo*, which would be the equivalent of German *Fernsprecher* (far speaker); on the other hand, we have already mentioned *tag-nokt-egaleco*, a logical but cumbrous equivalent for equinox.

As a conclusion of this brief technical survey of Esperanto, we shall give two simple specimens of the language: the Lord's Prayer, and a few lines of poetry. It will be noticed that, in the Lord's Prayer, the Latin order of words is respected—a proof of the flexibility of the new tongue. The poem is unpretentious, but, if read by the right voice, it sounds musical enough. Perhaps this might be true of any poem in any language, even Eskimo or Hottentot—"if read by the right voice!"

"*Patro nia, kiu estas en la chielo, sankta estu via nomo; venu regeco via; estu volo via, tiel en la chielo, tiel ankau sur la tero. Panon nian chiutagan donu al ni hodiau; kaj pardonu al ni shuldojn niajn, kiel ni ankau pardonas al niaj shuldantoj; kaj ne konduku nin en la tenton, sed liberigu nin de la malbono.*"

KREDU! . . .

*Kiam bruas la mar', kiam batas la ond',
Kiam ghemas ventego terura,—
Kredu: venos la hor',—trankvilighos la mond',
Glate estos la maro lazura.*

*Kiam ploras l'anim', kiam premas dolor',
Kiam chia forestas espero,—
Kredu: venos la hor',—kaj pacighos la kor',
Via tute forighos sufero!*

ROMANO FRENKEL.

CHAPTER V

HISTORY OF THE ESPERANTO MOVEMENT

IN the preceding chapter we have discussed Esperanto as if it were a mere project, a theoretical scheme like so many others. But it is the diffusion of Esperanto, rather than any special merit in its grammar or vocabulary, that specially commends the language to our attention. In the enthusiastic words of its supporters, it has become "the living speech of a living people." More soberly, we may say that it is a linguistic experiment, unique alike in duration, extent, and variety.

The history of the Esperanto movement falls conveniently into four periods: we are at the opening of the fifth. The first, from its inception to 1898, was one of obscure and slow progress. A devoted band of Slavs and Scandinavians kept the language alive, and supported a small magazine, *La Esperantisto*, published first at Nürnberg, then at Upsala under the new name *Lingvo Internacia*. Then, in 1898, the French took the lead, and the period of genuine expansion began. Marquis Louis de Beaufront, who, according to his own testimony, had completed a language, *Adjuvanto*, strikingly similar to Dr. Zamenhof's, unselfishly gave up his own scheme, and devoted his energy to the promotion of its better rival. The French Society for the Propagation of Esperanto was founded in 1898; M. Gaston Moch gave a report on the International Language Question at the Eighth Universal Peace Congress (1897); M. Ernest Naville read a paper in favour of Esperanto before the French Academy of Moral and Political Sciences (1899);

the innumerable meetings and conventions held in Paris during the World's Fair of 1900 gave a new impetus to international problems. The Delegation for the Adoption of an International Language was first thought of in 1900, and actually organized in 1901. In the same year, General Sébert, of the French Academy of Sciences, brought the question before the newly created International Association of Academies. The richest and most active private organization in France, the Touring Club, with over 100,000 members, gave Esperanto its powerful support; and the old, conservative, semi-academic firm of Hachette became the chief publisher of the new literature. Thus, from 1898 to 1905, the progress of Esperanto was extremely rapid, and several hundred thousand copies of Chafech's small Esperanto textbook were sold.

The third period, from 1905 to 1914, was one of world-wide development, characterized by the annual International Conventions—the embryonic Parliament of Esperantoland; by the growth of an important periodical press; and by the creation of new organs for the practical application of Esperanto to the needs of commerce, industry, science, and travel. The first of the International Conventions was held at Boulogne-sur-Mer, France, in August 1905; the second at Geneva in 1906; the third at Cambridge in 1907; the fourth at Dresden in 1908; the fifth at Barcelona in 1909—in spite of the revolutionary outbreak which had occurred in that city a few months before; the sixth at Washington, D.C., in 1910; the seventh at Antwerp, in 1911; the eighth at Cracow, Poland, in 1912; the ninth at Genoa in 1913. These conventions were great occasions: they lasted over a week, and attracted up to 1,800 delegates from all parts of the world. Formal speeches, receptions by the local authorities, discussions and special meetings of all kinds, balls and excursions, not

one of the activities of a great international gathering was missing. Three features were particularly noticeable in these nine meetings: Dr. Zamenhof's opening address, a sort of "speech from the throne," defining some aspect of Esperantism as a humanitarian ideal; divine services, both Catholic and Protestant, with sermons in the new language; and the performance of one or more plays, translated from the local tongue and played in Esperanto by an international cast. At Boulogne, amateurs from six different countries, almost without a rehearsal, gave one of Molière's farces with surprising smoothness and homogeneity. At Dresden, a professional company, that of Reicher, rendered Goethe's *Iphigeneia*, translated into stately Esperanto verse by the "Majstro" himself. I am ready to believe that there was some pardonable exaggeration in the glowing accounts of these events given by the Esperanto press, and some childishness or affectation in the "burning enthusiasm" displayed by some fanatical "Sami-deanoj." It is infinitely probable that out of the eighteen hundred people who gathered at Antwerp to attend the seventh congress, quite a number were not able to converse, even on simple topics, in their "kara lingvo," and much less to take part in any serious discussion. All this freely granted, the success of the Esperanto conventions is a fact established beyond doubt, for it is confirmed, reluctantly and unequivocally, by such papers as the Paris *Temps*.¹

¹ It has not been my privilege to attend any of these great meetings; I should like, however, to give a fact of personal experience. In 1910 I had but an indifferent reading knowledge of Esperanto, picked up by a hasty perusal of a short textbook and some desultory browsing in Esperanto magazines; I never had heard Esperanto spoken in my own State, which was at that time California. In the summer, I attended a few meetings of the Central Paris Club, at the Sorbonne; there I heard formal lectures, extempore speeches, reports, casual remarks, and, at the close, general conversation, by Frenchmen, Russians—I recall a young Pope from

The oral use of the language is not, up to the present, the more important. Esperanto is still principally a written tongue. Of the magnitude of its literature, few outsiders form an adequate idea. Some people have a vague notion that there are only a few textbooks in existence, with perhaps half a dozen "faddy" magazines. Now, in 1914 there were over a hundred Esperanto papers: some in Esperanto and a national language, devoted to propagand in a particular country; others entirely in the universal tongue, and dealing with some special subject: *La Revuo* (literary), *Vocho de Kuracistoj* (medical), *Scienca Revuo*, *Internacia Socia Revuo*, *Dia Regno* (Christian Endeavour), *Espero Katolika*, etc. A large number of current periodicals used to print Esperanto articles, as the *North American Review* did for awhile. The volumes of *La Revuo* alone—published in Paris by Hachette, with regular contributions from Dr. Zamenhof—contained a wealth of excellent literature, translated or original, in prose or in verse. No complete bibliography is available to us at the time of writing; but we have a brief *Outline of Esperanto Literature*, published by the Esperanto Association of North America, which contains several hundred titles. We may quote at random *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *Julius Cæsar*, *the Tempest*, and *As you like it*; several books of the Bible—the Psalms in particular are a fine piece of work; six books of the *Æneid*, in metrical translation,

mysterious Siberia—Hungarians, Germans, Dutchmen. I was astounded at their fluency, at the natural sound of their speech, at the similarity of their pronunciation; and most of all, at the fact that I, a novice, understood every word, better than I could understand German after several years of patient study. Then I felt less inclined to deride the boast of the Esperantists: "Ours is the living language of a living people." I do not claim that the same results could not be achieved through another system; but this much at least I may affirm: whoever denies the possibility, the practicability, the facility of the international medium is either hopelessly biassed or woefully misinformed.

singularly sonorous and faithful, almost justifying the claim that Esperanto is "the Latin of Democracy"; a number of Polish novels and plays, some thus made accessible for the first time to the Western World¹; landmarks in the long history of French thought and art, from the *Song of Roland* to Renan's *Life of Jesus*; original romances, including two big thrillers by Dr. Vallienne, highly sensational, even lurid, but written with undeniable verve. Many a dialect, now considered a fair field for a *Dissertatio Inauguralis*, cannot boast of such vast and varied production as the new-fangled language of Dr. Zamenhof.

This is indeed taking the bull by the horns, for literature is the last thing for which an artificial language seems to be fit. It is not claimed that even the best Esperanto works are of commanding value; indeed, the translation of *Hamlet* by Dr. Zamenhof is almost as unsatisfactory as the three or four latest French versions of the same baffling drama. Yet on the whole, the effort is creditable, and well worth while. With its freedom of construction, its unbounded power of word-building, its rich and subtle conjugation, its acknowledged sonorousness, Esperanto is not a literary medium to be despised. Of course, it must lack, so far, the witchery of undefinable suggestion, the elusive charm of reminiscence, echoes within echoes, wherein the latest accents of a great historical language prolong its glorious past. The notes of Esperanto lack harmonics or overtones; but the thought, and more than the thought, the general impression, of a passage can be rendered with unrivalled fidelity. It cannot translate that which is racy of the soil and incommunicable in a natural language; but neither does it substitute for it, as ordinary renderings so frequently do, a false or alien colour

¹ *La Faraono*, by Prus, translated by Kabe (Kasimir Bein), is held to be the masterpiece of Esperanto literature.

scheme. Literature helps make Esperanto richer, more varied, more precise: a young language has to be educated, just like a young mind, and what better means of culture is there than the reverent wrestling with the greatest writers of all ages? It is the struggle between Jacob and the angel, crowned with a blessing. Literature provides abundant and varied reading matter, and reading is the most natural way of learning a written language and of acquiring the proper Sprach-Gefühl. Finally, on account of its very bulk, Esperanto literature becomes an object lesson of the highest significance. "Paul and Virginia" translated into Dilpok proved little indeed: it might be accounted a freak and nothing else. But several hundred volumes of all kinds, translated or composed by scores of authors of all nationalities, carefully published by responsible firms, and appealing to a large public—this indeed is no mere freak. It is a fact which we cannot ignore. Against all sneers, theoretical objections, and criticisms, it proves the soundness of the idea, and the relative perfection of the solution offered.

A third aspect of Esperanto activities was the practical side. Esperanto is no longer an end in itself—a fad or a game: it has already been used in non-Esperanto gatherings, either in connexion with natural languages, as in the Medical Congress of Buda-Pest in 1909, or exclusively, as in two Catholic conventions held in Paris in 1910 and at The Hague in 1911. It has been found useful for tourists, and as such endorsed by the French Touring Club and by Messrs. Thomas Cook. Descriptive pamphlets and catalogues are published in it. Firms like the Manufacture Française d'Armes et de Cycles, of St. Etienne, and the world-famous "Bon Marché" corresponded in Esperanto. A Mr. Parrish pleasantly toured Europe, "boosting" California by means of illustrated Esperanto lectures. The Universal Esperanto

Association (Geneva, Switzerland) devotes itself exclusively to this practical side: Esperanto is not its aim, but its instrument. This Society at the end of 1911 had "1,000 delegates and 736 'consuls,' 158 information bureaux in 885 places and 47 countries; 7,804 individual members; 17 Esperantist Associations were affiliated with it, as well as 266 non-Esperantist societies, groups or firms of all kinds, including the Chamber of Commerce of Los Angeles." The U.E.A. is the nucleus of the Esperanto "supernation," scattered all over the globe, but one in interests and ideals, as it is one in speech.¹

During that period of expansion, Esperanto had to go through a severe crisis—the Ido schism, which will be studied in our next chapter. Its progress was greatly retarded thereby; it was at that time that Col. George Harvey, for instance, withdrew his active support from the cause. Yet the storm was weathered, and the sturdiness of the movement established by the dangerous test. It was expected that the tenth Annual Congress, to be held in Paris early in August 1914, would close the militant age of Esperantism, and herald in its final triumph. Several thousand members were confidently expected. The Municipal Council were planning for Dr. Zamenhof one of those historic receptions which Paris alone can offer to its distinguished visitors. "The best laid schemes of mice and men . . ." In spite of the gathering storm, a number of Esperantists had already found their way to the French capital; Dr. Zamenhof had left Warsaw, when war was declared. The friends and brothers who had been working so cheerfully together in a noble cause were called home to arm, and shoot one another down. Amid the wreckage

¹ A curious sign of this striving for supernational unity was the use of a neutral monetary system—without coinage, of course—devised by M. R. de Saussure in 1908.

of the world's highest hopes lay shattered the endeavours of the Esperantists.

The Great War forms, therefore, the fourth and darkest period of Esperanto history. International meetings were out of the question : the Eleventh Congress, held at San Francisco in 1915, at the time of the Panama-Pacific Exposition, was but a ghost of what such gatherings had been ; no other, even on that limited scale, was possible until 1920. The number of Esperanto periodicals fell from over a hundred to less than thirty. Groups ceased to exist, or were reduced to a state of "suspended activity."

It is curious to note that the language of peace and goodwill was pressed into service by the contending nations. Esperanto must have been a material and spiritual power of some importance, for Germany and France, which had no energy to waste on trifles or dreams, found it worth their while to send forth documents and appeals in the auxiliary tongue. A German-Esperanto-Dienst scattered broadcast Esperanto translations of the daily bulletin of the General Staff ; a fortnightly illustrated review, *Internacia Bulteno, duonmonata informilo pri la milito* spread in many lands the strange concoction known as German truth. On the French side, a committee *Por Francujo, per Esperanto*, published a number of leaflets, and, among more ambitious documents, a *Report on Acts contrary to the Laws of Nations*. Esperanto was used to some extent by the admirable Swiss committees which collected and communicated information about the fate of war-prisoners. So Esperanto, too, is entitled to a war-medal : as a combatant, and chiefly as a victim. Dr. Zamenhof died without seeing the dawn, on April 14, 1917.

But the cataclysm is over. Esperantists, long driven from the city of their faith, are already flocking back ; they are busy exploring the ruins, salvaging, consolidating, rebuilding. Many familiar faces will never be seen

again ; but voices are heard which had been drowned in the uproar for six terrible years. Groups are reconstituted everywhere ; magazines are published anew ; according to Dr. Cottrell, " over seventy are again appearing and almost every week brings word of further resumption of publication or the starting of new ones." ¹ International conventions have been resumed : the twelfth took place at The Hague in 1920, the thirteenth at Prague in 1921.² The land is bleak, the sky stormy, the workers weary and numb with much sorrow : yet across this desolation there rings a message of cheer. For the war has shaken many minds out of their lazy scepticism. It is now understood that the advocates of " Real-Politik " were Romanticists of the most dangerous sort, who claimed to be practical only because their dreams were nightmares. " Utopia or Hell " is our choice, and sane, substantial men are everywhere devoting their efforts to the peaceful organization of the world. The Esperanto movement is profiting by this new state of mind. It has recently received the endorsement of such men as Henry Barbusse and Romain Rolland, leaders of the radical wing of the French Intellectuals ; but it has also enlisted the support of the great Oxford scholar, Gilbert Murray, and of a growing number of business men, scientists, and statesmen. On February 9, 1921, the Chamber of Commerce of Paris, adopting the conclusions of a report by M. André Baudet, decided to introduce the study of Esperanto in the schools which it maintains in the French capital. The Associations of Engineers in the service of the French State and of the city of Paris passed a strongly worded resolution in favour of Esperanto. This resolution was

¹ *Circular of the Committee on International Auxiliary Language, International Research Council.* Cf. p. 186.

² According to *Franca Esperantisto* (Sept.-Oct. 1921) 2,661 members registered for the Congress, and 2,300 were in actual attendance.

reproduced and signed by a number of members of the French Academy of Sciences. The Tenth International Conference of Red Cross societies, meeting at Geneva, on the motion of a Chinese delegate, Dr. Wong, voted "that all Red Cross organizations be invited to encourage the study of the auxiliary language Esperanto among their members, as one of the most efficient means of mutual understanding and international co-operation in the field of Red Cross activities." A resolution favourable to Esperanto was introduced by Senator Lafontaine before the first Assembly of the League of Nations. It was supported by men whose names stand very high in the world of international politics; and the ironical remarks of a French delegate, M. Gabriel Hanotaux, failed evidently to represent the general opinion of the assembly.¹

Perhaps the most significant of the recent steps in favour of Esperanto is the following resolution, voted by the Congress of International Associations, which met at Brussels in September 1920: "Recognizing the

¹ At the nineteenth plenary meeting, the following proposal (A.D. 194) was made by Messrs. Octavio (Brazil), Restrepo (Columbia), Doret (Hayti), Lafontaine (Belgium), Huneeus (Chile), Wellington Koo (China), Lord Robert Cecil (South Africa), Schanzer (Italy), the Maharaja of Nawanagar (India), Benès (Czecho-Slovakia), and the Emir Zoka ed Dowleh (Persia), and referred to the Second Committee:

"The League of Nations, well aware of the language difficulties that prevent a direct intercourse between the peoples and of the urgent need of finding some practical means to remove this obstacle and help the good understanding of nations, follows with interest the experiments of official teaching of the international language Esperanto in the public schools of some members of the League, hopes to see that teaching made more general in the whole world, so that the children of all countries may know at least two languages, their mother-tongue and an easy means of international communication, and asks the Secretary-General to prepare for the next Assembly a report on the results reached in this respect."

At the final meeting of the Assembly, the previous question was moved by M. Hanotaux, and carried, so that the motion was defeated. On Sept. 13th, 1921, Senator Lafontaine's motion was introduced again, and carried.

ever-growing need for an auxiliary language, the World Congress of International Associations expresses the desire that every person who is convinced of such a necessity adhere to the important Esperanto movement, deferring all improvements which may be deemed necessary until the moment when the language has been officially adopted by the governments."

Here we have a clear statement of two facts, both of commanding importance for the future of the movement. First of all, for the general public, "international language" and "Esperanto" are synonymous terms. Esperanto is, therefore, the standard bearer of all "interlinguists," even of those who may happen, like the present writer, to prefer a different scheme. Every inch of ground lost or gained by Esperanto is lost or gained for the general cause.

The second fact is that the practical world will never look favourably upon any project which is still in the making, which has remained purely theoretical, or whose partisans are torn by constant dissensions. What is needed at present is an instrument of demonstration, a system actually at work, one which has given proofs of stability. The vote of the Brussels Convention is the most definite endorsement, not so much of Esperanto itself, as of the cautious and practical policy which has been followed by the Esperantists for a quarter of a century. "Primo vivere : deinde philosophari." The chief point of interest about Esperanto is not whether its alphabet could be improved, or whether *amikoj* sounds better or worse than *amikos* or *amiki* ; it is the fact that Zamenhof and his disciples have actually created a living language. This fact few people interested in the question are ready to controvert. The problem is : How was the miracle effected ?

We propose—tentatively, of course—to classify the conditions of language-life under four heads :

(1) Impersonality : a project cannot become a real language until it has passed beyond the stage of being one man's invention, or the property of a small group ; it must be so widely and freely diffused as to be totally independent of a few leaders.

(2) Conservatism : there must be among the people who speak it a tendency to take it for granted, just as it is ; a sufficient feeling for it that any arbitrary tampering would be resented, even if such tampering should result in obvious improvements. A nation, a constitution, a church, a language, that could be thrown every day into the melting-pot, and altered to suit the latest fashion in logic and taste, would be in a very dangerous way indeed. A healthy conservatism is the surest sign of normal life.

(3) But such conservatism must be compatible with the possibility of indefinite growth or improvement : no man, no organization, no book, no tradition, has a right to say : this far and no farther.

(4) Finally, a living language must have a cultural basis ; it must be the symbol of a civilization, not merely the expression of actual needs. In some undefinable manner, it must be in tune with some deep, common aspirations of the men who speak it.

Now, it is manifestly difficult for an artificial language to meet these four conditions. Most of the schemes proposed are one man's invention ; and even those which, like Neutral, Ido, Interlingua, present themselves as the collective work of some " Academy " bear very strongly the mark of one master mind—Rosenberger, de Beaufront, Peano. Indeed it is doubtful whether a committee, unless it were so guided, could elaborate any system at all, for a language is a work of art as well as of science, and, in its main lines, it requires unity of inspiration, purpose, and method. Esperanto, in its structure and general aspect, is the work of Dr. Zamenhof

alone, just as Volapük was the work of Mgre. Schleyer. But, for one thing, Esperanto being much more a posteriori, much less arbitrary than Volapük, is also much more impersonal. Then, whilst Schleyer refused to relinquish a particle of his absolute authority over the child of his brain, Zamenhof, early in the history of the movement, emphatically and repeatedly disclaimed any special ownership of Esperanto. Especially after the Boulogne Congress, he became an Esperantist like any other ; the title of " Majstro " that users of his language were wont to give him was a term of gratitude which implied no special rights. And the authority which he had thus abdicated was not given to any institution or group of men : Esperanto belongs to all Esperantists. We shall see later by what means this " anarchy " was reconciled with law and order.

Conservatism is essential in a language : for a language is not an individual, but a social, instrument ; its value depends more on its wide diffusion, unity, and permanence than upon its intrinsic perfection. You may discard at any moment your typewriter for a more efficient model : but the users of automatic telephones in cities where the standard Bell system was strongly intrenched felt very lonesome at times, and soon gave up the attempt of being so far ahead of their fellow-men. When the progressive element among the Volapükists, driven to a schism by Schleyer's uncompromising attitude, began reforming the language without any regard for its continuity, Volapük died in a few years. Their amended scheme was vastly superior to the first, but as they kept altering it, no active propagand was possible, no practical use could be made of such an unstable instrument. Who will waste his time on a project which, under pretence of improvements, may be discarded by its very promoters before you have fully mastered it ? It is therefore necessary to find, in an artificial language, an equivalent

for the inertia which prevents a living language, even at the most critical period of its history, from changing too radically within a few decades. This equivalent, at the present stage of Esperanto, is provided by "loyalty to the *Fundamento*."

This *Fundamento* is a small book containing the first vocabulary of the language, the sixteen rules of grammar and a few exercises. This is the law and the prophets, and is to be considered as "inviolable" (*netushebla*). Everything that is contrary to the *Fundamento* is not Esperanto; everything that is added to the *Fundamento*—even if it were by Zamenhof himself—has no authority whatever, until it passes into common usage, and, as such, is sanctioned by the Academy. Here we have indeed an artificial element: no natural language is thus bound to one brief text, considered as a norm for all later writings. But every natural language is bound, and, in some cases, bound very fast, to a whole literature, to certain classics, to Shakespeare, to the Bible. We have no English *Fundamento*, but we have hundreds of school-books which make it exceedingly difficult for us to correct even the smallest and most manifest blemishes in our native tongue. No artificial language that aspires to general adoption could do without such a *Fundamento*, although it might profitably be made somewhat shorter and correspondingly more elastic than Zamenhof's. A *Fundamento* is akin to the written constitution which, in a newly created state, serves in lieu of immemorial custom and jurisprudence. As the language grows and spreads, natural conservatism develops, born of inertia, sentiment, and self-interest. The first partisans of any scheme are enthusiasts, and enthusiasm is frequently fickle; the later converts, more practical, have more staying qualities. Indeed, if the Boulogne Declaration which proclaimed the *Fundamento* inviolable were to be repealed to-morrow;

if the *Fundamento* itself were destroyed—the spirit of these two documents would go marching on, because there are thousands of people devoted to “*nia kara lingvo*,” and hundreds of authors, publishers, lecturers, and professors for whom any radical change would mean a serious loss.

The danger, indeed, lies in the other direction: if conservatism is essential to life, so is progress; and how can progress be reconciled with the inviolable authority of one fundamental document? The *Fundamento* is a norm; but it is by no means limitative. Everybody is free to introduce new words into Esperanto; either compounds formed with the elements found in the *Fundamento*, or words borrowed from a foreign language, or even arbitrary creations. Esperanto, in this respect, is fully as hospitable as English, and much more so than French.¹ If the new word is adequate—that is to say, necessary, clear, and euphonious—it will spread by natural imitation, and in due course of time it will be officialized by the Academy, whose rôle is the same as that of the Académie Française. If two words are proposed for the same idea, they will simply fight it out. Perhaps the neologism will never be recognized; perhaps the older one will become archaic, and, when grown manifestly obsolete, will be dropped from the dictionary of the practical language; perhaps both will survive, each specializing in a slightly different meaning. At no time will there be any break in the development of the language, and never any arbitrary intervention: life alone will shape the destinies of Esperanto. Thus we have a growth, instead of a bewildering and discouraging succession of reforms and of brand-new schemes, each

¹ According to the sixteenth rule of the *Fundamento*, all words common to the most important European languages can be used in Esperanto, with the only precaution that their spelling be made to conform to Esperanto practice.

infinitely better than the last in the conceit of its inventors, each doomed to the scrap-heap after a season. Thus is reasonable liberty reconciled with the paramount necessity of intercomprehension, of unity through time and space.

Esperanto, compared with other schemes, owes its success partly to its qualities as a language, which are great, but not unique ; partly to its wise tactics of sacrificing theoretical perfection to unity and continuity ; but most of all to an elusive virtue which many of its critics fail to comprehend : its spirit, or better, its soul.

Esperanto is a language, nothing but a language, and disclaims any other purpose¹ ; but it has what Dr. Zamenhof called an " inner idea," or an ideal, the ideal of human brotherhood. This is the reason why a mere language rouses positive fanaticism, as though Esperantism were indeed a religion.² It is the bond of union of the " Esperanto people " ; it makes them indeed a " supnation," the embryo of the pacific world-state of the future. This gives a meaning to their flag, white with the green star of hope ; to their anthem, L'Espero ; to their yearly gatherings, celebrations of peace and brotherhood. Men of all races and religions have communion in that spirit, strong and broad enough to give the language, with a cultural basis, some of the emotional qualities found in the best national tongues. Esperanto is the linguistic manifestation of the spirit of the modern world, practical and idealistic at the same time, the spirit of free co-operation without privileges and without violence. Rivals and outsiders may sneer at the childishness of some of the manifestations of Esperantism ; but unless they catch some of its mission-

¹ Cf. Boulogne Declaration, 1905, the charter of Esperanto.

² Cf. Dr. Zamenhof's speeches at the Congresses of Geneva, 1906, and Cambridge, 1907 ; also his paper read before the Races Congress 1911.

ary fire, their own projects will remain philological pastimes instead of living realities. Esperanto, totally independent from any individual authority, with its healthy resistance to sudden change and its power of autonomous growth, with its manifold practical applications and its high ideal, possesses in a marked degree many of the characteristics of a "natural" language.

But the chief claim to greatness of Dr. Zamenhof probably lay therein, that his "Esperantism" transcended Esperanto itself. He had given his language to the world, but whether the final solution be his own scheme entire, or his system thoroughly amended, or a new invention altogether—that was for him a matter of comparative indifference. His conservatism did not represent his own judgment in linguistic questions; he had proposed radical changes in 1894. It was a practical policy, and a provisional one. The *Fundamento* was to guide all partisans of an international language, strong because united, to the threshold of official recognition. As soon as prejudices had been conquered, as soon as the whole problem had been taken in hand by an indisputable authority, the movement would enter into a new phase. No such authority vouchsafed any attention to his project in his lifetime; and Esperanto remained faithful to its cautious policy. But we can imagine Zamenhof appearing before a committee of the League of Nations; and, if the principle for which he contended had won the day, we feel confident that, with his unrivalled experience, he would himself have pointed out, modestly, candidly, the flaws of his primitive scheme. "The *Fundamento*, even with its misprints!" was for him an expedient, not an article of faith. We can only hope, when the day he had prophesied dawns at last, that his disciples will be loyal, not to the letter of the Boulogne Declaration, but to the spirit of Zamenhof.

CHAPTER VI

THE NEO-ROMANIC GROUP: IDIOM NEUTRAL, PANROMAN, ETC.

THE schemes which have been studied so far were the inventions of brilliant individuals. Both Schleyer and Zamenhof were good practical linguists, but neither of them had received any special training in philology. Both of them had formulated the principle of greatest internationality for the selection of root-words; but both had applied that principle with the utmost freedom—picking words at random, deforming them to fit in with their system, or to suit their own sweet will. The projects which we are going to examine in this chapter and the next are, on the contrary, the results of collective efforts. Among the workers were found experts in the sciences which are needed in language-building—logic and philology. Their efforts were guided by definite principles, applied “without fear or favour.” With these schemes, we pass from the heroic period of gifted, slap-dash, adventurous pioneers to the duller period of sober and solid investigation. The result is a manifest convergence of all lines of approach, which augurs well for ultimate success. The problem has not been solved, but it has been defined. Even though the concrete proposals before us are by no means final, the proper method is being evolved, and valuable facts are accumulated.

Volapük, as a live issue, disappeared about 1890; Esperanto, first published in 1887, did not attract much attention until the closing years of the nineteenth century. Thus there was a decade of interregnum

during which the general public relapsed into its customary indifference. But these years of recuperation after a great defeat were not wasted for the cause; inventors, undaunted, were at work devising or perfecting numerous schemes, of which a tentative list will be found in the Appendix; the true principles of the future international language were patiently thrashed out. About 1900, Esperanto took a decided lead over all other projects and became in the popular mind THE successor to Volapük. But its success did not discourage competition. On the contrary, new rivals cropped up every year, all deeming themselves superior to Esperanto, since they had come later and profited by its experience. Many of these were more or less fanciful, like the "Blue Language," for which the personality of its author, M. Léon Bollack, won a certain notoriety. But some are remarkable in their way, and mark, in a certain direction, a decided advance over Esperanto. These are the purely a posteriori schemes, which claim the greatest possible degree of naturalness and immediate intelligibility.

Schleyer and Zamenhof, as we have seen, had indicated the a posteriori principle, but neither of them had unequivocally stated it, or systematically carried it out. The fathers of the new school were Messrs. Julius Lott and Alberto Liptay. The former, a prominent Austrian Volapükist, came to realize that Schleyer's scheme was too arbitrary, that a "compromise tongue," a lingua franca, a sabir, was the simplest solution; and that such a "pidgin-European" would of necessity be Neo-Latin. The result was his *Mundolingue*, often worked over, from 1889 to 1900. Señor Liptay, a surgeon in the Chilean navy, but engaged in journalistic work in Paris, surveyed all existing projects and condemned them as too artificial; he made an exception in favour of Lott's *Mundolingue*, and offered his sketch of a

“Catholic”—i.e. universal—language. The only originality of his plan, he said, was to be devoid of originality. The international language already exists—it is latent in the common elements of the various national tongues. It has to be “discovered, not invented.” Unfortunately, Dr. Liptay did not offer any definite and complete solution of the problem. Discovery may be as tedious and as dangerous a process as invention.

Max Müller, who praised in turn every conceivable scheme, from that of Bishop Wilkins to Esperanto, wrote to Dr. Liptay: “What you have now to do is to work out a complete dictionary.” These words became the motto of Mr. W. Rosenberger; Dr. Liptay had asserted that there were some ten thousand international words in existence: Rosenberger, not satisfied with an empty affirmation, had no rest until he had gathered them all in the vocabulary of his “Idiom Neutral.” The new language, based on a careful comparison of all previous projects and a patient study of natural tongues, the collective labour of a whole “Academy” for over ten years, embodies the greatest effort made at that date towards the final solution of the problem.

For although Mr. Rosenberger was the principal author of Neutral, he was not its sole inventor, as Schleyer of Volapük, or Zamenhof of Esperanto. As Director or Vice-Director, he was the moving spirit of the *Kadem bevünetik volapüka*—later *Akademi Internasional de lingu universal*. That body was created at the Second Volapük Congress, in Munich (1887), and completed at the Third Congress, in Paris (1889). It elected as its first President M. Kerckhoffs, the most active propagandist of Volapük, and the leader of the reform movement. Mgre. Schleyer wanted to reserve to himself the right of absolute veto in all linguistic questions: the Academy was not willing to grant him more

than a suspensive veto. The Inventor (*Datuval*) excommunicated the Academy, which, however, refused to submit. He founded a new one, more orthodox and docile, which, for aught we know, may still be slowly dying—if a thing can die that has never shown any sign of life. Meanwhile, the “Protestant” Academy was in its turn rent by dissensions, and Director Kerckhoffs had to resign, having compassed nothing but the death of Volapük. It was under these discouraging circumstances that Mr. Rosenberger, a Russian engineer, was elected to the Directorship in 1893. He practically, although not officially, brushed away the débris of old Volapük; in a series of circulars, he submitted to his fellow academicians a number of principles, grammatical rules and word-stems, which formed the embryo of a language. In 1898, the new Director, Rev. A. F. Holmes, of Macedon, New York, took the decisive step, and adopted the new “Lingu Internasional,” or “Idiom Neutral,” as the official language of the Association. In 1903, the project was at last published in German, English, and Dutch.

Idiom Neutral is entirely based on the principle of greatest internationality, at least so far as root-words are concerned. In the circulars of the Academy, every word proposed is followed by several of these initials: D., E., F., I., R., S., L., which stand for German (Deutsch), English, French, Italian, Russian, Spanish, and Latin. Heavy type indicates identity between the Neutral form, and that of the same word in a national language; ordinary type indicates mere resemblance. Many words are followed by all seven initials; most of them by at least four. The result is a vocabulary almost exclusively Neo-Latin, and much more Romanic than that of Esperanto.¹ This is all the more remarkable as there

¹ E.g. nav- instead of ship-; vulner- instead of vund-; sembl- instead of shajn-.

were few representatives of the Latin nations in the Akademi, whereas Teutons, and, strangely enough, Americans, were quite numerous.¹

Not only the most international words were selected, but the most international form of the stems; these were adopted without arbitrary modifications, and were altered only in order to conform to Neutral spelling. Idiom Neutral attempted to effect a compromise between visual and auditive internationality: the borrowed words should, as far as possible, be recognizable by the ear as well as by the eyes. Thus "cent," which according to the Neutral alphabet would have been pronounced *chent*, had to be changed to "sent."

Compounds were formed as in English, German, and Esperanto, but they were far less numerous than in the last two languages. There were thirty-three prefixes and twenty-five suffixes. It was understood that each stem and each affix had one unchangeable meaning, and one only. Derivation was thus much simpler, more logical, more regular than in natural tongues. Neutral derivatives frequently coincided with natural derivatives, since stems and affixes alike were chosen among the most international. But, when an autonomous Neutral formation was too radically different from a well-known natural derivative, the two words were admitted side by side. Thus we find both *infektasion* and *infeksion*, *anuik* and *anual*, *equalifikar* and *equalisar*.²

There was no constant ending to distinguish, as in Esperanto, a noun, an adjective, or the present indicative of a verb. Gender was indicated by final *o* and *a* when necessary; plural by *i*. The adjective remained invariable, unless it were used as a substantive. There

¹ In 1903: 1 Belgian, 2 Danes, 4 Germans, 1 Englishman, 3 Italians, 2 Dutchmen, 2 Russians, and 6 Americans.

² These irregular words were known as "paroli makensenik," from Academician Mackensen, of San Antonio, Texas, who proposed their use.

was no article, either definite or indefinite. All derived adverbs ended in *e*, derived prepositions in *u*—probably a trace of Esperanto influence. The conjugation was as follows: *am*, stem of verb to love; Infinitive, *amar*; Indicative (present), *Mi am*; Imperfect, *Mi amav*; Perfect, *Mi av amed*; Pluperfect, *Mi avav amed*; Future, *Mi amero*; Anterior Future, *Mi avero amed*; Conditional, *Mi amerio*; Past Conditional, *Mi averio amed*; Imperative, *ama, amate, amam*. Participles, *amant, amed*. The passive was formed by means of *esar* (to be) and the past participle.

Such were the outlines of Neutral in 1903, after ten years of patient labour. But Mr. Rosenberger did not rest satisfied; in 1907–8, in collaboration with Mr. de Wahl, he reformed the language in several respects, making it ever more natural, more *a posteriori*, at the expense of regularity. The two versions of the Lord's Prayer (1903 and 1907) will give an idea of the two stages of Neutral development:

“*Nostr patr kel es in sieli ! Ke votr nom es sanktifiked ; ke votr regnia veni ; ke votr volu es fasied, kuale in siel, tale et su ter. Dona sidiurne a noi nostr pan omnidiurnik ; e pardona (a) noi nostr debti, kuale et noi pardon a nostr debtatori ; e no induka noi in tentasion, ma librifika noi da it mal.*”¹

1907 : “*Nostr patr, qui es in cieli ! Que votr nom es sanctificat ; que votr regnia veni ; que votr voluntat es facit quale in ciel tale anque su terr. Dona nos hodie nostr pan quotidian ; e pardona nos nostr debti quale anque noi pardona nostr debenti ; e non induca nos in tentasion ma librifika nos da it mal.*”²

No one can doubt the permanent value of the work performed by the Akademi. In many respects we feel that it has built on the rock. Or, in the words of Prof.

¹ Couturat et Leau, op. cit., p. 496.

² *Progres*, Anu II. 55.

Peano, the author of a rival scheme, no new international language (on the a posteriori principle) can be different from Neutral, except in the same way as two good scientific treatises on the same subject are apt to differ; details of method and presentation may vary, the essentials remain the same.

We should not, however, be awed by the prestigious word Academy: the "Akademi de Lingu Internasional," purely Volapükist at first, became later a self-recruiting body, and represented nothing but itself. It had on its roll a number of earnest men, of no mean linguistic ability, very much versed in the special problem under consideration—*Fachmänner* in the true sense of the term: yet not one was a philologist of note.¹ In the selection of roots, Mr. Rosenberger and his associates have done work that can hardly be improved upon: but, on almost every other point, spelling, grammar, derivation, Neutral does not impress us as a final solution. Good materials, poor workmanship. A language, in order to be attractive, must be a work of art as well as the result of painstaking research—apparently there was no artist among the Academicians.

Reformed-Neutral of 1907 looked more natural than the primitive form. The restitution of international *c* wherever it had been replaced by *s* or *k* greatly improved the appearance of the language. But one of the most obvious blemishes of the Idiom was not corrected: the accumulation of final consonants as in *nostr*. Such combinations are unpronounceable for a number of Europeans; faint vowel sounds are sure to be inserted: it would have been wiser for the creators of the language to introduce such vowels themselves, for the sake of euphony. Neutral looked curiously mutilated, incomplete, "unconvincing." The shock which the most conservative among us received when they first came

M. Monseur, of Brussels, took great interest in the work of the Academy.

across the word *thru* is experienced three times in every line when reading Neutral.

Neutral of 1903 still retained the principle of autonomous word-formation ; but the " Paroli Makensenik " introduced an element of complication and irregularity. In 1907, logic, simplicity, regularity have decidedly lost the battle ; the new dialect strives to be a posteriori in every detail ; it models itself slavishly on the natural Neo-Latin tongues. As a result, it may be easier to read at first sight by men of the Latin, or Anglo-Latin, group of culture. But it is correspondingly more difficult to write. We believe that this evolution defeats its own purpose. In the attempt at being too natural, Neutral constantly challenges comparison with French, Italian, or Spanish and, in that light, it seems unpleasantly artificial. The autonomous quality of Esperanto, on the contrary, soon carries you into Esperantoland.

Fully appreciated by competent judges,¹ Idiom Neutral never achieved a corresponding degree of popular success : it remains the " Illustrious Unknown " among artificial languages. The reason is not far to seek : Neutral came at the most inopportune moment. Had the Akademi been a little more active, a little less conscientious perhaps, the language could have been made public much earlier, about 1898, before Esperanto had taken such a tremendous lead. In 1903, Esperanto was no longer a project, but a fact ; it could not be displaced except by something immeasurably superior. Now the superiority of Neutral is by no means obvious. Scholars will appreciate the fact that it is less arbitrary than Esperanto ; but the average man, for whom artificial languages are meant, will be chiefly struck by the fact that it is less logical and less harmonious. Shall we say that it lacks the subtle quality, the power of arousing

¹ Cf. Prof. H. Sweet's article on Universal Languages in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

sympathy, the touch of genius which so many have claimed to feel in Zamenhof's language? The most impartial judges would say that the advantages of Neutral were not such as to justify a perilous shift from one scheme to the other.

Neutral as a separate project has practically disappeared: many of its supporters rallied to Ido; others began working on independent lines; in 1908, when Prof. Peano became Director of the Academy, his own system, *Latino sine Flexione*, politely elbowed Idiom Neutral out, just as, ten years before, Neutral had gently eliminated Volapük; thus the priest of Nemi who attained the sacerdoce only by slaying his predecessor. *Kadem bevünetik volapüka* had become *Akademi de Lingu Internasional*, and finally changed its title to the present *Academia Pro Interlingua*. Neutral remained the exclusive, personal property of its chief author, Mr. Rosenberger, whose death, in December 1918, ended a long story of scholarly efforts and undeserved failure.

All the languages based on the principles of Lott and Liptay could not fail closely to resemble one another. Indeed, all these schemes are "concourants plutôt que concurrents," converging rather than competing, and they may be considered as the various dialects of one common Pan-European tongue. It was realized that a union of all of them could easily be effected, whenever such a step should be deemed advisable. Among these were Lott's *Mundolingue*, Püchner's *Nuove-Roman*, Kürschner's *Lingua Komun*, Molenaar's *Universal*. Their common organ was *Idei International*, *Revue in Lingua European*, edited by M. Bonto van Bylevelt, in a sort of heterodox Neutral, and open on equal terms to the whole family of artificial Neo-Latin languages. We must say that if the contributors had positive principles

in common, they were also united by their animosity against Esperanto, their successful rival. This inevitable sentiment of jealousy, embittered by the illiberal and contemptuous attitude of some Esperantists, blinded them to the genuine merits of their fortunate competitor, and to the splendid services which it was rendering to the general cause. Language-makers, after all, are human, all too human.

These a posteriori languages are all of the Neo-Latin types: but all did not reach that result by the same road. Some started from the principle of internationality applied to every separate word, without barring in advance Slavonic or Germanic elements: it so worked out that the vocabulary arrived at was almost exclusively Romanic, but such was not the deliberate intention of the authors. To this class belongs Idiom Neutral, especially in its earlier form. Other inventors took this first result as their starting-point; since the new language is bound to be predominantly Romanic, why not "make it unanimous," and construct it entirely with materials borrowed from the living Neo-Latin tongues? Of these, the best type is Panroman or Universal. A third group started not from the modern Romance languages, but from classical Latin, simplified, modernized, but still recognizable. The chief of these projects is Peano's *Latino sine Flexione*, and the *Academia Pro Interlingua* is the rallying-point of the partisans of "Latin up-to-date."

We should like to dwell for a moment on the activities of Dr. H. Molenaar, the author of Panroman-Universal. There are few more versatile men than this German Positivist, Humanitarian, and concocter of languages. He is a Pacifist, the founder of an ill-fated Franco-German League, and he has more than once redistributed the countries of Europe according to his latest "discovery"; he is likewise a rabid anti-vaccinationist, like

G. B. Shaw ; on the whole, an interesting personality with a touch of scholarly asperity in his controversies. It was M. Bollack's Blue Language that attracted his attention to the problem ; he was not then acquainted with any other scheme, except, in a superficial way, with Volapük and Esperanto. He wrote his first sketch of Panroman without having heard of Neutral : the similarity between the two dialects is therefore extremely striking. Of this family likeness, the following specimen will enable the reader to judge :

"Nor patr qui es in ziel : ton nom ese sanktifiket. Ton regn vene. Ton voluntat ese fakat in ziel kom in ter. Done nos hodi nor pan quotidian. Pardone nos nor debeti, kom nos pardon nor debetori. E non induke nos in tentazion, ma libere nos da mal."

Panroman (the name was later changed to Universal) has the same qualities and the same faults as Neutral. Even more than Neutral, it is intelligible at first sight for anyone who knows French or Italian—preferably both. Even more than Neutral, it strikes a born Neo-Latin as ugly, with its initial *z* (*ziel*), its numerous *k* and its harsh consonantal endings (*patr*, *regn*). It has also that close-cropped air, which caused it to be compared to a musician just out of jail, or, more poetically, to a cathedral after an iconoclastic riot.¹ Even more than Neutral, it constantly recalls to the reader's mind an existing national language, and, of course, suffers by the comparison.

Dr. Molenaar is a good European, but he is likewise a thorough German, with the German prejudice in favour of a homogeneous vocabulary. A mixed language like

¹ Dr. Molenaar is very proud of the "spareness" of his language ; even the tersest of philosophical tongues, Pan-Kel, is not always briefer than Panroman ; the other a posteriori schemes are 10 or even 20 per cent. longer. We are not convinced, however, that excessive brevity is an advantage for an artificial language—fuller forms have a better chance of being understood.

Esperanto is in his opinion a hotch-potch, hideous and barbaric. But he is clear-sighted and consistent enough not to shrink from the conclusion that these damnatory words apply to English as well as to Esperanto. No one will feel hurt if the language of Zamenhof is placed in the same class as that of Shakespeare. We may smile at the exaggerations into which Dr. Molenaar has been betrayed by his Esperantophobia : but there is a great deal to be said in favour of his contention that the Slavonic and Germanic elements in Esperanto are a source of confusion without any redeeming advantages. They are too few to please or assist people who do not know a Romanic language ; they prevent the Neo-Latins from understanding the dialect without previous study ; and they leave the reader in doubt as to the origin of many roots. Not from the æsthetical, but from the practical point of view, heterogeneity is a drawback.

Finally, Dr. Molenaar, bolder than Mr. Rosenberger was in 1902, sacrificed without hesitation regularity to internationality, autonomous power of word-building to "naturalness," or, in other terms, real simplicity and facility to immediate intelligibility. He condemned Neutral's comparative freedom from exceptions as "Volapükish." Carried to such an extreme, the fear of artificiality in an artificial language is suicidal. We were not surprised when we heard that Dr. Molenaar had practically lost faith in his cause, and that his continued advocacy of Universal was simply meant to hinder the progress of Esperanto. Yet, with all his crotchets and outbreaks of temper, Dr. Molenaar is too brilliant a man not to be of service to any cause he may choose to serve, were it only for a season.

CHAPTER VII

THE DELEGATION FOR THE ADOPTION OF AN INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE—IDO

ONE of the most interesting aspects of the Paris Exposition in 1900 was the number of congresses held, all within six months, in the French capital. Their accumulation made manifest the progress of all international activities, the growing feeling of world-wide interdependence and collaboration. They also afforded a practical demonstration of the necessity of an auxiliary language. M. Leau, a French professor of Mathematics, gathered and organized a number of individual scientists and of delegates from learned bodies, who, chiefly as the result of their experience of 1900, had become interested in the question. On January 17, 1901, the "Delegation for the Adoption of an Auxiliary Language" was founded. The aim of this new society was to create a movement of opinion in favour of an international language, and to secure the adoption of one by means of a scientific study of the problem. The matter was to be submitted to the newly created International Association of Academies, a federation of all the most important scientific bodies in the world. In case the Association of Academies should refuse to act, the Delegation itself would elect a committee, to which the final decision would be entrusted. By 1906, the Delegation had enrolled some 1,200 members of Academies and University Faculties, and the representatives of 331 societies of all kinds. Through the Imperial Academy of Sciences of Vienna, the subject was submitted to the International

Association, which, on May 29, 1907, declared itself incompetent. The Delegation then decided to proceed to the election of a special committee. Out of 331 delegates, 253 votes, and the following twelve members were chosen by 242 votes or more (these figures, by the way, are worth remembering, and we shall attempt to interpret them at the proper time) :

Messrs. Manuel Barrios, Dean of the Medical School of Lima, Peru, President of the Peruvian Senate.

Baudouin de Courtenay, Professor of Linguistics at the University of Saint-Petersburg.

E. Boirac, Rector of the University of Dijon, France.

Ch. Bouchard, member of the Academy of Sciences, Professor at the Paris Medical School.

R. Eötvös, member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

W. Förster, chairman of the International Committee on Weights and Measures.

Col. George Harvey, editor of the *North American Review*, etc.

Otto Jespersen, Professor of Philology, University of Copenhagen, member of the Danish Academy of Sciences.

S. Lambros, former Rector of the University of Athens.

C. Le Paige, Director of the Scientific Section of the Royal Academy of Belgium, Administrator-Inspector of the University of Liège.

W. Ostwald, member of the Royal Society of Sciences of Saxony, Professor Emeritus in the University of Leipzig.

Hugo Schuchardt, member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences of Vienna, Professor at the University of Graz.

Later on, the Committee was completed by the adjunction of Messrs. Gustav Rados, of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences ; W. T. Stead, the editor of the *London Review of Reviews* ; G. Peano, Professor in the University of Turin, member of the Academy of Sciences of Turin. Messrs. Bouchard, Harvey, and Stead, unable to attend, were regularly represented by Messrs. Rodet, Hugon, and Dimnet ; M. Boirac was represented at some sittings by the prominent peace advocate, G. Moch ; the secretaries of the Delegation, Messrs. Couturat and Leau, were also added to the Committee.

This was a magnificent list indeed, and one which proved beyond cavil the soundness of the international language idea ; for all these prominent men were known to be in thorough sympathy with the purpose of the Delegation. The Committee met at the Collège de France, in Paris, from October 15 to 24—eighteen sittings in all were held. Its task had been facilitated by the wonderfully painstaking and lucid compilations of the secretaries, Couturat and Leau : *Histoire de la Langue Universelle*,¹ and *Les Nouvelles Langues Internationales*.² The same gentlemen submitted in addition a very full report. Communications were received up to the last moment from all parts of the world ; several authors of language projects appeared in person before the Committee. Dr. Zamenhof delegated his ablest lieutenant, Marquis de Beaufront, to advocate Esperanto. Finally, the following decision was arrived at :

“None of the proposed languages can be adopted in toto and without modifications. The Committee have decided to adopt in principle Esperanto, on account of its relative perfection, and of the many and varied applications which have been made of it ; PROVIDED that certain modifications be executed by the Permanent

¹ Hachette, 8vo, xxx-576 pp.

² Ibid., 8vo, 112 pp.

Commission, on the lines indicated by the conclusion of the Report of the Secretaries and by the project of Ido, if possible in agreement with the Esperantist Linguistic Committee."

This declaration was voted by all present, i.e. by Messrs. Ostwald, Baudouin de Courtenay, Jespersen, Dimnet, Hugon, Moch, Rodet, Couturat, and Leau: in other words, by three of the original twelve members, four substitutes and the two secretaries. The "Permanent Commission" was composed of Messrs. Ostwald, Baudouin de Courtenay, Jespersen, Couturat, and Leau, but M. de Beaufront was immediately afterwards made a member of that body. The "project of Ido" mentioned in the final decision was an anonymous pamphlet proposing a number of reforms in Esperanto: it was submitted to the members of the Committee alone, and was not made public until later.

The Permanent Commission was to effect the proposed changes "in agreement with the Esperantist Linguistic Committee"; that body, however, declined to discuss the reforms. If we take a legalistic view of the situation, the Esperantist Committee could not act otherwise; it had been appointed to guide the evolution of the language *as defined by the Fundamento*; any alteration to the *Fundamento* itself was beyond its authority.

After obscure negotiations which are of interest only to the individuals immediately concerned, the "Language of the Delegation" severed all connexion with orthodox Esperanto, and embarked upon its independent career under the name of Ido. Later on, the fact leaked out that the author of the Ido project was none other than the Marquis de Beaufront himself, Zamenhof's lieutenant and representative. De Beaufront had embodied in his scheme the ideas of M. Couturat on the derivation of words. In the further developments of the language, Prof. Jespersen played a leading part.

These three gentlemen may, therefore, be considered as jointly responsible for the new language.

The rest of the story is sad to tell. Accusations of selfish ambition, of greed and "graft," of disloyalty and treason, were bandied to and fro between Primitive Esperantists and Idists. No wars are worse than civil wars, no feuds so fierce as feuds between brothers. Inter-linguists of all descriptions, like all initiators of great movements, are earnest and enthusiastic men; in less diplomatic terms, many of them might be called well-meaning fanatics. We cannot but regret that such a philosopher as M. Couturat, for instance, who had given such a splendid example of scientific objectivity in his *Histoire de la Langue Universelle*, should have so entirely lost his composure. For seven years (he died in the fall of 1914) he flung excommunications broadcast, on conservatives who refused to follow him, on progressives who went one step ahead of him. The pejorative suffix *-acho* came at the end of every second word in his polemical writings—and few of his writings were not polemical. He had become that most uncompromising of men: the infallible pope of a small schismatic church. We do not want to single him out as an awful example: many of his friends and of his enemies were as bad or worse; only he fell from a greater height.¹

The result of these wranglings was disastrous to the cause, and perhaps in no country so strikingly as in America. After the triumphant tour of Prof. Ostwald as an apostle of Esperanto, it seemed as though the movement were to sweep everything before it. There is a healthy radicalism in the American mind, a freedom

¹ It must be said that these polemical excesses were due to personal enmities which arose at the time of the meetings of the Delegation. With men who had not been embroiled in that lamentable affair, both Idists and Esperantists retained their scholarly equanimity. The present writer was honoured, in 1911-13, by an extensive correspondence with Prof. Couturat, in which hardly any trace of bias or animosity can be detected.

from old-world prejudices, which made the Esperanto idea a congenial one. The *North American Review* had a regular Esperanto department: the man who could make and mar presidents could also launch a linguistic boom. The Chautauquas were taking it up. After the schism, the actual number of Esperantists went on increasing, but there was little of the confidence and enthusiasm so noticeable in ante-Delegation days. It is the most convincing evidence of the idea's inevitableness that it was not killed outright by such dissensions among its promoters.

We may now consider the work of the Delegation in three different lights: as the choice of an impartial scientific jury; as the embodiment of the reform spirit in Esperanto; as an independent scheme, Ido, to be judged solely on its own merits.

For many years, it was on the first aspect of the question that the Idists chose to insist upon. Their argument was one of authority. Whether you consider the findings of the Committee of the Delegation as a scientific conclusion or as an arbitral award, the verdict should have been accepted by all interlinguists. Zamenhof in particular had always professed that he was ready to abide by the decision of a properly constituted authority; now this promise was put to the test. In disregarding the award, in preferring their own pet projects to the disinterested result of a collective and scholarly investigation, the authors were recreant to the spirit of science; in refusing to accept the authority of the Committee, after having submitted their schemes to its consideration, they were guilty of bad faith. Such was the position of M. Couturat.

The whole problem, therefore, hinges on the authority of the Committee. On this point non-partisans find it hard to sympathize with the Idists. The Delegation claimed to represent three hundred learned societies:

but three hundred is not a large number, out of the thousands that exist in any single country. The delegates from these societies were, in many cases, practically self-appointed, and the body which they were supposed to represent was not in any way bound by their decision : the proof is that hardly any of the three hundred has confirmed in any practical manner the choice of the Delegation, whilst several have protested against the use of their name. The delegates elected a committee, by 242 votes at least out of the 253 that were cast. What is the meaning of this surprising unanimity among men from all parts of the world, who never met in the flesh and had no ways of exchanging their views ? It simply means that the delegates accepted blindly the list proposed by the secretaries, because nothing else could be done, and because that list was as good as any. But, good or bad, what is its authority beyond that of its individual members ? It was in truth appointed by two men, who, however competent and well-intentioned, could not claim that they “ represented the world.”

In eighteen sittings only, this Committee examined the whole problem, its principles, its history, the innumerable solutions proposed ; and in that hurried fashion, it reached the conclusion we have quoted. But let us note that the final decision was arrived at by a unanimous vote . . . of three only out of the original twelve members. The other six were four substitutes and the two secretaries, men of the highest merit, no doubt, but whose names had never been submitted to the Delegation. Let us also note that the verdict was ambiguous. Some of those who voted it understood it to be an endorsement of Esperanto, which in no case could be used against Esperanto. The original members who voted the final decision were Messrs. Ostwald, Baudouin de Courtenay, and Jespersen, a chemist and two philologists. But M. Baudouin de Courtenay re-

fused later to support the Ido schism, and thus condemned the interpretation which had been given of the verdict of the Committee.

Finally, it was contended that the Committee did not offer any guarantee of impartiality. It was manifestly "worked" by its secretaries, and they, as well as a majority of members, were known to be Esperantophiles. Other schemes, worthy of the most serious consideration, Universal, Latino sine Flexione, and especially Idiom Neutral, never had even a fighting chance. The secretaries had made it plain in their report that the adoption of Esperanto was inevitable: this was not merely a matter of preference, it was a question of actual strength—the Committee knew that its authority was not sufficient to impose any other solution, even if it had been considerably superior. But then, all talk of "scientific objectivity and disinterestedness" was idle.

On the other hand, the Esperantists had some right to complain that their scheme had not been properly defended. They might even say that it had been betrayed; for the man who accepted to represent Dr. Zamenhof was, under a pseudonym, the author of the rival scheme which was finally adopted. This alone, if the decision of the Committee were a formal judgment, would be sufficient to make it invalid and to necessitate its revision.

As a matter of fact, the "impartial judgment" was a mere pretence. The policy of the leaders of the Committee was a masterpiece of secret diplomacy. The progress of Esperanto was a fact: to this progress there were two minor obstacles, a few blemishes in the language itself, and the actual or threatened competition of other schemes. M. Couturat wanted to bring to Esperanto two priceless gifts: the willing renunciation of its rivals, and the endorsement of a group of illustrious men; in exchange, he asked for a few reforms. The intention was admirable, but the plan was too clever.

It would have been preferable not to try to smuggle a compromise under cover of a scientific decision.

There was something sadly ludicrous in the insistence of the Idists upon an "authority" that no one would recognize. Mere assertion of authority will lead you to the lunatic asylum more surely than to the throne: the difference between a madman and an emperor is measured by the number of their respective followers. Now the general public quietly ignored the Delegation, the Committee, and its successor the Idist academy; the scientific world remained absolutely unruffled. The vast majority of interlinguists stoutly denied the power of M. Couturat's creation. It is true that M. Bollack, whose "Blue Language" had no chance of being adopted, abandoned it for Ido; a few Neutralists, a number of Esperantists did the same. But Messrs. Rosenberger, Molenaar, Peano, Zamenhof, all those whom it would have been essential to conciliate, held themselves aloof. Either as a piece of popular propaganda, as a scientific conclusion, or as an arbitral award, the decision of the Committee must be pronounced a failure, and therefore a mistake.

The lack of authority of the Delegation, which was manifest from the very first, is the best justification of the attitude of the Esperantists. Their policy is definite, in practice it has been found successful: *No fundamental change in the language until the question has been taken up by an official authority.* Zamenhof, once more, was willing that his Esperanto should be reformed, transformed, or even discarded altogether, provided it be in favour of a language so established and supported that it would be secure once for all. He might have accepted the arbitration of the Association of Academies, although that body could hardly be described as an "official" authority. But he could not, without abandoning his well-tried method, follow Messrs. Couturat and Leau

wherever they wanted to lead him. For what guarantee was there that any number of self-appointed Delegations would not crop up in the future, and successively request Esperanto to introduce reform after reform, to suit the individual fancy of their promoters? One, headed by Messrs. Rosenberger, Molenaar, and Peano, might have wanted to make the language more *a posteriori*; another, led by Prof. Sweet, would have made it more *a priori*; a third would have insisted on equal representation of Slavic, Teutonic, and Latin roots; then Mr. Hamilton Holt would have urged that Chinese and Urdu be taken into account. And so *ad infinitum*.

The Esperantists had therefore to weigh the advantages that would accrue from the improvements proposed against the dangers which such a departure from their established discipline might cause to the whole movement. It is possible to hesitate between the two courses: the choice depends upon the relative importance that is attributed to the social and to the purely linguistic elements in the success of the cause. Excellent men, devoted to the idea, thoroughly competent in that special field, conscientiously adopted the one or the other. There was no "treason" and no "wilful blindness" in either case. Sharks, cranks, and obtrusive busybodies there are in Esperantoland, which is broad enough to contain all sorts and conditions of men. But we are persuaded that Reformists and Antireformists were both, on the whole, disinterested and sincere.

Ido began, therefore, as Reformed-Esperanto. It corrected a number of defects which Dr. Zamenhof himself had pointed out as early as 1894. The accented letters, objectionable from every point of view, æsthetic, scientific, or practical, were done away with. The unfamiliar plurals in *oj*, *aj*, *uj*, disappeared; the adjective was made invariable; substantives changed *-o* to *-i* in the plural; the accusative was retained only in cases

of absolute necessity ; the arbitrary table of correlative words was made more natural ; the international spelling of many roots was restored ; many others were selected anew on a more scientific principle ; the system of derivation was rendered more logical, more regular. The language, on the whole, retained all the advantages of primitive Esperanto, whilst, in point of immediate intelligibility, it could almost compare with the purely Neo-Latin schemes—Neutral, Panroman, and Latino.

It must be said, however, that not all good judges are ready to admit the superiority of Reformed- over Primitive-Esperanto. There are points about the newer scheme which are highly disputable. The sound *k*, for instance, can be expressed in three different ways : *k*, *q*, and *x* (= *ks* or *gz*). There are exceptions to the rule of accentuation. The Ido derivation is based on certain conceptions of M. Couturat, which are ingenious, but not absolutely convincing, and one may be allowed to prefer the theories of M. René de Saussure (*Antido*) in justification of Esperanto practice. Some corrections to the Esperanto vocabulary are rather unfortunate : if *birdo* for bird was not satisfactory, surely *ucelo*, which is barely Italian, and nothing else, can hardly be said to be an improvement. The root *avi*', which is international in such words as *aviary*, *aviculture*, or even the *ornit*' adopted by Idiom Neutral, would have been preferable. Ido is in many respects a compromise between Esperanto and Neutral : we believe that what was said of Neutral may be said of Ido : their superiority over Esperanto is not so great as to justify the risk involved by the change.

Non-Esperantists, on the other hand, complained that Ido had retained many of the most objectionable features of Esperanto. Partisans of the greatest possible degree of naturalness object to the grammatical endings in *o* and *a* ; such words as *omnibuso*, *opero*, *boao*, are difficult to defend ; they object no less to the presence,

in a language which is overwhelmingly Romanic, of a strong Germanic element. In a few lines of Mr. Couturat's, we came across the following : *nur, vorti, darfar, yena, grantata*. These words will be totally incomprehensible to people who know only Latin and a Romanic language ; all except the last will be puzzling to English-speaking people. Germans will not be assisted by the presence of these Teutonic roots, because they are too few, and because they are frequently altered in transcription (*Wörter, dürfen*). Again, the a posteriorists criticize the formation of autonomous derivatives and compounds, when there already exist international terms. Ido has got rid of *tagnoktegaleco*, but it has kept *vortolibro* for lexicon or dictionary. Ido calls itself *helpanta linguo*, whilst *auxiliar* is already European. It has *marala* for the well-known maritime. The conjugation in Esperanto was wonderfully ingenious, subtle in its simplicity, but decidedly artificial : the Ido conjugation is more ingenious still, but more synthetic, and more alien to the spirit of modern languages. Thus it has a present, past, and future infinitive : *amar, amir, amor* ; thus it forms its anterior tenses by the addition of *ab* : *Me amabos*, I shall have loved ; thus it has a synthetic passive, created by the addition of *-es* (root of *esar*, to be) : *Me amesis*, I was loved ; *me amabesis*, I had been loved. All this is neatly logical, but it takes us back to the rich and strange conjugation of Volapük.

The destinies of the language were entrusted to an Academy. That body played the same part, and used the same method, as the Kadem Volapüka, which created Idiom Neutral. It was composed predominantly of Esperantist reformers, just as the earlier body was composed of Volapük reformers. But Rosenberger's society escaped from Volapükist influences much more completely than Jespersen's from Esperantist influences : the old academy was thus in better position to do

scientific work. In both cases, new words were adopted on the basis of their internationality : this was indicated by the initials D., E., F., I., R., S. placed after the proposed term. Latin was left out of the reckoning : the Idists apparently forgot that no language was more universally taught in the secondary schools of all European nations. Instead of counting purely and simply the number of *languages* in which a given form occurs, the Idists attempted to take into account the number of *people* who speak those languages. The dictum of Prof. Jespersen : " That international language is best, that is easiest for the largest number of people," was thus reduced to an arithmetical formula. The selection of a root resulted from the comparison of two sums. In *Progreso*, the linguistic Ido magazine,¹ such arguments as the following could be found : " One ought to adopt for bread the most international word *bredo* (English + German = 190 millions), instead of *pano* (French + Spanish + Italian = 134 millions) " ; " We must adopt for spring the word *vesno* (Slav, 130 millions) instead of *printempo*, only French." *

Several fallacies are involved in this way of counting, in spite of its severely scientific appearance. For one thing, only " great " languages are taken into consideration : not only are all the tongues of Asia excluded, but Portuguese, spoken by 30 millions, who may be 50 within half a century, but also Polish, and other " minor dialects " ; no doubt we must draw the line somewhere, but as the line is bound to be arbitrary, the impressive definiteness of the figures quoted means very little indeed. If Ido makes an invidious distinction between " major " and " minor " languages, it is on the contrary too democratic as far as individuals are con-

¹ *Progreso* ceased to appear after the death of M. Couturat ; the Swedish Ido paper *Mondo* is now the official organ of the Academy.

* No. 48, p. 707.

* No. 47, p. 663.

cerned. In the figures used by the Academicians, an illiterate mujik counts for exactly as much as the most highly trained professional man. Now, from the point of view of international relations, the former is really non-existent, the latter should count for a great deal. The factor of mere numbers ought, therefore, to be corrected by a coefficient of culture. It would be difficult to figure out such a coefficient accurately; it would be impossible to publish it without giving offence; so it might be best to drop all mathematical pretence, and return to the rough-and-ready method of the Neutralists. Furthermore, it is not the total number of people who speak a language that should count in this case, but the degree of internationality it has already achieved, its diffusion beyond its own geographical domain. Thus there is no doubt that, in the international field, Italian is more important than Russian: its use in music, its longer literary tradition, the number of Italians abroad, the number of foreign visitors in Italy, the intrinsic facility and beauty of the language—all these are elements that cannot be expressed by “34 v. 130.”

Prof. Jespersen said: “That *language* is best . . .”—but his principle was applied separately to individual words, not to the vocabulary as a whole. The result is that Ido, a hybrid, is intelligible only to the people who have made a special study of it, or who happen to know ALL the languages it is derived from. For an Asiatic or a Slav, it is, of course, as incomprehensible as Pan-roman or Latino; for a German, it offers, here and there, a few mangled Teutonic roots, totally insufficient to make the meaning of a single sentence clear; an Englishman or a Frenchman would get along well enough, if they did not come across such words as *irgu*, *balde*, *nur*, *erste*.¹ Ido is easier than Esperanto in so far as it has progressed

¹ Or even *livar*, which to an Englishman would recall to live, rather than to leave.

towards the Neutral-Panroman-Latino group; it remains arbitrary and difficult in so far as it has stopped short in its evolution.

Ido had a clientèle ready to hand among the Esperantists: so its diffusion was soon greater than that of any other scheme, except orthodox Esperanto. It is true that it came a long way behind—to the hundred magazines published monthly in Esperanto before the war, Ido could oppose only twelve; but all other projects together mustered only six. Ido has practically no literature: its leaders are inclined to pooh-pooh the efforts of the Esperantists in that line. They enrich their language in a different way, through linguistic discussions rather than through the practice of translation and original composition. The result, at any rate, is not to be despised: the dictionary completed by Messrs. Couturat and de Beaufront is the richest found in any artificial tongue. Difficult passages from Gomperz' *Greek Thinkers* were rendered from German into Ido, and then, by a different person, unacquainted with the original text, from Ido into German: practically no shade of meaning was lost in the double process.¹

During the first few years of its existence, Ido changed with bewildering rapidity. Finally, it was found advisable to take a leaf from the much-derided Esperanto *Fundamento*: for no project which remains in a fluid state can hope to conquer the world. So a "period of stability" was established, during which the language could be enriched, but not modified; that period began on July 1, 1913, and was to last ten years; but it has

¹ Similar experiences were performed with Esperanto, with the same satisfactory results; for instance, the Educational Committee of the Parisian Chamber of Commerce selected three highly technical documents of a legal and commercial nature, in which absolute definiteness of meaning was essential. These documents were submitted to the same process of double translation, into Esperanto and back into French, and the wonderful precision of the international language was once more established.

been prolonged by six years, because the activities of the Academy and the whole Ido movement were practically suspended from 1914 to 1920.

The fate of Ido depends absolutely upon that of Esperanto. If the final solution of the problem is to be, for practical reasons, a compromise between primitive Esperanto and more recent, more "natural" projects, then Ido will probably offer as good a basis for mutual concessions and amicable agreement as the world could wish. If the Idists consider themselves as a linguistic committee, preparing the reforms which may be found desirable *after* the official adoption of Esperanto, their activities are unimpeachable.

But many Idists take a very different view of the situation. They spend a notable portion of their energy in violent anti-Esperantist campaigns. The Esperanto papers affect to ignore Ido; the Ido press is full of attacks against the rival language. It seems to us that in so doing they are cutting the ground from under their own feet. If Esperanto were to collapse, as Volapük collapsed thirty years ago, then there would be no further need of a compromise. The international language idea would suffer a long eclipse; and when it emerged again, it would be in a form totally free from "Esperantisms"—most probably in the form of simplified Latin. Conservative and insurgent Esperantists have the same interests; it is by no means essential that they should unite; but, at any rate, they ought to stop fighting.¹

¹ The following two passages will serve as samples of Ido:

"Tamen, balde la tempi parfinesos. . . . La olda Europana sulo sukusas de su la lasta polvi dil feudala ordino; la pulso di la libera populi esas nerezistebla, la kombati unigos omni, e la versita sango fertiligos la sulo por la jermifo dil idei" (Mondo. Feb. 1921).

THE LORD'S PRAYER: Patro nia, qua esas en la cielo, tua nomo santigesez; tua regno advenez; tua volo facesez quale en la cielo, tale anke sur la tero. Donez a ni cadie l'omnidiala pano, e pardonez a ni nia ofensi, quale anke ni pardonas a nia ofensanti; e ne duktez ni aden la tento, ma liberigez ni del malajo. Nam tua esas la regno, la povo e la glorio eterne. Amen! (Communicated by A. Rostrom, Secretary of the American Ido Society.)

CHAPTER VIII

LATINO SINE FLEXIONE. ACADEMIA PRO INTERLINGUA. THE ANGLO-LATIN GROUP

WE have attempted to show, in a previous chapter, that classical Latin is too difficult for practical use ; and that, in any case, it would have to be brought up to date in order to become the vehicle of modern culture. To bring classical Latin up to date ! A delicate task ! “ Barbarized Latin,” with regular declensions and conjugations, natural genders and a modernized dictionary, would be odious to the scholar, confusing to the student, more difficult than Esperanto for the “ average man ”—a mythical but all-important personage. / But we have hinted that there was still another way of using Latin as an international language : a way advocated by scholars of note, from Leibniz to M. Paul Régnaud.¹ It would consist in such a thorough-going simplification that Latin would become as easy and as regular as any artificial tongue, whilst remaining intelligible to all scholars. The new dialect would be so different from the classical form that no danger of confusion would arise ; at the same time, it would bear such a definite relation to it that the new Latin would be a step to the study of the old. Thus the greatest degree of “ naturalness ” would be secured, since the new language would be based entirely on a once living language, modified only in order to make it conform to modern standards ; the greatest

¹ P. Régnaud, professeur de Sanscrit et de Grammaire Comparée, Université de Lyon : *Les Conditions d'Etablissement d'une Langue Internationale, à propos de l'Esperanto*, Paris, Le Soudier, 1901.

degree of *neutrality*, since the language selected as a pattern is dead, and has become the common heritage of the world ; the greatest degree of *internationality*, since the Latin element is the almost exclusive basis of the Romanic group, is actually predominant in “cultured” English, and is not negligible even in German. These considerations did not fail to impress a number of men, and many solutions in that line were proposed. Among the most interesting of the earlier schemes we may mention Mr. Henderson’s *Lingua* (1888) and *Latinesce* (1901), and Dr. Rosa’s *Nov-Latin* (1890). But the man who formulated most clearly the Neo-Latin principle, who worked most diligently in that field, and who succeeded in grouping the efforts of many isolated investigators, was Prof. G. Peano. There are three elements in his activities : the first is purely logical, the second philological, the third practical, and the results were a grammar, a vocabulary, a method.

Prof. Giuseppe Peano, of the University of Turin, is one of the best authorities on the logical basis of mathematics. By means of his rules of “logical calculation” and of an ideographic system of his own, he has reduced the bulk of mathematics to a set of formulæ, simpler and more rigorous in their algebraic form than if they were expressed in ordinary language. He was thus prepared to become interested in the larger question of an “algebra of thought,” a philosophical language. Some newly-published fragments of Leibniz, edited by M. Couturat, on the subject of a rational grammar and a universal tongue, provided the needed stimulus. In his own *Revue de Mathématiques* (viii, 3, 1903, p. 71), he discussed the problem under the title : *De Latino sine Flexione, Lingua Auxiliare Internationale*. He began with this sentence, in simple but conservative Latin : “Lingua latina fuit internationalis in omni scientia, ab imperio Romano usque ad finem sæculi XVIII. Hodie

multi reputant illam nimis difficilem esse, iam in scientia, magis in commercio. Sed non tota lingua latina est necessaria ; parva pars sufficit ad exprimendam quamlibet ideam." Then he proceeded to show, on the authority of Leibniz supported by reasonings of his own, that declension, formal gender, number and even conjugation could be dispensed with. As soon as he had shown the theoretical possibility of such simplification, he applied it to his own text, so that the article, begun in standard Latin, ended in " Rational Latin," *Latino sine Flexione*.

Prof. Peano applied the same method of analysis and simplification to the vocabulary as to the grammar of his language. Thus he tried to do away with abstract terms and with derivatives, often vague, cumbrous, and confusing. *Ars imitatio naturæ est* becomes *Arte imita natura*. *Mutabile semper femina* is rendered by *Femina semper muta*. But these are rather points of style than of linguistics. The result is a language of perfect limpidity, "faithful and true" like a mathematical treatise, totally lacking in subtlety and innuendoes, often striking in its imperial brevity. The simplifications proposed were of so sweeping a character that many critics thought them impracticable. Yet, not only they obtain in Chinese—perhaps a doubtful authority—but many of them are found in English or spoken French.¹ It was said that Prof. Peano carried the principle of grammatical economy to the extreme of niggardliness ; it was also objected that *Latino*, well suited to mathematics, would be too simple for more elusive themes. A language must be able to express vague ideas, and even to suggest the unutterable : with Peano's method, which

¹ Absence of declension and formal gender in English, invariability of the adjective, extreme simplicity of the conjugation : to read, read, read. In spoken French : sign of the plural frequently inaudible, present indicative commonly used instead of the past or future.

is somewhat akin to Voltaire, you might start with the word "inspiration," and analyse it until you have reduced it to "bosh." But Prof. Peano did not wish to enforce his radical simplifications: many forms, verbal endings or affixes, which are not indispensable, may yet be found convenient. The author merely wanted to fix a limit: "toto grammatica latino evanesce," or, in other words, "la grammatica minima è la grammatica nulla." Logic confirms the conclusion of philology: progress in languages is towards simplification. "The number infinite of many-lettered forms assumed in successive ages by the Sanskrit verb became 1,400 or less in classic Greek; its younger sister, the Latin, had a maximum of 395, while the modern Spanish verb has at the utmost 62 distinguishable forms."¹ Peano's demonstration, both practical and theoretical, is unanswerable: grammar, the torment of our childhood, is an exploded fallacy. Until we are educated up to this sensational discovery, we may retain as much of it as our weakness requires.

It would have been interesting if Prof. Peano had applied his dissolving criticism as ruthlessly to the vocabulary as to grammar: "Vocabulario minimo est vocabulario nullo": Silence is the easiest of all international languages. From a mathematician and a philosopher, we might have expected an a priori vocabulary, based either on symbolism or on classification. But Prof. Peano knew full well that, at the present stage of our civilization at any rate, a purely philosophical language is a will-of-the-wisp. The so-called philosophical languages are simply arbitrary languages. So, following once more Leibniz's guidance, he kept the Latin vocabulary, as being the best-known to all scholars and scientists, the most international and the most neutral: "Grammatica rationalis tradenda est,

¹ M. M. Ramsey, *A Textbook of Modern Spanish*.

ad latinam (linguam) applicata.”¹ Peano’s first thought seems to have been that no new dictionaries would be needed, and that everybody would simply use any national-Latin lexicon. Even at present, after “Latino” has been in practical use for some twenty years, there is no complete dictionary of the language comparable with those of Esperanto and Ido. However, Prof. Peano does not accept all Latin words indiscriminately, nor does he limit himself to none but Latin words. The principle of internationality, as in Esperanto, Neutral, Panroman, and not that of “Latinity,” is the true basis of his system. Thus modern notions are, if necessary, expressed by modern international words: Prof. Peano does not attempt to find a classical periphrasis for “sports,” as distinguished from the time-honoured “games”; and I noticed in a number of his review the verb “boycotta(re),” which might have puzzled Cicero. In this respect Latino is a thoroughly modern language, much nearer to Neutral and Panroman than to the fossilized tongue of the magazine *Præco Latinus*, in which such advertisements as the following could be culled: “Pilei Stetsoniani, capillacei coactiles sunt præstantissimi omnium qui usquam in urbe fiunt.” The author always prefers “living” to “dead” Latin, the forms which have survived in the Romanic tongues to those which are found only in the classics. Thus he will adopt *fluvius* rather than *flumen*, and especially rather than *amnis*; *caballus* rather than *equus*, etc. This selection between synonyms is not made at random: it is based on a painstaking and exceedingly valuable study of the common elements in European languages—*Vocabulario Commune ad Linguas de Europa*.² This patient compilation confirmed the assertion of Liptay and Lott that the

¹ Leibniz, *De Grammatica Rationali*, 1716.

² Fratres Bocca, editores, Torino, 1909.

international language existed potentially in the European tongues, and had only to be "discovered." The number of words which, according to Prof. Peano, are common to seven European languages (English, German, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Russian) is 1,700; 713 come from the Greek, 733 from the Latin, 65 are Greco-Latin hybrids; Arabic contributes 35, French 54, Italian 43, Spanish 7, American dialects 6, English 15, others 44. If Russian be left out, the number of words common to the other six is enormously increased; with German left out, the elements common to the remaining five form nearly seven-tenths of the English vocabulary, and are practically sufficient for all purposes. Hence Prof. Peano's rule: all Anglo-Latin words are international. The resulting language might be called modernized Latin; but it might also be called internationalized English: more simply, it is Anglo-Latin.

Thus far the principle of Latino is the same as that of Idiom Neutral and Panroman, and the result is strikingly similar. The difference comes in the form to be given to these international words. In Esperanto, Neutral, Panroman, Ido, the form and spelling adopted were a *compromise* between the different languages, so that everybody would have an equal chance of recognizing familiar words: it was a question of nice adjustment, requiring taste and tact, and submitted to no definite rule. Besides, the common effort of Messrs. Zamenhof, Rosenberger, Molenaar, Jespersen, was to simplify and standardize as much as possible the spelling of the borrowed words; they also kept in mind the pronunciation as well as the written form. Finally, all of them yielded to the old Volapükist temptation of brevity: had they dared, they would, like Schleyer, have adopted none but monosyllabic roots. For all these reasons, the vocabularies of those different languages were arbitrary,

and sounded artificial. Prof. Peano proceeds differently. He does not try to harmonize or compromise forms as they exist at present : he traces them to their common origin, to their etymology ; and, as most of his words come from the Latin, he uses them with their Latin orthography—preserving even the digraphs *th* and *ph*, the double letters *œ* and *ø*, which have been discarded by some modern languages. The other schemes may be defined as “ compromise Pan-European ” ; Peano’s is “ etymological Anglo-Latin.” Instead of individual fancy, a definite principle guides our selection ; and the result, instead of a more or less barbaric deformation, is a word which carries with it some fact of scholarly value. “ Kunlaborado ” in Esperanto-Ido is not a bad word : “ collaboration ” is both easier and more helpful.

The Latin form which is at the root of modern words is rarely the nominative : it is the “ stem ” as given in most modern grammars. The rule of thumb for obtaining the stem is to remove the ending from any of the cases except the nominative and vocative. Thus the stem is *virgin-* (not *virgo*) ; *mont-* (not *mons*), etc. Dr. Rosa and Mr. Henderson, in their Nov-Latin, Latinesce, and Lingua, arrived at the desired form by omitting the ending from the genitive. Peano adopts as the stem of substantives the ablative case. Hence the name of his language—Latino sine Flexione. The result is a language very similar to Latin and to Italian, singularly pleasing to the ear as well as to the eye. Latino has the full, sonorous, vocalic endings of Esperanto, without the slight monotony and artificiality caused by their inevitableness under Zamenhof’s system ; it looks and sounds more rounded, incomparably more natural, than Neutral and Panroman : they seem fleshless and “ amputated ” in comparison. We shall see, however, that this system is challenged by many linguists who, on all other points, agree with Prof. Peano.

For the stem of the verb, Prof. Peano adopts the first person singular of the present indicative, or the second person singular of the imperative, or the infinitive without *-re*, forms which generally coincide. This selection is open to many more objections than that of the substantive stem. In modern languages, we find side by side forms derived from the stem as defined above, and forms derived from the supine; we have scribe, to describe, etc., but we have script, scripture; we have legible, legend, but we have lecture, lectern; we have agent, agenda, but also act, action, active; in French, we find corriger by the side of correct, correction, correcteur. It is pretty safe to say that of the two forms the supine is richer in modern derivatives.

The following paragraphs will serve as a definition and a specimen of Latino sine Flexione: it is the set of regulations so far adopted by the Academia Pro Interlingua:

§1. *Interlingua habet vocabulario internationale ad maximo et grammatica minimo.*

§2. *Academia adopta omni vocabulo commune ad vocabulario etymologico A.D.F.H.I.P.R. (linguas principale es citato per abbreviatione).*

§3. *Academia adopta omni vocabulo latino-anglo.*

§4. *Academia adopta nomenclatura in usu in Botanica, Zoologia, Chemia, etc.*

(§5. *Academia præpara vocabulario de voces non definito per §2, §3, §4, et de voces plus frequente.*)

§6. *Omni vocabulo internationale que existe in latino habet forma de thema latino ("stem"). (Thema de voce inflexibile es ipso voce; thema de nomen-substantivo, adjectivo, pronomens ablative¹; thema de verbo es imperativo.)*

§7. *Lice substitue ph per f, th per t, æ et œ per e. Lice supprime vocale finale, si non existe ambiguitate.*

§9. *Nomen proprio de persona et de urbe habet orthographia nationale, aut magis proximo ad nationale.*

¹ Note, however, *nomen* instead of *nomine*.

§10. *Pronuntiatio de vocabulos latino es conforme ad antiquo latino.*

§13. *Suffixo -s indica plurale.*

(Studio theorico proba que es necessario nullo regula de grammatica, nullo suffixo de derivatione. Aut vocabulo jam es internationale, aut pote es expresso per combinatione de vocabulos internationale.)

The greatest service of Prof. Peano to the cause of an international language is neither his "grammatical algebra" nor his excellent *Vocabulario Commune*, but a lesson in method. He placed the whole question, for the first time, on a strictly scientific basis. This he did through his reform of the Academy—the old *Kadem Bevünetik Volapüka*, *Akademi de Lingu Universal*, of which he became Director in 1908. Up to that time, most schemes had been purely individual efforts like *Volapük* and *Esperanto*. *Neutral* and *Ido* were the results of collective labour: but in both cases, a small, exclusive body reached decisions by a majority vote, and claimed to impose these decisions upon the rest of the world. Now such a method may be the only one that will lead to a workable compromise; in all probability, it will have to be resorted to in the end. But it has no scientific value whatever. The problem: "What is the most international form to denote a given idea?" is as definite a philological question as any in comparative or historical grammar. It has to be settled in the same way. That the French form *poids* is derived from *pensum*, and not from *pondus*, was never established by a vote. A majority is no argument: any scholar has the right to challenge accepted results, provided he does so in the spirit and according to the methods of science. The most illustrious faculties voted down the Copernican system and the circulation of the blood: but the earth, the blood—and the Faculties—continued on their appointed courses, undisturbed by any

vote. Three little bands of earnest men may decide severally that *birdo*, *ornit*, or *ucelo* is the best possible word for bird : but the small portion of the world that is aware of their efforts will remain politely incredulous.

The *Academia pro Interlingua* is purely and simply a Society of Synthetic or Constructive Philology. Whoever is interested may join it. The "decisions" mentioned above are always open to discussion and to revision ; no one is bound by them unless he has become convinced of their wisdom. In the earlier numbers of the *Discussiones*, Neutral, Universal, Romanal, were used by the side of Latino ; and even more artificial schemes, like Esperanto and Ido, were represented. All that is required is that the dialect adopted by any individual writer should be easily intelligible to his fellow "Academicians." This condition is not an arbitrary one : it simply defines the problem which is the *raison d'être* of the Academy—the "discovery" of international elements. Among the members, some started from classical Latin ; others from a comparison between all European languages ; others from the Romance group ; others, like Mr. A. Miller, from English only ; each had his theory, his opinion, his crotchets, on questions of spelling, etymology, word-building. Yet, as all the different solutions were based broadly on the same principle, they were all strikingly similar, all intelligible at first sight. Now this contributor, now that one, introduced a form which seemed so apposite, so inevitable, that, without any formal vote, it went to swell the common treasure. Thus, through comparison, study, and discussion, oddities are eliminated, and the different dialects of the desired Interlingua are visibly approximating. All this, once more, is strictly parallel with the evolution of philological research. There was a time when imaginative scholars of no mean learning attempted to prove that French came from the Greek

or from the Celtic. Two etymological dictionaries based on rival systems would, of course, have been widely different; but, patiently, one difficulty after another has been conquered and to-day the works of two competent lexicographers will be substantially identical.

The dialects of Interlingua are already so nearly alike that, without any formal grammar, without even a dictionary of the usual type, the scheme can be used for practical purposes. Prof. Peano and a few of his friends and disciples have adopted it for their mathematical publications. Four or five little linguistic magazines appeared in it before the war, including the *Discussiones de Academia Pro Interlingua*. Without any further elaboration, it is undoubtedly well suited for scientific works; scholars in every field, and all over the world, would most probably understand it as readily as any of the foreign languages they happen to know. For other purposes, Interlingua is not yet ready. The vocabulary of science is comparatively simple and international; figures, diagrams, and formulæ, which are really a "pasigraphy," form the essential part of most scientific treatises. The vocabulary of daily life and of literature offers a much harder problem. It may be that this problem too will slowly be worked out. But there are other problems, which are hardly capable of a strictly scientific solution: these, we believe, should be finally submitted to the arbitration of that "official authority" prophesied and desired by Dr. Zamenhof.

Among these problems, the easiest are those of mere grammar, including spelling, pronunciation, accentuation, rules of agreement, and conjugation. These questions, which fill formidable books in the so-called "natural" languages, can, in all artificial languages, be fully stated on a postcard: they are nothing but the rules of a simple game. Not more than six endings, for instance, are required for a very complete conjugation.

Much more vexing is the problem of the vocalic endings in nouns and adjectives. §7 makes the suppression of the final vowel permissible whenever no ambiguity would result. The ending would be retained, of course, when it is part of the word in its most international form : thus *opera* should remain *opera*, and not be turned into *opr* as in primitive Neutral, or *opero* as in Esperanto. From the æsthetic point of view, we would regret this suppression : its Italian sonority is one of the assets of Latino. But the final vowels are no less certainly a source of difficulties for the student who is not a good Latinist. The word *accent* is easy to remember for the vast majority of Europeans : but why you should say *accentu* instead of *accento* or *accente* will remain a puzzle for the uninitiated. On the other hand, the elimination of the vocalic ending makes the language harsher than most Southerners would care to have it ; in the combination *respect special*, for instance, there are four consonants in succession.¹ A third solution is that of Esperanto : words would receive systematic vowel endings, denoting the part of speech to which they belong. No doubt *bona patro* is shocking at first for a conservative linguist : but is it much more shocking than *bono patre* as a nominative form, or *bono poeta* ? Interlinguists have argued the question back and forth for nearly twenty years, and they do not seem to be nearer an agreement.

The third problem is that of the derivatives and compounds. Prof. Peano settles it radically by denying the usefulness of any suffix in the international language. " Either there already exists an international word, or the idea can be expressed by a combination of international words." He is, like Dr. Molenaar, and like Messrs. Rosenberger and de Wahl in their Reform-

¹ In French, the *c* and the *t* of *respect* are mute : but in an international language all letters should be pronounced.

Neutral, a radical a posteriorist. But interlinguists are far from being of one mind on this question. Many of them believe that a simple and logical system of derivation is fully as great an advantage as a simple and logical grammar. The practice of Latin and of modern tongues in this respect is chaotic: the same idea may be expressed by different affixes; the same affix is used to denote the most diverse ideas. A scheme which does not reduce that confusion to some degree of order leaves one-half of the task unperformed. Note that derivatives formed according to definite rules would conform to the essential principle of Interlingua: they would be immediately intelligible. But they would be "barbarisms"! Of course they would: but what is Interlingua if not a tissue of barbarisms? A language that can afford to say, "*Interlingua habet vocabulario internationale ad maximo et grammatica minimo*," should not be overburdened with scruples.

The solution advocated by a number of Interlinguists consists in selecting the most international roots, in their most international form, and the most international affixes of derivation: then, with these natural elements, to form derivatives and compounds according to simple and invariable rules. Only in this way can the advantages of Interlingua and those of Esperanto-Ido be combined. If regularity be abandoned for a false ideal of "naturalness," the public, not being composed of purists, will justly prefer the more logical schemes.

These ideas are embodied in Romanal. The author of that project, M. A. Michaux, as an active Esperantist, was able to convince himself that a strictly regular language was practicable. His language is "etymological Anglo-Latin," just as much as Prof. Peano's; but it resembles Esperanto-Ido in two respects. For the capricious final vowels of Peano, which are the confusing survivals of a vanished declension, he substitutes sys-

tematic endings—*o*, *a*, *e*, for masculine, feminine, and neuter nouns, *i* for adjectives, *im* for adverbs, etc. In the second place, he forms his derivatives by means of affixes which have a definite and invariable meaning. Romanal is not a “compromise”: it is the harmonious application of two principles, each excellent in its own field: the etymological method for the selection of roots, the logical for the building of derivatives. There are many points about Romanal that cannot be accepted without discussion¹; but on the whole, the way which it opens seems to us the right one.

In conclusion, we shall give the Lord's Prayer in the Latin of the Vulgate, in Latino sine Flexione, and in Romanal:

*Pater noster, qui es in cœlis: sanctificetur nomen tuum; adveniat regnum tuum. Fiat voluntas tua, sicut in cœlo, et in terra. Panem nostrum (supersubstantialem) da nobis hodie. Et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris; et ne nos inducas in tentationem. Sed libera nos a malo. Amen.*²

*Patre nostro, qui es in celos, que tuo nomine fi sanctificato. Que tuo regno adveni; que tua voluntate es facta sicut in celo et in terra. Da hodie ad nos nostro pane quotidiano. Et remitte ad nos nostros debitos, sicut et nos remitte ad nostros debitores. Et non induce nos in tentatione, sed libera nos ab malo. Amen.*³

*Patro nostri, qui est en cieles, sanctificat estas nomine tui, advenias regne tui, fias volite tui, sicut en cieles, et en terre. Il pane nostri quotidiani das ad nos hodie; et dimittas nostri debites, sicut et nus dimittas debitantes nostri; et ne nos inducas en tentatione, sed liberas nos ex male. Amen.*⁴

¹ The reader will find such a discussion in the Appendix.

² Secundum Matthæum, vi. 9-13.

³ Sermone super Monte et Psalmo ciii, versione in “Interlingua.”

⁴ Etude des Projets, etc., par A. Michaux, Boulogne, 1912.

PART III

TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW

CHAPTER I

UNPARTISAN EFFORTS AND THE CONDITIONS OF SUCCESS

I

WE have related in a preceding chapter the History of the Delegation for the Adoption of an Auxiliary Language. The scholarly work of the secretaries was beyond praise ; a committee of earnest and competent men was formed. But soon the safe ground of scientific investigation was abandoned. Tactical blunders were committed, due to excessive haste and misdirected cleverness. The result was a schism among Esperantists and a setback for the common cause. The first unpartisan effort towards the solution of a great problem thus ended in bitterest partisan quarrels.

In these unfortunate events, Prof. Wilhelm Ostwald had taken a prominent part. During his tour of the United States, he had been an ardent and eminently successful apostle of Esperanto. As Chairman of the Committee of the Delegation and of the permanent Commission which continued its work, he became the high priest of Ido. The association which had been formed under his auspices for the better organization of intellectual labour, "The Bridge," adopted Ido as its provisional auxiliary language. But Prof. Ostwald was too great a scientist, and too practical a man, to entertain any delusion as to the finality of the decision reached by the Delegation. He gave a signal proof of his open-mindedness in accepting the honorary Presidency of the *Academia Pro Interlingua*. And he took the initiative

in a second attempt for securing the impartial selection and official adoption of an auxiliary language.

Before the Great War, Belgium and Switzerland were already organizing themselves in the hope of becoming the Federal District of the future United States of the world. Switzerland had a long start, and was the home of a larger number of official international bodies; Belgium was making a more conscious and determined effort. In an address at Basel (September 7, 1910), on "The Organization of the World," Prof. Ostwald threw out the suggestion that Switzerland should officially take the lead in the question of an international language, and that a Language Union would be the natural complement of the Postal Union already established at Bern. On February 27, 1911, the Society for the Creation of an International Language Bureau was founded at Bern, under the patronage of well-known administrators and pacifists, like Col. Emil Frey, Director of the International Telegraphic Bureau, and M. Gobat, Director of the International Peace Bureau.

The plan of action of the new society was the following: the Swiss Government was to be requested to invite foreign powers to an "informational pre-Conference," in which the question of an international language would be discussed. It was expected that this Pre-Conference would appoint a Commission of experts, to report on the different solutions proposed, and to recommend one for adoption. Then a full diplomatic conference would take the final steps towards the formation of a language union. The co-operation of no less than six nations, among which two at least must be first-class powers, was deemed necessary to the success of the scheme.¹

Prof. W. Ostwald, the father of the plan, was an Idist;

¹ The standardization of maritime signal codes was secured in a very similar manner, through a conference and a convention between England and France, to which other nations eventually adhered.

so were the second Vice-President, Mr. Waltisbühl, and the secretary, Rev. Fr. Schneeberger. But the Association promised to be absolutely neutral, and, as a matter of fact, the Academia Pro Interlingua, Dr. Rosenberger, Dr. Molenaar, expressed themselves in full sympathy with its aims. Some prominent Esperantists adopted the same attitude. But others, and some Idists too, remained diffident, not to say hostile. Some doubted the sincerity of the promised neutrality. Others were reluctant to admit the possibility of any scheme except their own being adopted. Others were afraid that the attempt would divert attention from the only profitable form of propagand and activity, which, in their opinion, was the practical use of a language already at hand. The result of these doubts and fears was that the Society for the Creation of an International Language Bureau did not make much headway during the sultry years which preceded the war. Then Europe was engulfed, and Geheimrat Prof. Dr. W. Ostwald, in particular, lost much of his fine scientific cosmopolitanism. The organization, however, did not completely disappear. And events have made its task more definite. There is no need now of a special conference: the League of Nations exists, and its Assembly is the body to be approached.

This was realized by a number of prominent Swedish citizens, who met at Stockholm on November 20, 1920. They elected a Committee composed of four Esperantists, four Idists, two partisans of the selection of a national language, and four members who professed neutrality as to the solution to be adopted. This Committee composed, and submitted to the first Assembly of the League of Nations, the following petition:

“That the League should initiate an unprejudiced study and a discussion, tending to the adoption, through an international convention, of a universal language, which should be studied in all the schools of

the whole world ; and that eventually the League should take steps for the creation of an international Academy, whose task would be to control the development and maintain the uniformity of the language adopted."

This petition was signed by the whole Committee, and among the names was that of B. J. Bergqvist, Minister of Public Education. The Swedish Government officially transmitted the document, and the elaborate report which preceded it, to the Secretary of the League of Nations. We have already mentioned that Senator Lafontaine, of Belgium, and ten other delegates, had introduced before the Assembly a motion urging the investigation of the problem. "The era of realization," as the French put it, is at hand.

It is now generally admitted that the proper agency for the introduction of the international language will be an official convention: either one between two Great Powers, to start with, or preferably a decision of the League of Nations as a whole. But a victory in the diplomatic field is hardly thinkable, unless two conditions be fulfilled. The first—all reasonable Esperantists, Idists, and partisans of other schemes are agreed upon that point—is that there should be a vast, prolonged, exhaustive, and scientific discussion of the problem. The world will accept as binding the opinion of no individual, of no self-appointed little Academy, of no small group even of brilliant scholars. The question must be thrashed out in the open, and from every side, without any mental reservation in favour of this or that pet solution. Only upon the basis of such a discussion could a high and unpartisan authority, such as the Association of Academies, pass a verdict that would deserve the lasting respect of the world. And we may trust that the League of Nations, or any other responsible body, will refuse to act except upon the recommendation of such an authority.

The second condition—upon which all but a few fanatical Idists are likewise agreed—is that there should be a *practical* international language movement, of such magnitude that it may serve both as a demonstration and as an experimental field. Diplomats and academicians are, and should be, conservative men. It is the duty of the promoters to prepare, not merely a vague programme, nor even an elaborate plan on paper, but a working model—more convincing than all theories. The model may be crude, but it must work, and it must continue working for a reasonable length of time. At present, it may be said that Volapük and Esperanto have proved that an artificial language was practicable; Esperanto is attempting to prove that such a language can guard itself against hasty changes and schisms. The second demonstration is fully as important as the first. And it is one upon which the whole future of the International Language idea depends.

II

The first condition—an investigation of the whole problem, by competent workers and from every point of view—is admirably defined in the program-circular of the Committee on International Auxiliary Language of the International Research Council. We beg leave to reproduce this document in full, as the broadest and most scholarly presentation of the whole subject that has ever come to our notice :

“COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL AUXILIARY LANGUAGE,
INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL, 1701 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D.C.

Dr. F. G. Cottrell, Chairman.
Ward Nichols, Secretary.

“This Committee was appointed at the July 1919 meeting of the International Research Council, in Brus-

sels, pursuant to the following resolutions adopted by the Council at that meeting :

“ RESOLVED :

“(a) That the International Research Council appoint a Committee to investigate and report to it the present status and possible outlook of the general problem of an international auxiliary language.

“(b) That the Committee be authorized to co-operate in its studies with other organizations engaged in the same work, *provided* that nothing in these resolutions shall be interpreted as giving the Committee any authority to commit the Council to approval of any particular project, either in whole or in part.”

As the Chairmanship of this Committee was entrusted to one of the American delegates who happens also to be the Chairman of the Division of Chemistry and Chemical Technology of the National Research Council, the Committee will be headquartered at the offices of the National Research Council in Washington, D.C., and its funds, like those of the National Research Council, will be handled by the Treasurer of the National Academy.

It was clearly understood in the appointment of the Committee that while its work would officially culminate in the submission of a report or reports to the Council at one or more of the latter's triennial meetings, the present status of the subject is such that the first and probably the most important work of the Committee would be a campaign to awaken interest and secure co-operative effort in the investigation on the part of other learned societies and educational institutions, since the subject is too large and the amount of detailed critical investigation too great for our committee to hope to encompass unaided. Nor was it felt that a report produced by the unaided efforts of so small a committee would be entitled to the degree of confidence in its purely objective character that was aimed at in the Council's approach to the problem.

The first work of this central Committee is, therefore, in turn to secure the organization of committees and working groups in the national academic organizations and educational institutions to take up the various phases of the problem which naturally fall within their special fields, and then to co-ordinate this work and serve as a clearing-house for the exchange of information and plans between them.

The first national response to the appointment of the International Committee was by the British Association for the Advancement of Science, at its Bournemouth meeting, in September 1919, in the appointment from its "Section on Educational Science" of a committee "to Study the Practicability of an International Language." Mr. W. B. Hardy, Secretary of the Royal Society, was appointed Chairman, and as such becomes also the British representative on the International Committee; Dr. E. H. Tripp, Secretary of Section L (Education) of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, was appointed Secretary. Other members of the Committee are: Prof. Charles Nowell Smith, Headmaster of the Sherborne School; Prof. Charles Wm. Kimmins, Chief Inspector of the Education Department of the London County Council; Prof. H. Forster Morley, Director of the International Catalogue of Scientific Literature; Sir Richard Gregory, Professor of Astronomy, Queen's College, London; Prof. Walter Ripman, Chief Inspector to the University of London; Prof. J. J. Findlay, Professor of Education, University of Manchester; Mr. Edward Bullough, Chairman of the Modern Languages Association; Mr. A. E. Twentyman, who was Secretary of the Committee "to Inquire into the Position of Modern Languages in the Educational System of Great Britain."

This British Committee has been active throughout the year, and at the annual meeting of the British Association at Cardiff, in August 1920, the Committee submitted an interim report covering its preliminary work, and was continued for the coming year. The British Classical Association has also appointed a special com-

mittee to co-operate with the committee of the British Association.

In this country the American Association for the Advancement of Science has authorized the appointment of a committee; the National Research Council has authorized the appointment of a delegate to a joint committee between the National Academy of Sciences, the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the National Research Council; and the American Council on Education (including The Modern Language Association of America). The American Philological Association and the American Council of Learned Societies (the American representative of the International Union of Academies) have already authorized or appointed committees, and the American Classical League has appointed a committee to consider the problem more specifically from the side of the classics.

The purpose of these various committees is to insure that the approach to the problem is taken in an adequately broad and conservative manner and that no important aspect of the question involved shall be overlooked.

It is intended that the detailed work of research upon the problem, not only from the purely linguistic, but also, and very prominently, from the sociological, economic, psychological, and pedagogical standpoints, shall be chiefly carried out in connexion with the regular work of the universities; and already interdepartmental groups and seminars have been formed or are forming in a number of the universities to take up this work, while several professors of sociology, psychology, and pedagogy are setting research students at work on definite problems in this line, as a result of this central Committee's activities and discussions with them.

The necessary library material for research in this field is badly scattered and difficultly accessible at present. One of the central Committee's first responsibilities is to help the university and other research libraries to locate such material and build up their equipment in this regard.

If successful, the work in one sense means the creation of a new subject of university research which might, for lack of a better term, be called "synthetic or applied linguistics," differing from most of the work already established along linguistic lines in our colleges and universities, largely through the greater part which psychological and sociological methods and points of view will play in it.

There has been a widespread feeling, whether justified or not, that the subject of international auxiliary language has at times in the past been handled very largely by hobbyists, and this has considerably retarded serious study by competent academic authorities. However this may be, there has gradually accumulated a very considerable mass of raw material of fact and experiment which is now available for statistical study and as a useful basis for further and more systematically planned experimentation.

The project of an international auxiliary language may very properly be looked upon as entirely analogous, at least in the first instance, to that of stenography, i.e. as a development of a special tool for special purposes, which has no more bearing on the use and spread of existing national languages than stenography has had on that of printing and longhand.

Notwithstanding this there is, however, a much more intimately humanistic motive and aspect to this problem of an international auxiliary language than there was to that of stenography. From a sociological standpoint one of the most important features of the whole subject of international language development is the surprising interest and fidelity to the cause shown by the proletariat. It has really been from this class that there has come to the movement not only the great bulk of personal effort, but of financial support as well. It has been truly the multiplication of the "widow's mite" which has supported the work thus far.¹ This is strongly

¹ The endowment of an International Language Foundation should appeal to some intelligent multimillionaire: the plan has the merit of originality: to found a university has become somewhat commonplace; you cannot endow hospitals, peace missions, science, without being lost

reflected, for example, in both the texts and the clientèle of the approximately one hundred journals which were being published in Esperanto alone at the outbreak of the war. The sustained interest and solidarity of the movement among this class is strikingly shown by the fact that during the war the number of these journals fell off to between twenty and thirty; but since the armistice the list has rapidly grown again until now over seventy are again appearing, and almost every week brings word of further resumption of publication or the starting of new ones.

Thus, aside from the purely utilitarian and scientific interest of the subject, there is a very human aspect as well, which is based on the rapidly awakening international consciousness of the man in the street and his growing interest in practical channels of first-hand information and direct contact with his fellows in foreign lands. This sense has for many years been strong in a fairly large body of the proletariat, but its importance and possible developments have been rather generally underestimated by the majority of the upper classes. The war and the consequences following its train have greatly spread and defined this interest among the common people, and at the same time have carried home to those in responsibility all over the world a fuller appreciation of the absolute necessity henceforth of reckoning with this factor in all our larger sociological problems. If this interest of the masses can be carefully studied and sympathetically grasped by competent

in a crowd of generous donors. It has definiteness and promises immediate returns: within a few years, the international language would be recognized as an important factor in the life of the world. It is capable of indefinite expansion: its usefulness would not cease with the success of its original aim: after securing the adoption of the language, it would become a universal fund for the furthering of intellectual activity in all fields. To help mightily in a great cause; to feel the forces of evolution in one's hands, to anticipate their course and urge them therein; to use the accumulation of untold efforts—in the form of money—for a worthy collective purpose, and thus to justify one's stewardship; to be, on a definite point and at a crucial moment, the conscious instrument through which Providence fulfils itself: this indeed is an opportunity that ought to tempt an idealistic millionaire. In the meantime, let us rely, not on princely donations or governmental doles, but on the widow's mite.—(A. L. G.)

sociologists, it may be given constructive guidance for the benefit of all ; but if neglected and left entirely to be developed by radicals, it may serve to merely fan the flame of bolshevism. The Committee looks upon these sociological sides of the problem as particularly deserving of the fullest possible study under the plan it is developing.

Again reverting to the comparison between stenography and an international auxiliary language, probably the greatest difference in the two projects, as affecting their practical introduction, lies in the fact that for the present purposes of stenography it is relatively inconsequential how many different systems are in general use, since each writer generally transcribes his own notes ; whereas the primary utility of an international auxiliary language is destroyed if essential agreement cannot be reached, and effort is consequently scattered among rival projects.

For this reason it is felt that the work undertaken by the Committee promises to be of very great value, since only through such a broad and competent study of the question by the recognized best obtainable talent can results commanding public confidence and eventual official recognition be expected.

In the attempt to look forward to what may under the most favourable conditions be expected as the ultimate result growing out of the Committee's labours, including its final report to the Council, it should be clearly borne in mind that the duty of the present Committee is in no sense to itself pass judgment on any particular project for an international auxiliary language, nor to ask this of any of the co-operating committees at present forming ; but, on the contrary, to encourage the broadest possible interest in and study and discussion of the principles underlying all such projects, especially in the universities and other educational institutions, both in this and in foreign countries, in the endeavour to gradually build up a sufficiently large and competent group of investigators having both theoretical and practical knowledge of this subject, to form a really

adequate panel from which to draw members for a central international commission, preferably under the League of Nations, or whatever agency finally functions in this general capacity. Even this commission would probably not undertake to formulate its decisions or final recommendations entirely without counsel and criticism, but would serve to guide discussions toward definite conclusions which in the end it would formulate and announce as official standard practice, much as the French Academy to-day is the final official arbiter as to what is "correct French."

III

Our second condition—that there should be a vast practical application of some international language, to serve as a demonstration and as a field of experiment—was clearly in the minds of the men who, at the World Congress of International Associations (Brussels, September 1920), passed the resolution which we have already quoted :

"Recognizing the ever-growing need for an auxiliary language, the Congress expresses the desire that every person who is convinced of such a necessity adhere to the important Esperanto movement, deferring all improvements which may be deemed necessary until the moment when the language has been officially adopted by the governments."

With the spirit of this resolution, the present writer is in full sympathy. All "interlinguists" are serving the same cause. The time has fortunately gone by when their ideal was simply derided ; but they still have to combat an enemy even more ubiquitous than ridicule—inertia. This they can conquer only through united and practical efforts. The chief problem, once more, is not whether *amikoj*, *amiki*, or *amigos* be the best possible form : it is to prove life by living—the one irrefutable

argument for a sceptical world. Esperanto is alive ; it is capable of growth ; let us keep it alive and growing until the veriest village dame rubs her eyes and confesses : “ Why, I declare ! There is such an animal, after all ! ” Interlinguists are fighting for recognition, and there can be no successful fight without discipline. America in 1776, France in 1870, found themselves engaged in a life-and-death struggle, without an established political regime. For the elaboration of a final constitution there was no leisure. Rough-and-ready instruments were adopted, the Articles of Confederation, the Government of National Defence. During the emergency, these authorities had to enforce obedience as if they were permanent : when the crisis was over, they were brushed aside. In the same way, Esperanto should secure the provisional allegiance of all believers in the cause.

It is true that the wording of the resolution is ambiguous, and thereby open to objections on the part of non-Esperantists. All “ improvements ” are to be “ deferred ” : surely this is not meant to discourage the men who are engaged upon the scholarly study of the problem. Reforms may be inexpedient at the present time, but they cannot be damned *in æternum* as if they were heresies. In the darkest hours of the world war, there were men who had been commissioned to study in advance the problems of reconstruction : would to God there had been more ! The Idists and the Peanists may legitimately consider themselves as special committees of the International Language Movement. The resolution should be read in connexion with the circular of the International Research Council. The one emphasizes the need of discipline in the practical field ; the other dwells upon the necessity of disinterested investigation. The two documents do not clash : they complete each other.

A more damaging ambiguity is found in the last clause : “ until the moment when *the language* has been officially adopted by the governments.” The language ! What language ? An artificial language in general, or Esperanto in particular ? From the context, it seems that “ Esperanto ” is meant. We know that in popular parlance “ international language ” and “ Esperanto ” have become synonymous ; we are perfectly willing that the future solution, whatever it may be, should retain the familiar and sonorous name Esperanto, were it only as a tribute to the admirable activities of Dr. Zamenhof and his lieutenants—de Beaufront, Couturat, Ostwald, Schneeberger, Michaux, etc. But the choice of the final authority must not be restricted in advance to Esperanto, primitive or reformed. “ The language ” must be the best that can be devised, after the most exhaustive study, by the highest qualified experts. In so far as Esperanto is based on sound principles, it deserves to survive—and the bulk of it will probably survive. To its blemishes we do not want the world to be eternally committed.

Thus the plan of campaign of the Interlinguists can be described as a great converging movement. The right wing takes care of the practical propaganda through actual results, and its instrument is Esperanto. The left wing carries on an investigation on many lines, by partisans of many schemes, co-ordinated by the International Research Council. Their common goal is a diplomatic decision, based upon expert advice. It would be folly for the propagandists to silence the investigators, or for the investigators to thwart the propagandists.

This policy is no man’s plan : it has grown out of the necessities of the situation. But it has not yet secured the unanimous endorsement of all Interlinguists : the old fanaticisms have not been completely allayed. “ With-

out our Church there is no salvation"—can be heard from little rival groups. "We follow the method of natural evolution," claim the Esperantists; "therefore our language, which is manifestly alive, cannot die and shall conquer." "We have been guided by the strictest scientific principles," retort the Idists: "our solution is bound to be the only right one." "We are still pursuing the truth by the most approved rules of scholarship, and our results cannot fail to be final," affirm the members of *Academia Pro Interlingua*. Any one of these three Infallibilities would be much more convincing if the other two were away.

We may trust that these manifestations of narrow-mindedness will become negligible. But the policy outlined above remains open to serious objections. "How can you expect," it might be said, "either to rouse the enthusiasm of idealists, or to secure the support of practical men, for a purely provisional scheme?" Our answer is that we have not created the situation, we are simply attempting to meet it. It is not our fault if there is, by the side of orthodox Esperanto, an Ido movement that will not down. Is Ido the inevitable path? We know too well that Ido is but a compromise, and that some of its principles, highly questionable to begin with, were applied in a very arbitrary manner. Shall we find rest and peace in Latino or Romanal? We have not attempted to conceal our preference for these schemes: but they are familiar to only a handful of men; they are still in process of elaboration; they point the way, they are not the goal. It is a plain fact that, whichever scheme you adopt, you are running a risk. There is nothing in this to deter genuine idealists: they are willing to make an act of faith. In taking up Esperanto, they will be conscious of serving the larger cause, the "inner idea" of Esperantism; the "invincible *Fundamento*" will be an instrument, not a fetish.

Their enthusiasm will be just as dynamic even though it should become less superstitious.

“ Practical men ” are perfectly aware at present that Esperanto is a venture : our confessing the fact will be no sensational revelation. On the contrary, our policy reduces the difficulty : it enables us to advocate Esperanto more successfully as a “ business proposition.” A provisional scheme no doubt : but one that is guaranteed against capricious changes until the final victory of the idea. It exists. It has currency to-day. The effort required for taking it up is slight : it is a small investment that brings immediate returns. You need not go deeper into it unless you find it profitable : so you can never be a loser. Supposing that you had become a thorough Esperanto scholar, and that Esperanto should be discarded in five or ten years ? You could not have mastered it so completely unless you had used it ; and, if you used it, it paid for itself as you went along. We must consider also that, when the final model of an international language is ready at last, Esperanto will still have its “ exchange value,” like an old typewriter or an automobile of yesteryear : the greater part of its vocabulary is already international, and will be retained in whatever language is finally adopted.

The other objection, on the contrary, is that Esperanto might prove too successful. If, after a number of years, the practical world were satisfied with it, the League of Nations or any other authority would really have no choice but to make its use official. Thus an imperfect scheme would be fastened for all time upon the world. Such a danger affects us not at all. The situation could not arise unless the alleged defects of Esperanto had been found trifling, or had been corrected through usage : if such were the case, why not be satisfied with Esperanto ? The tendency among specialists to-day is to examine the blemishes of Zamenhof’s system with a high-

power microscope. Such searching criticism is probably good for the cause: so long as the question is open, let us by all means seek the best solution. But let us not lose our sense of proportion. Let us not forget all at once the praises once lavished upon Esperanto by Messrs. Ostwald, Couturat, de Beaufront. If primitive Esperanto is a trifle more difficult than some of its rivals, it is infinitely easier than any of the national languages. Whatever may seem to us strange and crude about it would become mellow under the gentle influence of time. The mass of mankind is not likely to be much more exacting, in matters of linguistic perfection, than Romain Rolland or Gilbert Murray. No one can dispute that with Esperanto, even unreformed, the world would be better off than in its present chaos.

But it is much more likely that the International Research Council, the Association of Academies, the League of Nations, will take action before primitive Esperanto has impregnably entrenched itself. Four-fifths of the problem will gradually be settled through the research of scholars; the balance, including the conventional framework of grammar, may be seriously influenced by the practical success of Esperanto. The final solution seems to us to lie between the dialect of Zamenhof, too hybrid and arbitrary, and that of Peano, too irregular in its "naturalness"; more precisely, between Ido and Romanal. But the exact terms of the ultimate compromise it would be venturesome to forecast. The problem, once more, is a social as well as a philological one, in which there enter many incalculable elements. The details of our ideal are wavering as in a dream, but its commanding figure stands out with the vividness of a vision. Such are and must be the things truly worth fighting for.

CHAPTER II

ANTICIPATIONS

I

A CHAPTER of Anticipations, at the close of this historical survey, needs no apology. Prophecy is the sober trade of the promoter. Lesseps would not have dug the Suez Canal if he had not expected that boats would use it, nor Zamenhof devised Esperanto if his eyes had been obstinately turned backwards. Let us imagine, then, that the international language movement has followed the course mapped out in the preceding chapter. The League of Nations, acting upon the report of a competent committee, has formally adopted a scheme which, for the sake of neutrality, we shall call *Cosmoglotta*. What is going to happen ?

We remember hearing that picturesque American character, Pastor Russell, announce to a large audience that the Millennium had begun in 1897, "only we were not yet conscious of its coming." We imagine that the Millennium heralded by the adoption of a world language will steal in just as shamefacedly. No immediate revolution will take place. There will be many wiseacres to depreciate the new bond of universal unity, just as there are responsible writers, in weighty or at least ponderous reviews, who still affect to belittle every effort towards international justice and peace. Even if the whole earth were of one speech, misunderstanding and strife would not be absolutely ruled out. There have been serious disputes between people using the same language—England and America in 1776, the

Northern and the Southern States, Austria and Prussia. Diplomacy has had its "cosmoglotta" for many generations, and it did not avert war. Sometimes people fight because they don't understand one another; at other times they fight because they understand each other too well. There is no panacea for world peace, neither science, nor industry, nor democracy. We are tempted to add: not even virtue, for the worst wars have been waged by well-meaning men. All that can be said of Cosmoglotta is that it is an instrument of peace and concord, and that, slowly, its influence will be felt.

The spread of Cosmoglotta will probably be of the same kind, and due to the same methods, as the diffusion of Esperanto before the war. We may take it for granted that the new language will be at least as easy as the best of the existing projects: it will therefore be possible to print a complete primer in a vest pocket pamphlet, like Chafech's *Key to Esperanto*. No instructors would be needed: experience has shown that Volapükists and Esperantists who had learned the language by themselves in different countries could come together and hold converse without difficulty. But we may expect the spread of Cosmoglotta to be infinitely more rapid than that of Esperanto. In the first place, rivalry, which has such a deterring influence, will be disarmed. The hundreds of thousands who felt Platonic interest in the movement, but who were afraid of wasting their valuable time on a nine-day wonder, will now take up the study of Cosmoglotta with a sense of safety. Great international institutions, like the Bibliographic Institute, great business concerns like Th. Cook & Sons, which need a universal language and have already endorsed Esperanto, will make immediate and extensive use of the new medium. The Socialist Party, which in 1907, at Stuttgart, had refused to discuss the question as "not yet ripe," would undoubtedly support Cos-

moglotta, which seems the essential complement of some of its theories. In ten years, the Esperanto press had passed from half a dozen papers to over a hundred : the Cosmoglotta press would grow at an even faster rate. Scientific books and papers will no doubt continue indefinitely to be published in the national tongues, but Cosmoglotta will soon be more widely used than any other language, for translations, abstracts, reviews, and expensive technical works destined for a limited public. In international gatherings—including those of the League of Nations—Cosmoglotta would at first be admitted on a footing of equality with the two, three, or four languages officially used ; then it would be the sole medium into which all speeches given in a national language would be translated ; after a few years, it is probable that all business would be conducted exclusively in Cosmoglotta. The emancipation from Babelism would thus be gradual, and the full official responsibility of transacting world affairs would not suddenly be thrust upon an untried language.

It is safe to prophesy, from the experience of Esperanto, that even a Cosmoglottic literature will be developed. It will comprise, first of all, collections of the world's classics. It would be wise to begin with easy narrative masterpieces, like the romances of Alexandre Dumas, so as to prepare both a reading public and a body of competent translators. The more abstruse works would come in due season. Such collections might well be more truly cosmopolitan in selection and style than those at present published in London, Boston, Leipzig, or Paris : they would be a boon to the most humanistic and most difficult of all studies, comparative literature. There will be published in Cosmoglottic form, almost as soon as they appear in the original, translations from authors of world-wide renown. There is an international public to-day : with this new means of communication,

this public will grow enormously in numbers and in consciousness: why should it not be addressed directly in the new tongue? We can readily imagine Messrs. H. G. Wells or Romain Rolland availing themselves of such a universal pulpit. Books on history, philosophy, sociology—and novels which are but treatises in disguise—would lose little and gain much by adopting a Cosmoglottic garb. After a few years' existence, Cosmoglotta will become a proper vehicle even for the highest kind of imaginative literature. Cosmoglottic companies, anticipated by Emanuel Reicher, of the Lessing Theatre, will tour the world with internationalized versions of *Hamlet*, *Cyrano*, and *Baby Mine*. Films will have bilingual titles—national and Cosmoglottic.¹ It is probable that *libretti*, in Cosmoglotta, will be as unintelligible as heretofore, but we shall be spared the mingling of tongues which is now so frequent on the Anglo-American stage, and would be so trying if we did catch the words.

Probably the greatest difference between the propagation of Esperanto and that of Cosmoglotta will be that the new language, because of its official endorsement, will be immediately taught in a large number of schools. Efforts in that direction, in the case of Esperanto, were bound to be sporadic. The study of Cosmoglotta could be taken up very early in the elementary schools—much earlier than it has been thought advisable to begin either Latin or a modern foreign language. It has been repeatedly contended, by the Master of the well-known Roxbury Latin High School, by Mrs. Winifred Stoner, the mother and teacher of a very prodigious infant, by a number of British educators, that Esperanto would provide the best possible introduction to the study of language in general, and even of our mother tongue. Its

¹ This might be of great educational value for the diffusion of Cosmoglotta.

simple grammar, its international vocabulary, its logical method of word-building, make it an education in clear thinking. It provides the simplified chart through which young students will learn the essentials of grammar, the precise use of terms, and some notions of etymology. Even if no practical use were to be made of Esperanto in later years, the time spent upon it would be well spent.¹ *A fortiori*, Cosmoglotta, from which the last traces of arbitrariness will have been eliminated, and which will reproduce international roots in a more etymological form, will be an educational instrument of no mean value. There will be no difficulty about introducing Cosmoglotta immediately in a large number of schools: teachers belong to that class of trained intellects who can master a simple scheme without assistance. "Normal Courses" for prospective instructors in Cosmoglotta would be helpful, but not indispensable.

II

Now our scheme is fairly launched. But, says that haughty critic of artificial languages, Prof. Karl Brugmann, "the real difficulties begin at the very point when the advocate of a world-language believes his cause to have won," i.e. after the general adoption of the project. For, supposing unity once to be achieved, how will it be maintained? Will not schisms destroy it, under the plausible pretext of introducing improvements? As Cosmoglotta spreads to the farthest ends of the world, will not local influences give rise to local dialects?

We believe the fear of local dialects to be wholly ungrounded. It is a fact that, in the course of the nineteenth century, national languages have been revived. We have repeatedly alluded to the new birth of the

¹ The British Esperantist Society has published an interesting pamphlet on that question, *Esperanto and the Schools*.

Slavonic languages in the Balkans and in the former Habsburg dominions, to the efforts on behalf of Flemish in Belgium, of Erse in Ireland, of the Landmaal in Norway. Each little national group wants to have its own speech recognized : but this is essentially a *nationalistic* movement, a struggle of the weak for independent existence. Between a minor national language and a provincial dialect, there is no essential difference : where shall we place Catalan, Galician (Gallego), Provençal, Scotch ? When a section is conscious of its separate entity, when it is agitating for political or cultural Home Rule, there is a great tendency to express these aspirations through a distinct local tongue.

But when the bitter element of political strife does not exist, the tendency is just the reverse : local dialects, when they are not cherished by intense local patriotism, disappear with a rapidity which is causing dismay among philologists—for these curious documents on linguistic development are actually vanishing faster than they can be inventoried. “ Patois ” in France are becoming a thing of the past. Whilst two adjacent valleys, in the Middle Ages, might offer striking differences in speech, the English spoken in Saskatchewan is substantially the same as that of Tasmania. The common school, the daily press, cheap literature, an efficient postal system, numerous visits from actors and lecturers, frequent travelling—all these are binding the huge Anglo-Saxon world closer together than the “ tight little island ” of Britain ever was in past centuries. The graphophone, and possible developments in long-distance telephony, will further reduce the chances of language disruption. Science and industry have altered conditions, and efficiently checked the causes that made for diversity. Centripetal forces are now more than evenly matched against centrifugal forces.

If this be true of English, it will *a fortiori* be true of

Cosmoglotta. The new language will be the expression of the unifying, cosmopolitan spirit : it would be absurd for it to become the vehicle of narrow sectionalism. Norway at present is attempting to evolve for herself a separate language, distinct from Danish : but if, moved by the same impulse, Norway wanted at some future time to react against the centralizing tendencies of the League of Nations, she would not do so by fostering a Norwegian brand of Cosmoglotta : she would ignore Cosmoglotta altogether, and use on all occasions her own traditional speech.

“ But, even though there should be no desire of creating dialects of Cosmoglotta, these would naturally arise from the different speech habits of the various nations. There will be an English, a German, a French form of Cosmoglotta, each affected by the pronunciation and the idioms of the people using it.” This danger would be a real one, if Cosmoglotta were meant to be a universal language, replacing even in the homes the traditional vernaculars : even then, modern conditions, as we have shown above, are making for unification rather than for disruption. But the case is quite different : the international language is meant for international communications. It will seldom be used among people who live under the same local influences : it will be used among strangers. This in itself would be sufficient to prevent the formation of dialects. Englishmen, no doubt, will be tempted to introduce English idioms into Cosmoglotta, just as they are at present tempted to do the same when they speak or write French. But, among themselves, the British will speak English, and not Cosmoglotta ; when using Cosmoglotta with foreigners, the British will learn by experience that Anglicisms are not understood, and they will correct their mistakes. Probably many people will retain in the international language traces of their local accent and of their habits

of diction : but the example of Esperanto has proved decisively that these differences were not such as to hinder mutual comprehension.

Much graver is the other danger—the formation of sects, each with a different form of the international language. It caused the death of Volapük ; it is threatening Esperanto. At present, there is an artificial Babel by the side of the ancient one. Whatever scheme is adopted will not satisfy everybody : there will always be a hankering for a “ philosophical ” and truly neutral world language¹ ; even among a posteriorists, some would make the language more of a hybrid, others would insist on keeping it homogeneous ; some will be in favour of borrowing derivatives ready-made, others would prefer to form them according to logical rules. Even if the miracle had been performed—if all people interested had accepted the verdict of a competent authority—would this unanimity be preserved in the next generation ? Disruptive forces will constantly be at work within the international language.

True : every man carries germs of death within, from the moment he is born, and so does every human institution—be it Church, nation, or language. The problem is, once more : are the unifying forces stronger than the disruptive ones ? To this question we feel justified in giving an optimistic answer. First of all, we may take for granted that the solution agreed upon will not be worse than the best of those now proposed—Esperanto, Ido, Neutral, Universal, Latino, Romanal. Now it is quite evident that there is a converging tendency among all these schemes. They are based upon the same broad principles, and these principles are worked out pretty nearly in the same way ; Ido was a compromise between Esperanto and Neutral, and its evolution has brought it appreciably nearer the Neutral-Universal-Latino

¹ Cf. the opinions of Prof. H. Sweet and Mr. Hamilton Holt.

group. The reforms proposed by Dr. Zamenhof in 1894 went even farther in the same direction. We have come very near unity, in a natural and therefore in a stable manner. No solution is absolutely scientific, inevitable, and permanent: but the room for dissension is visibly narrowing down. Solresol afforded no clue to Chabe or Spokil: everything differed from one to the other. Volapük and Bollack had little in common, although both were a little more natural than the schemes just mentioned. On the contrary, the two rival groups at present, Esperanto-Ido on the one hand, Neutral, Universal, Latino on the other, are strikingly alike. Within the last three decades, scores of language schemes have been proposed, but this was due to the fact that the Interlinguist world was not organized—how many people came independently to the thought of simplifying Latin?—and to the fact also that the question was still open. After it has been settled by a competent authority, this fever of production will undoubtedly be transferred to other fields. About 1848, every Frenchman drafted an ideal constitution; at present, very few give the subject a thought.

As soon as Cosmoglotta is used for practical purposes, the men who consider it as an instrument, not as an end in itself, will fast outnumber those who are chiefly interested in details of grammar and vocabulary. The world as a whole is not philologically minded. Merchants, tourists, administrators, and even scientists will soon take the language for granted, and will insist upon it that “well enough” be “let alone.” This is already strikingly the case with Esperanto, the only artificial language that has been used for extensive, practical applications. The Esperantists as a body are curiously conservative in language matters. Their rivals assert that this is the result of ignorance, fanaticism, and, on the part of the leaders, selfish ambition. In most cases,

this is far from the truth. Esperanto has simply developed the natural power of resistance to abrupt change which characterizes living organisms. Publishers, authors, journalists, teachers, students, are materially as well as sentimentally interested in its preservation. It has become an asset to them, which they do not want to throw away for the sake of doubtful improvements. Indeed, this is the reason why we believe it to be essential that the decision of the League of Nations be preceded by the most thorough investigation possible: as soon as any scheme has been made official, it would be the hardest thing in the world to introduce any far-reaching reforms.

If revolution is improbable, evolution is inevitable. All projects make provisions for a central body, to supervise, register, and to a certain extent guide, the evolution of the language. Volapük, and Neutral after it; Esperanto and its descendant Ido, and the various forms of Neo-Latin, had their "Academies." The programme of the Union for the Creation of an International Language Bureau, the petition of the Swedish Committee to the League of Nations, the circular of the International Research Council, all contemplated such an organ. The Cosmoglottic Academy, like its illustrious exemplar the Académie Française, will be the final arbiter as to what, at a given moment, is the standard practice among educated people. Flights of individual fancy it will not condemn, but ignore: the neologism, perhaps even the barbarism, of to-day may be accepted to-morrow, but it will not be recognized by the Academy until it has received the sanction of prolonged usage. The advantages of such a supreme court are obvious: yet English has long done without, and the authority of the British and American Academies is not very great at present. Membership in the Academy should not be exclusively the reward of literary excellence: philolo-

gists, philosophers, scientists, technicians, men of action and men of the world should be represented among the Cosmoglottic Immortals. And no doubt they will be the butt of endless jokes or fiery denunciation, in the funny papers and wild-haired magazines of Cosmoglotta.

III

One last question : how far and how deep is Cosmoglotta likely to spread ? What will be its clientèle ? Some belated critics, unaware of recent developments, still hold that it will remain the fad of a few crack-brained enthusiasts. Others, like M. Paul Chappelier, prophesy, without elation, that it will displace all natural languages and become the sole and universal tongue. We need not say that both opinions seem to us wide of the mark.

The degree of diffusion of Cosmoglotta is not likely to be the same in all countries. Its study will be taken up first of all by men whose interests are not limited by the frontiers of their nation—scholars, scientists, statesmen, business men and industrialists in a large way, leaders in all world-wide movements, be it religion or labour. In short, its clientèle will be first of all the intellectual élite, with the possible exception of certain artists. But such an élite, even in the most favoured lands, forms a small proportion of the people as a whole.

In what we might call the big linguistic blocks—English-speaking North America, Spanish America, Brazil, Russia—this élite alone will have any practical need of Cosmoglotta. When it is possible to travel for thousands of miles without using any but one's native speech ; when, for the majority of merchants and producers, the home market is immeasurably more important than the rest of the world ; when there is a sufficiently large public for even abstruse and expensive books in the vernacular, then there is no crying need for

an international tongue. In these countries, the one chance for Cosmoglotta to spread among the people will be its value as an instrument of culture : it might become " the Latin of Democracy."

If, as many British and French Liberals have proposed, the whole of tropical Africa were administered in common by the civilized nations, for the protection, welfare, and uplift of the natives, Cosmoglotta would become the logical language of government over this vast area, and it might be used even among negroes as a sort of *lingua franca*.

In Asia, from Turkey to Japan, Cosmoglotta might have a magnificent field. It would probably become the chief vehicle of Western culture, on account of its simplicity, and most of all on account of its neutrality. It would soon rival French in what remains of Turkey, English in China and Japan ; and we must face the possibility of its gaining ground even in the possessions of England, France, and America—India, Indo-China, the Philippines. Men suffering from a virulent form of language imperialism might object to such a development : ultimately, it would make for reconciliation and cordial co-operation. Cosmoglotta would also be used by Oriental writers desirous of reaching the widest and best Western public : in this capacity, it could be of untold service to mankind, in bringing closer together worlds and civilizations now estranged by so many prejudices.

In Central and Western Europe Cosmoglotta may reach deeper than anywhere else. The countries are comparatively small ; their relations are active, and in many cases vital ; their frontiers are frequently artificial ; even with the best diplomatic readjustment they can hardly be made to coincide with linguistic boundaries. Before the Great War, state lines were increasingly ignored by tourists and labourers : and when Europe

finds herself again, these conditions will prevail once more. Belgians, Italians, Germans, Poles, roamed all over France and over parts of Germany at harvest-time. Westphalia and the new mining district of Lorraine were becoming more and more cosmopolitan. The iron deposits near Caen attracted Poles, Spaniards, and even Berbers. A boom or a panic bring about currents and counter-currents of migration. A large proportion of these labourers will ultimately settle somewhere, learn the official language of the country, and become thoroughly assimilated; but many keep moving year after year, or return periodically to their original home. Cosmoglotta might well become the *lingua franca* of these transient labourers and of those who deal with them—recruiting agents, contractors, hotel and restaurant keepers, social workers, missionaries. Even the slums would be the better for an international language.¹

Cosmoglotta will probably strike its deepest roots in those places and for those activities that are directly under the control of the League or Association of Nations. If Geneva turns into a universal Washington, the world-centre dreamed of by Hendrik Andersen and sketched by Ernest Hébrard,² it is not inconceivable that Cosmoglottic homes will grow in the federal city. A General Staff for the collective police force, without which the League will remain a shadow, would work much more efficiently if it used but one language. There are three classes of territories that ought to come, more or less directly, under the jurisdiction of the League, and in which Cosmoglotta would be an invaluable instrument of impartial administration. The first class comprises,

¹ We have it from a responsible observer that the dockers in Rotterdam were already, to a limited extent, making practical use of Esperanto.

² Cf. *World Conscience*, an International Society for the Creation of a World-Centre, Hendrik C. Andersen, 3 Piazza del Popolo, Rome.

as we have stated before, the homes of the backward races. By whatever title they may be held at present, all such colonies are in truth *mandates*. It would be an immense progress if all traces of land-grabbing and imperialistic greed could be eliminated, if the stewardship of these territories were entrusted, not to individual nations, but to a collective organization with its own neutral tongue. This method might apply, not only to the countries which seemed doomed to long ages of dependence, but also to those which, inhabited by races capable of progress, have somehow fallen behind in the race. It seems probable that the Great War would have been averted if Persia, Mesopotamia, Morocco, could have been guided into the ways of modern civilization by disinterested Cosmoglottic administrators.

The second class is composed of those disputed areas, so numerous in Europe, where various racial, national, or linguistic elements clash in everlasting and bitter conflict. To these sore points in the body politic it is customary to apply the terms "Alsace-Lorraine": there is hardly a country engaged in the Great War that has not her "Alsace-Lorraines" to-day. There is a Germania Irredenta, an Ungaria Irredenta, a Yougo-Slavia Irredenta. On all points of the compass, Poland and Rumania are surrounded with debatable borders. Bilingualism, legislation for the protection of ethnic minorities, are makeshifts: out of fierce rivalry you can get diffidence and hatred, but no genuine peace. What is needed is the spirit of fair play, embodied in a thoroughly neutral language. A Cosmoglottic commission in Macedonia, in Transylvania, in Silesia, in Fiume, could do much more efficient work than a body in which jealous nationalisms constantly seek to over-reach, or at best to neutralize, one another.

Finally, there are a few points to which history or geography have imparted world-wide significance.

Their possession by any of the Great Powers is resented by the rest of the world. If you make them nominally independent, there will be such a discrepancy between the weakness of their local governments and the magnitude of the interests they control, that corruption and intrigue will everlastingly prevail. There again the League should assume control, through a genuinely neutral, Cosmoglottic protectorate. Of these vital points, the most striking example is Constantinople : neither Turkey nor Greece, neither Russia nor England, can afford to leave anyone else in full control of the Straits. We might add Tangiers, disputed between French, English, and Spanish influences, and paralysed thereby in its development ; Jerusalem, the sacred city, not of the Jews alone, but of all Christians, and precious to the Mohammedans themselves ; Salonika, indispensable to Macedonia, not to Greece, and where no race has a clear majority ; finally, the great highways, Suez and Panama : these should be neutralized, as soon as Anglo-Saxondom can safely resign its trusteeship into the hands of an organized world.

IV

Will the day ever come when Cosmoglotta is no longer an auxiliary, but truly a universal, language ? Will our existing tongues gradually be reduced to the position of home dialects, like Welsh or Provençal—still fondly cultivated, still used in the family circle, still the vehicles of local literature, but hopelessly outdistanced in the race by the one great instrument of government, science, commerce ? Will the levelling influences of modern civilization gradually conquer even these last strongholds until the languages of Dante, Shakespeare, Cervantes, Goethe, Victor Hugo, fade into classic unreality and popular oblivion, like the speech of Homer, and that of Vergil ?

“ A dream, and not even a beautiful dream ” : the words which the grim old warrior applied to universal peace fitly express our opinion of linguistic unity. We have long given up the idea of a Universal Empire, and even of a Universal Republic, if these had to be established and maintained by force, if they had to crush out the life of a single national organism. What we dream of, or, better, what we are definitely working for, is a universal federation wherein no originality would be stifled, but all would be freely and peaceably harmonized through justice and love. There is not a country, there is not a patois, that cannot claim its sacred right to existence, and that does not contribute its mite to the common treasure. Cosmoglotta, far from levelling legitimate differences, is meant to restore fair and friendly competition, to promote co-operation, to save the numerically weak, to prevent the waste of energy involved in the attempt of crushing rivals. Every man has two fatherlands, the country of his allegiance and the common home of the race ; everyone will also have two languages, his mother tongue and the common, neutral medium of all. This is all that we can foresee, and all that we are striving for.

Beyond—in centuries yet unborn—who can tell ? A few years ago, some people affected to be greatly worried over the exhaustion of the world's coal supply. Now it is evident that infinitely richer sources of energy will be tapped, long before the last ton of anthracite is dug out of the mine. French and English may wane and die, in ages too remote for our imagination to fathom : but long before this has come to pass, their treasures will have become incorporated in the victorious Cosmoglotta. We might as profitably speculate about the language of Judgment Day.

The problem which we have been studying in this little book is, on the contrary, practical and immediate in the

highest degree. Everyone can do his bit, through study and propagand. There is none so poor that he cannot purchase an Esperanto primer. The questions we have passed in review were highly technical at times, and philology is not an amiable science. But we trust that the reader has caught, through the din of grammatical terms, faint echoes of the Angels' message: Peace on earth, goodwill toward men.

APPENDIX I

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

1. GENERAL

THE authority on the subject is : L. Couturat et L. Leau, *Histoire de la Langue Universelle*, Paris, Hachette, 8vo, xxx + 576, 2ème tirage, 1907. (Good bibliographies.)

Les Nouvelles Langues Internationales, by the same authors, brings their previous study up to 1908. But the critical discussions, which are such an admirable feature of the main work, are omitted in the supplement (8vo, viii + 112, chez l'auteur, 7 rue Nicole, Paris, V). Prof. Couturat died in 1914: the book could probably be secured from Idist organizations.

In English :

W. J. Clark : *International Language, Past, Present, Future*, London, J. M. Dent, vii + 205, 1907. (A brilliant survey of the whole subject, but out of date, and too exclusively Pro-Esperantist.)

L. Couturat, O. Jespersen, R. Lorenz, W. Ostwald, L. Pfaundler : *International Language and Science*, translated by F. G. Donnan, London, Constable, vi + 87, 1910. (A valuable contribution, but, considering the fame of its authors, rather disappointing ; Idist.)

To keep in touch with the international language movement at the present day, inquire of the following agencies :

ESPERANTO : *Centra Oficejo*, 51 rue de Clichy, Paris ; *Universala Esperanto Asocio*, 10 rue de la Bourse, Geneva, Switzerland.

IDO : *Uniono por la Linguo Internaciona* Ido ; Lüsslingen, Solothurn, Switzerland.

LATINO SINE FLEXIONE : *Academia Pro Interlingua* ;

Director : Prof. G. Peano, Cavoretto, Torino, Italy. Vice-Director (in charge at present) : Prof. J. Meysmans, Woluwe-St. Pierre, Brussels, Belgium.

ROMANAL : M. A. Michaux, avocat, 152 rue Faidherbe, Boulogne-sur-Mer, France.

PANROMAN-UNIVERSAL : Dr. H. Molenaar, Neustadt a.d. Haardt, Bayern, Germany.

VERBAND FÜR DIE SCHAFFUNG EINES WELTSPRACHE-AMTS, Bern, Switzerland.

COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL AUXILIARY LANGUAGE of the International Research Council, Dr. F. G. Cottrell, Chairman ; Ward Nichols, Secretary ; 1701 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The historical part of this book is based chiefly on Messrs. Couturat and Leau's masterly *Histoire de la Langue Universelle* and *Les Nouvelles Langues Internationales*. But the author has personally studied the following schemes : Solresol, Volapük, Esperanto, Bolak (Blue Language), Neutral (and Reformed-Neutral), Panroman (Universal), Latino sine Flexione, Ido, Romanal, without mentioning a number of projects more rapidly examined (Simplo, Adjuvilo, Extralingua, Perfektsprache, etc.).

For material assistance and personal suggestions in the preparation of this work, I beg publicly to thank the following gentlemen :

Esperantists : Messrs. Aymonier, G. Chavet, Claudius Colas, Fr. Fleck, Mr. and Mrs. Reed, Rollet de Lisle.

Idists : L. Couturat, O. Jespersen, Ct. Ch. Lemaire, B. Mackensen, E. F. McPike, Gerald Moore, Wm. J. Phœbus, Fr. Schneeberger.

Neutralists : B. Mackensen, W. Rosenberger.

Panroman : Dr. H. Molenaar.

Blue Language : M. Léon Bollack.

Academia pro Interlingua : U. Basso, A. Hartl, J. Meysmans, A. Michaux, A. Miller, G. Peano, J. B. Pinth.

My best thanks are due to Dr. David Starr Jordan, who

encouraged me to offer a course in the International Language at Stanford University, and thereby provided an experimental basis for my study of the subject.

2. ARTIFICIAL LANGUAGES AND PHILOLOGY

The following bibliographical note was prepared in reply to the assertion that "no philologist of repute would stoop to discussing artificial languages." The list is far from complete: but, just as it stands, it may prove its point.

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2. Brugmann, Karl, and Leskien, August: *Zur Kritik der künstlichen Weltsprachen*, 8vo, Karl Trübner, Strassburg, 1907. (1) Brugmann: *Die neuesten Weltsprachenprojekte*. (Purely theoretical considerations; in spite of the adjective *neueste*, the author is visibly thinking of Volapük when he writes Esperanto.) (2) Leskien: *Zur Kritik des Esperanto*. (Severe, but valuable study. Most of the points criticized were the objects of Ido reforms.)

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12. Régnaud, Paul : *Les Conditions d'établissement d'une Langue Internationale, à propos de l'Esperanto*. Paris, Le Soudier, 1901. (Advocates a radical reform of Latin. Practically realized in Peano's Latino sine Flexione.)

13. Schuchardt, Hugo : *Auf Anlass des Volapüks*, 8vo, Trübner, 1888. (Favourable to artificial languages, but criticizes Volapük.)

14. Schuchardt, Hugo : *Weltsprache und Weltsprachen*. An Gustav Meyer, Trübner, 1894. (Answer to No. 9.)

(The Imperial Academy of Sciences of Vienna, June 26, 1902, commissioned Schuchardt to report on the International Language Movement. We have been unable to secure this report. Schuchardt was a member of the Committee of the Delegation for the Adoption of an Auxiliary Language.)

15. Sweet, Henry : Articles, "Esperanto," "Universal Languages," and "Volapük," in 11th edition of *Encyclopædia Britannica*. (Recognizes that the need is pressing. Of existing schemes prefers Idiom Neutral. Favours a logical, a priori artificial language, for its cultural value and its perfect neutrality. Admits the provisional adoption of an a posteriori language like Esperanto. Information not invariably accurate and up-to-date.)

APPENDIX II

A TENTATIVE LIST OF ARTIFICIAL LANGUAGE PROJECTS ¹

SECTION A : A PRIORI SYSTEMS (AND UNDEFINED)

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| <p>Descartes (1629).
 Sir Thomas Urquhart : <i>Logopandecteision</i> (c. 1650).
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 Reimann : <i>Langue Internationale Etymologique</i> (1877).</p> | <p>Gaetano Ferrari : <i>Monoglot-tica</i> (Modena, 1877).
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¹ Based on Couturat and Leau, op. cit., with a few additions, up to 1907.

SECTION B: MIXED LANGUAGES (A PRIORI AND A POSTERIORI)

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| <p>J. von Grimm : <i>Programme</i> (1860).
 Schleyer : <i>Volapük</i> (1880).
 Verheggen : <i>Nal Bino</i> (1886).
 Menet (1886).
 St. de Max : <i>Bopal</i> (1887).
 Bauer : <i>Spelin</i> (1888).
 Fieweger : <i>Dil</i> (1893).
 Dormoy : <i>Balta</i> (1893).
 Guardiola : <i>Orba</i> (1893).
 W. von Arnim : <i>Veltparl</i> (1896).</p> | <p>Marchand : <i>Dilpok</i> (1898).
 Bollack : <i>Bolak</i>, or <i>Blue Language</i> (1899).
 A. Hoessrich : <i>Tal</i> (1903).
 Max Wald : <i>Weltsprache Pankel</i>, die leichteste und kürzeste Sprache für den internationalen Verkehr (Gross Beeren, 1906).
 Fr. Greenwood, <i>Ulla</i> (1906).</p> |
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SECTION C: A POSTERIORI LANGUAGES

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| <p>Carpophorophili : <i>Novum inveniendæ scripturæ æcumenicæ consilium</i>, ap. <i>Acta Eruditorum</i>, t. x (1734).
 Faiguet : <i>Langue Nouvelle</i> (1765).
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 Dr. Zamenhof : <i>Reformed Esperanto</i> (1894).
 Beermann : <i>Novilatin</i> (1895).
 The <i>Linguist</i> (1896-7).
 Puchner : <i>Nuove-Roman</i> (1897).
 A. Nilson : <i>La vest-europish central-dialekt</i> (1890);</p> |
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| <p><i>Lasonebr</i>, un transitional lingvo (1897); <i>Il dialect Centralia</i> (1899).</p> <p>Kürschner: <i>Lingua Komun</i> (1900).</p> <p>Isly: <i>Linguum Islanium</i> (1901).</p> <p>Akademi International de lingu universal: <i>Idiom Neutral</i> (1902).</p> <p>Frölich: <i>Reform-Latein</i> (1902).</p> <p>Elias Molee: <i>Tutonish</i> or Anglo-German Union tongue (1902).</p> <p>H. Molenaar: <i>Panroman</i></p> | <p>(1903), called <i>Universal</i> after 1906.</p> <p>G. Peano: <i>Latino sine Flexione</i> (1903).</p> <p>J. Hummler: <i>Mundelingua</i> (1904).</p> <p><i>Linguo Internaciona di la Deligitaro (Ido)</i> (1907).</p> <p>W. Rosenberger and de Wahl: <i>Reform-Neutral</i> (1907).</p> <p>Raoul de la Grasserie: <i>Langue Internationale Pacifiste ou Apolema</i> (1907).</p> <p>De Wahl: <i>Auli</i> (1910).</p> <p>J. Weisbart: <i>Europal</i> (1911).</p> |
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ESPERANTO-IDO GROUP

There are a number of schemes which attempt to introduce reforms in Primitive Esperanto, or to effect a compromise between Esperanto and Ido. Both Dr. Zamenhof and M. de Beaufront had thought of a project slightly different from standard Esperanto: Zamenhof in his proposed reforms of 1894, de Beaufront in his *Adjuvanto*. Among the modified Esperanto dialects may be mentioned:

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| <p>Fr. Greenwood: <i>Ekselsioro</i> (1906).</p> <p>R. de Saussure (Antido): numerous forms (<i>Antido</i>, <i>Konkordio</i>, <i>Lingvo Kosmopolita</i>); the latest is found in <i>La Vojo</i>, redaktata en "evoluinta" <i>Esperanto</i>.</p> | <p>Prof. Esperema: <i>Adjuvilo</i> (1908).</p> <p>Wssewolod Tscheschichin: <i>Nepo</i> and <i>Neposlava</i> (1910). (Esperanto grammar and endings, national words retained unchanged.¹)</p> |
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¹ Sample of *Nepo* (German words are preceded by ., English words by . . ., Russian words by . . .; French and Esperanto words: no special indication)

“ . Vaterno nia, . . . kotoryja estas . in la . . . njeboo ; . heiliga estu nomo via ; . kommenu règneo via ; estu volontéo via . . . jakoe . in la . . . njeboo, . ebene . soe . . . na la . erdeo.”

Dr. W. Stelzner : <i>Nov-Es-</i>		<i>peranto</i> (1913). (Latin
<i>peranto</i> (1912).		vocabulary with Esper-
C. Vanghetti : <i>Latin Es-</i>		<i>peranto</i> endings.)

INTERLINGUA GROUP

The different schemes of Anglo-Latin co-operate through the *Academia pro Interlingua*. Among the projects by members of the Academy may be mentioned :

G. Peano : <i>Latino sine Flexi-</i>		A. Hartl : <i>die Perfektsprache</i> .
<i>one</i> , also called <i>Latino</i>		Sidni Bond : <i>Omnez</i> (1912)
<i>Internationale</i> , or <i>Inter-</i>		and <i>Domni</i> (1913).
<i>lingua</i> .		V. Hély : <i>El interpretes inter-</i>
Messrs J. B. Pinth, Meys-		<i>national</i> .
mans, Basso, etc., have		M. Ferranti : <i>Simplo</i> .
collaborated to <i>Interlingua</i> .		A. Michaux : <i>Romanal</i> .
P. Wilfried Möser : <i>Semilatin</i> .		A. Miller : <i>Extralingua</i> .

It is somewhat difficult to classify the scheme of Mr. R. C. Eldridge, of Niagara Falls, New York, U.S.A. " (It) advocates the making and gradual introduction throughout the world, by concurrent action of the various governments, of a limited polyglot or eclectic vocabulary for universal use, to be used in printed matter to the exclusion of all native words having the same meaning." This task will be facilitated (1) by statistical tables showing the relative frequency of words (this would be very valuable indeed : Mr. Eldridge's own work in that direction, although extensive, is merely an indication of what should be done) ; (2) by the introduction of a universal phonetic alphabet (cf. the efforts of Association Phonétique Internationale). Mr. Eldridge aims at nothing short of the unification of all culture languages. As the number of essential words in frequent use is surprisingly small, only a few years would be required to bring languages so close together that they would become the dialects of the universal tongue. Mr. R. C. Eldridge professed to be at the same time an Esperantist. (1911.)

APPENDIX III

A CRITICAL COMPARISON OF ESPERANTO, IDO, INTERLINGUA AND ROMANAL¹

THIS is a preliminary survey of the vast field which Dr. Cottrell has aptly named "synthetic linguistics." The author's intention is not so much to criticize the four projects selected as types, as to pass in review the difficulties that the language maker has to encounter. These problems will be arranged under the following heads: I. Alphabet and Pronunciation; II. Grammar (mostly Accidence); III. Vocabulary: selection of roots; IV. Vocabulary: compounds and derivatives.

I. ALPHABET AND PRONUNCIATION

An *a posteriori* language, based on Western or Latin elements, like the four projects we are studying, should satisfy the following conditions:

(a) Its spelling should be strictly phonetic, i.e. each

¹ The following textbooks were used in the preparation of this appendix:
ESPERANTO:

Dr. L. Zamenhof, *FUNDAMENTO*, in A. Baker, *The American Esperanto Book*. American Esperantist Co., Chicago, 1908.

Dr. Ivy Kellermann-Reed, *A Complete Grammar of Esperanto*. D. C. Heath & Co., 1910.

IDO:

Practical Grammar and Exercises, by P. D. Hugon. Guilbert Pitman, London, 1908.

O. Jespersen, *HISTORIO DI NIA LINGUO, AND ARTIFICALA LINGUI POS LA MONDMILITO*, London, 1920.

INTERLINGUA:

MANUALE PRACTICO DE INTERLINGUA, Ventimiglia, 1913.

ROMANAL:

Aux Alliés: *ROMANAL, Langue Internationale Anglo-Latine*, A. Michaux-Boninque, Boulogne-sur-Mer, 1917, 78 pages; and leaflet, *ROMANAL*, 1919.

separate sound should be represented by one sign only, and always by the same. Conversely, each sign should represent but one sound, and always the same.

(b) Separate sounds or groups of sounds which present serious difficulties for a large number of people should be eliminated.

(c) The alphabet should conform as closely as possible to the most widely accepted Western practice, so as not to puzzle beginners or distort unduly, either in spelling or pronunciation, well-known international words.

(d) For practical reasons, it is highly advisable to use only those signs which are common to all the Western languages, i.e. the letters of the English alphabet, to the exclusion of accents, umlaüt, cedilla, tilde, etc.

These four requirements are difficult to adjust. As a matter of fact, not one of the four languages satisfies them to the full.

1. VOWELS

All four accept the five fundamental vowels, A, E, I, O, U, with the sound they have in German or in Italian.

No distinction is necessary between long or short, close or open. The meaning of a word, in an international language, should not depend upon the quantity or quality of the vowel. In English, for instance, the Northern pronunciation *bāth* and the Cockney pronunciation *bāth* are equally intelligible. In Esperanto and its congeners, this is true of all vowels and in all cases. There will be national and individual peculiarities of pronunciation, but they will not affect the clearness and unity of the speech. Automatically, according to their position—accented or unaccented, checked or free—the vowels will be pronounced a little differently.

The two greatest difficulties are offered by English habits of speech. The first is the tendency to diphthongize vowels; if an English Esperantist is not careful, it will be difficult to tell whether he is saying VENO (*coming*) or VEJNO (*vein*). The second is the habit of slurring over unaccented vowels. Unaccented finals, for instance, will be almost undistin-

guishable. Fortunately the essential meaning of the word seldom depends upon these finals (cf. the part dealing with grammatical endings). At any rate, an artificial language in this respect will not be worse off than English itself.

Interlingua has *æ* and *œ*; but they may be simplified into *e*.

Interlingua has *y* = French *u* or German *ü*. But, "if this sound seems too difficult, *y* may be pronounced *i*."

Romanal gives *y* a neutral sound, analogous to unstressed *e* in French or English (e.g. *butter*, the final of *zephyr* would be pronounced alike in English and in Romanal). This introduction of an unnecessary and difficult sound is contrary to at least two of the principles stated above.

2. SEMI-VOWELS

(English *Y* in *you* and *W* in *West*.)

For the semi-vowel *w*, Esperanto uses an inflected *ŭ*, generally as the second part of the diphthongs *eŭ* and *aŭ*. The other languages have no separate sign for that sound. *U* is always a semi-vowel after *g* and *q*. For the semi-vowel *y*, Esperanto, Interlingua, and Romanal use *j*. This is etymologically justified, as *j* is but a form of *i*. Italian, and especially German, are still using it in that way. The International Phonetic Association has also adopted *J* for the *yod* sound.

But as English, French, and Spanish, the three most widely diffused languages to-day, never use *j* for the *yod*, there is some justification for the adoption by Ido of *Y* to denote that sound.

As a matter of fact, the need of separate signs for the semi-vowels is not evident. A rule for diphthongs, similar to the one which obtains in Spanish, would cover most of the cases.

3. NASAL VOWELS

Nasal vowels (French *ã*, *õ*, *ẽ*, *æ̃*) do not exist in the international languages.

4. CONSONANTS

All four accept, with the same value as in English, the following consonants: B, D, F, G, H, K, L, M, N, P, R, S, T, V.

Several of these are open to question according to our second principle (elimination of difficult sounds). Volapük, it will be remembered, tried at first to do without R, which presents difficulties for "old people, children, Chinese, and English-speaking people"—indeed the vast majority of mankind. Spaniards find it difficult to distinguish *b* from *v* (*bibere* from *vivere*). The Germans have trouble with the series DT, BP, GK, etc. Although these four languages retain aspirate H, it should be mentioned that the H sound has practically disappeared from the Romance languages (French, Spanish, Italian). The proper use of the H seems to bother not a few Britishers as well. In Italian, H is found only in a few rare words, in certain forms of the verb *to have*, and as a phonetic sign to harden *c* and *g*. The example of Italian shows that H could be eliminated from international spelling without loss.

However, the suppression of any of these letters might lead to distortions or confusions, and it is probably advisable to retain them all.

In all these languages, combinations of consonants are found which are difficult at least for Italians: Esperanto has KN, KV, and, worst of all, STS (SCIENCO). But all have SKR, STR, PT, etc. This can hardly be helped. Esperanto-Ido have Z with the same value as in English. Interlingua does not mention Z. Romanal gives Z the value TS, which is contrary to the first rule of phonetic spelling.

The most embarrassing problem of all is the one offered by the letter C. C is pronounced like K in most languages before A, O, U. But before E and I, it may be S, as in English, French, and American Spanish, or CH, as in Italian, or TH as in Castilian, or TS as in German.

Esperanto and Ido adopt C = TS. This is an acceptable compromise, as it does not distort beyond recognition the

spelling or sound of international words. But it is contrary to phonetic rule : the same sound in Esperanto-Ido may be written in two different ways (*ts* or *c*) and a single sign is used to denote the combination of two sounds.

Romanal, logically enough, uses C invariably with the sound of K. This pronunciation of C in classical Latin is fast gaining ground in Europe. It is just as natural to pronounce *CICERO* : *KIKERO* as to pronounce *CHICHERO*, *SISERO*, or *TSITSERO*. We are already accustomed to the pronunciation *KELT*, even when we spell *CELT*, and we should easily get used to the pronunciation *KINEMA* even if we kept on writing *CINEMA*.

On this question, Interlingua breaks down. C before A, O, U, is hard (K). Before the weak vowels E, I, Y, it may be pronounced like CH in "church," or like TS or like SS. Perhaps these differences would not prevent inter-comprehension : only actual practice would tell.

Esperanto has no Q or X, these sounds being expressed by K, KS, and KZ. KZ, by the way, is contrary to our habits of speech, and Esperantists have to pronounce GZ (e.g. *EKZAKTA*, *EKZAMENI*, generally pronounced *EGZAKTA*, *EGZAMENI*).

The restoration of X in the other three languages respects familiar spellings, and enables different people to pronounce, as they please, KS or GZ. Q in Ido, Interlingua, and Romanal, always precedes semi-vocalic U. The result, however, is that in these languages the same sound may be written in three or even in four different ways : we are far from our phonetic ideal. E.g. in Romanal, *CINERE*, *CIFRE*, *CENTRE*, with *c* hard ; *KILOGRAMME*, *KILOMETRE*, *EXPEDIAR*, *QUANDO*, *QUASI* (pronounced *Kinere*, *Kilogramme*, *eKspediar*, *Kuasi*. Now the English word *ecstasy*, or the Spanish *cual*, *cuadro*, *cuarto*, *cuatro*, etc., show that it is not strictly impossible to omit X or Q. We might feel a slight shock the first time we came across the word *ecscuisit*. But the gain in simplicity would be worth while. It seems a pity to burden a new language with irregularities, in order to placate the conservatives : the conservatives will have nothing to do with the scheme, any-

way. X and Q (and K in Romance languages) are rare letters. For instance, our proposed simplifications would lead to the change of a single letter in the Lord's Prayer: Pater Noster, cui es in cælis. . . .¹

5. HUSHING SOUNDS

The hushing sounds (*she, pleasure, church, George*) are more frequent in Esperanto than in English: this is probably due to the influence of Slavonic languages. Thus PASHI, *to step*, PASHTI, *to pasture*, PASHTELO, *pastel* or *crayon*, PISHTO, *piston*, etc.

The result, from the æsthetic point of view, is a matter of personal appreciation. The present writer happens to be partial to these hushing sounds. It seems to him that *dolce far niente* would be less sweet if it were pronounced *dolse* or *dolke*. Italian, most musical of modern languages, is nearly as rich in such sounds as Esperanto.

The Anglo-International alphabet makes no provision for these sounds: they are expressed either by the soft *c* and *g*, or by digraphs. German indeed needs three letters to denote the simplest of them, SCH, and four to express the soft Italian *c*: TSCH.

Esperanto borrowed from the Slavonic languages the idea of single inflected letters to render these sounds, viz. *ŝ, ĉ, ĝ, ĵ*. Certainly new signs are needed. But, on the one hand, those selected by Dr. Zamenhof may not be the most appropriate; on the other hand, the presence of these accented letters gives a page of Esperanto a strange appearance, which a few critics find repellent. Finally, those letters make it impossible to write Esperanto on an ordinary machine, or to print it in an ordinary shop. So the Esperantists have long ago accepted as a compromise the digraphs *sh, ch, jh, gh*.

The first, although predominantly English, does not shock the habits of any other language, and is particularly acceptable. With the value given to *c = ts* in Esperanto and Ido, *ch* naturally has the same value as in English and Spanish (this, of course, is puzzling at first for Germans and

¹ In Rumanian, K and Q are not used, except in foreign words.

Italians, but no better compromise has been proposed). So far so good. But, for the sound found in *pleasure*, Esperanto has *ĵ*: now the relation between Esperanto *s* and *sh* is not at all the same as that between *j* and *ĵ*. The sign ought to have been *zh* or *ĝ*. Dr. Zamenhof was influenced here by French practice. The sound in *George* is *ĝ*: Dr. Zamenhof here follows the languages which consider this sound as a "soft G." Phonetically, it ought to be *dzh*, or *dĝ*. If Esperanto, in the selection of these signs, abandons logic, it is in order to follow a widely accepted national usage. But, in most languages, GH would convey the idea of hard rather than soft G. SHANGHIGHEMA (*changeable*) is an example of a word with an accumulation of disfiguring H's. Such words, of course, are exceptional.

Ido retains *sh*, *ch*, with the same value as in English and in Esperanto. The soft G (as in *George*) is expressed by *J*. The sound *zh* (as in *pleasure*—French *j*, Esperanto *ĵ*) is not used.

Romanal apparently has no hushing sounds.

Interlingua follows Italian usage: SC before *e, i, y, æ, œ* = English SH. C and G before the same letters *e, i, y, æ, œ*, sound respectively *ch* as in *church* and *g* as in *George*. French *j* (*zh*) is not used.

So in this question of the hushing sounds, we find: no logical correlation between the different signs adopted by any one language; single sounds expressed by two letters (*sh*); double sounds expressed by a single letter (*g* or *j* for *dzh*).

The simplest solution would consist in omitting those sounds altogether, *g* and *c* remaining always hard. For the transcription of foreign names, the following could be used: *sh, tsh, zh, dzh*.

6. GERMAN "ACH" SOUND

The so-called German hard CH, found also with variants in Spanish (*jota*), in Arabic and in a number of other languages, exists in Esperanto: it is spelt *ĥ* or *hh*. Although this sound enjoys a fair degree of internationality, the veto

of English and French is sufficient to condemn it. It occurs only in a few words (e.g. *ĤEMIO*, *chemistry*, *ĤINO*, a *Chinaman*, *ĤORO*, *choir*), and could easily be eliminated. For the transliteration of proper names, the sound could be rendered by *x*: Castilian and the International Phonetic Association use *x* in that way. The other three languages have very properly discarded that sound altogether.

7. TONIC ACCENT

In Esperanto and Ido, the accent falls on the last syllable but one. The omission of the final vowel, which is permissible in both languages, does not shift the accent. In Ido the accent falls on the last syllable—*ar*, *ir*, *or*—of infinitives.

The statement of the rule, in Romanal, is not perfectly clear: "The last syllable but one (penultimate) is accented when it contains a long vowel, i.e. A and O are pronounced with a rising inflection. The vowels E and I are short, U may be either long or short." (*Aux Alliés*, p. 32.)

Interlingua retains, "in general," the Latin accent, for which four or five simple rules are given. But these rules imply a distinction between short and long vowels.

Interlingua attacks vehemently the regular accentuation adopted by other schemes. In the first place, it would lead to monotony and cacophony. In the second place, it would produce "monstrosities" such as *ocùlo*, *tabùla*, *angèlo*, *angùlo*.

The present writer finds it hard to sympathize with such scruples. If it is "barbarous" to simplify and regularize accentuation, surely it is just as "barbarous" to suppress declension altogether, reduce conjugation to a single type, and form all plurals in the same way. The author of Interlingua is straining at gnats.

When we find the same word—*difficult*, *difícil*, *difficile*—accented in three different ways in English, Spanish, and French, we realize, with a sigh of relief, that we are free. The accusation of monotony and cacophony is wide of the mark: variety is introduced by the free mixture of long and

short words, so that the interval between accents is constantly changing. Only in the case of a sentence composed entirely of words of the same number of syllables—say three—would the criticism of Interlingua be justified.

But experience has answered : there is a natural language with a perfectly regular system of accentuation, and that is French. ^{lish.} We confess that French may not be quite so harmonious as Italian, quite so varied as English or German : yet it may be an instrument of singular charm, as well as of matchless precision. When writers in Interlingua are able to rival the “monotony” of Rabelais, Montaigne, Hugo, Michelet, Rostand, or the “cacophony” of Racine, Lamartine, Renan, Anatole France, we shall resume the discussion.

The Idists, probably under the influence of the great philologist O. Jespersen, have also felt some qualms of conscience about the traditional place of the tonic accent. In order to preserve this etymological place, without creating an exception, they have changed or clipped the word itself, in the same way as popular speech had done in many languages. Thus Esperanto AZENO (*donkey*) becomes ASNO ; ANIMO becomes ANMO. *Eagle* is AGLO in both languages. Cf. the Romanal forms : ASINO, AQUILO, ANIME. But ANGULO remained unchanged, and ANĜELO only suffered the orthographic change ANJELO. It seems to us that, as the written form is much more international than the spoken word, the Idists are on the wrong track when they alter the spelling of a word in order to retain the proper accent. It is possible to devise a language intelligible at first sight—although too much might be sacrificed, as we shall see, for that “first sight” : it is not possible to devise a language which can be understood without study the first time it is heard. The proper method is to agree on the most international spelling and reconstruct the pronunciation, according to simple rules, on the basis of that spelling.

“But,” it may be objected, “the result may be contrary to phonetic experience.” Phonetic laws apply in all their strictness only to the words which have been transmitted through oral tradition. They do not apply to the so-called learned words, consciously borrowed in their written form.

Thus it is that *fragilem* gave in popular French *frêle*, but in literary French *fragile*, with a shift of the accent. Now all the words of Esperanto, Ido, Interlingua, Romanal, are in the same situation as the learned, and not as the popular words. It seems simple enough, therefore, to follow the example of French : i.e. borrow words in their written form, and give them a perfectly regular accent. The rule adopted by Esperanto-Ido has proved satisfactory on the whole. A slightly different one has been proposed, which we believe to be preferable : the accent should fall on the vowel which precedes the last consonant (the sign of the plural, if it be a consonant, would not change the position of the accent). Words ending in a consonant would thus be accented on the last syllable ; words ending in a vowel, on the penultimate. E.g. in Esperanto, FAMILI'O would become FAMI'LIO (Ido : FAMI'LYO) ; but IDE'O becomes ID'EO, which is a doubtful advantage. The correlative words KI'AM, TI'EL, etc., would be KIAM', TIEL', and would practically become monosyllabic. The accent would fall on the finals of the Esperanto verb : AMAS', AMIS', AMOS', AMUS'—which is the only way of keeping these forms distinct. The apparent exceptions in Ido (AR, OR, IR, and the -AL ending of adjectives) would thus be reconciled with the general rule. A little more variety would be introduced into the pronunciation of the language.

II. GRAMMAR

1. NUMBER

In Esperanto, the plural is formed by adding -j to the singular of nouns and qualificative adjectives. The words CHIU (*everyone, each, all*), KIU (*what, which, who, interrogative relative*), and TIU (*that, demonstrative*) also take the mark of the plural. E.g. TIUJ-CHI BONAJ GEPATROJ, *those good parents* ; TIUJ CHIUJ KIUJ, *all those who*. . . .

The plural in *j* looks strange to Western eyes. Before asserting that it sounds badly, we should remember the Greek plurals in -oi, and stop on the brink of blasphemy.

With the rule for the tonic accent suggested above, it would be possible to use *-i* instead of *-j*, and the appearance of the language would be greatly improved : *la bonai gepatroi*. The sounds *aj* and *oj* are frequent in English, and the sound *uj* can easily be acquired. The advantage of this plural is that the characteristic endings *a* and *o* are retained.

In Ido, the qualificative adjective remains invariable. Nouns, and the words OMNA (*all*), QUA (*who*), ICA, ITA (*this, that*) form their plural by changing the last vowel into *-i* : LA BLANKA HUNDI, OMNI TI QUI (*all those who*). In other words, the plural is formed both in Esperanto and in Ido with *-i* : but in the first case it is formed by addition, in the second by substitution. Both methods are defensible. On account perhaps of familiar plurals in *-i* found in Russian and in Italian (*bolsheviki, dilettanti*), the Ido form seems more natural.

As the three most widely spread languages, English, Spanish, and French, have a plural in *s*, the use of that form would seem highly preferable. One scheme of Reformed Esperanto, Adjuvilo, has plurals in *-s*, which necessitate a change in the verb forms. The reasons why Ido retained the *-i* were, first of all the desire of not modifying too radically primitive Esperanto, and also the need of a vocalic plural ending to which the *-n* of the accusative could be added.

In Interlingua and Romanal, nouns form their plural in *s*, adjectives remain invariable. In Romanal, the article agrees in gender and number with the noun : LOS, LAS, LES. These two languages follow so closely the Romance type that it would seem more natural for them to have the qualificative adjective also agree with the noun : LOS BONOS PATROS. It is not certain that the invariability of the adjective, as in English, is a desirable simplification in an artificial language.

2. GENDER

There is no artificial gender in the four languages : the student does not have to learn, as in German, that the *moon* is masculine, the *sun* feminine, the *woman* and the *girl*

neuter. Only nouns (and, in Romanal, articles) vary in gender.¹

In Esperanto and Ido, the feminine is formed by the addition of *-in* to the root, before the characteristic ending. This form, borrowed of course from the German, exists, however, in Latin (*rex, regina*), and is found in modern languages: e.g. Fr. and Eng. *hero, heroin*. As the sign of the feminine is accented, it cannot be missed; whereas the more obvious form *-o* and *-a*, in Interlingua and Romanal, unaccented, may not be so distinct in rapid pronunciation.

Esperanto applies the rule of the feminine without exception: PATRO, *father*, PATRINO, *mother*. After some hesitation, Ido has admitted the word MATRO instead of PATRINO. Critics have made fun of KNABINO, *a female boy*: but is not *puella* a feminine—and diminutive, to make matters worse—of *puer*?

The quaintest creation in Esperanto is FRAŬLO, from FRAŬLINO, *Miss*. It means an unmarried young man—the *damoiseau* of old French, the *Señorito* of Spanish. To an unaccustomed ear, *damoiseau* sounds as funny as FRAŬLO.

One drawback of the feminine in *-in* is that many words ending in *-in* would seem to be feminine, and for that reason have to be modified. Thus Esperanto has AZENO, *donkey*, instead of ASINO or AZINO (Ido: ASNO).

If the simple change from *-o* to *-a*, as in Romanal, is not found sufficient, it seems to us that the suffix *-ess* should be seriously considered. It is more international than *-in* (especially Eng., Fr., Ital.). In the French Bible, we find even the word "*hommesse*" (Genesis).

3. ACCUSATIVE

None of the languages under consideration has a full synthetic declension like Volapük. Indeed one of the names of Interlingua is LATINO SINE FLEXIONE. Esperanto, however, has an accusative ending *-n*. English shows traces

¹ Some Interlinguists, like Dr. Pinth, seem to favour artificial genders based on etymology.

of the accusative in personal and relative pronouns (him, them, whom). But in Esperanto nouns, adjectives as well as pronouns in the objective case take the final *-n*. The result, especially in the plural, is of doubtful charm: TIUJN CHIUJN KIUJN are forms that friends of Esperanto blush to encounter.

The justification of the accusative ending is that it does away with ambiguities which, especially in inversions, are possible in English and in French. By means of that simple device, Esperanto acquires a syntactic freedom almost as great as that of Latin. You can jumble words as much as you please: thanks to the endings, the meaning will be clear, even though it is not obvious. This freedom may mean a great deal to the literary writer. But it is particularly important, as enabling men with different habits of speech to understand one another. The price paid for such an advantage may seem very small indeed.

Ido has retained the Esperantist accusative in *-n*, but uses it only when it is necessary for the clearness of the sentence.

In addition to the use of the accusative *-n* for the objective case, Esperanto gives that ending a number of other functions. It may express direction (MI IRAS LONDONON, *I am going to London*), and in that sense it may be added to adverbs: DEKSTRE, *on the right*, DEKSTREN, *towards the right*. It may be used instead of a preposition, to indicate date, price, measurement, etc. The advantages of these refinements are doubtful.

All cases, except the accusative, are expressed in the Romance languages and in English by prepositions. The natural method would be to denote the accusative also by a preposition. The use of Spanish *a* after transitive verbs is an indication of what could be done. M. Michaux has attempted to follow that precedent in Romanal: the objective case is expressed by the preposition EM. This—to be used only in case of need—may prove a satisfactory solution.

4. GRAMMATICAL ENDINGS

All four languages have vocalic endings for nouns and adjectives: these endings are quite an asset: they make

the languages easier to pronounce and more pleasing to the ear. The absence of such endings was found to be a great drawback in Idiom Neutral and Panroman. But in Latino sine Flexione (Interlingua) these endings are purely etymological. In the other three they are grammatical, i.e. they denote the part of speech to which a word belongs.

Numerous objections have been urged against that system. The first is that such endings are useless, because, being unaccented, they will be hard to distinguish. They would remain useful, however, in careful speech and in writing. In the other cases, even if they were useless, they would at any rate not be harmful. If you complain that BONA POETO is not clear enough, the Esperantists and Idists may answer that it is fully as clear as BONO POETA, *bueno poeta*, *buone poeta*, or *bon poète*.

(2) The endings are unnatural: *-a* of the adjective sounds like a feminine, *-o* of the noun like a masculine. The objection has weight, and Romanal uses *-o* and *-a* for masculine and feminine. But, once more, BONA POETO is not more absurd than BONO, *bueno*, or *buone poeta*, found in Interlingua, Spanish, and Italian.

(3) The addition of these endings distorts, at times grotesquely, international words: *rosa* becomes ROZO, *opera* OPERO, *boa* BOAO! This is true of a few words. But even in the case of *Opera* with its Anglo-French plural *operas*: we wonder if OPEROJ is much more barbaric than *opere*, *operas*, *Opern*?

(4) The use of such endings is artificial, for it does not exist in any natural language. Say that it does not exist in its completeness, just as no natural language has an absolutely regular conjugation, or an invariable method of forming plurals and feminines. But all languages have endings which are an indication of the part of speech: e.g. all the verbs of the first conjugation in French, in *-er*; the German infinitives in *-en*; the English adverbs in *-ly*, etc. Esperanto, Ido, and Romanal, in this as in all other points, are merely extending, standardizing existing practice.

(5) The result is bound to be exceedingly monotonous. By no means, for these finals do not bear the accent, and

the accented syllables are as different as in any natural language. In writing, the monotony would be felt only in long enumerations. As a rule, words of the same grammatical category are not found in close juxtaposition. Besides, critics fail to remember that there are no less than twenty-six different endings in Esperanto.¹ As a matter of fact, if you take two passages of the same length in Esperanto-Ido and in Italian, you will find that Italian has fewer endings, and is the worse offender from the point of view of monotony.

Both Esperanto and Ido admit that the vocalic ending may be elided, when euphony and clearness are not impaired thereby. Cf. the poem by Romano Frenkel quoted p. 115.

GRAMMATICAL ENDINGS COMPARED

	Esperanto.	Ido.	Romanal.
Nouns . . .	-O	-O	-O (masc.)
id, feminine . . .	-INO	-INO	-A -U (both sexes) -E (undefined or inanimate)
Adjectives . . .	-A	-A	-I
Adverbs . . .	-E	-E	-IM
Infinitives . . .	-I	-AR	-AR

The endings of Romanal, so far as nouns are concerned, are more natural than those of Esperanto and Ido. They settle at once a question much vexed in the other languages: does the simple noun denote a thing or a person? Does BONO mean "*the good*" or "*a good man*"? MM. Couturat and de Saussure have waged long battles on such questions. In Romanal: BONO cannot be anything but "*the good man*," BONE would be "*the good*," or "*a good thing*." Note also the simplicity and precision of the series: BOVO, BOVA, BOVE: *an ox, a cow, beef*, compared with Esperanto BOVO, BOVINO, BOVAJHO.

On the other hand, the result is an overwhelming predominance, among nouns, of the ending -E, which is the

¹ A-E-I-O-U-AN-EN-IN-ON-UN-AJ-EJ-OJ-UJ-AJN-OJN-UJN-AL-AM-EL-AS-ES-IS-OS-US-AŬ, without counting the individual endings of prepositions and conjunctions.

least sonorous of the three. The sound of Esperanto-Ido is more pleasing than that of Romanal.

Interlingua and Romanal, in case a compromise should be found advisable, could adopt the endings of Esperanto or Ido without being disfigured thereby. This was proposed by Dr. Giuliano Vanghetti, and here is a sample of his "Latin-Esperanto": ACADEMIA PRO INTERLINGUA DEBUS ADMITTI TERMINATIONOJ ESPERANTO, ET ESPERANTISTOJ DEBUS PONI IN PROPRIA VOCABULARIO ETIAM VOCABULOJ INTERNATIONALA PROPOSITA AB ACADEMIA PRO INTERLINGUA. In Latin-Ido, the same passage would read: ACADEMIA PRO INTERLINGUA DEBUS (or DEBEZ) ADMITTAR TERMINATIONI IDISTA, ET IDISTI DEBEZ PONAR IN PROPRIA VOCABULARIO ETIAM VOCABULI INTERNATIONALA PROPOSITA AB ACADEMIA PRO INTERLINGUA.

Several other systems, combinations, or compromises have been proposed. It is one of those points upon which arbitration alone can decide.

5. CONJUGATION

Tense.	Esperanto.	Ido.	Interlingua.	Romanal.
Infinitive :				
Present .	AMI	AMAR	AMARE	AMAR
Past .	id.	AMIR	id.	AM-AV-AR
Future .	id.	AMOR	id.	AM-ER-AR
Active Participle :				
Present .	AM-ANTA	AM-ANTA	AMANTE	AM-ANT
Past :	AM-INTA	AM-INTA	id.	AM-AV-ANT
Future .	AM-ONTA	AM-ONTA	id.	AM-ER-ANT
Passive Participle :				
Present .	AM-ATA	AM-ATA	AMATO ¹	AM-AT
Past .	AM-ITA	AM-ITA	id.	AM-AV-AT
Future .	AM-OTA	AM-OTA	id.	AM-ER-AT

¹ The formation of the passive participle by adding -TO to the stem would in many cases lead to "barbarisms" like SCRIBETO, AGETO. Interlingua adopts the familiar Latin form SCRIPTO, ACTO. Hence irregularities to be memorized.

Simple Tenses. Ind.	Esperanto.	Ido.	Interlingua.	Romanal
Present .	MI AM-AS	ME AM-AS	ME AMA	ME AM-AN
Past .	MI AM-IS	MI AM-IS	ME AMA-BA	ME AM-EN
Future .	MI AM-OS	ME AM-OS	ME AMA-RA	ME AM-ER-AN
Conditional	MI AM-US	ME AM-US	none	ME AM-AR-IN
Imperative (and Subjunctive)	AM-U!	AM-EZ!	AMA!	AM-AD!

Compound

Tenses, Active,

Analytic Form :

Auxiliary ESTI
plus active participles.

ESAR

HABE

Passive Participle

Passive Con-

jugation,

Analytic Form :

Auxiliary ESTI
plus passive participles.

ESAR

ESSE(RE)

ESTAR

Synthetic Forms, active :
by the insertion of .

Ido.

Romanal.

AB

AV

me am-AB-as

me am-AV-an

me am-AB-is

me am-AV-an, me am-AV-en

me am-AB-os

me am-AV-ER-an

me am-AB-us

me am-AV-arin ¹

Synthetic Forms, Passive, in Ido only, by the insertion of -ES before the ending: ME AMESAS: ME ESAS AMATA. ME AMABESUS: ME ESABUS AMATA, etc.

Some Interlinguists deny the necessity of any formal conjugation: the verb always retains the same form (i.e. Latin imperative, or infinitive minus final *-re*). E.g. ME LEGE, ME JAM LEGE, ME LEGE HERI, ME POST LEGE, ME VOLE LEGE, ME VADE LEGE, ME LEGE CRAS, LEGE! QUE ME LEGE, QUE ME JAM LEGE, ME LEGE (SI TU SCRIBE).

Without going to such an extreme, we may admit that the point is well taken: a rudimentary conjugation is sufficient for all purposes. When a language possesses tenses which express delicate shades of meaning, we find as a rule that the

¹ Romanal conjugation is not definitely settled yet.

shade is already expressed in the rest of the clause or sentence: it is the shade which requires the tense, and not the tense that creates the shade. This is particularly true of the subjunctive tenses. The English subjunctive is exceedingly poor compared with the subjunctives of Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish: yet there is no loss of precision, and a great gain in simplicity. The chief reproach to be addressed to Esperanto, Ido, and Romanal is that their conjugations are too subtle and too rich.

Although the use of *to be* (ESTI) as the sole auxiliary is contrary to French habits, French Esperantists very soon get used to it. Through the progressive forms (*I am writing, I was writing*, etc.) this method of tense formation is quite familiar to English-speaking people.

If the Esperanto-Ido conjugation were retained, it would be advisable to accent these forms on the last syllable: otherwise, it will be extremely difficult to distinguish AMAS, AMIS, AMOS, AMUS. But the addition of a syllable (as in Interlingua and Romanal) is still clearer. Perhaps should we rely entirely on analytic forms, which seems to be the tendency in modern languages. In French the so-called past indefinite has practically superseded the preterit (*j'ai aimé* instead of *j'aimai*), and the analytic future is gaining ground (*je dois aller, je vais aller*). And in many cases, the conversational present would do instead of either past or future.

The most complicated of the four systems discussed above involves the memorizing of only a dozen endings, and the conjugation, if anything, is too rich! In French there are several thousand verbal endings.

6. CORRELATIVE WORDS

Esperanto alone has forty-five correlative words, mostly artificial, and which can be arranged in tabular form. This logical multiplication table was declared "elegant and ingenious" by M. Couturat in his unregenerate days. After he had seen the light of Ido, it became "preposterous." The reader will judge for himself.

TABLE OF CORRELATIVE WORDS

	Indefinite.	Collective Distribut. General.	Interrogat. Relative.	Negative.	Demonstrat.
QUALITY	IA	CHIA	KIA	NENIA	TIA
(Adjectival)	<i>Some kind of</i> <i>Any kind of</i> <i>Any, some</i>	<i>Every kind</i> <i>Each kind</i> <i>Each, every</i>	<i>What kind ?</i>	<i>No kind</i> <i>No such</i> <i>No</i>	<i>That kind</i> <i>Such kind</i> <i>Such a</i>
MOTIVE	IAL	CHIAL	KIAL	NENIAL	TIAL
(Adverbial)	<i>For some</i> <i>cause or</i> <i>reason</i>	<i>For every</i> <i>cause or</i> <i>reason</i>	<i>For what</i> <i>cause or</i> <i>reason</i>	<i>For no</i> <i>cause or</i> <i>reason</i>	<i>For that</i> <i>cause or</i> <i>reason</i>
TIME	IAM	CHIAM	KIAM	NENIAM	TIAM
(Adverbial)	<i>At some time</i> <i>At any time</i> <i>Ever</i>	<i>All the time</i> <i>For all time</i> <i>Always</i>	<i>At what</i> <i>time ?</i> <i>When ?</i>	<i>At no time</i> <i>Never</i>	<i>At that time</i> <i>Then</i>
PLACE	IE	CHIE	KIE	NENIE	TIE
(Adverbial)	<i>In some</i> <i>place</i> <i>Somewhere</i> <i>Anywhere</i>	<i>In every</i> <i>place</i> <i>Everywhere</i>	<i>In what</i> <i>place ?</i> <i>Where ?</i>	<i>In no place</i> <i>Nowhere</i>	<i>In that</i> <i>place</i> <i>There</i>
MANNER	IEL	CHIEL	KIEL	NENIEL	TIEL
(Adverbial)	<i>In some way</i> <i>or manner</i> <i>Somehow</i>	<i>In every</i> <i>way or</i> <i>manner</i> <i>In all ways</i>	<i>In what</i> <i>way ?</i> <i>As, like,</i> <i>how</i>	<i>In no way</i> <i>or manner</i> <i>Nohow</i>	<i>In that way</i> <i>or manner</i> <i>So, as, like</i>
POSSESSION	IES	CHIES	KIES	NENIES	TIES
(Pronominal)	<i>Someone's</i>	<i>Everybody's</i>	<i>Whose</i>	<i>No one's</i>	<i>That person's</i>
THING	IO	CHIO	KIO	NENIO	TIO
(Subst. & Pronominal)	<i>Something</i> <i>Anything</i>	<i>Everything</i> <i>All</i>	<i>What</i> <i>Which</i>	<i>Nothing</i>	<i>That thing</i> <i>That</i>
QUANTITY	IOM	CHiom	Kiom	NENiom	TIom
(Adverbial)	<i>Some, a</i> <i>little</i> <i>Somewhat</i>	<i>All of it,</i> <i>all</i>	<i>How much ?</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>That much</i> <i>So much, so</i> <i>many</i>
INDIVIDUALITY	IU	CHIU-J	KIU-J	NENIU	TIU-J (-j plural)
(Pronominal)	<i>Somebody</i> <i>Anybody</i>	<i>Everyone</i> <i>Each, every</i> <i>All</i>	<i>What one ?</i> <i>Which ?</i> <i>Who ?</i>	<i>Nobody</i> <i>No one</i>	<i>That person</i> <i>That one</i> <i>That</i>

The fact that these words can be arranged in tabular form is no argument against them. For one thing, it would be very easy not to present them in that way, and to learn them separately. Then there are such correlations in living languages, and we do not think of objecting to them. When we come across—

<i>Here</i>	<i>There</i>	<i>Where</i>
<i>Hither</i>	<i>Thither</i>	<i>Whither</i>
<i>Hence</i>	<i>Thence</i>	<i>Whence</i>

we are rather thankful for the symmetry.

Neither should these words be condemned a priori because they are artificial creations. If there are no good international forms, artificial words may provide the best solution. Anyway, the forms I', KI', NENI', and TI' are sufficiently international to denote the indefinite, interrogative-relative, Negative and Demonstrative. The endings -A, -E, -O, are an essential part of the Esperanto-Ido system. The ending -ES for the possessive is English and German. So a number of these words could be defended.

There is little to be said, however, for CHI- as collective-distributive. The root TUT- is good Esperanto: the root OMN- is potential Esperanto under Rule IV. Either would be far superior to CHI-. Note that CHIEL seems connected with CHIELO, heaven.

One of the essential rules of Esperanto is that every root, every affix or ending, has a definite meaning and one only, so that the meaning of derived words can be found by looking up their component parts separately in a small dictionary. Now these correlative words do not respect that rule. AL and EL are prepositions, as well as adverbial endings indicating motive and manner. AM is the root of "love" as well as the ending indicating time. -E stands for adverbs in general, not merely for "place." We may add that these words are wrongly accented. The natural tendency would be to accent them on the second vowel rather than on the *i*, which is weak: JÉL', JÓ, instead of I'EL, I'O, etc.

It may therefore be admitted that this table is not one of

the strong points of Esperanto. It could be improved in two ways, both compatible with the principles of the language :

(1) Substitute for CHI- the root OMN- (under Rule XV) ; for -AL, KAŬZE, for -AM, TEMPE, for -E, LOKE, for -EL, MANIERE, for -OM, MULTE. These different endings already exist in Esperanto. Just as we say SAM-TEMPE, *at the same time*, ALILOKE, *somewhere else*, we might say KIATEMPE ? *when*, or OMNALOKE, *everywhere*. We could thus, if we please, reconstitute our table of forty-five correlatives. They will be longer than the original forms, but they will be transparent.

(2) In addition to this reform, it would be possible to adopt simpler words when they are already internationally known. For instance, for KIAL, *why* ? we might have, by the side of KIA KAŬZE ? POR KE ? : by the side of KIA TEMPE, KUANDE, etc.

This second method alone has been followed by Ido, and, naturally, by Interlingua and Romanal. But the coexistence of the two forms might be an advantage. The logical form might be easier to remember for people who do not know Western languages ; and it would be perfectly intelligible for those who do.

III. VOCABULARY

1. SELECTION OF ROOTS

Rule XV of the Fundamento reads as follows (translation by Arthur Baker) :

"The so-called foreign words, that is those which a majority of the languages have taken from one source, are used in the Esperanto language without change, receiving only the orthography of this language ; but with various words from one root it is better to use unchanged only the fundamental word, and to form the rest from this latter according to the rules of the Esperanto language."

The second part of this rule will be discussed in our next section (compounds and derivatives). The first part is a

fairly clear statement of the principle upon which all modern *a posteriori* projects are based.

The expression "foreign words" may seem puzzling at first, as these words are indigenous in at least one language. "Borrowed words" would be open to the same objection. However, the general meaning is clear.

Unfortunately, the rule remains extremely vague on more vital points. "*A majority of THE languages*": it would be necessary to enumerate the languages under consideration, in order to know what constitutes a "majority." Dr. Zamenhof had undoubtedly in mind "a majority of the major European languages"—the list of which is not so easy to establish, as we shall see.

Second ambiguity: these words "*are used in the Esperanto language without change*": but they have several forms in the different languages: which of these forms will be adopted "*without change*"? We have, for instance, *equality*, Fr. *égalité*, Sp. *igualdad*, It. *uguaglianza*. Here, again, Dr. Zamenhof had his method, which was not a good one: it consisted in striking a compromise between the different forms. But this is not mentioned.

Third difficulty: in transcribing words from a living language into Esperanto, Dr. Zamenhof adopts as a basis sometimes the written word, sometimes the spoken word. In the latter case, the result may be puzzling: e.g. SAJNI (German *scheinen*), *to seem* (not: *to shine*); ĜATI (German *schätzen*), *to prize, to like*; RAJDI (Germ. *reiten*), *to ride*. RAJTO, *right*. TROTŬARO (Fr. *trottoir*), *sidewalk*.

On the whole, Dr. Zamenhof had formulated and adopted the right principle, but he did not apply it very systematically. We must remember that at the time when Esperanto was created, people had too strict a notion of absolute neutrality as a *sine qua non* of an international language: we have seen that men like Prof. H. Sweet and Mr. Hamilton Holt continued to hold that opinion a whole generation later. It seems that Dr. Zamenhof recoiled before the natural consequence of his system: it would have made his language too exclusively Neo-Latin. So he corrected the principle of internationality by what we might call the principle of dis-

tribution : he wanted to give English and German a chance, and even had a few crumbs of comfort for Russian. A number of words were taken from classical Latin, a few from classical Greek (e.g. KAJ); and occasionally the author indulged in a little creation of his own: e.g. the famous correlative words, and forms like CHU and TUJ.

The result, no doubt, is not "scientific": it is an individual creation, the prolonged shadow of a personality. Perhaps we are taking it too much for granted that an artificial language should be "scientific": the one great requirement is that it be practical, and on the whole, Esperanto satisfies that requirement. Nay, Zamenhof's method, or lack of method, had one decided advantage. His language is a work of art—although you are free not to like the art. It has a unity, an originality of its own. A page of Esperanto has an unmistakable look and an unmistakable sound: it is not "bad Spanish mixed with German, and set by a drunken Czecho-Slovak printer": it is Esperanto and nothing else. And the strange thing is alive. It was alive from the very first, and it has grown vigorous in the usual way, through exercise. From that point of view none of its rivals can compare with it. We do not deny that life could be breathed into them through practical use: but so far they are possibilities, whilst Esperanto is a fact. Esperanto reminds us of certain plays of Lord Dunsany, based on a composite and fanciful mythology which no one had ever heard of before—and yet convincing. It may be that when the ingredients are collected for an international language, a spark of genius is needed to effect their combination. The almost fanatical loyalty of many Esperantists for their KARA LINGVO is a fact more important for the student of our problem than the carpings of grammarians.

We have seen that it was the old Volapük Academy, under the direction of Mr. Rosenberger, that worked out systematically the principle expressed in Rule XV, and advocated by Messrs. Lott and Liptay. The languages which were collated for establishing the "Neutral" vocabulary were German, English, French, Italian, Russian, Spanish, Latin (in abbre-

viation D., E., F., I., R., S., L.). The list is acceptable. Latin is included, not Greek, because the international part of the Greek vocabulary had already passed into Latin. Twenty-five years ago, Portuguese was not thought of as potentially a world language: the rapid strides of Brazil have altered conditions. Naturally Polish was left out: at present, in numbers, culture, and political importance, Poland is not only a nation, but more than a minor nation. No attempt was made by the Neutralists to give a special coefficient of importance to the different languages under consideration.

The result was a vocabulary considerably more Latin than that of Esperanto—in fact almost exclusively Latin. The Neutralists very properly sought their roots not merely in the simple terms, but among the derivatives: this was particularly favourable to the Latin element. Thus Esperanto, for *ship*, has SHIPO, which is English and may be guessed at from the German *Schiff*: Neutral has NAV, which is found in English *naval*, etc. For *wound*, Esperanto uses VUNDO, Anglo-German; Neutral prefers VULN, which we have in *vulnerable*. In the *form* of these words, Idiom Neutral seems to follow two principles—the principle of compromise, as in Esperanto, and the principle of simplification, the latter carried to such an extent that, at least in the earlier version, harsh accumulation of consonants were by no means infrequent.

Ido, as we have said, is a compromise between Esperanto and Idiom Neutral. Under the inspiration of Prof. O. Jespersen, it attempted to make the method of the Neutralists more rigorous still by taking into account not merely the number of languages using a particular word, but the number of people speaking those different languages (cf. Preface to *International English Dictionary*, 1908). The first result of this method was that Latin was dropped from the list, as it is nowhere spoken as a national language. We beg to repeat briefly the two main objections which arise in our mind concerning Prof. Jespersen's method:

1. Mere numbers do not provide an adequate criterion of the relative importance of languages. This basic fact ought to be modified: (a) by a coefficient of culture (based on

literary, or on literary and scientific, production) ; (b) by the fact of geographical diffusion, or better dispersion : the superiority of English over Russian, for instance, is much greater than mere numbers would indicate ; and the fact that Spanish is spoken by twenty different nations, scattered over three continents, is an indication that cannot be neglected ; (c) tradition, the degree of internationality already achieved by a language, the number of people who have learnt it next to their mother tongue ; (d) possibly the intrinsic beauty and facility of a language, although that is a point upon which it is even more difficult to agree than upon the other three.

If such factors were taken into consideration, they would leave English where it is—*primus inter pares* ; they would work greatly to the advantage of French, which would stand on a par with English, and of Latin, restored to the place that the Neutralists gave it. These three languages would be far ahead of German, which in its turn would come long before Spanish and Italian. But even Italian would count for more than Russian. As a matter of fact, we do not propose to determine such “coefficients” : we are only attempting to show how rough and pseudo-scientific the arithmetical method of the Idists was.

But this method, such as it is, leads to no certainty. According to it, all words common to German and English would take precedence of words found in the Romance languages (from which, however, Portuguese has been omitted). In a few cases, Russian and German together would carry the day (DEJORAR(?), *to be on duty*). However, if we follow the legitimate Neutralist method of looking for roots in the derivatives, we shall generally find in English some element of Latin origin. Ido has corrected SHIPO to NAVO, but it has kept VUNDAR, *to wound*, instead of VULN', and VORTO, instead of VOCABUL'. The vocabulary of Ido is therefore almost as much of a hybrid as that of Esperanto, and much more so than that of Neutral.

This mixture has two results. In the first place, even people who know some Germanic as well as some Romance languages will be puzzled to know whether any given root is

taken in its Latin or in its Teutonic meaning—whether ALT stands for *high* or for *old*, whether ARM means *poor*, *the upper limb of man*, or a *weapon*. Then the Ido method works absolutely against the ideal expressed by Prof. Jespersen : “that international language is best, which is easiest for the greatest number of men.” Granted that the method, properly applied, would make each separate word “easiest for the greatest number of men,” this would not be true of the language as a whole. Ido inherited from Esperanto the word CHERPAR, *to draw*, which is Russian : the presence of that isolated word will be of no assistance to Russians, and it will be a stumbling-block to all non-Russians. The same is true of all the purely German words. We have already expressed this criticism in the body of this book, and need not insist. So far as vocabulary is concerned, there is no comparison between Ido and the languages of the Anglo-Latin groups in point of “greatest facility for the greatest number.”

Finally, the transcription of the roots thus selected is made, as in Esperanto, according to no set rule, but by means of a compromise. The Idists seek an intermediate form, which will follow the principles of Ido spelling and will be recognizable, by sight or hearing, by men of different nationalities. But in many cases it would take a very keen eye to discover the resemblance. Ido dictionaries tell us that NAPO (*turnip*) is French as well as Italian and Spanish. To a Frenchman, NAPO would suggest *nappe* (*table-cloth*) rather than *navet*. And UCELO is also claimed to be French, whereas it is at best doubtful Italian. (Fr. *oiseau*, *bird*. Esperanto has BIRDO, which might as well mean *beard* as *bird*. Neutral has ORNIT, and Romanal AVE, which can be recognized by everyone.)

Our conclusion is that the Ido vocabulary was constituted, partly as a legacy from Esperanto, partly through the loose application of pseudo-scientific principles. It is distinctly inferior, both in scholarliness and in practical value, to the vocabularies of Idiom Neutral and of Panroman. Ido has other qualities—the harmonious and lucid vocalic endings inherited from Esperanto, a more logical system of derivation

than that of the parent language, and especially than that of Neutral or Interlingua. It is free from some of the more obvious blemishes of the Zamenhofian dialect. Its vocabulary is, no doubt, its weakest point.

The different forms of Interlingua, including Romanal, are based on a wider interpretation of the principle of internationality. Experience has shown that the existing international vocabulary was overwhelmingly Latin. The natural conclusion is that the future auxiliary language should be Neo-Latin. But for the elaboration of this Neo-Latin, several methods are possible. One would consist in starting from classical Latin, and effecting whatever simplifications or modifications are found necessary. Another would be the simplification of one of the existing Romance languages (Auguste Comte suggested Italian), or a compromise between them—a “harmonization” of French, Spanish, Italian, if you like: this was, on the whole, the method of Dr. Molenaar in his *Panroman*. But if we compare classical Latin, the Romance languages, and *English*, which Max Müller considered as a Romance language, we find that the elements common to Latin and English are also common to the other Romance languages. Hence the simpler rule: Interlingua adopts the whole Anglo-Latin vocabulary. By properly analysing derivatives, we may find in English Latin synonyms for all the Anglo-Saxon words. Thus *bovine* will give us the root *bov-* for *ox*; and, as we mentioned before, *naval* will provide *nav-*, *vulnerable vuln-*, *oculist ocul-*, etc.

The result will be a vocabulary truly “easiest for the greatest number of people”—for the immense majority of words will be immediately intelligible to anyone who knows Latin, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, or English—a potential clientèle of 300,000,000 people, and the educated classes of the entire world.

It may be objected that these Latin roots are not familiar to the common people, in English-speaking countries, and even in Romance-speaking countries. We may reply that, if the international language is not meant exclusively for scholars, at least it will be learnt and used chiefly by people

whose education has gone beyond the three R's ; and that boys and girls who attend school up to the age of fourteen or fifteen ought to know and understand those words in their own language that are of Latin origin. Else they could never read so simple an author as Macaulay, not to mention Gibbon and Johnson.

(NOTE.—The Anglo-Latin dialects admit, of course, all the elements which are neither English nor Latin, but which have become truly international, e.g. *caviar*, *Soviet*, *bazaar*, *Kodak*, etc.)

In this adoption of the Anglo-Latin element, the Interlingua dialects do not radically differ from the Neutral-Panroman group : the point of departure was slightly different, the result very much the same. But they do differ from Neutral and Panroman almost as much as from Esperanto-Ido in the *form* given to the roots selected. All the other languages followed more or less closely the principles of compromise and simplification. The Interlingua dialects, on the contrary, go back to the common origin of the words, and give it its *etymological* form. Thus Esperanto-Ido “harmonize” Fr. *douter*, Eng. *doubt*, into DUBI, DUBAR. Interlingua would have DUBITARE. From the scholarly point of view, the word in that form is of greater value. From the practical standpoint, it is fully as clear as DUBAR, and it is closer to the derivatives *dubitatif*, *-ve*, *indubitable*, etc.

We have seen that the etymological form is rarely the nominative, but some other case, so that different methods have been proposed for obtaining the “stem” : accusative minus *m*, or ablative (Peano), or genitive, which is usually given in Latin vocabularies, without the vocalic ending : thus *dignitas* would become *dignitate* (*m*), or *dignitate*, or *dignitat(is)*.

The working out of a complete vocabulary on these principles is no child's play. In spite of the efforts of Prof. Peano and his associates, it cannot be said that there exists an Interlingua dictionary as complete, as definite as the Esperanto dictionaries of Kabe, Boirac, Grosjean-Maupin, Verax, or the Ido dictionaries of de Beaufront and Couturat. A Latin word may assume different senses in modern languages, and some nice adjustment will be necessary. But

it seems to us that the principle itself is incontrovertible—if we admit that the International Language is to be of the *a posteriori* type.

(NOTE 1.—The chief objection to the etymological forms is that they are longer than the contracted forms found in Esperanto, Ido, Neutral, Pan-roman, or even in modern living languages. But it is not at all proven that brevity, the idol of Volapük, Bolak, and Pankel, is an unmixed advantage. Especially for international purposes, it pays to use a few extra letters.)

(NOTE 2.—The etymological method implies the abandonment—except in some words recently borrowed from living languages—of the phonetic method. Etymology is much more international than pronunciation: *nation* is common to practically all European languages, *neishun* is peculiar to English. In all modern languages, words of learned origin show clear traces of their etymology in writing, but are spoken without any regard for the rules of Greek or Latin pronunciation. It was a mistake in Rumanian and in modern Greek to attempt to introduce an etymological orthography, because the languages actually existed as spoken dialects, and the result was necessarily confusing. But the international language does not exist as a speech, whereas it does exist, potentially and actually, as a means of written expression; the publications of Peano and his associates have demonstrated that point: they are intelligible without any previous study. The only reasonable method is to agree first on the spelling (etymological, with all the simplifications that will not obscure etymology), and then to create a system of pronunciation according to simple rules.)

IV. VOCABULARY

2. COMPOUNDS AND DERIVATIVES

English and German form compounds very freely by the juxtaposition of two or more words, the most important coming last (*steamboat, railway*, etc.). This method is also used in Spanish (*ferrocarril*), and in Italian (*piròscalo, ferrovia*), although it is less frequent than in the Northern languages. French is not averse to it, especially with words of Greco-Latin origin (*pyrotechnie, aéronaute*, etc.); but, with purely French elements, the tendency is to keep the compound roots separated by a hyphen or a preposition, the more important coming first: e.g. *wagon-salon, -lit, -restaurant* (*parlour-, sleeping-, dining-car*); *navire à vapeur* (*steamship*), *chemin de fer* (*railway*).

All international languages resort to the Anglo-German method of forming compounds, although in many cases Interlingua seems to favour the analytical French system. Without any definite rule to that effect, compounds are

generally limited to two roots (without, of course, counting the affixes). TAGNOKTEGALECO (*equinox*) is an exception and POSTVANGFRAPADO (*spanking*) was meant to be humorous. The interminable compounds of German, Volapük, and chemical nomenclature are contrary to the spirit of Esperanto, Ido, Interlingua, and Romanal.

Interlingua gives no definite list of prefixes and suffixes, no rules of derivation. Following radically the a posteriori principles, it borrows derived words directly from existing languages, without attempting to make their formation more systematic. Esperanto, Ido, Romanal, follow a different principle. Their roots and affixes are—as a rule—taken from existing languages, but the formation of compounds and derivatives is autonomous. This is clearly stated in Rule XV: “. . . but with various words from one root it is better to leave unchanged only the fundamental word, and to form the rest from this latter according to the rules of the Esperanto language.” This method is thoroughly endorsed by Prof. Jespersen (Preface to *International English Dictionary*, xvi): “There can be no doubt that this is the easiest process for everybody, as one has only to memorize once for all the form of the root, and a limited number of word-building syllables with a fixed meaning. After properly choosing the form of these roots which appear under several forms in natural languages, and selecting with due care the word-building syllables, one is surprised to find how many of those words built in a perfectly regular manner are identical with the forms to be found in existing languages. A deliberate system of derivation also saves us many a doubt as to the precise sense of some international form or other” (e.g. in French, *télégraphe* is an instrument, *photographe* is a man; *Prusse* is a country, *Russe* refers to people, etc.).

The principle, we believe, is sound enough. But like all other principles in these complex linguistic problems, the application is by no means easy. For one thing, even Dr. Zamenhof allowed irregularities in his word-families. He has REDAKCIO, but REDAKTI instead of REDAKCII, REDAKTORO instead of REDAKCIIISTO or REDAK-

TISTO. When it comes to scientific words, all languages hesitate between autonomous and borrowed formations. French, for instance, has *porte-voix* and *mégaphone*, two different instruments, both translating English *megaphone*. German has *Fernsprecher* and *Telefon*. Esperanto has TAGNOKTEGALECO (once more!), but it does *not* have MALPROKSIMENPAROLILO (TELEFONO). It has HOSPITALO, but in the list of words derived from SAN- we find MALSANULEJO, i.e. *the place containing people in bad health*. Neither of these languages has any definite rule to offer. The early tendency of Esperanto, influenced by the a priori ideal, was to restrict the number of roots to a minimum. It was its boast that a complete grammar and dictionary could be sold for a penny. With the increasing use of the language, the insufficiency or the cumbersomeness of this method became apparent. Many new roots were introduced, and many ready-made compounds, under Rule XV. Some Esperantists, faithful to the earlier ideal, strongly objected to the Dictionary of Grosjean-Maupin on that account: yet Grosjean-Maupin to-day is accepted by the most conservative. Ido has taken pride, on the contrary, in the number of its roots. Once more, it is a question of wise adjustment: the difficulty is to find two men who will agree as to what is "wise."

Esperanto, for instance, uses SHLOSILO for a *key*—literally an *instrument for locking*. It cannot be the *lock* itself, which is simply ~~SHLOSO~~. Ido prefers KLEFILO, taking the French noun *clef*, turning it into the verb KLEFAR, and forming KLEFILO from KLEFAR: would not KLEFO be sufficient? Romanal has CLAVE.

We have seen that the Neutralists, balking at "barbarisms" like PIKTASION (*painting*), REDAKTASION, etc., had admitted by the side of the regular words parallel forms borrowed directly from existing languages: these forms were called PAROLI MAKENSENIK. No language has been quite consistent enough to do without PAROLI MAKENSENIK.

The simplest case of conflict between autonomous derivation and the a posteriori principle is the word for *mother*.

It seems that all Indo-European languages have retained initial M as the chief characteristic of that word, and "Esperanto is defying the whole race from Rejkjavik to Calcutta, with its regular feminine PATRINO." After some hesitation, Ido adopted MATRO; yet in Esperanto homes—there are such, within the experience of the present writer—the word PATRINO soon becomes perfectly natural.

No doubt a regular derivation produces a number of "barbarisms": but has the very idea of barbarism a place in the creation of a new language? A barbarism is an offence against the laws or customs of one particular language, not against the laws and customs of another language: it comes under municipal, and not under international, law. If it were otherwise, every language would be a string of barbarisms—from the point of view of another. Compare these two columns:

French.	English.
annexion	annexation
coercition	coercion
désespoir	despair
désespérance	desperation
responsable	responsible
Romantisme	Romanticism, etc.

The list could be indefinitely extended, and other lists provided for other languages. The most extreme cases, perhaps, are found in the two sister languages, French and Spanish: *Salir*, Fr. *to soil, sully, dirty*—Sp. *to go out*. *Subir*: Fr. *to undergo*, Sp. *to go up*. The study of these variations simply strengthens our sense of freedom. With international roots and affixes, let us follow logic, and, if French, English, Spanish, do not agree with us so much the worse for them!

But to follow logic is not so easy as it sounds. M. Couturat, one of the fathers of Ido, was by profession a logician, and his contribution to the language was a very definite system of logical derivation. But M. René de Saussure is a logician too, and he evolved a system of his own, which Dr. Zamenhof declared to be compatible with the practices of Esperanto. These gentlemen have waged long and un-

decisive battles. One of M. Couturat's favourite principles was that of *reversibility*. It led him to introduce into Ido forms longer than those found in natural languages or in Esperanto, longer than would be required under de Saussure's rule: Use all that is necessary, but not more than is sufficient. For example: Eng. *a brush, to brush*; Fr. *brosse, brosser*; Esperanto, BROSO, BROSI; Ido, BROSAR, BROS-ILO. Or again, *a crown, to crown*; *couronne, couronner*; Esperanto KRONO, KRONI; Ido, KRONO, KRON-IZAR. Much, as will readily be seen, depends upon the question: Can the root be used indifferently as a noun or as a verb, or are there essentially verbal and essentially nominal roots? In the above cases, Ido takes the root KRON as intrinsically nominal, the root BROS as intrinsically verbal. This distinction is defensible, but it is subtle. Perhaps would it be well to formulate one supreme principle, the "principle of common sense": "simply by changing the verbal into a nominal ending, we form the noun most naturally connected with the idea expressed by the verb (and vice versa)." The logical relation between noun and verb may vary with each case: but it always is the closest relation. This goes without saying: it might go better if it were said.

Similarly, Couturat and de Saussure failed to agree as to the meaning of nouns directly derived from adjectives. From BONA, *good*, should we have BONO, *a good man*, and BONAJO, *a good thing*? (Ido), or BONULO, *a good man*, BONO, *the good*, in the abstract? The Romanal endings provide an elegant solution of that difficulty: BONO, *a good man*, BONA, *a good woman*, BONE, *a good thing*, or *the good* in the abstract.

Much work has been done on these lines. Much more could profitably be done no doubt. Yet it is doubtful whether an a posteriori language, used by all sorts and conditions of men, could ever attain the degree of accuracy dreamt of by Couturat, and found only in certain scientific nomenclatures. All that can be said is that even primitive Esperanto is much more precise and logical in the formation of derivatives than French or English.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF AFFIXES: I. PREFIXES

Esperanto.	Ido.	Romanal.	English.
BO	BO	BEL	-in-law (relation by marriage).
CHEF			chief, principal, head.
DE			from, of, out of.
DIS			dismemberment, separation.
EK			to begin suddenly.
EKS	EX	EX	ex- (former-).
EL		EX	extraction, out of.
FOR			away (FORIRI, to go away).
GE	GE		both sexes together (Ger. <i>Ge-</i>).
MAL	MAL	DIS	direct opposite.
NE	NE		neutral or negation.
PRA			great-, primordial (PRAPA-TROJ, ancestors).
RE	RE	RE	repeat or reverse.
SEN	SEN		privative, without (Eng. -less).
	PRE	PRE	fore, before (predict, foretell).
	MIS		wrongly (misunderstand).
	MI	SEMI	half.
	RETRO		back.
		PARA	protection (parachute).

These three lists are far from complete. Such international prefixes as *ANTE*, *ANTI*, *IN* or *EN*, *INTRO*, *EXTRA*, etc., are not mentioned. Idiom Neutral was much richer in affixes.

It may be noted that the prefix *EL* (*out of*) is frequently used in Esperanto in a purely idiomatic Anglo-German way. E.g. *ELPAROLI*, to pronounce (*aussprechen*). *ELUZI*, to wear out. From the French point of view, these expressions are illogical.

The chief difficulty seems to be the *contrary* prefix. The mere negative *NE* is not sufficient. *IN* is ambiguous, meaning both *deprived of* (un- or -less) and *inside* or *into*. *DIS* may imply contrary, a reverse process, but also distribution, dissemination, as in the Esperanto use of it. *MAL* is singularly inappropriate, and should be used only as a pejorative. *MALFERMI* gives the idea of *to fail to close properly*, *to leave ajar*, rather than *to open*. Moreover, the idea of "opposites" breaks down under closer scrutiny. *Cold* is not strictly the reverse of *warm*, but a different degree of warmth. Perhaps *evil* is not the reverse of *good*, but a

different stage or aspect ? At any rate, many of the words formed with MAL in Esperanto strike us as childish or inaccurate. Perhaps should we be satisfied with NE-, SEN-, MIS- and DIS- or DES-, the latter with the meaning of English *un-* to reverse the up-building process : if STRUCT- were taken to mean : *to erect*, DE(S)-STRUCT would mean *to undo, unmake, destroy* (e.g. *disestablish*).

Romanal PARA is an awkward prefix, because it occurs so frequently in international words with its Greek meaning, which is quite different. A *paradox* is not a protection against opinion, as a *parachute* is a protection against falling. And a *parapet* is not a protection against a *pet*, either in the English or the French sense of the word !

Suffixes : cf. table opposite.

NOTES

The following suffixes are found in recent Ido literature :
 -ARI, recipient of action : KONFESARIO, *confessor*.
 (Might it not be the *doer* rather than the recipient, Lat. -*ARIUS* ?)

-E with the colour or appearance of : TIGREA, *striped*.

-ED : contained by : BOKEDO, a *mouthful*.

-ER no longer means *amateur* only, but *one who habitually does*.

-UL changes from *individual characterized by* to : male-, KATULO, *tomcat*.

-IER seems to assume the former meaning of UL.

-IK, ill with : FTISIKO, a *consumptive*.

-YUN, young of an animal : BOVYUNO, a *calf*. It takes the place in this sense of ID, which is restricted to the meaning descendant : SEMIDO, *Semite*.

In Esperanto and Ido, affixes are words with a definite meaning of their own, and can be used separately ; strictly speaking, all derivatives are compounds. The Esperanto-Ido use of affixes by themselves is similar to the familiar way of saying "all sorts of *isms*," "he was a master of all the *ologies*," "the *pros* and the *antis*." ESTRO, by itself, means a *leader*, ESTRARO, the *governing body*, ESTRARANO, a *bureaucrat*, etc. INDECO, *worthiness*. The change

SUFFIXES

Esperanto.	Ido.	Romanaĵ.	Translation.
AD	AD	AD	continued action, or simply action.
AN	AN	AN	inhabitant, member, partisan.
AJH	AJ	AGE	concrete object.
AR	AR	ARI	collection or group.
CHJ (rare)			affectionate diminutive, masculine.
EBL	EBL	IBIL	possibility.
EC	ES	ABIL	passive quality, desert, dignity.
EG	EG	ITE	abstract quality.
EJ	EY	ASS	augmentative (in size or degree).
	ERI	ERIE	place devoted to.
EM	EM	ERIE	establishment.
ER		ORIE	premises (vagner than ERIE).
		ARD	tending to, inclined to.
ESTR	ESTR		single object as distinguished from collective term.
ET	ET	ETT	leader or manager.
ID	ID	ELL	diminutive in size or degree.
(IN)	IN	ID	diminutive (young or new).
IG	IG	A	young or descendant.
	IZ	IF, IFIC-	feminine.
	IF	IZ	to cause to become.
IGH	IJ	IF, IFIC	to supply or cover with.
IL	IL		to produce.
IND	IND	ICL	to become.
ING		IERE	instrument or tool.
IST	IST	IST	worthiness.
	ER		holder for single object.
		OR	person professionally associated with.
NJ			amateur.
UJ	UY	IERE	agent (ORO, man; -ORE, instrument).
UJ	I	IE	affectionate diminutive, feminine.
UJ	YER	IFER	that which contains.
UM	UM	UL	country, domain.
UL	UL, IER	ER	that which bears, produces (or supports).
(ACH) not official	ACH	AST	indefinite suffix.
(ISM), not official	ISM	(ISM)	a person of the quality implied.
	AL	AL, IC	Pejorative.
	OZ	OS	system, doctrine.
	ATR	ATR	adjective relating to.
	IV	IV	full of.
	END	(END)	like, -ish (whitish).
	UR	UR	that can do.
	ESK	ESC	which must be.
		IN	result of action.
			to begin.
			same sense as radical, only weaker (SENORINA, Miss).

from EC to ES to denote abstract quality enabled Ido to assimilate that ending with the root of the verb to be, ESAR. GRANDESO is the fact of *being* great or large. The Romanal form ITE (*-itate, -ité, -ity*) is more international, but ESS is excellent also (cf. French *simplesse* (rare), *justesse, noblesse*; Eng. *-ness*).

The augmentative ASS and the suffix indicating tendency ARD in Romanal are borrowed from the French, in which they always have a pejorative ending. (In Spanish the augmentative *on* is also pejorative.) The ending ATR indicating "something like" is also pejorative, like the English suffix ISH. Something reddish, whitish, is not of a good, frank red or white. Thus the Romanal pejorative AST is not needed, and should be combined with ATR. A POETASTRO, PICTORASTRO, etc., would be someone *like* a poet or a painter, i.e. a *poetaster* or a *poor painter*.

The distinction between the two diminutives ETT and ELL in Romanal is subtle but justified. LEONETTO would be a *small*, but possibly adult, *lion*. LEONELLO a *young* (and possibly large) *lion*. PLATE, a *dish*, PLATELLE, a *plate*, PLATELLETTE, a *small plate*.

The distinction between ABIL and IBIL is also excellent, but as existing languages do not respect it, the single (compromise) suffix EBL may be more practical. The distinction between ERIE and ORIE is too vague.

The distinctions between IST (professional), AN, member or partisan, ER (Ido) amateur, and ORO (Romanal) agent, are justified, but require very great care. We should say ESPERANTISTO only of a teacher or professional propagandist of the language, ESPERANTANO of the other "SAMIDEANOJ," or partisans. Why do we say, in English and French, *Calviniste* and *Luthérien*, *Calvinist* and *Lutheran*? So long as we have names of parties or sects in *ism*, it will be difficult to avoid the use of *ist* to denote partisans.

The indefinite suffix UM in Esperanto and Ido, UL in Romanal, may be extremely useful, in cases when we feel that some suffix is needed, without being able to decide precisely which. Thus in English we have *full* and *to fill*, in French *plein* and *emplir* or *remplir*; the connexion between

adjective and verb is thus expressed in a very irregular way. In Esperanto we have **PLENUMI**.

All three languages agree upon the use of the suffix **AD**, which is undoubtedly international. In Esperanto and Ido, it implies continued or repeated action : a shade of meaning well expressed by the English substantive in *-ing* : e.g. **DANCO**, *a dance*, **DANCADO**, the continued or repeated action of dancing, i.e. simply *dancing* ; **KANTO**, *a song*, **KANTADO**, *singing*. **PAROLI**, *to speak*, **PAROLADI**, to continue speaking, i.e. *to make a speech*. Inevitably the suffix **AD** has come to mean action in general. This is the sense in which it is used in Romanal, but also in the other languages.¹

The absence of the suffix *-ion*, one of the most frequent and one of the most international, is conspicuous in the three projects we are studying. No doubt the words in *-ion* (*-tion*, *-ation*) are not seldom clumsy. They are ambiguous too, as they generally denote both the action itself and the result of the action. There is another reason, however, for the disfavour in which *-ion* seems to have fallen : the unsuccessful use of it, in the form *-asion*, by the "illustrious unknown" of synthetic linguistics, Idiom Neutral. The trouble is that this suffix has several forms, which it is difficult to reduce to a single one. From *adopt* we derive *adoption*, from *adapt*, *adapt-ation*. If we select either the form *-ion* or the form *-ation*, we are bound to arrive at words which will be objected to as "barbarisms." To be sure, that difficulty exists at times when we pass from one living language to another : e.g. *annexation* in English, *annexion* in French : but it would be desirable to reduce the number of such unpleasant shocks.

Three methods are possible : the first is to adopt the suffix *-ation* (**-ASION**) exclusively, and take the consequences. The consequences in Idiom Neutral were such words as **PIKTASION**, **LEKTASION**, and the world shuddered.

The second method is to use the suffix *-ion*, and reconstruct

¹ There is nothing surprising in the close similarity between the three lists of affixes : Ido is Reformed Esperanto, and the author of Romanal was, and we believe, remains, an active Esperantist.

the infinitive from those nouns in *-ion*. Thus from *devastation* we have *devastate*, from *exhibition*, *exhibit*; from *expedition*, *expedite*; from *constitution*, *constitute*; from *inspection*, *inspect*; from *progression*, *progress*. There are hundreds of verbs in the English language which belong to that type, and their number is growing. Thus we are beginning to find words like *obligate* by the side of *oblige*; *aerate* by the side of *to air*; *reconciliate* (in G. K. Chesterton, but on the lips of an American) instead of *reconcile*; *confuse* instead of *confound*; *negate* for *deny*, and a number of humorous formations like *to orate*, *to resolute*, etc. Why should we not have—in an artificial language—*laborate* for *to work*, since we have *collaborate*? The number of past participles in *-ated* is even more considerable than that of the infinitives in *-ate*. Every such participle, and practically every noun in *-ate*, can give us an infinitive. No doubt the word *evolute* instead of *evolve* would sound queer, but not stranger than *constitute* and *transmute* for a Frenchman used to *constituer* and *transmuer*.

The third method would frankly give up the absolute simplicity which is considered needful in artificial languages. It would recognize infinitives in *-are*, giving nouns in *-ation*; infinitives in *-ire*, with nouns in *-ition*; infinitives in *-uere*, *-tere*, *-ssere*, with corresponding nouns in *-ution*, *-tion*, *-ssion*. Let us examine again our two roots *adapt* and *adopt*. According to the first method, we have: *adapt*, *adaptation*, *adopt*, ADOPTION. According to the second, ADAPTATE, *adaptation*, *adopt*, *adoption*. According to the third, *adapt-ARE*, *adaptation*, *adoptERE*, *adoption* (or again DICTARE *to dictate*, *dictation*, DICTERE, *to speak*, *diction*). The same problem exists with the suffixes *-ator* (or), *-abil* (*ibil*), *-ativ* (*iv*), etc.

Although many other questions might retain our attention, we close at this point our sketch of the difficulties found in language-making. Some readers—if, indeed, any have followed us so far into the jungle of “imaginary linguistics”—may think that our critical review implies a condemnation of the schemes studied above. Nothing could be farther

from our intention. It is not impossible to improve upon any of the four : but this does not mean that they are not, one and all, good languages, simple, clear, harmonious, and surprisingly natural. Esperanto has its TIUJ, CHIUJ, KIUJ : but Esperantists are not for ever repeating those mystic syllables, any more than English people are for ever asserting that "*she sells sea shells on the sea shore,*" or "*I'll catch the two to two to Tooting.*" If tongue-twisters were arguments, English would be laughed out of court. You may not like the looks and sound of SHANGHICHEMULO : if you came across the word *ghiacciaiuòlo* in an artificial language, you would call it "grotesque" : but it is Italian. English and French words look funny in Esperanto garb : but *rosbif*, *biftek*, *redingote* (*riding coat*), *vasistas* (*was ist das ?*) are hardly less ludicrous, and the French smile at *avoirdu pois* and *belletristisch*.

On the whole, Esperanto has the greatest numbers of oddities—you may call them absurdities if you please—and the greatest degree of vitality and undefinable fascination. Interlingua is by far the most scholarly, the most artistic, and the easiest to read at first sight : but it is also the most irregular, the most difficult to write correctly for a man who is not a Latinist. Ido and Romanal are compromises, which have succeeded in removing some of the blemishes, in the first case, of Esperanto, in the second, of Interlingua. Both have strong points. The Anglo-Latin etymological basis of Romanal places it, in our opinion, on a much higher plane than Ido, in which roots are arbitrarily distorted. But Romanal is the work of an isolated individual, whereas Ido is the product of a well-organized linguistic laboratory. So Romanal is a project still in a rough stage, whereas Ido is the most complete of existing schemes—richer in roots, more definite in its derivation even than its parent Esperanto.

Experiments through the method of double translation have shown that these languages are, if anything, more accurate than the best natural tongues. The experience of hundreds of thousands has proved that they could be mastered in a period of time that would be ridiculously inadequate in the case of natural languages. A *reading know-*

ledge of Esperanto or Ido is a matter of a few hours : for any educated European, a *reading* knowledge of Interlingua or Romanal is a question of a few minutes. These schemes have faults, some of which may be inherent in the a posteriori principle. But of all four of them, we could honestly say what Prof. O. Jespersen said of Ido alone : " Through these endeavours from co-operators in many countries, (it has) attained such a high degree of perfection that I should not hesitate in advocating its adoption as the official language of the League of Nations." ¹

¹ Lecture by Prof. O. Jespersen at the University of London, June 1920, quoted in *HISTORIO DI NIA LINGUO*.

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ABBREVIATIONS: I.L., International Language; Esper., Esperanto; Acad., Academia; Académie, Academy; Deleg., Delegation for the Adoption of an International Auxiliary Language.

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