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FEDERICO GOBBO

INTRODUCTION TO INTERLINGUISTICS

GRIN VERLAG

NOUS VOULONS SAVOIR S'IL NE SERAIT PAS POSSIBLE DE CRÉER UNE
SCIENCE NOUVELLE QUI S'APPELLERAIT, PAR EXEMPLE, L'INTERLINGUISTIQUE
ET QUI ÉTUDIERAIT LES LOIS NATURELLES DE LA FORMATION DES LANGUES
AUXILIAIRES COMMUNES.

JULES MEYSMANS

INTERLINGUISTIC GRAMMATICAL STUDY SHOULD NOT CONFINE ITSELF TO
ANY ONE GROUP OR TWO GROUPS OF LANGUAGES, FOR HERE IS A FIELD IN
WHICH IT IS POSSIBLE AND EVEN HIGHLY PROBABLE THAT VALUABLE HINTS
MAY BE FOUND IN THE MOST DIVERSE LANGUAGES, EVEN IN THOSE WHOSE
VOCABULARIES IS ON THE WHOLE OUT OF THE QUESTION.

OTTO JESPERSEN

THE BITS OF LANGUAGE USED IN THE BOOKS, ALONG WITH THE NUMEROUS
REFERENCES MADE TO OTHER LANGUAGES AND LANGUAGE FAMILIES, ARE
THERE TO SERVE ONE OF THE PRIMARY GOALS OF THE WORK AS A WHOLE:
TO ESTABLISH THE AUTHENTICITY OF AN OTHERWISE FANTASTIC REALM.

DAVID J. PETERSON

FEDERICO GOBBO

INTRODUCTION TO INTERLINGUISTICS

GRIN VERLAG

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*Dedicated to all students who ever participated
in my classes on Interlinguistics, in Amsterdam
and abroad – and to their colleagues of the
future.*

A NOTE TO READERS. This book is the result of the Lecture Notes produced for the class ‘Introduction to Interlinguistics’ held at the University of Amsterdam during my first mandate as Special Chair holder there (2014-2019). This means that the intended readers are my students, who may come from the Humanities, such as English Studies or Philosophy, as well as from more formally oriented curricula, such as Logic or Artificial Intelligence.

The structure of the volume follows the structure of the class: there are seven chapters that correspond to the seven weeks of contact hours. Thus, the expression “in this chapter” is equivalent to “in this week”. The first three chapters form Part I, which gives the theoretical basis, while the second three chapters of Part II apply the theory to major case studies in Interlinguistics.

Please note that there is more material than I succeed to cover in the classroom – I am very ambitious – and that I *explain* in class the content of this book. This means that some sections may be skipped, depending on the specific class. For details, please pay attention to the official communication sent to class members.

In studying this book you will acquire the conceptual toolbox of the working interlinguist. Technical terms and important names are indicated in bold and referred to the index by the end of the book, to facilitate students.

Readers who do not belong to my students’ cohorts may also appreciate, as – to the best of my knowledge – there is no such book published in English yet. Comparable published works in other languages are: first, the book by Barandovska [1995], written for advanced Esperanto speakers enrolled the programme in Interlinguistics Studies at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań; second, my short textbook in Italian [Gobbo, 2009], used at the Universities of Milan and Turin, which is now out-of-date, as it does not include Hollywood linguistics at all, being written just before the publication of Na’vi and Dothraki; last, the brand new Astori [2020], also in Italian, in press while I am writing these few lines, that will be used at the University of Parma. However, it is important to keep in mind that I wrote this lecture notes for absolute beginners who study at the BA level; neither experts nor researchers are the ideal readers here.

This volume has been rewritten many times, so to be as clear as possible for students, who eventually became my proof-readers. Of course, all mistakes – not only in the content, but also in the form, typesetting included – are mine.

I hope you all appreciate the result.

Milan, January 2020

Part I

Theory

A heterodox discipline

In this chapter we place Interlinguistics inside Linguistics and set the boundaries of the discipline across time and space. We also see how different scholars classify its main objects of analysis, i.e., invented languages.

WHAT IS INTERLINGUISTICS? The word was coined by Meysmans [1911] but popularized by Jespersen [1931] during the opening of the Second International Congress of Linguistics. Subsequently, this term was used in other contexts with different meanings, so it can cause a lot of confusion.¹

Let's sort things out. Interlinguistics, broadly speaking, is a branch of General Linguistics dealing with **interlanguages**, i.e., language varieties that come out as a result of considerable contact between two or more languages. Classically, Jespersen² defines it as an entirely new science within Linguistics, which comprises all the efforts in planning International Auxiliary Languages (from now, IALs)³. An IAL is a language planned for the purpose of international communication, i.e., written and oral exchanges between people having different L1s⁴. The ideological point is *ethnic neutrality*: each speaker stands in common, neutral ground from the linguistic point of view. In other words, no speaker has a gratuitous competitive advantage because the IAL belongs to no *ethnos* in particular. As a facilitator among different nations thanks to its ethnic neutrality, these languages are considered 'auxiliary'.

Despite the relative fortune of Jespersen's usage of the term in 1931, other – partially incompatible – definitions came out after the WWII. For example, in the field of L2 language learning, an *interlanguage* is a transitional variety of the target language influenced by the previous repertoire of the learner, notably the L1, but also already learnt L2s⁵. This definition is recent⁶ and unfortunately it does not quote or refer to Jespersen's use of the word, that founded Interlinguistics as we mean it here.

Another definition of interlanguage is linked with *creolistics*, i.e. the study of pidgins and creoles. A pidgin is a contact language arising from the times of colonization: when Europeans and native populations got into contact to communicate, especially for the purpose of trading, a **contact language** was created, with one or more *substrates* coming from the native repertoire to constitute the structure of the language (mainly phonology and morphosyntax) while the European language(s) act as *lexifiers*, i.e., they are mainly responsible of the lexicon and hence the semantics. If the pidgin is nativized – i.e., a stable community forms – a generation will have it as a L1 extending its functions: while a pidgin is domain-specific, a creole is general-purpose.⁷

The process in forming an IAL is completely different both from language learning interlanguages as well as pidgins and creoles: in

¹ Interestingly, it is not still in the Oxford American Dictionary, while 'interlingua' is found.

² Besides Interlinguistics, Jespersen is relevant in English Studies for his monumental work on Modern English, and for being one of the promoters of the IPA, which made phonology enter the scientific analysis, in 1889.

³ Original quote in Gobbo [2008] in Boers et al. [2008]. Text available to students.

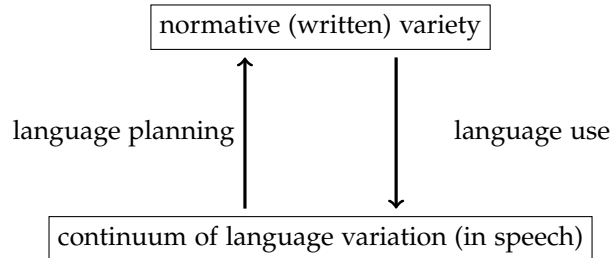
⁴ We will discuss the notions of 'mother tongue', 'first language', 'foreign language', etc. in detail later in our course.

⁵ While learning Dutch, I unconsciously put German or English (L2) and of course Italian (L1) into my Dutch interlanguage. For the notion of linguistic repertoire, see below.

⁶ In the sequel, I use the adjective 'recent' in the sense of 'post-WWII'. This definition of 'interlanguage' was introduced by Selinker [1972]. This line of research, even if very interesting, is not part of this course.

⁷ We will **not** deal with this topic further; please refer to publications by Enoch Aboch (UvA), an internationally renown specialist in this field.

the latter, a communicative need forces a community of practice to form a new language variety, whereas in the case of IALs there is always one man⁸ who decides a *written* form (yesterday with a book, today with a web site) of the language, with the aim to convince people to use it orally. It is the reverse process: from writing to oral expression, from the standard variety to the informal ones. In the schema:



What these definitions have in common is the fact that these are *human* languages: another definition of interlanguage in fact comes from the fields of Artificial Intelligence and Computational Linguistics, indicating a *formal* language expressing what human languages have in common, mainly for machine translation or natural language generation purposes. Unlike the previous definitions, here we are dealing with a formal model expressed with a piece of code, i.e., a program written in a computer language, and so in a Turing-complete form. Here, we are not talking about human-speakable languages but on the contrary about machine-readable ones: you cannot go to the bakery and buy bread speaking in Java.⁹

From now on, we will use the term introduced by Eugen Wüster¹⁰ to indicate the linguistic objects of our analysis: a **planned language**¹¹ which is a language planned from scratch in a written form as a *regularized* variety of an single, ethnic language – such as Latino sine Flexione, Weltdeutsch or Basic English – or, more often, as a contact language – such as Esperanto and its main competitors in the first half of the 20th century: Ido, Occidental, Novial. Unlike other languages, planned languages were born in a written form: their challenge is to form a speech community around them.

Finally, to complicate things a bit more, sometimes *interlingua* and *interlinguistica* are used to refer to Giuseppe Peano's IAL or to IALA's Interlingua, eventually planned by Alexander Gode.¹²

The timeline of Interlinguistics

IDEAS OCCUR IN A GIVEN CONTEXT – they are rooted in history. There are some important dates in the history of Interlinguistics – and Esperanto Studies, its most developed branch – that we should

⁸ Unfortunately, this is often a masculine story: almost all language founders are men, with the notable exception of Hildegarda von Bingen, in the Middle Ages and Suzette Haden Elgin, the inventor of Láadan, which will be briefly presented in the next chapter.

⁹ This topic, although interesting per se, is out of the scope of this class.

¹⁰ Austrian engineer and linguist, involved in the foundation of lexicography and lexicology, Esperantic Studies and the formation of international standards now known as ISO-codes.

¹¹ Originally in German: *Plansprache*; in Dutch: *plantaal*; better than the ambiguous *kunsttaal* (artificial language) that can refer to formal languages such as logic, or computer programming languages. Another popular term is 'constructed language' (or conlang), mainly among Hollywood language circles, which is also appropriate, but does not relate explicitly to language planning. You can also find 'invented languages', which is nice but unfortunately, it is seldom used.

¹² We will see them in Part II.

not forget. First, we trace the origins of Interlinguistics to three scholars who took part to the Scientific Revolution in the 17th century: Wilkins, Descartes and mainly Leibniz.¹³ But the Golden Age of Interlinguistics really starts with the publication of Volapük (1879) and Esperanto (1887). Esperanto has its own history line, which intertwines with Interlinguistics as a whole. In 1894 there was an important referendum among the Esperantists¹⁴ while the reforms of Volapük were already late.

The next important date is the year 1900, when Paris was the centre of the world: the Auxiliary Language Movement was formed, thanks mainly to the efforts of Couturat. In 1903 he and a colleague of his, published a very influential book in French, published by Hachette¹⁵ and Giuseppe Peano, one of the most important mathematicians of his time¹⁶, called *Latino sine Flexione* (acronym: LsF). In 1905 the first *Universala Kongreso* [Universal Congress, acronym: UK] of the Esperanto community was organized in France, and a lot of resonance came from the mass media. In 1906 the UK was held in Geneva and Ferdinand de Saussure's youngest brother, René, also a mathematician, participated and founded the scientific study of Esperanto with a rigorous description of its morphology.¹⁷

Quickly scientists tried to promote the idea of a scientifically made IAL, while on the other hand Esperantists formed their organization at an international level, with a network of delegates: in the years 1907-8, as we will see, the first serious competitor of Esperanto, Ido, was launched by Couturat, while the NGO that sponsors this Special Chair was founded in Geneva: its name is *Universala Esperanto-Asocio* [Universal Esperanto Association; acronym: UEA].¹⁸

While linguistics as a modern science was drawn up by Ferdinand de Saussure in Geneva, European nations were preparing for the Great War (WWI), thus destroying all the dreams, rêves, and utopias of the *belle époque*. However, the Esperanto and the Auxiliary Language Movements did not die: in 1915 Ludwik Lejzer Zamenhof, the founder of Esperanto, launched an appeal to diplomats, two years before passing away, with a vision of the future of Europe after the end of WWI.¹⁹

In the aftermath of the Great War, the years 1921-2 were important for a lot of reasons: Esperanto was proposed as a working language at the League of Nations while in the meanwhile in Paris leftist Esperanto activists established an a-nationalist parallel movement; furthermore, a new competitor, Occidental, came out, founded by one of the most important interlinguists of the 20th century, Edgard De Wahl.²⁰

In the second half of the 20th century the descendant of Interlinguistics came into the arena, namely Language Policy and Planning

¹³ This heritage will be explained in the beginning of Part II.

¹⁴ This term refers to supporters, language activists and actual speakers of the language. We will use it here in the historical context.

¹⁵ Couturat and Leau [1903] is a sort of encyclopedia of planned languages, starting from Descartes' letter in 1629 until the ephemeral Novilatin by E. Beermann, published in 1895. A second volume was published a few years later, with new language projects [Couturat and Leau, 1907].

¹⁶ He is known mainly for the axiomatization of arithmetics (Peano Axioms). He was Turinese, and that's why I still teach Interlinguistics there, for its legacy.

¹⁷ That is why Esperanto is mentioned twice in the famous *Cours* by Saussure.

¹⁸ Nowadays the Headquarters are settled in Rotterdam. UEA is the sponsor of the Special Chair in *Interlinguistik en Esperanto*, and this volume is part of the activity of that Chair.

¹⁹ Later in the course we will discuss it in class.

²⁰ We will see its reflection on the two tendencies in IALs, namely regularization and naturalization, in an article written in Occidental.

(LPP).²¹ In the early 1990s the term ‘ecolinguistics’ – and its synonym ‘ecology of languages’ – became popular among sociolinguists and sociologists of languages, and renewed interest in Esperanto was raised in the context of language rights. With the spread of the World Wide Web, a new spring for planned language was born, thanks to the Language Creation Society (2000).²² Due to Klingon’s language publication in 1985, Hollywood became interested in the art and craft of languages for fictional purposes: we call the study of these languages Hollywood linguistics – see next chapter for details.

Three taxonomies of planned languages

THERE ARE THREE MAJOR CLASSIFICATIONS of planned languages. We will proceed backwards, starting from mine, the most recent proposal²³, then Blanke’s²⁴ and finally the historically most relevant taxonomy proposed by Couturat and Léopold Leau – for our purposes, the most important parts of Couturat and Leau [1903] are the Preface and the Introduction.

Let’s start from my taxonomy. A premise is needed. I was formed in the Italian school of Interlinguistics, as was my mentor, Fabrizio A. Pennacchietti (Torino) was formed by Alessandro Bausani, who in a small book about ‘invented languages’²⁵ described a parallel between IALs and languages planned for other purposes, such as fiction, literature, games, and even religion.²⁶ Bausani followed his own incredible talent for language learning, intuition and erudition, so his books are fascinating like novels, but difficult to access for the contemporary scholar, born in a peer-review and publish-or-perish world. Therefore, I worked it out, identifying two Cartesian axes where to put planned language phenomena as a whole.

The horizontal axis represents *publicity*: public languages are languages launched along with their metalinguistic information, i.e., dictionary and grammar, while secret languages appear in a written form in texts without any explicit information about their structure, and often also without translation.

The vertical axis, on the other hand, represents *purposes*, auxiliary being dominant, other purposes, secondary. In the context of the time when Jespersen defined Interlinguistics, ‘auxiliary’ means mainly usefulness for the world: languages appear here when they are planned for international relations, scientific exchanges, pacifism, equity, fairness and language rights, and so on. Of course, it is a contradiction to plan an auxiliary language without offering the key (dictionary and grammar): therefore, all auxiliary languages are also public (in short: pub/aux). On the other hand, languages made

²¹ Symbolically, the Golden Age of Interlinguistics ends when IALA’s project mainly made by Alexander Gode became available to the public. By now suffice to say that the very first idea of ‘language planning’ was coined in 1959 by Einar Haugen, while the key concepts of *Ausbau-* and *Abstandsprache* (elaboration and distance language, respectively) were introduced by Heinz Kloss in the late 1960s.

²² The emphasis is on the *creation* of these languages, hence the term ‘conlangs’.

²³ See Gobbo [2017a] and Gobbo [2008], Figure 2.1, updated below.

²⁴ I will present the most recent version of his taxonomy, which is available in Blanke [2006] in German, in contrast with the classic proposal of the 80s, which gained more attention, being published both in German and in English.

²⁵ The book was published at first in German [Bausani, 1970] and then in Italian [Bausani, 1974].

²⁶ Bausani [1954] presents Bâl-a I-Balaan, a secret language planned for religious purposes: it is the only known religious language planned within an Islamic tradition.

just for the fun of the planner, for fiction, etc. do not pretend to be used for ‘serious’, auxiliary purposes, so they fall in two subgroups, depending on their publicity: we will have public fictional or anyhow ‘alternative’ languages²⁷ (alt/pub) and (alt/secr). In sum, there are three groups in total (Figure 1).

IALs are pub/aux and are the still the core of Interlinguistics. In this course, we will deal with the most important planned languages. It is important to note, that circa 1,000 were proposed before the Web Era (i.e., before years 1990) while afterwards their growth became exponential: Figure 1 presents only some of them.

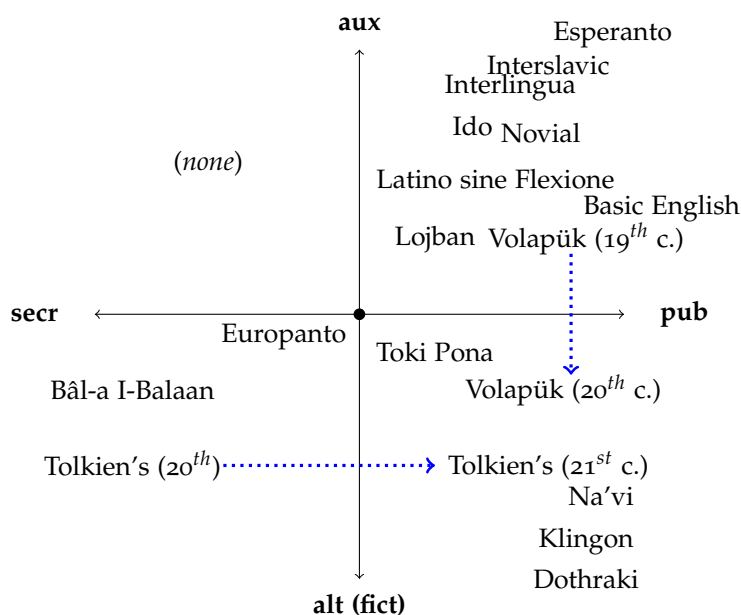


Figure 1: Linguistic dimensions of planned languages

What is the destiny of these planned languages? Most of them remain merely projects: as Ferdinand de Saussure already pointed out, there is a **primitive contract** as a starting point of the ‘semiological life’ of a natural language: in the case of Esperanto, he says (we extend: any planned language) this contract is *explicit*. The point here is that, even in the case of planned languages, once published and hopefully put into use in practice *the language is no more owned by the founder*. A planned language is a human language (by definition), so archaisms, idioms, and so on, will emerge. Esperanto, in particular, is the proof that every human language is bound to a culture, in this case created by esperantophones²⁸ who contributes to it. For example, it is difficult to imagine an international Esperanto meeting without a *libroservo* [book service, literally], i.e., a space where books in the language are sold to the attendees. It would be very strange if the organizers would not organize such a space – this includes

²⁷ A public language planned for philosophical purposes is Toki Pona, which has some popularity among geeks.

²⁸ I reserve the special word ‘esperantophone’ in order to indicate a person who is engaged in the community of speakers of the language, regardless of its ideological commitment. We will return on this point afterwards.

people involved, money transactions, and so on. It is a cultural trait of Esperanto.²⁹

We will refer more and more to Esperanto because it is the only language which has completed all the steps of Blanke's original scale.³⁰ The scale measures the vitality of planned languages, and its aim is to highlight the sociolinguistic situation of IALs; it can be used with Hollywood languages as well, but with a grain of salt. For sure, it does not make sense to apply it to secret languages, because everything starts from publication, i.e., the establishment of Saussure's primitive contract. These are the first eight steps:

1. manuscript (unpublished; language planner is completely free)
2. publication (primitive contract is settled; language planner is no longer the owner)
3. teaching instruments (in order to help people learn the language)
4. propaganda or advertisement (often in competition with existing projects)
5. journals (to produce basic texts; nowadays, a web site)
6. correspondence (enthusiasts start to contact each other in written form)
7. original texts (production of more elaborated texts)

It is questionable whether each planned language would pass all the steps *exactly* in this order. However, the history of IALs bears out many of the above mentioned steps according to this author and it is fairly reliable – note that this scale was conceived before the success of Hollywood languages. Some further observations should be made here. Saussure's primitive contract (step 2) is the most important step. In steps 2-7 the language is still a **project**, as it is used mainly (if not only) in written form. Let's look at the next steps.

8. world communication (establishment of a network of local clubs)
9. organization (friends of the language, subscription to journals)
10. increase of text production
11. (private) courses (also for autodidactic learning)
12. small community of practice
13. linguistic discussion (reform proposals, but also how to form neologisms)
14. specialised communication
15. larger organisation (world congresses, less than 1,000 people)
16. internal differences in the community (smaller internal organizations)

Starting with step 9 we have a major change in language vitality: speech. As already explained, planned languages should be spoken to be 'real' languages, so this is the first milestone to be reached. In Blanke's terms, we have here **semilanguages**: they have a sort of vitality, but their intergenerational transmission is far from being

²⁹ The cultural traits of Esperanto are an important part of the Esperanto course (second semester, first block).

³⁰ The original scale had 19 steps and it was published in [Blanke, 1985, 1989] in Schubert [1989]. The revised version, presented here, was published in Blanke [2006], with 28 steps.

determined. A **community of practice** is formed: while natural languages are defined by speech communities in which native speakers play a special role, being defined not only by language but also by ethnicity, cultural habits and other sociological traits, communities around planned languages are defined by the *practice* of the language and the reflections upon it, regardless of any other sociological trait (ethnicity, birthplace, sex, age, social class, income, etc.). Of course, unlike natural language, the intergenerational transmission is not guaranteed by natural reproduction (i.e., families speaking the language) but by the efforts of the community itself to include younger enthusiasts. When a separate youth movement or associations of special interests is formed, the semilanguage has achieved step 16. Only few important rivals of Esperanto, such as Latino sine Flexione, Ido, Occidental/Interlingue and IALA's Interlingua can be called semilanguages.³¹

17. codification of the norm (over the use of the language)
18. big organization (world congresses, more than 1,000 people)
19. world-wide spread (all continents, not only Europe)
20. interlinguistics (scholarly linguistic literature investigating the language)
21. heuristic effect (the planned language should be useful for other disciplines: pedagogy, machine translation, etc.)
22. external use (the language is present in other institutions, such as Esperanto at the UvA)
23. state recognition
24. electronic media (such as CD-ROMs)
25. social differences (political parties, religious associations)
26. family speakers
27. original culture (myths, ideals, traditions)
28. language evolution (archaisms, limited language variation)

Only Esperanto reached the highest part of the scale, so, according to Blanke, only Esperanto is truly a planned *language*. Its use is so widespread that serious codification of the norm was needed and large congresses are organized. Scholarly work is published, not only self-reflecting on the language but also for external use and as well as other contexts. Official recognition is also important; in truth,

³¹ I believe that Novial was really used only by Jespersen and very few others, so it remained merely a project, like Alfandari's Neo or Lingua Franca Nova (or 'elefen') by C. George Boeree.

Esperanto is recognized not only at a state level but also at an international level, for example at the level of the European Union³² at the UN and UNESCO – as we will see below. The emergence of pseudo-native varieties with family speakers is a distinctive phenomenon of Esperanto; unlike most other living languages, the L1 speakers (all at least bilingual) do not have a special authority on the language. It is highly questionable that electronic media will be produced so late (step 24, where internet is not even mentioned!) and also social differences in the community and an original culture have certainly been formed before (steps 27-28).³³

We can update Blanke's scale in order to be used not only for IALs but also for Tolkien's invented languages or Hollywood languages alike. This is my proposal:

0. manuscript (unpublished; the language planner is free to modify the language)
1. publication (establishment of the primitive contract)
2. network of supporters (scattered; language use is mainly correspondence and in any case in written form; production of translated and original texts are often bilingual with national languages)
3. organization into a Movement (foundation of an association of friends of the language, with subscription, fees, regular publications, discussions, and internal roles, e.g. president, secretary)
4. world congresses (language use start to become oral; bounds between adepts become stronger)
5. the Movement becomes visible externally (local clubs and national associations succeed to gain the attention of the media; lexicon becomes larger and adapted for contemporary use)
6. standardization (codification of the norm over language use in oral contexts; at least a generation (25 years) of continuous use is needed)
7. official recognition (heuristic effect for language pedagogy or machine translation, declaration by the states of international organisations; the community is wider, so that sociological differences form parallel Movements)
8. family speakers (the community is well established that parents start to use the language in the family; children grow up bilingual)

³² You can pass an exam of Esperanto following the Common European Framework in Hungary; no other concrete forms of support, however.

³³ On the other hand, it is true that you need a large community of practice which reproduces itself for some generations before it's possible to talk about archaisms and neologisms. In general, there is no distinct diatopic variation: the Esperanto variety spoken by a Japanese, for instance, is not different from the Esperanto variety spoken by a French; different pronunciations are well tolerated by esperantophones, the main aim is to understand the speaker.

Steps 0-2 represent the initial phase, where the planned language is merely a project. Since the foundation of the Movement, we enter the phase of semilanguage: the language starts to be used in oral form by the members in various domains (steps 3-5). Only Esperanto has a tradition of uninterrupted and consistent use of more than one generation, so that we can talk about a standard variety in the linguistic sense, i.e., something which is not fully described in any book but exists in the everyday practice of the language (steps 6-8). Symbolically, family speakers are the highest level a planned language can achieve.

And last, but not least, Couturat and Leau [1903] popularized the classification of languages (in the sense of the French *langage*) into: **a priori, mixed, and a posteriori**.³⁴ The struggle of Couturat was to *legitimate* IALs as the final results of the philosophy that gave birth to modern science. Couturat and Leau [1903] shows that until the 19th century most planned languages were a priori, following the British philosophical tradition of the 17th century.

Volapük is the most important *mixed language*, as some of its traits are a priori. This class is the weak one, as it is not clear how many a priori traits can be adopted in a planned language in order to be mixed. In practice, mainly Volapük and its ephemeral ‘Volapükids’ are part of this class: we can say that the class was made especially for them, in order to fit them into the model.³⁵ We should add to them languages like Loglan, Lojban and Lincos: they are planned starting from an idea of logic, being first-order logic or lambda-calculus: the result is barely usable for humans, even if in theory people can speak in Lojban.³⁶

A posteriori languages are basically IALs as intended until now: they are based on existing natural languages just as natural languages are based on their etymological ancestors: for example, Italian is based on Latin, while Esperanto is based on Zamenhof’s linguistic repertoire. A further distinction is between *schematic* languages (e.g., Esperanto, Ido, Novial) and *naturalistic* ones, the ones who try to mimic specific languages of language groups – typically, Romance languages. In other words, a posteriori schematic languages are explicitly contact languages,³⁷ while naturalistic ones follow an etymological principle, aiming at a sort of purity.³⁸

Let’s see two examples. Esperanto is an a posteriori schematic language. From the translation of Goethe’s Faust, quoted in Lindstedt [2009]:³⁹

El fruaj tempoj sentas mi reveni
Al mia vid’, figuroj svagaj, vin.
Ĉu provu mi ĉifoje vin firmiteni?
Ĉu restis al vi kora la inklin’?

³⁴ Originally, it is due to Gaston Moch, a French pacifist (but he became captain in the Great War). Of Jewish origins, he defended Dreyfus from the accusation. He became president of the Parisian Esperantist club in 1900, and a key figure of the French Esperanto Movement.

³⁵ The exception is Idiom Neutral, which is similar to Esperanto. Thanks to that language, the Volapük language academy will survive until now. See below for details.

³⁶ Not in Lincos, which is a ‘cosmic language’ built to communicate with extraterrestrial entities. It was planned in 1957 by the Dutch logician Hans Freudenthal.

³⁷ In the sense of Lindstedt [2009] about Esperanto; we will see it later.

³⁸ Some of a posteriori naturalistic IALs were made for nationalistic or chauvinistic reasons [Blanke, 1989], the most important ones being Basic English and Weltdeutsch. They are sometimes called ‘ethnic planned languages’.

³⁹ Rough translation: From early times I feel myself come back / to my sight, oh nebulous figures, you. / Should I try to firmly keep you this time? / Does stay in you an inclination of the heart?

We can see that plural nouns end with *-oj*, the adjective *-aj* agrees with the noun, and there is the accusative marker in *-n* (you: *vi/vin*). Many words are latinate: *tempoj* ('times'), *vid'* ('sight') but also from German, such as *frua* ('early', German *früh*), or Polish, such as *ĉu* (polar yes/no questions, Polish *czy*).

Peano's Latino sine Flexione was called 'interlingua' in later years and it is a good example of naturalistic a posteriori language. This text was published in 1931, introducing the first book in that IAL:

"INTERLINGUA" es lingua auxiliare internationale. Incremento de relationes internationale per rapido methodo de communicatione quale telegrapho, telephono, radio, pyronave, ferrovia, aeroplano, reddo problema de Interlingua plus urgente et objecto de studio numeroso.

For people educated in Latin, this text is readable without further instructions. Note *pyronave* for 'fireship' and *ferrovia* for 'railroad', which is identical to their Italian counterparts. Also, note the etymological writing system.⁴⁰ Naturalistic IALs try not to appear too "artificial".

Couturat and Leau [1907] show that after year 1900 post planned languages were a posteriori, as they were reforms of Esperanto, while eventually mixed ones were ephemeral Volapük reforms. The main difference between a posteriori and mixed on one hand and *a priori* languages on the other side is the fact that the latter are conceived starting from semantics instead of phonology and morphosyntax. The objective is to define all the possible knowledge as a big ontology which takes account of everything. Most of them were proposed in the 17th century. The most important consequence is the fact that, unlike a posteriori and mixed languages, they lack the fundamental property of natural languages: the Saussurian biplanarity of the linguistic sign, or, in the words of André Martinet⁴¹, **double articulation**: every linguistic sign should be analysed in two plans, or articulations: the first articulation is meaningful (chain of *morphemes*) while the second one is meaningless (chain of *phonemes*): for this reason they are peripheral to our course.⁴²

This overview shows that the contours of the object of this book are not easy to be found. In opening his *Foreward* to a classic book, Schubert [1989] uses an expression that became rightly famous:

Interlinguistics is an unorthodox branch of language science. The researchers are found in universities, post-graduate institutes, and the research departments of software companies, but also in libraries, volunteer language movements, and in their private studies. Researchers engage in interlinguistics in the East and in the West, and recently also at some places in the Third World. Interlinguistic findings are often published in books or journals that never enter the channels of ordinary book trade and public or scientific libraries, and they are reported about in languages that are at present less commonly used in the international community of linguists.

These are some of the reasons why interlinguistics still is an unknown field for many linguists, although it is an integral part of their science.

Nowadays, the situation is even more complicated than in 1989, because of internet. We will come back on this issue in the last chapter.

⁴⁰ Rough translation: Interlingua is a IAL. The growing of international relations through quick means of communication such as telegraph, telephon, radio, fireship, railroad, airplanes, makes the problem of interlingua more urgent and a subject of many studies.

⁴¹ An influent French linguist which was involved in Interlinguistics too, as we will briefly see in Part II.

⁴² Chapter 4 illustrates only Wilkins' and Leibniz' ideas in contrast. Descartes gave 'only' interesting guidelines.

Languages planned for fiction

In this chapter we will see languages for non-auxiliary purposes, in particular the ones created for fiction. There are plenty of them [Conley and Cain, 2006], but some are more influential than others; here, we will see only the most important ones in details. We will consider here major Science-Fiction and fantasy writers only, for reasons of space.

Science-Fiction (SF) was born when the hopes and fears linked to technology and science blended into the fantastic genre – such as Thomas More’s *Utopia* or Jonathan Swift’s *Gulliver’s Travels* – and it modified it radically. The first SF-novel is Mary Shelley’s *Frankenstein*, where a creature, Adam, is put into life through galvanism, an electrical phenomenon. Her novel represents the dark side of technological innovation. On the other hand, the positive approach to technology is iconic in the father of SF, Jules Verne.⁴³ Unlike fantastic works, in SF the *diegesis* – the level of abstraction of the fictional world or universe – should be plausible, i.e., the reader should have the impression that it could happen for real in his or her world (*extra-diegesis*). In this way, SF becomes a way to elaborate the author’s view of humanity in the near or far off future.⁴⁴

The **fantasy genre** is a reaction to SF: while science and technology are a main factor of the plot, in fantasy their *absence* is remarkable: they are replaced by magic and sorcery. Quite often, the role of magic is the same as science: there are rules, trained people, risks in its use, etc. The founder of the genre is Tolkien. Plausibility is far less important in fantasy than in SF: no reader, even the youngest, really believes in dragons, but this is not important. As Ursula K. Le Guin – a leading fantasy writer – once said: ‘people who deny the existence of dragons are often eaten by dragons. From within.’

It is important to note that fictional languages live mainly in a fictional world, but not necessarily only there. In other words, each fictional language serves two purposes: on one hand, it lives in the fictional world where it belongs; on the other side, it lives in the readers’ world through the medium of reading: after all, fiction is written in an existing language, that acts as the reference point – in a positive or negative sense – for the fictional world. It is not the same if fiction is written in English, Esperanto, or Kiswahili.⁴⁵ Most authors use secret languages, as they do not want – or even imagine – that human beings really want to use fictional language in the extra-diegetic world. As we will see later, this assumption changes with the emergence of Hollywood languages.

In general, there are a lot of human-like – and not-so human-like – “races”, sometimes from other worlds, that populate fictional worlds (i.e., diegeses) both in SF and fantasy novels. In general, each “race” has its own language, but in some cases there can be more languages even within a single “race”, especially if these creatures are similar to human beings in most respects.

In these diegetic worlds, the issue of multilingualism and mutual

⁴³ It is worth noting, that Jules Verne became the honorary president of the Esperanto club of Amiens in 1903, and he himself started to write a novel where Esperanto should play an important part, being the language of peace in Congo between Europeans and Africans. However, this novel, *Voyage d’études* (translated in Dutch under the title *Studiereis* by Istvan Ertl in 2008) was never finish because Verne passed away in 1905. According to the Catalan Esperantist Abel Montagut,, a major Esperanto SF writer, Verne also hesitated, after realising that Europeans massacred local people in Congo, under the rule of Leopold II of Belgium.

⁴⁴ A subgenre is *steampunk*, in which the author’s view is of a uchronic parallel world in the past, typically in Victorian time, where steam was the main source of energy. This subgenre was born with Gibson and Sterling’s *The difference machine* (1990), which also signs the end of the cyberpunk literary avangarde.

⁴⁵ Adami et al. [2017] explores other points of view, for example Indian Science Fiction.

understanding can be raised by authors, but it is also important to note that not every author considers language diversity a core issue. Dek [2009] resumes the 8 possible solutions found in SF; I will adapt it here for fantasy stories too.

1. *neglect*: the author pretends, that the characters speak the same language in which the novel has been written: aliens speak English as the novel is written in English, and that's all.

2. *hazard monolingualism*: aliens speak the same language as us, e.g., they learned it on the radio or other media, or they are an isolated colony of humans; generally, this is a surprise for the characters.

3. *Babelfish*: a miraculous technology acts as a perfect translator such as the one in Douglas Adams' radio SF-comedies, first of all *The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy*.

4. *mental treatment*; the characters takes a pill, or a drug, or are hypnotized, so to learn the target language in a snap.

5. *telepathy*: people do not speak, rather they exchange thoughts through their brains directly.

6. *lingua franca*: a contact language, a sort of Europanto, acts as a pidgin for first-hand necessities between the different language groups. An example of this is the Italian novel *Terra!* by Stefano Benni.

7. *IAL*: a planned language, typically Esperanto or some reform of it, is used as a world language. Dek [2009] cites the film *Babel* (1988) by Yvon Davys for the French television, and the anime *Ginga tetudô no yoru* [A night of the galactic train] produced by Asahi and Nippon Herald Films Group 1985, where Esperanto is the only language, in order to create a non-national milieu. Classic SF-authors like Robert A. Heinlein (*The Green Hills of Earth*, 1947), Michael Moorcock (*The Rituals of Infinity*, 1971), Isaac Asimov (*Homo Sum*), H. Prüfer (*Planet der Träume*, Dream planet, 1973) use Esperanto as a solution of this problem in their texts. And last but not least, Harry Harrison is a SF-writer and an active esperantist: he uses Esperanto in the diegetic world of *The Lifeship* (1976) and *The Stainless Steel Rat*, where Jim DiGriz, the main character, is an Esperanto bilingual.

8. *diegetic multilingualism*: perhaps because of Tolkien's heritage (see below for details), multilingualism in the diegetic worlds of fantasy is far more common than in SF. Let's examine a few examples in SF. One of the most developed ones and original is found in the novel *Native Tongue* (1984) by Suzette Haden Elgin. There, the world is ruled by dynasties of linguists, and in the plot women want to create a feminist language to tidy up the chaos. Ládaan – the feminist language – is a strange case: first conceived by the author at first as an IAL only for women, it eventually became a fictional language. It

is based on feministic grounds as well serving as a tool in order to test the **Sapir-Whorf hypothesis**.⁴⁶ Her language is one of the few case of languages planned by women.

This case is unusual but not unique: sometimes, if the real world doesn't listen to you, you turn to fiction. It happened with Volapük, as we will see, as well with the somewhat ephemeral Ládaan. Some definitions are interesting per se; to give you a 'taste' of the language I invite you to see what *doroledim* means [Haden Elgin, 1985, 93]:

doroledim. This word has no English equivalent whatsoever. Say you have an average woman. She has no control over her life. She has little or nothing in the way of a resource for being good to herself, even when it is necessary. She has family and animals and friends and associates that depend on her for sustenance of all kinds. She rarely had adequate sleep or rest; she has no time for herself, no space of her own, little or no money to buy things for herself, no opportunity to consider her own emotional needs. She is at the beck and call of others, because she has these responsibilities and obligation, and does not choose to (or cannot) abandon them. For such a woman, the one and only thing she is likely to have a little control over for indulging her one self is FOOD. When such a woman overeats, the verb for that is "doroledim". (and then she feels guilty, because there are women whose children are starving and who do not have even THAT option for self-indulgence...)

Instead of a chaotic situation, the fictional world can be multilingual, but both characters and readers can somehow access to the languages, via translations or explanations; this is Tolkien's solution (see section below). The language of the 'others' (whoever or whatever they are) is completely secret: neither the characters nor the readers can understand it – sometimes another alphabet is used. the language can be comprehensible or not in different ways: it could be completely encrypted, both in the fictional and in the readers' world, as in the case of H. G. Wells' Eloi [Rabkin, 1979, 81], where not text is given. More often, some words or phrases in the text are shown, without any clues as to their meaning, following the example of Dante's Nimrod: *Raphèl maámèche zabí almi*. Samuel R. Delany's *Babel-17* (1966) revolves around the discovery of a secret language by the main character in the novel, a decrypter – recenbling Alan Turing's decryption of Enigma. In the case of *The Languages of Pao* by Jack Vance, languages are truly the central theme, and the plot serves as a proof around the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. Sometimes, a very peculiar word for expressing the local culture is given, with a lot of explanation, as in the case of 'kemmer' by Ursula K. Le Guin [Rabkin, 1979, for details].

In all these cases, we are a far cry from languages entirely planned for fiction. A more interesting attempt is Antony Burgess' Nadsat.

⁴⁶ Rabkin [1979] illustrates briefly the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, with a quotation of Sapir (p. 85). There is a plenty of literature on the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, which came out after studying 'exotic' languages like Hopi. In Sapir's view, languages strongly influence the worldview of their speakers, as they use languages to express it. Whorf went even further, arguing that what is influenced is the perception of reality. According to him, human thought is shaped by the language, therefore nature is perceived according to the categories languages have: if a language has no future tense, for instance, its speakers will not have a clear perception of the future. The underlying assumption is that there is a strong link between language and thought. Needless to say, this hypothesis raised a lot of debate. We do not have time to delve into this epistemological question, nonetheless it is still important, because it defines the concept of language league (*Sprachbund*), in particular the Standard Average European (S.A.E.), that will turn important in the recent story of IALs. A recent account of this debate is found in Deutscher [2010].

A language for A Clockwork Orange

The novel by Anthony Burgess, originally published in 1962, explored the abyss of violence in the new phenomenon of juvenile gangs – at that time, before 1968, they were mainly the Mods and the Rockers. The ‘cure’ for this ‘social disease’ was behaviouristic: society should recondition these deviated minds through violent punishments. After the Second World War, young people started to define themselves through slang to separate themselves from the previous generations. The book’s fictional world is a dictatorship in the next future (the 1970s) in Britain where the linguistic and cultural references for the gang are Russian. The jargon is called Nadsat, and there are exactly a total of 241 words in the novel; among them, 187 are of clear Russian origin. How were they created? In a very peculiar way: Russian phonetics are distorted so that the sounds resemble an existing word in English with a completely different meaning; however, the meaning of the words are the Russian. In order to illustrate how it works, let’s look at some examples in Table 1.

<i>English</i>	<i>Russian</i>	<i>Nadsat</i>
well!	khoroshó	horrorshow
friend	drug	droog
head/mind	golová	gulliver
police	milícja	millicent
to work	rabòta	to rabbit

Table 1: Some examples of Nadsat

Elements of Tolkien linguistics

J.R.R. Tolkien was a philologist at the University of Oxford. He studied Old and Middle English, Old Norse and some English dialects that show traces of influences of Nordic languages.⁴⁷ He observed that the English people are without a consistent myth than can rival that of the Nordic people (Walhalla), the Mediterranean people (Olympus) and even the Celtic people (he was fond of Welsh, in particular). For this reason, he decided to create a full mythology, represented by Middle-Earth, for the English people, based on some existing fragments. He was apartly inspired by the Finnish Kalevala, which is an epic collected and written by a linguist in the 19th century.⁴⁸ In a letter sent to his American publisher in 1955, he explains his inspiration in writing literature:

The invention of languages is the foundation. The ‘stories’ were made rather to provide a world for the languages than the reverse. To me a name comes first and the story follows.

Entire language families were elaborated, in particular for the kins of Elves, with Quenya (already started in 1915) and Sindarin being

⁴⁷ Among other things, he worked for the *Oxford English Dictionary* and published *A Middle English vocabulary*, with Old Norse as a source for comparison.

⁴⁸ See the review of Solopova’s book by Smith [2010].

the most important. They are all secret languages: the author did not ever think that people wanted to use these languages for their sake outside Middle-Earth. He did create autonomous language systems – *langue* in Saussurean terms – without being consistent during the years. One of the main problems for the aficionados came from the publication of the *Silmarillion* and other posthumous material, compiled by his son, Christopher Tolkien, so problems in interpretation were raised.

Moreover, some important essays such as ‘A Secret Vice’⁴⁹ as well as the letters appeared only in the 1980s: in these works, Tolkien clarifies his commitment to the Esperanto Movement in the 1930s and the aims of his own languages.

⁴⁹ Recently published with a full commentary by Dimitra Fimi and Andrew Higgins.

Personally I am a believer in an ‘artificial’ [note the quotes!] language, at any rate for Europe a believer, that is, in its desirability, as the one thing antecedently necessary for uniting Europe, before it is swallowed by non-Europe; [...] also I particularly like Esperanto, which is a good description of the ideal artificial language [but] my concern is not with that kind of artificial language at all (from: *A Secret Vice*).

He learned Esperanto in his adolescence, and used it in short texts appearing in his *Book of the Foxrook*, written mainly for poetry and aesthetic pleasure [Smith and Wynne, 2000]. In the years 1932-33 he wrote a letter in the British Esperantist supporting Esperanto against its competitors.

Actually, it seems to me, too, that technical improvement of the machinery, either aiming at greater simplicity and perspicuity of structure, or at greater internationality, or what not, tends (to judge by recent examples) to destroy the humane or aesthetic aspect of the invented idiom. This apparently unpractical aspect appears to be largely overlooked by theorists; though I imagine it is not really unpractical, and will have ultimately great influence on the prime matter of universal acceptance. N** [Novial], for instance, is ingenious, and easier than Esperanto, but hideous – “factory product” is written all over it, or rather, “made of spare parts” – and it has no gleam of the individuality, coherence and beauty, which appear in the great natural idioms, and which do appear to a considerable degree (probably as high a degree as is possible in an artificial idiom) in Esperanto – a proof of the genius of the original author. . . My advice to all who have the time or inclination to concern themselves with the international language movement would be: “Back Esperanto loyally.” [Tolkien, 1932]

It is important to note by now that Middle-Earth languages do not show any direct influence from Esperanto or other IALs; they are secret languages, influenced by his philological passion and work.

Studies on Tolkien are numerous and sparse. Let us proceed chronologically. Hostetter [2007] offers a retrospective of Tolkien Studies in the last 50 years. The first generation (1950s-1970s) was full of *decoders*: for example, claiming that ‘Gandalf’ derives from *gand* (wand) plus *alf* (elf) or ‘Legolas’ means “ancestor-diminutive”, as in Gaelic, Old English, and so on. Tolkien, in answering such questions in his letters, declares that these questions were pointless for him: he cared only from an artistic, not linguistic point of view.

The second generation, emerging after the publication of the *Silmarillion* (1978), published *journals and books*: from a limited dataset, Quenya and Sindarin were gaining popularity and Tolkienians wanted to use them for their own artistic research. Soon, two

contrasting approaches emerged: the Conceptionists argued that previous versions of the language, before *The Lord of the Rings*, are simply experiments, and should not be taken into account; on the other hand, Unifists think that these are variations, like different translations of the same text.

The latest generations, arising after the Web Era (1990s), are influenced by Hollywood, which invested in Tolkien's diegetic cosmos: rightly, Hostetter [2007] defines these Hollywood languages Neo-Quenya and Neo-Sindarin, as they are considerably different and beyond Tolkien's control and sphere of influence. An important publication was David Salo's *Gateway to Sindarin* in 2004. In the very last few years, serious scholars have started to analyzing fictional languages in general and Tolkien's linguistic work in particular – see on particular the contributions in Adams [2011].

It is also interesting to see how Tolkien's attitude towards Esperanto changed. The British Esperanto Congress was held at the University of Oxford in 1930. In the 1930s Britain was becoming more and more relevant in the realm of the neutral Esperanto Movement.⁵⁰ Together with other British personalities, Tolkien signed an appeal entitled 'The Educational Value of Esperanto' where it is stated that Esperanto facilitates foreign language learning.⁵¹ After the Second World War, Tolkien became disappointed with Esperanto. In a draft of a letter dated January 14, 1956, he wrote that Esperanto and all IALs: "are dead, far deader than ancient unused languages, because their authors never invented any Esperanto legends" – quoted in Smith [2006] [Drout, 2006]. Here, Tolkien is wrong, as a distinctive Esperanto culture does exist, as we will illustrate in Part II.

In fact, we will see later that Zamenhof's project relatively succeeded, compared to others, in part because of the importance of Esperanto literature, both in translation and original. The main difference is that IALs do not pretend to live in a parallel, fictional world, rather they live in ours. Paraphrasing the words of Karl Marx: fictional languages only interpret the world through fiction itself, in various ways. The point of IALs, however, is to change the world.

Orwell's Newspeak: a satire of the Auxiliary Language Movement

The commitment of the Auxiliary Language Movement⁵² in changing the real world got the attention of one of the most important English writers of the past century: Eric Arthur Blair (1903–1950), better known as George Orwell.⁵³ He studied at the prestigious college of Eton, where he met Aldous Huxley as his teacher of French. Falling under the sway of British propaganda, he served as a policeman in Burma in 1922 where he was shocked by the brutal treatment of

⁵⁰ We will deal with the history of the Esperanto Movement in the second part of our course.

⁵¹ This story is told in details by Oronzo Cilli in his blog *Tolkieniano*, posted in 2014, March 24. The 'educational value' was later called 'propaedeutic value' by the German cybernetician Helmar Frank, founder of the International Academy of Science San Marino, and now it is known by this etiquette. See also Part II.

⁵² I use this term referring to every group involved in the struggle to make an IAL used for international communication at an official level, in terms of politics of languages (see next section below about it). The Esperanto Movement is the most important part of it; sometimes I used in contrast Auxiliary Language Movement referring to supporters of the Esperanto competitors. Context should help you disambiguate the two uses.

⁵³ The authoritative source about his biography is Crick [1981], from which the following notes were extracted.

local people. This experience as a young man convinced him that his mission should be to denounce of totalitarianisms of any stripe or colour, brown (Hitler's) black (Mussolini's) or red (Stalin's). In 1927 he went to Paris writing on foreign politics in a French journal in order to earn a living. He was guest of his aunt Kate Limouzin, who had a love affair with **Eügeno Lanti**, the founder of the *SAT-amikaro*: Lanti was an eminent figure of the left-winged Esperanto movement,⁵⁴ and Orwell was certainly negatively impressed by him. Then, he decided to come back to England, living on a farm with a student of Tolkien's as if they were hippies – here, *Animal Farm* was conceived. In the 1930s he became acquainted with Basic English, a chauvinistic IAL proposed by Charles K. Ogden and supported by Winston Churchill.⁵⁵ After helping Catalonia during the Spanish Civil War, he wrote *Homage to Catalonia*. During the Second World War, when his fears became reality, he wrote *Animal Farm* and then *1984*. The story takes place in 1984, a non-distant future that readers of that time – the novel came out in 1948 – could feel as realistic and possible. In this dystopian world, a few empires rule the world, the British being one of the most important. The main instrument to control the minds of the citizenry is language planning.

The technique used by the socialist party is called **doublethinking** in Newspeak and it resembles the concept of 'double binding' formulated by Bateson et al. [1956]. This concept can be summarised in the command *be spontaneous!*: if the receiver obeys, he violates the spontaneity (perlocutionary act, according to the speech act theory)⁵⁶ obeying the literal meaning of the words (locutionary act). Viceversa he can violate the locutionary act, by obeying the perlocutionary act; in any case, winning is not possible. This paralyzes the mind. Similarly, slogans in Newspeak, like 'war is peace', 'freedom is slavery', 'ignorance is strength', are forms of doublethinking.⁵⁷ The story takes place in a moment when the change from Oldspeak (English) to Newspeak has not been completed as but is targeted for 2050.⁵⁸

Vocabulary is divided in three parts: A, B and C. A is formed by common words, B and C by politics and science. Only party members are allowed to use B and C words. Interestingly, in the novel there are few examples of Newspeak, which is described by and large in an Appendix. The main sources of this satire are Esperanto (read through Lanti's lenses) and Basic English. How is Newspeak made? Morphology is regularized to simplify learning, following the model of Esperanto. In English, there are five word classes of content words [Baker and Hengeveld, 2012, section 6.8]: two poles, nouns (*O*) and verbs (*I*) and their modifiers, adjectives (*A*) and adverbs (*E*), plus adpositions (*U*), which act as transferers.⁵⁹

In the case of nominal morphemes, like 'speed', the transference

⁵⁴ More about Lanti in the second part of our course.

⁵⁵ More about it in the second part of our course.

⁵⁶ I assume you know the fundamentals of Linguistics, and in particular speech act theory. If you need a refresh, take the English edition of the introductory book by Baker and Hengeveld [2012] – Dutch version by [Baker et al., 2012]. For people interested in delving into speech act theory and philosophy of language, the classic book by Austin [1962] is still worth a reading.

⁵⁷ We learned Orwell's lesson too well: today, in the political discourse we hear today expressions like 'peacekeeping operation' and 'friendly fire' to indicate war. This can be considered a form of double binding.

⁵⁸ For Esperanto speakers: a good thesis in English literature would be studying this book under our perspective, and especially comparing the different translation of *1984* in Esperanto. This is one of the few world literature masterpieces to be published in more than one translation in Esperanto. Other examples are the Bible, Hamlet, Pinocchio.

⁵⁹ The four letters *O, I, A, E* were used by Tesnière in his Structural Syntax, and reprised and updated by Gobbo and Benini [2014] in establishing Constructive Adpositional Grammars (CxAdGrams).

to adjective is made by the suffix *-ful*, while adverbification is made through *-wide*. Analogously, to nominalize a root to obtain the abstract the suffix *-ing* is used, while the animate agent is obtained through *-er*. Some examples are in Table 2.

<i>English root</i>	<i>Newspeak transferer</i>	<i>English equivalent</i>
O: speed	O > A: speed-ful	speedy
O: speed	O > E: speed-wide	rapidly
A: good	A > E: good-wise	well
A: good	A > O _{abs} : good-ing	the good
A: good	A > O _{anim} : good-er	a good person

Table 2: Some examples of Newspeak morphology

Compared to Nadsat, Orwell's language is more than jargon, as morphology is involved, and the influence of Esperanto is evident: the antonym prefix *un-* (*uncold* means 'warm') behaves like the Esperanto prefix *mal-*: e.g., *malvarma* means 'cold'.

Of course, the examples of vocabulary B are even more interesting. Let us limit ourselves to the uses of the words 'crime' and 'think' (Table 3) which are highly productive:

<i>Newspeak word</i>	<i>definition in English</i>
to crimethink	to have individual, personal opinions
to crimestop	the ability to stop 'ungoodthinking'
to facecrime	to have an unappropriate face expression
to sexcrime	to have sex, which is prohibited
ownlife	a crimethinking attitude, i.e. individualistic and free

Table 3: Some examples of Newspeak vocabulary B

The prohibition of using some definite words, Orwell is telling us, is a clear sign of the political power of languages. The role of the lexicon is central in this respect, and above all the freedom to create new words to express new concepts. In this sense, Newspeak is the anti-Esperanto *par excellence*: while the first one has a rigid control of the lexicon – mutated from the example of Basic English, the latter has a considerable degree of freedom in coinage, both from borrowings (e.g., *blog* from 'blog') and from new compounds (e.g., *malsanulejo*, literally 'place for un-healthy persons', therefore 'hospital').

The emergence of Hollywood linguistics

One of the most and interesting phenomena concerning Interlinguistics is Hollywood linguistics, i.e. the scientific study of languages planned for the American film industry's needs – no language appeared in European, Indian, Chinese or Japanese contexts, at least it was not discussed in the scholarly literature until now. The main Hollywood languages are Klingon, Na'vi and Dothraki.⁶⁰

Klingon, the Latin of Hollywood languages

The Klingon language is the solution for an artistic problem, as stated by Okrent [2010]. In order to differentiate properly the fictional from the real world, we will refer to 'Klingons' as the aliens and to 'Klingonists' as the users and fans of the language.⁶¹ Klingons appeared in 1967 in the Star Trek series for the first time, as the bad guys.⁶² The first long movie in Hollywood was released in 1979, when actors uttered meaningless numbers that were filtered with electronic tools in order to appear as if actors were speaking in an alien tongue. The result was awkward, so the Paramount Pictures – copyright holder of the Star Trek universe – wanted to have a full-fledged language for the third film, released in 1984. Marc Okrand, a linguist expert in the native American language Mutsum, was hired to create a language *exclusively for the purposes of the set*.⁶³

A dictionary with the grammar was published in 1985 as a gadget for trekkies, with approximately 1,500 words: nobody foresaw what happened afterwards. The fact is that in 1987 a Klingon, Worf, joined the Enterprise – and so Klingons became part of the good guys, only two years before the falling of the Berlin Wall, when the relations between the US and Russia started to change forever. Trekkies started to cosplay⁶⁴ Klingons, and of course they wanted to speak the language. Unfortunately, the vocabulary was not suitable for use in the real world: therefore, a parallel, unofficial dictionary started to circulate. Then, the Paramount picture asked Marc Okrand, the language planner, to write a new edition of the English-Klingon Dictionary with new words, such as 'chocolate' or 'deodorant' which clearly do not pertain to Klingon **culture**, which is not a thing, but a *process* of collective meaning-making⁶⁵, as well as addenda from other films. This book was published in 1992, and it became a blockbuster. Those were the early days of the Web Era: a Klingon Language Institute was founded, as well as a pseudo-academic journal, meetings where organised, and so on. A key figure of the studies on Klingon is Lawrence M. Schoen, a psycholinguist and awarded SF-writer. The thesis by Wahlgren [2004], published at the peak of the language's

⁶⁰ There are many more, like Atlantean by Mark Okrand for Disney's animated film *Atlantis: The Lost Empire* and David J. Peterson's Valyrian also for the Games of Thrones. However, from a theoretical point of view, the most innovative are these ones.

⁶¹ This use of the suffix *-ist* is clearly inspired by the word 'Esperantist'.

⁶² The fortunes of Klingon show interesting parallel with the reconceptualisation of the Russians in the American society.

⁶³ Apparently, there is no evident influence from Mutsum to Klingon.

⁶⁴ Cosplay is a portmanteu word formed by 'costume' and 'play'. Fans of a diegetic world wears costumes and accessories to represent their favourite characters. It started in Japan in 1984, and it became popular in the Western world since the 1990s.

⁶⁵ I will use the word 'culture' following the motto "culture is a verb" coined by Street [1993] in Graddol et al. [1993]. Following this perspective, Klingonists as well as the Paramount Pictures are the main agents which literally creates the Klingon culture.

popularity, contained 19 interviews with ‘fluent’ speakers, while a total of 79 were cited. Legend has it that there were also an attempt to speak Klingon as a L1 to a child. After the end of the TV-series, Klingon became less widely used. This is a general rule of Hollywood languages: fans use them if the diegetic world is alive; in other words, *the vitality of Hollywood languages is bound to their diegesis*. However, Klingon became a classic of the genre, so it is still used as part of the contemporary American pop culture, especially linked with geekness and nerds. For example, a Klingon Opera was performed by a Dutch company, and the language was used in Apple ads for iPhone 5c; furthermore, it appeared in the TV-series *The Big Bang Theory*. There are mobile apps for writing with a Klingon keyboard, bilingual dictionaries and even a full language course offered by the company uTalk.⁶⁶

Some masterpieces of world literature, such as Gilgamesh and Hamlet, were translated into Klingon. Shakespeare’s translation is particularly interesting. According to Kazimierczak [2010]’s analysis, Hamlet is a typical Klingonian theme: in the sixth long movie of the series, there is even a claim that originally Shakespeare was a Klingon (*Wil’yam Shex’pir*) so in truth the original was actually the Klingon version:

It is regrettable, that, during the years when the Empire and Federation were at war – a war the Federation fought on the propaganda front even more keenly than on the battlefield – certain individuals resorted to crude forgeries of Shex’pir, claiming him as a conveniently remote mediaeval Terran, a certain Willem Shekispeore [sic!] and hoping by this falsification of history to discredit the achievements of Klingon culture... We think that the quality of the two plays – on the one hand, the spontaneous, direct, vibrant verse of Khamlet, and on the other, the flaccid, ponderous, convoluted meanderings of “Amllet” – speak for themselves. [Nicholas et al., 2000, xiii]

Moreover, there is a parallel between the Klingon and the Maori translations of Shakespeare: some names are adapted phonologically, while others are completely changed in order to appear to be genuine Klingonian. We should admit that translating Shakespeare is a ‘literary Everest’, to use the expression by Humphrey Tonkin.⁶⁷ Klingon became like Latin: a prestigious language belonging to the past and always considered a model.

Important traits of Klingon Klingon should be alien: if you take American English as the reference point – from a typological point of view – everything from phonetic space to the word order should be non-English.⁶⁸ It is important to emphasize that a language is felt to be alien only with reference to an ‘alien’ pre-conception. In other words, ‘exotic’ can be understood only from the point of view of the target population, in this case the prototypical WASP. For example, a pseudo-Star Trek series produced in Arabic would have produced a very different Klingon. That is why Klingon has a OVS word order and a very complex and rich morphology: 5 nominal suffix types

⁶⁶ It is important to note that Klingon can be easily written with the English alphabet. In the sequel we will see that graphisation is crucial in the success of any language planning effort.

⁶⁷ Shakespeare is one of the most translated authors, also in the case of planned languages. Why? For three reasons: first, translators can check a lot of existing translations already out there; second, it is a proof that the planned language can be used to express top class world literature, at least in translation; third, the final goal of all language planners is to have the planned language used in speech, and theatre is a fantastic model for pseudo-speech registers, because of the extensive use of dialogues.

⁶⁸ However, the final BA thesis in English Studies by Emma Konijn, written in the academic year 2014-5, shows that the 5 vowels of Klingon are all present in English, as well as the diphthongs, while on a phonological space of 21 consonants only 11 differ from English.

and 9 verbal suffix types, pospositions, and a lot of idiosyncracies.⁶⁹ Morphology is agglutinative, with 87 affixes in total, 5 nominal types (number, qualification, etc.) and 9 verbal types (e.g., change, cause, etc.). The correlative series is a good test for the morphological regularity of any planned language, not only those that are fictional [Gobbo, 2011a]. In fact, in Klingon we read:

'Iv	nuq	chay'	ghorgh	nuqDaq	quath	-ar
<i>who</i>	<i>what</i>	<i>how</i>	<i>when</i>	<i>where</i>	<i>why</i>	<i>how much</i>

The only morphological correlation is between 'what' and 'where', the latter being literally 'what+proximal locative'. Even answers do not follow any pattern: 'here' is *naDev*, 'there' is *pa'*, 'everywhere' is *Dat*. There is only one derivational affix, *-wI'*, which turns a verb into a noun, therefore Klingon shows a considerable degree of suppletion. For example, in English suppletive pairs there are many noun/adjective suppletive pairs, such as *death/mortal* and *tooth/dentist*. On the contrary, syntax, although 'strange' from the point of view of **Standard Average European** (S.A.E.)⁷⁰, is very regular and manageable, also in complex constructions such as the relative phrases [Gobbo, 2011a].

Many features of the language are radicated in the Klingonian culture. For example, there is only one honorific, *-neS*, as Klingons are rarely polite:

qa-	legh-	-neS
I-YOU	<i>see</i>	HONOUR

It means 'I am honoured to meet you'. The pronominal system indicates the relation between the subject and the object instead of having two forms, as happens in some non-S.A.E. languages of the world. In the lexicon, we find a lot of words correlated to war and battle, as the Klingons are warriors. *betleH* is one type of hand weapon, *qutluch* is another type, while a generic weapon is expressed with *nuH*. The words *puS* means 'sight' in the sense of gunsight: the target is within the line of sight for shooting. Interestingly, homophones do exist: *puS* can also mean 'to be fed up' and 'to be a handful of persons (aliens, Terrans, etc.)'.

On the other hand, the syntax is plain and regular. Knowing that *yaS* is an officer while *qIp* is 'to hit' and *-pu'* indicates the perfect tense, and that *-bogh* is the suffix for relative clauses ('who/which'), we obtain the following sentences easily [Gobbo, 2011a]:

⁶⁹ It is not by chance that no Klingon personal name starts with /k/. In fact, Star Trek's Captain Kirk, Superman's Kryptonite and Flash Gordon's Kala and Klytus represent positive, human concepts in popular SF digetic worlds, therefore Okrand decided to introduce this rule for Klingon naming [Adams, 2011, ch. 5].

⁷⁰ S.A.E. is the most influent language league in the world. Romance, Germanic and Slavic languages belong to S.A.E. All Hollywood languages are a posteriori, that means that all the core features you can find (phologically, morphologically and syntactically) can be found in some language in the world.

- (2) qIppu'boĝh yaS
'the officer who hit him/her'
(3) yaS qIppu'boĝh
'the officer whom s/he hit'

The accusative phrase consists of a juxtaposition: *vI-* is the pronoun of 'I-you (sing)', so *vIleĝh* will be 'I see you'. Then, we can directly construct sentences like 'I see the officer how hit him/her' and 'I see the officer whom s/he hit', in spite of their pragmatic complexity:

- (4) qIppu'boĝh yaS vIleĝh
'the officer who hit him/her'
(5) yaS qIppu'boĝh vIleĝh
'the officer whom s/he hit'

Probably Marc Okrand chose a regular syntax as he had to provide the dialogues in Klingon quickly for the show. On the other hand, a complex morphology was perfectly acceptable, as the language was not planned to be used extradiegetically in his mind.

Na'vi, the language from Pandora

The second Hollywood language that we will investigate is Na'vi.⁷¹ It is the language of the blue aliens of the moon Pandora, who do not know writing, in the diegesis of James Cameron's film *Avatar* (2009). The film came out in December, and Dothraki was also out for some months. In 2009, Klingon appear in *The Big Bang Theory* and the Klingon Dutch opera *u'* was on preparation, as its premiere was in early 2010. We can say that 2009 is an important year for the development of Hollywood linguistics. *Avatar* is one of the most important projects by Cameron, who worked on it for years. He wanted to invent everything with computer graphics: every plant and animal of Pandora was described carefully behind the scenes by professionals, and so it is not surprising that Cameron hired a linguist in order to plan the language of the blue aliens of Pandora.

Paul Frommer is the linguist who planned Na'vi, and he worked in secret for years.⁷² Later, we were told that Cameron had already 30-40 words, mainly names of places, characters and animals, before Frommer started to work on the language. Frommer was asked to prepare three phonological palettes, then Cameron chose one. The language had to be pleasant and appealing for the audience, especially the sounds. In the phonetic space, you will find ejectives (popping-like sounds) which are written in this way, somewhat resembling Basque; <kx>, <px>, <tx>. The language is stress-based.⁷³

On the other hand, Frommer was left completely free to decide

⁷¹ This presentation is to be integrated by the research made by Davide Astori (Parma), presented in a guest lecture on this topic in this class.

⁷² Formerly a maths teacher in Malaysia, Frommer became proficient in Malay, and he also studied Hebrew, French, Latin, German and Persian. I invited him via email for an interview (13 jan 2010) but he never answered, probably because of copyright issues.

⁷³ All Hollywood languages are stress-based as in the S.A.E.: no vowel length, no tonemes are taken into consideration, as they are considered too far removed from the linguistic habit of the audience.

morphology and syntax, which – by the way – had to be clearly distinguishable from Klingon! Therefore, Frommer chose infixes for verbal morphology: *taron* means ‘to hunt’, while *t<ay>aron* indicates the future, *t<ÿ>aron* indicates the inchoative (about to hunt, soon to hunt), *t<er>aron* indicates the present tense, and so on. The nouns show a rare, but possible, tripartite system of numbers: *me-nari* means ‘two eyes’ (dual), *kelku* is ‘home’, while *pxe-helku* means ‘three homes’ – note the rotation from /k/ to /h/. Finally, *tokx* is ‘body’ while *ay-sokx* is ‘bodies (more than three)’. Please note the rotations from /k/ to /h/ in *kelku/helku* and from /t/ to /s/ in *tokx/sokx*. Correlatives are very regular, as they are built either with the prefix *pe-* or the suffix *-pe*. From a structural point of view, Na’vi is the reverse of Klingon: the morphology is elegant and regular, while there are very distant features in the syntax – again, with American English as the reference point for distance. This choice is not by chance: every time a language is planned, the *already published planned languages are taken into account, as the planned should avoid unwanted similarities*.

The language is mainly used for short texts, mainly poems, or lyrics, quite often bucolic. In 2012 in the blog *naviteri.org* a competition for writing haiku⁷⁴ in Na’vi was organized. This was considered the best one:⁷⁵

Srew, ma frapo, srew
An a’eoio.
Ftxozä sivi ko!

Dothraki, or the professionalisation of Hollywood languages

Once upon a time, David J. Peterson was a student in Linguistics at the UC San Diego, where a colleague, linguist and Esperantist, Grant Goodall, teaches. He had the idea of collecting all planned languages through a web site, a sort of new edition of the work by Couturat and Leau [1903]. He co-founded the Language Creation Society (LCS), that collected all ‘conlangers’, with annual conferences, just like an academic society. It was year 2000, the dawn of the new Millennium. When Peterson was contacted by HBO, the producer of the TV-series *Games of Thrones*, he already had a lot of experience. George Martin, the author of the fantasy series in print, gave the producers a lot of freedom, and this allowed Peterson to work freely, with the only constraint being Martin’s original dataset, which was sparse in his books, but luckily not inconsistent as Tolkien’s. For example, from the transcription {qa}, {qo}, {qe}, {qi} Peterson got the idea that some Arabic-like sounds could fit this nomadic culture, based on horses, while avoiding pharyngeal sounds, as they are too difficult to be pronounced by the actors *and* fans. The first email in

⁷⁴ The Japanese word ‘haiku’ indicates a short poem form, with a relevant role for nature.

⁷⁵ Translation: Dance, everyone, dance / Cerimonial drumming / let us celebrate.

Dothraki was sent the 9th Nov 2009, while the post-production of the first series – where Dothraki is mostly used – finished the 24th Mar 2011. A lot of work was done: 3,034 words, 177 pages of material, 640 mp3s. In the 4th Language Creation Conference (LCC) held in Groningen in May 2011 Peterson presented some aspects of the grammar of the Dothraki language, and some advice that is valid in general: (a) avoid bizarre sound clusters that are almost unspeakable; (b) give pragmatic sense to word orders (free word order simply is linguistic nonsense); (c) take care of the balance between regularity (if too much, it sounds artificial in the worst sense of the word) and irregularity (which gives “real-likeness”); (d) stay loyal to the fictional culture. In order to create the lexicon, he gives a pseudoalgorithm, that we report here:

- 0. start with a concept
- 1. is the concept culturally appropriate?
 - 1.1. if no, stop and trash it! Go back to point 0.
 - 1.2. if yes, read below 2.
- 2. is the concept native?
 - 2.1. if no, stop and trash it! Go back to point 0.
 - 2.2. if yes, read below 3.
- 3. is the concept basic in the fictional culture?
 - 3.1. if no, use derivational morphology. Note it. Go back to point 0.
 - 3.2. if yes, create a new root. Note it. Go back to point 0.

Let us give an example of 3.1 and 3.2. The leader of a Dothraki tribe is a *Khaal* (3.1.): his wife will be a *Khaal-ees-i* (Khaal-wife-of⁷⁶), because Dothraki are a male-centered society. There exists at least one borrowing from English to Dothraki: the word *thron*, which plays an important role at the diegetic level: when Drogo, the Khaal, asks his Khaaleesi to explain what a throne is, she tries to use a compound like ‘chair-Khaal-of’, but Drogo prefers to say ‘thron’. A throne is something outside the Dothraki culture, and subsequently this population really enters the plot of the game of thrones actively.

Sometimes hidden messages are put into fictional languages. For example, in Klingon the external part of the ear is called *qogh*, from Van Gogh’s story, while ‘to smile’ is *mon* (from Monna Lisa) [Adams, 2011, ch. 6]. Peterson learned the lesson, so he put the word *ido* for ‘fake’, a clear message for all people who has studied classic Interlinguistics.⁷⁷

The society of Dothraki is based on horses and hunting. So, ‘good-bye’ is *fonas chek*, lit. ‘hunt well’ while ‘how are you?’ is rendered with:

⁷⁶ Note that this tell us that George Martin already put the genitive case into the language. There is also another example in the original material, *qoy* *qoyi*, ‘blood of my blood’.

⁷⁷ We will see in the second part of this course why this is an indirect acknowledgement to the virtues of Esperanto among the classic IALs.

Hash yer dothra-e chek?
polar you-SING to ride-PRES well?

The functional word *hash* works like the Esperanto word *ĉu*. It is used to introduce polar (yes/no) questions, which does not exist in English but it is common in many languages: the advantage is that you do not rely on prosody to transform a declaration in a question. An example of the opposite is Italian. Take the difference between the neutral assertion (*Apri la porta.*) the question (*Apri la porta?*) and the command (*Apri la porta!*), lit. ‘open the door’. The morphological material does not change, only prosody marks the difference.

Morphology and syntax in Dothraki are rich and unusual but not so complex. The most innovative feature is the use of the verb *dothrakh* (to ride) as the auxiliary, for complex verb forms, with the additional meaning of promise, like the Dutch *zal* form. There are different verb classes depending on animateness, with five cases: nominative, accusative, genitive, allative and ablative, the accusative being the zero-marked. Peterson introduced many easter eggs⁷⁸ in the Dothraki lexicon. All his family members, including his cat, entered the language. In his AMA (Ask Me Anything) Reddit session, reported by David Harris in the blog *Winter is coming* in October 2015, Peterson revealed how the relation between his mother-in-law and cooking was inserted in the language:

⁷⁸ In the geek culture, an easter egg is an undocumented feature of a videogame included as a joke or a bonus by the programmer, for fun.

One that surprised me was word I coined in honor of my mother-in-law. Her name is Jolyn, and I gave her the Dothraki root *jolin* in honor of her awesome cooking skills (*jolinat*, the verb, is “to cook”). A word built off this root is *jolino*, which refers to a large pot for cooking. I created it and didn’t think anything of it. Then in the episode “A Golden Crown”, they decided to add a line in ADR for Drogo: “Empty that pot!” This was awesome, because not only would I get to use her word, her name would be used exactly as it’s pronounced (more or less) in English, because of the grammar (pot is the object, and the accusative form of *jolino* is *jolin*). Thus the line came out: *Ammeni haz jolin!* This was the best.

Particularly interesting are the suffixes *-aan* for allative and *-oon* for ablative, which are also used for verbs:

dothrak	adakh-	-at-	-aan
AUX	<i>eat</i>	INF	ALL
dothrak	adakh-	-at-	-oon
AUX	<i>eat</i>	INF	ABL

They respectively mean ‘I ride to eat’ means ‘I am going to eat’ while (2), literally “I ride from eat’, means ‘I have just finished eating’. There are at least five expression attested to express movement. Again they are used both as verbs (*I*) and as nouns (*O*) – Table 4 just below:

When learners face the challenge to learn an L2, remembering the

<i>Dothraki word</i>	<i>definition in English</i>	Table 4: Movement in Dothraki
karlin-qoy-i	'gallop-blood-of': to gallop fast enough to kill a horse, if prolonged	
karlin-at	gallop-INF	
chetir-at	canter-INF	
irvos-at	trot-INF	
onqotahat-at	walk-INF	
karlin-a	gallop-NOM → 1 mile	
chetir-a	canter-NOM → 1/2 mile	
irvos-a	trot-NOM → 1/4 mile	
onqotahat-a	walk-NOM → 1/8 mile	

lexicon is often time-consuming. Dothraki, as for instance Esperanto, provides a lot of strategies to use the same lexical material in different part of the grammar, and tries to avoid suppletion, in favour of derivational morphology. Thus, learners can at least try to 'decode' the meaning of derivational words without prior study, while in the case of suppletion this is hardly successful.

The fact that in the third series it appeared on screen another language, High Valyrian, attests that Dothraki was a success.⁷⁹ Now that the *Games of Thrones* is over, what will be the fate of its languages? It is too early to give a reasonable answer.

Anyhow, Peterson is working on several other Hollywood languages, notably the seven alien races that populate the tv-series *Defiance*, produced by the SyFy channel. He presents his experience working as an 'alien language creator' in a book [Peterson, 2015]. I guess that he planned one hundred language projects (in Blanke's sense) so far. In summer 2017 Peterson taught a course on the invention of Hollywood languages as part of the offering at U.C. Berkeley, based on his experience in Hollywood languages. Another mention is his series of videos *Conlang 101* on Youtube, aimed specifically at beginners.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Strangely enough, even if Dothraki is more developed, there is no Duolingo course of Dothraki up to now, but there is one of High Valyrian.

⁸⁰ Permalink:
youtube.com/playlist?list=PL7WojNiCMYXjusWByxfosKoo

Language planning is everywhere

In this chapter we will give an overview of another branch of language science: language planning, which is related to Interlinguistics. This chapter can be studied as a stand-alone, and it is currently in use as part of the Lecture Notes in the class Multilingualism in a European Perspective.

The origins of language planning

The term **language planning** was invented in 1959 by Einar I. Haugen, an American linguist with Norwegian origins, who wanted to describe the peculiar sociolinguistic situation of Norwegian (see below), and it started to be used by sociolinguists dealing with case studies difficult that were to understand using the traditional apparatuses of descriptive linguistics.⁸¹ In the 1960s much effort was put in establishing the basis of the discipline: here, we will present their results. The most suitable definition for our purposes comes from the seminal work by Valter Pauli [1968]:

LP [language planning] is the methodical activity of regulating and improving existing languages or creating new common regional, national or international languages. LP comprises all spheres of the oral and written form of the language: phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicology (vocabulary) and orthography. [Pauli, 1968, 27]

The mention of ‘international languages’ shows that he was speaking of the theoretical foundation of language planning, alluding to the Auxiliary Language Movement. In particular, he recalls that:

Schuchardt⁸² maintained as early as in 1904 that all artificial languages [IALs, in our terminology] are more or less natural, and the natural languages are more or less artificial. Jespersen reiterated the same in 1929. This means that the difference between a “natural” and “artificial” language is only one of degree, i.e. in all ethnic languages there occur arbitrarily created elements. [Pauli, 1968, 22]

As already mentioned, the expression **artificial language** should be avoided, because it is easily confused with a priori languages such as Boolean logic or Lambda calculus; instead, we will rephrase Pauli’s dichotomy in terms of ‘planned vs. ethnic languages’.⁸³ However, he rightly points out that both classes refer to human languages, where their differences are put in a continuum.⁸⁴

The main intellectual movement of language planners is the departure from a *descriptive*, objective (or supposedly so) linguistics in favour of an *engaged* approach to languages: sometimes you have to make choices in order to maintain or promote a language vis-à-vis the challenges it has to face.

⁸¹ At the end of the 1950s, linguistics in Europe was still highly influenced by structuralism. We should recall that the Chomskyan revolution was in its early days, as it was first proposed in 1957 [Kibbee, 2010].

⁸² Hugo Schuchardt was a pioneer in contact linguistics. In particular he focused on the transition from Latin to Romance languages. He invented the expression *lingua franca*. See below for details.

⁸³ We will deal with the expression ‘ethnic language’ (to be juxtaposed with ‘ethnic language’) in the Section below.

⁸⁴ Recall: human languages are the ones with the double articulation – see again the appropriate Section I above if needed.

Enter language policy

After the consolidation of post-colonial studies, mainly referring to English(es), as we will see below, the most important model describing language planning comes from Robert L. Cooper [1989].⁸⁵ We will analyze it below in detail. Even if we will mainly deal with language planning issues, it is important to know that nowadays scholars are investigating Language Policy and Planning (LPP) as a whole. The study of language policy emerged in linguistics in the 1990s, when it was clear that language planning is important but it is not enough. The relation is complex; Cassels Johnson [2013] offers an overview of the literature, then gives the following, articulated definition:

A **language policy** is a policy mechanism that impacts the structure, function, use, or acquisition of language and includes:

1. Official regulations – often enacted in the form of written documents, intended to effect some change in the form, function, use or acquisition of language – which can influence economic, political and educational opportunity;
2. Unofficial, covert, de facto, and implicit mechanism, connected to language beliefs and practices, that have regulation power over language use and interaction within communities, workplaces, and schools;
3. Not just products but processes – “policy” as a verb, not a noun – that are driven by a diversity of language policy agents across multiple layers of policy creation, interpretation, appropriation, and instantiation;
4. Policy texts and discourses across multiple contexts and layers of policy activity, which are influenced by the ideologies and discourses unique to that context. [Cassels Johnson, 2013, 9]

If language planning is the toolkit of language engineering *from the inside*, language policy is more concerned with an *external* view. As Calvet once said in a conference here in Amsterdam⁸⁶, language policy is concerned with satisfaction and evaluation, while language planning tells us what to do, including how to change language policies themselves. One of the important merits of language policy studies is that non-linguists, such as anthropologists, cultural geographers, scholars from political science and law can deal with language policy issues too. Gobbo [2015] offers a diagram to summarize the current situation:

<i>groups</i>	apocalyptic intellectuals	integrated intellectuals
<i>language as</i>	marker of identity	neutral commodity
<i>principle issue</i>	power	communication
<i>metaphor</i>	imperialism	market
<i>conceptual frame</i>	ecolinguistics	postmodernism

In the last 20 years, there have been two tendencies where the literature in LPP can be collocated: ecology of languages and post-modernism; scholars of the former are apocalyptic, i.e., they believe we are in an emergency situation and we should conserve the diversity of world languages; the latter are integrated, i.e. they do not

⁸⁵ He soon retired after the publication of that book which became a classic in the literature, as recalled by Spolsky [2012] in his obituary. We will see the presentation by Hornberger [2006] in Ricento [2006].

⁸⁶ There was an invited talk entitled *La mondialisation et les langues* at the Institut Français, Maison Descartes, 17 mar 2014.

share this urgency, thinking that the old conceptual frameworks do not work anymore for the complex situation we are living in. On one hand there are the *ecolinguists*, who apply conceptual tools from ecology, either as a metaphor or for modelling.⁸⁷ As a metaphor, languages are like natural species:⁸⁸ they should be preserved *per se* because they are valuable. Like biodiversity, language diversity is a source of richness – here, issues of language rights come in, along with support for sustainable development too. For modelling, languages are considered multi-agents, complex adaptive systems, where speakers are agents, but also communities, institutions and so on. The aim is to find an optimal equilibrium where the society-as-a-system can develop without harming any agent, if possible.

On the other hand, there are the *postmodernists*: mainly concerned in the deconstruction of existing rhetorics surrounding keywords such as ‘identity’, ‘nation’, ‘gender’, and so on, they historicize these concepts, showing that in postcolonial settings they no longer apply, unlike the European settings where they came from. Of course, ecolinguists are also attacked by postmodernists as constructors of new myths. On their own, ecolinguists feel the consequences of language death: according to *Endangered Languages* [2003], of over 6,000 living languages only 600 will survive this century, if a *laissez faire* language policy is followed. The deconstruction of myths, they say, do not help people to save their languages. Here, we are agnostic: good ideas can come from everywhere, regardless of the ‘Church’ where intellectuals congregate.

It is evident that political aspects increasingly enter the arena of LPP. Serious reflections on it are, surprisingly enough, still in their infancy. A very recent proposal came from Sonntag and Cardinal [2015], who proposed to apply the concept of **state tradition** in order to enlighten the *politics* of languages, because, after all, language policies are political, so their roots should be founded in the state traditions where they belong, assuming that the agent enforcing a language policy is either the state or an institution linked with the state itself, such as the UN or the EU at a supranational level, or a region at a subnational level. Intuitively, the Jacobin institutional and normative tradition of France is considerably different from the state traditions of Canada (having two founding nations and endogenous first nations as well) or Switzerland (with four national languages, three of which belong to neighbouring Germany, France and Italy). States can change the overall picture: the dissolution of Yugoslavia was also the dissolution of ‘Serbocroatian’, which led to the new LPPs of Serbian and Croatian as independent languages.

To sum up, we have a tripartite model to attack the complexity of language-in-society here:

⁸⁷ A reader in ecolinguistics was published by Fill and Mühlhäusler [2001], those who want to delve into the topic.

⁸⁸ This metaphor of ‘naturalness’ is addressed by Bonfiglio [2013, 2010], as we will see in the next Section.

- macro level: politics of languages
- meso level: language policy
- micro level: language planning

In the following we will focus on micro level, i.e. the mechanics of languages, but with some incursions in language policy and politics of languages, as needed it for concrete case studies.

Status, corpus, acquisition

The GIDS covers ‘only’ the subnational level, i.e., minority languages: if a language has a full-fledge autonomous state, it will have also a navy and an army, so no there is no risk of language shift whatsoever.⁸⁹ Cooper [1989] offers a tripartite model of language planning, that became the standard in the literature.

Status planning measures the prestige of a language. Status planning can be divided into official and unofficial parts. Official status planning actions can include the money, laws and documents produced by the institutions, public offices in the language, official linguistic landscape (e.g., street names). At the lowest stage, there is censorship.

Unofficial status planning concerns the domains of use: scientific, academic, advertisement, media, internet, and so on. The spontaneous domains of use are very important to give a modern, cool look to minority languages. Admittedly, there is a lot of overlap with language policy.

Corpus planning concerns the shaping of the language in itself. The first moment is *graphisation*. A language without a writing system is a language without boundaries, consequently the speech community will hardly recognize it as a full-fledge language. The choice of alphabet is crucial, because of its symbolic value: Serbian is mainly written in Cyrillic, while Croatian in a Latin alphabet, because of cultural and religious links (Serbians are Orthodox, Croatians are Catholic).

Two basic strategies are possible: that of isolationism or integration. **Isolationism** means that *B* maximises its distance with respect to *A*: for instance, Gallego, a regional language spoken in Spain, is written similarly to Portuguese, to have more distance from Spanish. Conversely, **integrationism** is more pragmatist: if people are already literate in the *A*, it is more practical to write *B* in a similar way: griko and grecanico, two Greek languages in Southern Italy, are written in Latin alphabets, similarly to Italian, rather than in Greek.

⁸⁹ Not many people know that Max Weinrich, or better Maks Vaynraykh, came from Latvia, and wrote the original motto in Yiddish: *A shprakh iz a diyalekt mit an armey un a flot.*

Sometimes a **polynomic script** is to be preferable to a fixed, standardized orthography, especially in the case of minority languages currently under Ausbauization.⁹⁰ For instance, the grapheme {y} in Welsh is pronounced like [y] (German grapheme: {ü}) in the Northern part of Welsh and [i] in the South, respecting the diatopic variation of the language.⁹¹

The next step in corpus planning is **standardisation**. Basically, two strategies are possible: promotion *vs.* mélange. Italian is a clear case of promotion: the *fiorentino illustre* was chosen as a standard, and automatically all other diatopic varieties became non-standard. Of course, also a diastratic promotion is possible – typically, of the political and élite. The other possible case is to create a mélange, that is the result of an **Einbau**, where traits from different varieties are taken and put together. Alternatives are allowed, not only at a lexical level⁹² but also at a structural level. The risk is that nobody feels that certain sense of belonging so that the mélange can be rejected by people as inauthentic. The classic case of mélange in the literature is Rumantsch Grischun, the written variety of the fourth national language of Switzerland, planned by the linguist Heinrich Schmid in 1982. This language has five macrovarieties (*puter, surmiran, sursilvan, sutsilvan, vallader*), along the Swiss valleys of the Canton Grischun and initially the mélange was not well accepted. Twenty years later, with the spread of the World Wide Web, the necessity of a *Dachsprache*, that is a ‘roof variety’ that protects the other varieties, became more evident. Since 2006, the collaborative dictionary *pledarigrond.ch* has been on line, where speakers can propose corrections to the official institution *Lia Rumantscha*.⁹³

The third and last step is **modernisation**. This can happen only if the two previous steps are already stable in the language. Languages with a standard but not equipped for fashionable domains should only modernise their lexicons, for example creating terms for informatics and Computer Science. Four strategies are possible, from the strongest to the weakest:

1. *coin*: a new word for a new concept, like *ordinateur* for ‘computer’ in French.⁹⁴ The Dutch translation of ‘skyscraper’ is *wolkenkrabber*, which literally means “clouds-scraper”, so it is original enough to be considered a coin.
2. *semantic calque*: the target language takes the semantic material from the source one and adapts it according to morphemic material of its own: the translations of ‘skyscraper’ from American English into the Italian *grattacielo* is an example. Semantic calques retain the metaphor of the original.
3. *phonetic calque*: the target language sticks to phonetics, not to

⁹⁰ I thank Marco Tamburelli (Bangor) and Emanuele Miola (Milano-Bicocca/Torino) who are experts in this field, for their insights about polynomic scripts, that I basically reported here in this paragraph.

⁹¹ The two ‘names’, and that is why is called poly-nomic.

⁹² In Dutch, floor is both *etage* and *verdieping*, for example.

⁹³ Another interesting case study is Sardinian, which refused the Ausbauization of the Northern variety, called *Limba Sarda Unificada* (2001) and criticized as non representative of the diatopic variation of the island. So, a mélange was prepared as a normative written variety called *Limba Sarda Comuna* (2007), which allow diatopic variation, without pretending to impose a ‘right’ lexicon or pronunciation. This ‘soft’ planning strategy resembles the cases of English or Chinese, where the writing system is more or less fixed, but lexicon and pronunciation vary a lot.

⁹⁴ The translation was commissioned by IBM to the Sorbonne, and they chose the attribute traditionally given to God, the one who puts order into chaos.

semantics, as in the Spanish *líder* (think to Fidel Castro), a phonetic calque of the English 'leader'.

4. *borrowing*: it is the weakest strategy, as the word remains 'foreign' but it is immersed in a semantic network of the target language, hence its meaning is restricted or modified. In Italian, the word *file* pertains only to the informatic domain, while in English it is far flexibly used. Also *leader* is used, but not adapted to the Italian writing system (it could be: *lìder). One borrowing from English used in many languages around the world is *email*.

Acquisition planning is almost symmetric with the status planning: on one side, we consider the languages used in *formal* education, from kindergardens to universities, while on the other *informal* functional side, we consider considers spontaneous and informal language learning.⁹⁵

Let's delve into formal acquisition planning. After decades of case studies, we can safely say that *school is important but it is not enough* for revitalization programmes to be successful. Tove Skutnabb-Kangas has worked for years in the field of school education for minorities, and it offers a model to evaluate strategies for the educational programs. The goals, from the point of view of language(s) and identity point of view are: to reach high levels of multilingualism (minimum, bilingualism); to guarantee a fair chance of academic success by all pupils, regardless of their heritage languages; to possess a strong and multicultural identity (inclusiveness); to demonstrate positive attitudes towards one's self and the others.⁹⁶

Skutnabb-Kangas proposes these prototypes of schooling: *non-models*: no goals achieved, leading to monolingualism or strong dominance of the majority language; *weak models*: assimilationist, but not quite harsh for the child; they may reach goal 2 and the minimal goal 1 (bilingualism); *strong models*; they promote all goals, multilingualism and multiliteracy.

Traditionally, minority languages are blamed for any failure incurred by their speakers at schools. These are the explanations most commonly used: *L2-related*: the minority child (and/or parents) do not know *A* well enough; *diastatic*: the children's parents represent the lowest social groups, little formal education, high rates of unemployment, etc. No school-related support at home. *cultural*: the minority culture clashes with the values of the dominant group; sometimes, the myth of the 'noble savage' is invoked ("they need to be civilized", they say) *L1-related*: the minority child in struggling for assimilation does not know the home language well enough, and is thus deprived of a solid basis for L2-learning (situation of semilingualism, see above).

⁹⁵ In the literature we also distinguish *non-formal* learning, when there are clear objectives and scheduling like in formal education, but without certification or exams. This is an emerging field. For example, think to MOOCs or Duolingo courses. Unlike formal and informal acquisition, non-formal acquisition is often voluntary.

⁹⁶ Please note that these goal are positive for *all* children, regardless of their linguistic background.

If this deficiency theory is part of the school administration's thinking, minorities are themselves a problem, bilingualism included. Typically, non-model schools show a *sink-or-swim* program, where children are forced to accept instructions in the prestige language with no linguistic help – this can be the acrolect or the European language in post-colonial countries. In general, *teachers do not care* for languages; they neither understand nor treat the minority language as a value for the child. Sometimes, there are *transitional programs*, which represent a “humane” method of assimilation. In these cases, the home language is auxiliary to achieve a minimum of oral competence in the language of instruction, i.e., it is merely instrumental. A variant of this is the *segregation program*, where separate classes are formed, headed by poorly trained teachers with few resources.

According to the additive theory, bilingualism is a value *per se*. Scientific evidence proved that there are multi-faceted advantages in early bilingualism: first of all, *social and cultural* advantages – having two identities (in some cases, more) – permits to have a broader view of the world; *economic*: for job finding, travelling, etc.; *cognitive (mental)*: children separate A and B early (8 months), even if the two languages are similar (e.g., Catalan/Spanish): the two languages are always ‘on’ (see recent research by Antonella Sorace), and they have better language learning abilities for other languages, and higher metalinguistic awareness. Furthermore, they are more precocious readers and they perform better in task-switching, with longer focused attention.

As for cognitive advantages, it doesn't matter *which* languages bilinguals learn. In any case, from this perspective multilingualism is the natural state of the brain, while monolingualism is a disease (that can be always cured). But this is not enough. Weak schooling models consider bilingualism as a value, but treat languages as something separate from everything else. L2s are a separate subject with no clear relation to the content of other subjects, and sometimes the language serves no clear purposes in the life of its learners (*foreign language teaching* model). Another common error is that there is *no connection with the families*: L2s are learned only in school, without engagement or ‘parents’ programs’ to learn the L2s together, and in general attention is paid to the *most dominant languages only*. An unprestigious language spoken at home is considered a non-language by the school, unfortunately, in many cases.

On the contrary, strong models consider multilingualism a positive asset (often with the strong argument, that in general multilinguals get better job opportunities). In these schools there are *CLIL programs for majorities*⁹⁷: in them A-speakers learn B through a specific content, not (only) vice versa! In fact, they perform *code switching for content*:

⁹⁷ CLIL stands for Content and Language Integrated Learning.

languages of instruction are switched during semesters to avoid a domain separation.⁹⁸ Another important trait is that teachers should be fully bilingual: they answer in B to the questions in A, initially, requiring that A-children learn to speak in B too.

Finally, if there is no public support, at least *language shelter programs* can be organized by ethnolinguistic minority communities: they offer full education in B, providing biliteracy with A for the members of their community only, with some success stories reported in the literature. Conversely, according to the *EU school model* literacy in the home language is achieved through the formation of the classes, where small groups of children speaking the same language at home are present in class in order to simplify the socialization of the newcomers; subjects are introduced in others' languages, gradually. In this way literacy is guaranteed in both languages.

After years of observation, results show that the EU school model is the best for children, but there are diastatic considerations to be made (elitist schools); it is better to learn L2s if they use the home language too, not only the dominant one (e.g. English learned by German Turks supplemented with ad hoc material in Turkish). Bilingual teachers should have a strong competence in B in two-way programs and CLIL in both languages, in order to be successful. This can be expensive in terms of teacher training.

Unfortunately, strong models are still less frequently used. Weak models are preferred, even if based on no scientific and pragmatic evidence in fostering stable and effective multilingualism.

Let me conclude with a quotation from a classic work in language planning: what still strikes me after years in the field is the complete ignorance of many commentators about the key role played by language planning in shaping language policies. Valter Pauli already understood it very well in the late 1960s:

The need for LP [language planning] is not the same in all languages. The opponents of LP are to be found particularly among speakers of English, a language with a long literary tradition, relatively simple morphology and small dialectal differences. The situation is entirely different in languages with young literary tradition, complicated morphology, great dialectal differences and a great many competing forms in SL [standard language], which are in need of mass fabrication of new words in few years, and which do not become vehicles of a complex culture until the 19th or 20th century. A linguist whose mother tongue is English can scarcely imagine the practical problems of these languages. [Pauli, 1968, 21]

Language and the sense of belonging

Most human beings in the world are bilingual⁹⁹. In other words, monolingualism is a defective situation.

We will use as a technical term **Sprachraum**, a territory where the language belongs. Lucky languages have one, weak languages none.

⁹⁸ The so-called *two-ways programs*: class are organised with 50% of A-children and 50% of B-children. They alternate hours in A and B, as well as subjects.

⁹⁹ I use 'bilingualism' in the sense of having more than one first-acquired languages, typically two, but also three (roughly, the father's, the mother's, the peers') or even four. An attested situation of four simultaneous plurilingualism is in the community of German-speaking Hungarian Jews settled in Romania. They spoke Yiddish at home, German as the language of education, Hungarian in the town where Hungarian speakers were the majority, and Rumanian in the rest of the country.

Let us see an unusual example so to explain the concept. Along with London and Paris, Amsterdam is one of the largest “Italian” cities in the world, i.e., where an Italian speech community lives. In spite of the fact that these cities have more permanent Italian residents compared to most Italian cities, the Italian *Amsterdammers* are out of the Italian *Sprachraum*.

Having a *Sprachraum* often means having a state that supports the language,¹⁰⁰ where your language shows up in the linguistic landscape. Bonfiglio [2013, 2010] shows that in the discourse of language in the ancient Greek and Latin culture, no reference to ethnicity was present. Ancient Greeks talked about *glōssa Attikē* (language of the Athens’ area, literally) while Ancient Romans talked about *sermo patrius*, the ‘discourse of the fatherland’. So, it was Rome that introduced the patriatchal metaphor in languages. With the Christianisation of the Roman Empire, identity was determined by religion: belonging meant believing in the same faith. In other words, it did not matter where you came from, but your faith was: Europe defined itself not in terms of Romance *vs.* Germanic *vs.* Slavic identity, but mainly as Christianity *vs.* Islam.

It was Dante Alighieri who changed the picture, with a ‘scientific’ treatise published in 1304, *De vulgari eloquentia*, on the popular language. Addressed to the intellectuals of his time he argued in favour of their using the vernacular as opposed to Latin: Latin has a grammar, so it is artificial, while vernacular is learned from the *nutrix*, our wet nurse. Thus, the metaphor of ‘mother tongue’, the relation between birth and language: etymologically, *natus* (born) and *natio* (nation) are related. The image of the *ethnic* mother had as a consequence a popularization of a bad idea of multilingualism, often connected with the Tower of Babel: in the years 1350–1522 all European languages adopted two new concepts, *moedertaal* and *natie*, to use Dutch as an example.

We all know what happened afterwards: ethnocentrism and folklorism lead to the quest of the genealogy of languages, expanding the family metaphor used in *natural* sciences. Languages were considered species, while dialects constituted the races. With August Schleier (1821–1868), the investigation of linguistic paleontology discovered the fossils of Proto-Indo European, but also the terrible distinction between Semitic and Aryan races, without any scientific basis, as we know now, resulting in the horrors of the 20th century. The ghost of the mother tongue is hard to exorcise: in early bilingualism, for decades the ill-formed concept of ‘motherese’ was in use, while the whole idea of *competence* by Chomsky is based on the native speaker’s judgment – without a clear sociolinguistic definition. So, can we still talk about mother tongues? Yes. However, be aware that

¹⁰⁰ As we will see, this means a high degree of official status planning.

there is **no** scientific value to it, because it is an opaque concept, entwining proficiency and identity. The only way is to solve this point is by using two variables. We can assign them to two separate axes (Figure 2).

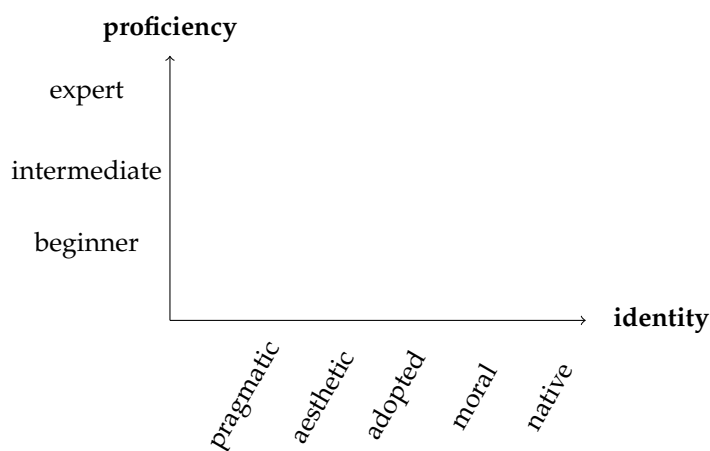


Figure 2: Linguistic dimensions of the sense of belonging

The vertical axis¹⁰¹ is devoted to proficiency – you can use the EU Language Passport as a reference scale, or a simpler beginner / intermediate / expert continuum, where the higher you are, the more secure you are in using the language in any context. On the horizontal axis, I put the possible identity markers,¹⁰² modifying a continuum originally proposed by Djité [2006], to distinguish the *they-codes* (out of my repertoire, without cues even about the collocation of the language we are in contact with, name, family, etc.) and the *we-codes* (the languages of our repertoire). There are three reference points to mark our sense of belonging with regards to a language we know more or less: either it is *native* ('X-ish is mine', to use Fishman's¹⁰³ terminology), where it defines my identity straightforwardly, or it is *adopted* ('I belong to X-ish'), which can be functionally identical – like adopted parents are – but still indicates a difference, or finally the language can be considered as a *pragmatic* tool ('I use X-ish'). Sometimes for religious or moral reasons, there is a form of attachment to a language, which is still not adopted for everyday use, because it is considered "sacred" or in any case inadequate for non-proper purposes. I call this kind of languages *moral*: Latin before the Second Vatican Council was in this position for many Catholics in the world. Moreover, if somebody chooses to learn a language because she finds it beautiful, without particular needs in her everyday life, it will be chosen for *aesthetics* (e.g., 'I love X-ish for its literature'). Finally the language can be considered as a *pragmatic* tool ('I use X-ish because I need it to survive, but I do not

¹⁰¹ I put in the vertical axis because acquiring language security is like climbing a mountain.

¹⁰² Also here, the horizontal axis is reasonable, because the sense of belonging is usually linked to the *Sprachraum*, which is horizontal.

¹⁰³ Fishman is a primary figure in LPP. From the obituary by Ofelia Garcia, after his passing in March 2015: 'Joshua A. Fishman, nicknamed Shikl, was born in Philadelphia, PA, on July 18, 1926. Yiddish was the language of his childhood home, and his father regularly asked his sister, Rukhl, and him: "What did you do for Yiddish today?" The struggle for Yiddish in Jewish life was the impetus for his scholarly work. [...] And it was through Yiddish that he came to another one of his interests – that of bilingualism. In 1948 he received a prize from the YIVO Institute for Yiddish Research for a monograph on bilingualism. Yiddish and bilingualism were interests he developed throughout his scholarly life.'

feel any emotional attachment to it').

The negative parts of the axes are respectively the following: for proficiency, a level of insecurity so high that the speaker is paralyzed when forced to communicate in X-ish; for identity, censorship is the negative side of we-codes: my language is so unwelcomed that I can be persecuted if they discover that I belong to it in some way. We have a lot of examples of censorship, sadly. During Fascism, in South Tyrol was prohibited to speak German in public; similarly in Spain under Franco's regime, Catalan was against the law.

Sometimes attitudes change across time. A good example of this comes from the South African black community and English: during apartheid, it was pragmatically used to express their idea of liberation outside the country and to become literate, while in the post-apartheid era it became the preferred medium of communication in families, as so to become an adopted identity [Djité, 2006, 13]. Sometimes the adopted identity is rejected: an iconic example is Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, the Kenyan novelist and post-colonial theorist who decided to shift his literary language from English to Gikuyu and Swahili, and he explained his reason in the essay *Decolonising the mind*.

The flexibility of this model lets us tackle what we can call 'non-evident situations', as for example when a German of Italian origins that claims that Italian as his 'mother tongue,' he puts Italian on the native area (horizontally) even if his proficiency of the language is clearly L2 (vertically), or on the contrary a bilingual speaker of English with a nearly 'perfect' mastery of the language (vertically), who does not consider it his or her language (horizontally), she or he is considering it a pragmatic language.

Toward a typology of speakers

In the literature on endangered languages¹⁰⁴ Grinevald and Bert [2011] deplored the scarce amount of research on this topic. In particular they say that:

[a] great variety of types of speakers [...] do not comprise a linguistic community in the traditional sense of the term. [...] Speakers are often neither readily identifiable nor easily accounted for [...] establishing where the boundaries of the community might lie depends in large part on awareness of the level of vitality of the language, combined with the level of mobilization of speakers and non-speakers in its behalf.

There are four parameters that are usually used by researchers to profile speakers. First, the *language competence cluster*, that comprises the

¹⁰⁴ See the section devoted to the GIDS for a definition.

language competence of the individual, and their modalities of acquisition. Second, the *sociolinguistic cluster*, that illustrates the exposure to language *vs.* the language vitality at the time of acquisition. In particular, was the language more vital when acquired at an early stage? How it is now?¹⁰⁵ Third, the *performance cluster*, which examines uses and attitudes toward the language, i.e., its pragmatic aspects, and the impact on the language competence. Finally, it is also important to know the *speaker's self-evaluation and linguistic insecurity*. Linguistic insecurity refers to the perception of inadequacy that speakers nurture toward their own variety in respect to a desired standard norm. At the limit, it can lead to total denial of any knowledge of the language in spite of the proof of the contrary.

There are seven types of speakers found in current literature. The first contrasting pair of types consist of *old/young fluent speakers*, who find conversation partners easily and so there is no language loss. It is important that young speakers are not rejected by the old ones as deviant. A third type of speakers called *semi-speakers*. They have fairly appropriate receptive skills, but inadequate productive skills, as conversation partners are rare. Often language activists constitute from this group. A fourth type is formed by *terminal speakers*, who have limited skills, both receptive and productive, often reduced to non-flexible expressions. A fifth type is formed by *ghost speakers*, who are fluent speakers denying any knowledge, especially to outsiders. This happens when the *acrolect* is a highly standardized and valued national language (e.g., in France).

After a language revitalization programme, i.e. a process of promotion of the target language through the tools of language policy and planning, two other forms of speakers should be added. The most important is known as **neo-speakers**. Normally neo-speakers¹⁰⁶, who were semi- or terminal speakers before the language revitalization programme. They made an effort to learn the language as newcomers in a formal or non-formal way. They have a positive attitude, but sometimes their variety is contested by fluent speakers, especially older ones. Finally there are the *rememberers*: they are speakers who can reacquire skills after severe loss thanks to a revitalization project. Often they are latecomers, i.e., they join when the projects are already successful. Ghost speakers usually make their "coming out" later too.

We can ask ourselves why speakers of endangered languages have so many problems in defining their own identity. First, common sense says that 'fluent = native', and this is reflected in the fact that monolingual native speakers are normally considered authorities of the language; therefore, if the language was not learned during infancy reaching fluency, neo-speakers feel a sense of linguistic insecurity in any case. Ultimately, the root of this problem lies in

¹⁰⁵ You can use the GIDS (see below) to answers these questions.

¹⁰⁶ In the literature you can find also 'new speakers', or in French *néo-locuteurs*, or in Italian *neolocutori*. Same concept.

the concepts of nation and nationalism, sources of the ideology of nativization, as we have seen previously.

Dimensions of language variation

Before delving into an analysis of the *relations* between two languages belonging to the same territory, we should introduce the five dimensions of language variation: diamesic, diastratic, diatopic, diaphasic, diachronic.¹⁰⁷ They are all words from Greek, where *dia-* means ‘separation’.

The **diamesic** variation deals with the media (*-mesic*): in the old days, written and oral use were clearly defined, while today, with WhatsApp, Twitter, Skype etc. the panorama is far more complex, so it no longer coincides with the **diaphasic**, which illustrates the degree of formality (*-phas* is ‘speech’): during a lecture, the register is more controlled than in a pub with friends after two beers, so to give a very simple example. Once upon a time writing was formal, speech was informal, but now it is far more complex.

The **diatopic** variable deals with geography (*-topic* is ‘place’): how much variation occurs across the *Sprachraum*? This has no relation with the size of the territory itself: Russia exhibits low diatopic variation in spite of its huge territory, on the contrary Italy displays a high degree of variation, in many parts of Italy a few kilometers in any direction are enough to change the overall picture. In other languages more variation may be due to social class or, better, stratum: English working class individuals would exhibit markers that the Queen would not. This variation is called **diastratic** (*-stratic* is the ‘strata’, from Latin).

Last but not least, the **diachronic** variation occurs according to time (*-chronic* is ‘time’). Languages change according to their use, and each generation adds features of their time, and so languages also change in across time.

If we put aside diachrony, we can plot the other four variations on two axes: the diamesic and diaphasic variables along the vertical axis, while the diatopic and diastratic along the horizontal. This is a simplification that lets us see what happens in a bilingual society, where two languages share the same *Sprachraum*.

Two languages, one territory

Now, we are ready to consider the relation between two languages.¹⁰⁸

In the following we will use *A* to indicate the dominant language and *B* to indicate the secondary language in the same *Sprachraum*.

One of the methodologies to document a sociolinguistic situa-

¹⁰⁷ This is part of General Linguistics, but it is not fully elaborated in Baker and Hengeveld [2012], so I will explain it here.

¹⁰⁸ Please beware of the following correspondence of terms, that you can find across the literature:

A-variety	acrolect	H(igh) variety	Yish
B-variety	basilect	L(ow) variety	X-ish

tion is the measure of **subjective ethnolinguistic vitality**. In this framework, ad hoc surveys are made, in order to *verify* and *interpret* quantitative data with qualitative observation in the field. This approach is **emic**: it describes a culture from the internal point of view, in other words from the points of view of the community members. The linguistic repertoire of the community is obtained *a posteriori*, i.e., it is not taken for granted, but elicited from the informants directly, by means of a set of standard indirect questions such as:

- In which languages/dialects do you speak with your children?
- In which languages/dialects do/did you speak with your mother/father?
- In which languages/dialects do you speak with your partner?
- Which language do you use in public offices?
- Do you listen to radio programs in Xish?

Each question is represented by a small square in a two-dimensional space. The majority of answers for language X or Y, i.e., the most used language in the community in that specific context by that specific subgroup will occupy the square. The result is something like this:

A	A	A	A
B	B	A	A
B	B	B	A
B	B	B	B

Figure 3: The sociolinguistic matrix

On the *horizontal axis* researchers put the languages (and/or varieties) used, according to prestige, the lower on the left, the higher classes on the right. The *vertical axis* plots situations of use according to the formality (diaphasic variable and carefully considered diamesic variable together): the informal along the bottom, the formal along the top. This technique was developed especially by Gabriele Iannàccaro and Vittorio Dell'Aquila. Normally, typical patterns are found. We will see the most common ones.

One common real-world situation is diglossia. I will remain true to the classic, Fergusonian concept, where there is a clear *functional* distinction.¹⁰⁹ For example, in the case of *Swizertütsch* (spoken in Switzerland, it is closer to Dutch than Standard German), there is a rigid and clear distinction of use along the diamesic variable: they simply do not write it. If we consider the diachronic variable as a

¹⁰⁹ The word 'diglossia' is simply used in too many senses, in particular the Fishmanian use is highly problematic. For the bravest among you, there is a review that contains 1,092 bibliographic entries of diglossia covering nearly 40 years [Hudson, 1992].

series of screenshots of the diagram, the tendency is in favour of Swiss German, which is used more and more often: $A < B$. The opposite situation is in Veneto, the Italian region surrounding Venice, which had been a Republic for centuries, somewhat similar to the Netherlands in the Golden Age: Veneto is clearly used for in-group communication, but is losing ground in time: $A > B$.

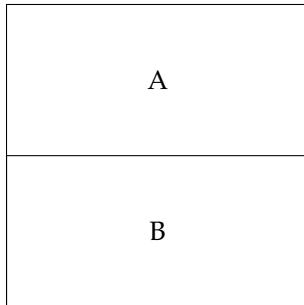


Figure 4: Classic diglossia

An unusual case of pseudo-diglossia is found in Norway, which was the first case study of language planning, exactly because of its complexity.¹¹⁰ There are two standard languages in Norway, *bokmål* (book-language), based on Danish, who ruled the country for centuries, and *nynorsk* (new-norwegian)¹¹¹ In Figure 5 the two standards are referred to as A_1 and A_2 . They are mainly defined as parallel writing systems (diamesic variable), but there are some tendencies in the lexicon – *nynorsk* tending more to purism.

Note that, even today, both are taught in primary schools, according to the diatopic variable: in the cities and in the south of the country, *bokmål* is generally used more, while from Trondheim to the very North *nynorsk* is more frequent. You can check the two Wikipediasen face to have a glance of their different writing systems.¹¹² Figure 5 illustrates this peculiar case study, so influential in defining the whole discipline of language planning. There are no similar situations attested, even if sometimes somebody claims that English, having two spellings and two norms, one from the UK and one from the US, could be depicted in a similar way. However, the main difference is that English is a polycentric language, i.e., it has source of innovations and isoglosses far more complex than Norwegian for evident reasons.¹¹³

When two languages are in a situation $A > B$, the acrolect is used more frequently in the informal settings, e.g. at home or among peers: this case, quite common in Italy, is called **dilalia**, (Figure 6) meaning ‘two ways talking’.¹¹⁴ In the Fishmanian terms we will illustrate below, there is the risk of *language shift* because speech community members are transferring their **language loyalty**: a shift happens when the whole community changes medium of

¹¹⁰ Haugen [1962] coined the term ‘schizoglossia’ in order to describe Norway linguistically.

¹¹¹ Interestingly, the language architect, Ivar Aasen, called it *landsmål*, i.e., the language of the countrymen, in opposition to the ‘Danishized’ urban people.

¹¹² The attempt to find an *Einbau*, i.e., a common unified standard, was doomed to fail. Haugen [1966] reports this failure of the common Norwegian (*sammorsk*) for the interested reader.

¹¹³ We will see in the sequel the definition of ‘polycentric language’.

¹¹⁴ This term is borrowed from Italian, and it was coined by the Turinese sociolinguist Gaetano Berruto, who was the second promotor of my MA in the 1990s [Berruto, 2003].

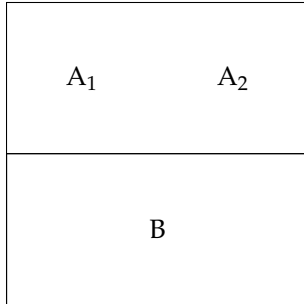
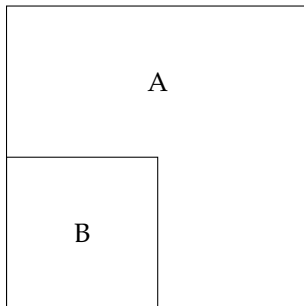


Figure 5: Norwegian schizoglossia

communication considering B unable express their life situation, i.e., the language is inadequate. Reversing Language Shift (RLS) is the aim of many language planners, and of Fishman in particular.¹¹⁵



¹¹⁵ See below for details on RLS and the GIDS in particular.

Figure 6: Berruto's dilalia

On the contrary, if the situation is $B > A$ you will have two acrolects in competition, henceforth the term **diacrolecty**¹¹⁶. The most evident case study now in Europe is Catalan, which is B with respect of Spanish A , but it is gaining ground in every sense: being the main medium of education and formal contexts as well as dominating the linguistic landscape. For example, it is compulsory for a University professor coming from abroad in Catalonia to shift the language used in class to Catalan after a few years of study. In particular, Spanish is not welcomed at all: anecdotes have it that Catalan students prefer to have an exam in Italian than in Spanish, even if their proficiency in Spanish is at the top, precisely for identity reasons. If Catalonia one day will become an independent state, Catalan will be no more a minority language.¹¹⁷

The overall picture becomes more complex if English enters the arena. We do not need to investigate three-language situations, where a middle level exists (mesolect).¹¹⁸

Ausbau and Abstand languages

The classic model by Heinz Kloss [1967] analyses the two different settings in the relations between acrolect A and basilect B in the same

¹¹⁶ It means 'two acrolects'; I guess it is the first time it is ever used in English, as it comes from the the Italian school of sociolinguistics too [Dell'Aquila and Iannàccaro, 2004].

¹¹⁷ For the sake of precision, there is one state where Catalan is the official language: Andorra. However, almost all the literature considers Catalan a minority language, at least up to now.

¹¹⁸ Nor do we need investigate monolingual situations, where the variation is truly dialectal, i.e., there is a continuum between the varieties used, so it is not easy to find clear language frontiers. Typically, dialects can occur either on the vertical axis (English in England, diastratic), or in the horizontal axis (Italian in Tuscany, diatopic). We can call such situation *dialecty*, but these are out of this class.

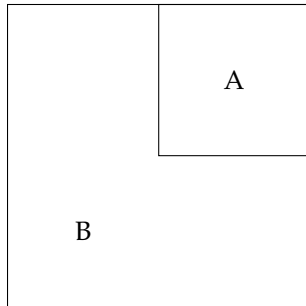


Figure 7: Diacrolecty

Sprachraum. The first possible case is *Abstandsprache*, with 'distance' meaning intrinsic, structural distance (attention: not geographic!). In the Kloss's words:

An *abstand* language is a linguistic unit which a linguist would have to call a language even if not a single word had ever been written in it.

In other words, the distance between A and B is so great that no confusion can arise. For example, in Wales, Welsh (*B*) is the *Abstand* language of English (*A*) and vice versa. Their distance is intrinsic, structural, immanent: *Abstand* is a Boolean variable, either a pair $A - B$ is *Abstand* or not. That means that you can measure it, according to how the languages are parsed, e.g. through the Levenshtein distance. For example, take the masculine plural of nouns in Romance languages: if the masculine plural of the noun ends in *-s*, the language will be Western (such as Spanish or Sardinian), while if the ending is *-i* (such as Italian or Rumanian) the language will be Eastern Romance.

If there is no *Abstand*, then we fall into the case of **Ausbau languages**. Sometimes in a political territory you can find both *Abstand* and *Ausbau* situations. This is Kloss's example. Let's say we have three languages: X, Y and Z and three pairs of internal variations: 1-2, 3-4, 5-6: in the case of language Z, varieties 5 and 6 are indicated by semicircles, while in the case of languages X and Y, varieties 1, 2, 3, 4 are indicated by lines and dashes.

It is clear that languages in Z and in X-Y are clearly different, while there are similarities between languages X and Y. How to define the boundaries here?

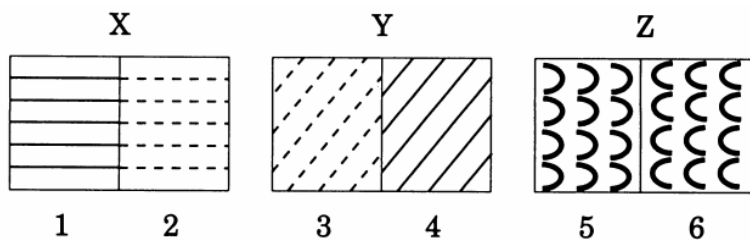


Figure 8: Figure 1 in Kloss (1967/1993)

The case of X-Y is *Ausbausprache*, or “re-shapedness”, i.e., a process of elaboration using the tools of language planning. In the words by Kloss:

If one asked whether a given language would be accorded that designation if its speakers had adopted a closely related standard language as their chief medium of literary expression, one would probably be surprised at how many would have to be classified as mere dialects (or clusters of dialects). Thus, for example, it is my assumption that if the Icelandic language had been adopted by all speakers of Faroese dialects, the Irish language by all speakers of Scots Gaelic dialects, the Catalan language by all speakers of the Occitan (or Provençal) dialects, the Portuguese language by all speakers of Gallego (Galician), the Danish language by all speakers of Swedish dialects, then under these circumstances nobody would dream today of claiming that the clusters of Faroese, Gaelic, Occitan, Gallego, and Swedish dialects, respectively, because of their intrinsic distance, constitute independent linguistic units to be listed separately in language files all over the world.

While clearly Basque (*B*) is Abstand from Spanish (*A*), other *B*s in the Iberian peninsula are not: Catalan, Occitan, Provençal, Gallego, Asturian, Aranese, Aragonese, Leonese are all Romance languages. In this case, those languages should be “re-shaped”, in order to augment the distance from the dominant language: Tosco [2011]¹¹⁹ calls this process ‘ausbauization’.

¹¹⁹ In Miola and Ramat [2011].

When ausbauization occurs, the re-shaped language enlarges its proper language space or it creates a new, separate one: furthermore, it adds domains of use, i.e., situations that require new linguistic material that did not exist before, so that traditional speakers may not even recognize it as theirs anymore. For example, such a new domain could be the configuration of a web server in a minority language: all the terminology simply did not exist.

The normal situation of Ausbau is for example the case of Breton, where we have a standard (the sphere above) based on the promotion of one variety (lines) in a continuum (dotted lines). In Figure 9:

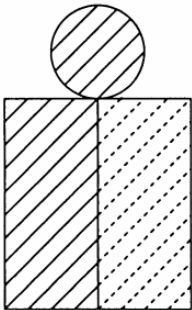


Figure 9: Normal situation of Ausbau

In the cases of British and American English, and Portuguese in Brazil and Portugal respectively, we have **polycentric standard languages** (Figure 10). These are languages where the standard variety, originally from only one macrovariety, takes features of another macrovariety.

This situation is highly instable: it can easily split (see Figure 11).

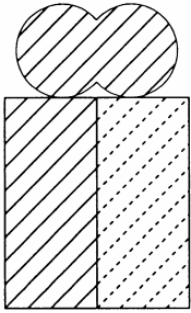


Figure 10: Polycentric standard languages

This is what happened recently with Serbian/Croatian and Moldavian/Romanian in Europe. In such cases, two Ausbau languages are *not* based on Abstand languages. In other words, two norms are shaped in order to *increase the distance*, even if there will never be an Abstand situation by definition. Case studies illustrated by Kloss include: Czech/Slovak, Danish/Swedish, Bulgarian/Macedonian. A student once suggested Dutch/Afrikaans. There, the situation is not prototypical, because the language proper territories (*Sprachraumen*) are not close; however, it is also acceptable.

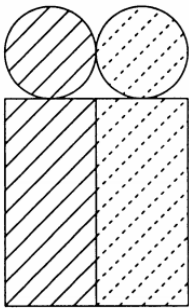


Figure 11: Ausbau languages without Abstand

Finally, sometimes two norms are shaped on definite continua which are historically and genetically related but with some intrinsic distance between them. These Ausbau are based on clusters of dialects (see Figure 12). This is what Dutch did to separate from other Germanic languages starting in the 13th century. Then, there has been an uninterrupted written tradition in Flanders (Brugge, Ghent, Ieper) that produced a standard written form (graphisation). The promotion of the language in a state came in 1548, when Charles V, born in Ghent, formed the political Netherlands, under the *Bourgondische Kruis*. The first humanist who applied Dante's ideas in Dutch is Jan van Gorp van der Beke (Johannes Goropius Becanus), who in his work *Origines Antwerpianae* (1569) argued that the Dutch variety spoken in Antwerpen was the closest language to that spoken by Adam in Paradise, being the "direct" linguistic descendent of Japhet, the

son of Noah [van der Sijs, 2004]. Other known cases are outside the Old World: Persian/Pashtu, Tamil/Telugu.

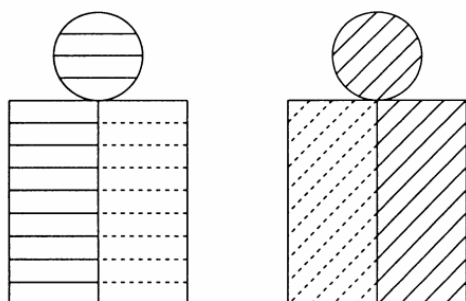


Figure 12: Two Ausbau based on clusters of dialects

According to Tosco [2011], there is a common pattern in all of Kloss's cases. He calls it the **Golden Rule of Ausbauization**, which is a *minmax* law: *Bs* should *minimize* internal differences (having homogeneity, through the formation or promotion of a koiné¹²⁰) and *maximize* external differences, i.e., augmenting the distance from *A*. Among regional and minority languages, a koiné is a luxury few languages have. An example is Veneto, in the North-Eastern part of Italy. If an Ausbau language fails because unaccepted by the people who are supposed to use it, the language goes through the opposite process of ausbauization or *folklorization* of the language (Fishman in Tosco):

The road to societal death is paved by language activity that is not focused on intergenerational continuity [...] Song concerts, theatrical performances, poetry readings, lectures, publications and prizes are RLS-means [Reversing Language Shift], not RLS-ends in themselves. As RLS-means they are not intergenerationally continuous. Families are not formed, the daily and intergenerational societal channels of Xish communication are not reestablished and the orality or literacy of the young are not substantially fashioned by such activities or by the institutions that maintain and conduct them.

While Ausbau languages maximize external differences sometimes different languages are placed under the same flag. The aim is to build a new, unified language. It is a complementary case to Ausbau and it is called an **Einbau**: in many cases, it is a failure (think of Serbocroatian, for example, or Czechoslovak) but in other cases, if the politics of language support it, success is possible – for example Albanian.¹²¹ How to *measure* Ausbauization? We will see now the classic scale proposed by Fishman [1991]. The final goal of language planning efforts in the case of Regional and Minority Languages (RMLs) is to Reverse Language Shift (RLS): in other words, language activists and sociolinguists should help the speech community to keep their language loyalty diachronically, across time.

¹²⁰ A koiné ('common', in Greek) is a spoken variety accepted as common across diastratic and diatopic variables, linking the members of a speech community together.

¹²¹ There are two main diatopic macrovarieties of Albanian: Gheg and Tosk, divided by the river Shkumbin (Arbarësh and Arvaniki are other varieties, but far less used). In 1909 Albanian writers recommended writing in the Elbasan variety, which is a natural variety of Gheg but with strong influences of Tosk – Elbasan is a city in the middle of the country. This promotion led to the Einbau of Albanian. In the communist period, Tosk was promoted, as the leaders came from the South. In the post-Communist period, the Elbasan variety took ground again.

Language disruption like an earthquake

Fishman's scale, called **GIDS** (Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale), was the first tool to measure sociolinguistic situations. Although nowadays it has been superseded by the E-GIDS (Extended GIDS)¹²², it has the advantage of being simpler, and so I think it is the best way to introduce such models, which come *after* fieldwork, as seen before.

The GIDS focuses on the Intergenerational transmission and is discrete (Graded), like Richter's for earthquakes.¹²³ The GIDS is divided into 8 stages, the 8th being the lowest. It is important to note that this scale covers minority languages only, i.e. neither national languages nor international languages (of any kind, planned languages included) are covered. The stages are defined like this:

<i>stage</i>	<i>description</i>
1	The language is used in education, work, mass media, government at the nationwide level
2	The language is used for local and regional mass media and governmental services
3	The language is used for local and regional work by both insiders and outsiders
4	Literacy in the language is transmitted through education
5	The language is used orally by all generations and is effectively used in written form throughout the community
6	The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language
7	The child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it with their elders but is not transmitting it to their children
8	The only remaining speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation

The purpose of the GIDS is to determine situations according to the above-cited stages so as to take the appropriate RLS, i.e. Reversing Language Shift, action. In stages 8 to 6, the aim is to *guarantee intergenerational transmission*.

In stage 8, old people are isolated, so the first thing to do is to rebuild the community around the language, eliciting the knowledge of the elders as experts (technically speaking, 'informants') and teaching the language to the youngsters. It is very difficult to save X-ish in such a case. If the community still exists, we are in stage 7. The first goal is a crucial stage: establishing new intergenerational families, i.e., at least three generations (children, parents, grandparents) who use the language. In this case RLS family services are needed, to sustain families from the outside.

Traditionally, it is the third generation who aims to recover the

¹²² Since 2009, there exists an expanded version of the GIDS, the EGIDS by M. Paul Lewis and Gary F. Simons. Other elaborations came from the research group lead by Brezinger, Dwyer and Yamamoto and the work by Abrams, Barker and Giles (2009). An alternative scale was proposed by Ladweer (2000) specifically for the languages of Papua-New Guinea.

¹²³ In truth, is more similar to Mercalli's, as it investigates results, not structural features. However.

identity of their grandparents through the language, especially if they were exposed to X-ish when children: in many traditional societies, a newborn is brought to the grandparents (exposure to X-ish), while the second generation tries to assimilate (shift to Y-ish), even negating their origins. Tsunoda [2005] shows that if the third generation has an emotional memory linked to lullabies sung by the mother's mother, there is a higher probability that once grown they will want to relearn the language. He calls it the **grandmother effect**.

But intergenerational families are not guarantees for the survival of the X-ish. Stages 5 to 4 describe diglossia situations, which in Fishman's view is something to avoid: the goal is *to go beyond diglossia*. All languages in stages 8-4 are (still) endangered languages, i.e., there is no guarantee of intergenerational survival.

In stage 5, school enters the picture, acting as a "medium of literacy" and enforcing the need of a standard variety¹²⁴. If the literary centres are ruled only by volunteers, without any governmental funding, the RLS is not guaranteed.

To attain a more secure position, X-ish should reach stage 4. A crucial difference is whether the local or the national taxes pay kindergardens and primary schools: only if X-is is recognized by Y-ish L1 speakers, can we say that X-ish is safe, also because X-is is used by them as an L2, which is a fundamental social reward.

The higher stages are a luxury of few X-ishes in the world. In stages 3-1, languages are secure, not longer endangered: the goal is *maintenance and promotion*. At stage 3, the language is used by those in the service sector, offering services in the language preferred by those served. A price for a place in the upper stages of the scale has to be paid, which can be called the 'price of modernity': the ancestral, ethnic connection with the language becomes less strong, even more so in the case of lower governmental use (stage 2) or levels of society (stage 1). The risk is to transform an endangered language (stages 8 to 5) in a contested language (stages 4 to 1): paradoxically the final victory can be perceived as useless and insignificant.

Minority languages and planned languages

In the last decade, linguists put more serious attention to the phenomenon of planned languages, mainly because of the emerging phenomenon of Hollywood languages.¹²⁵ Romaine [2011] analyses three case studies of radical revitalization¹²⁶: first, Modern Hebrew; then, Cornish; finally, Breton. Modern Hebrew it is a different language from the Biblical Hebrew. Biblical Hebrew has 8,198 words, Rabbinic Hebrew approximately 20,000, while for a modern language you need at least 100 thousand. Also it is structurally different for the

¹²⁴ See next Section I for the standard model of language planning.

¹²⁵ See again the Section I above about Hollywood linguistics if needed.

¹²⁶ In Fishman's terms, when you had to go along all the GIDS, starting from stage 8: reconstruction of the language and the community

contact with Yiddish, Russian and Arabic.¹²⁷

Cornish is the weakest indigenous language of the British Isles. It is a Celtic language (parent of Welsh) that was spoken in Cornwall until 1777, when the last native speaker died. It survives in religious formulas and idiomatic expressions for one century, then the only traces are in the linguistic landscape, especially in the names of villages there. Efforts to revitalise it are difficult, because there is no clear standard and the language needs a lot of corpus planning. However, a standard variety is finally proposed in 2002, after the approval in the UK of the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages. A debate *Cornish vs. Cornic* (ausbauization of Cornish) started.¹²⁸ The debate shows that it is difficult to find a balance between regularisation (rhetorics of ‘ease to learn’) and adherence to the tradition (in this case, there are many competing forms). However, finally the standard emerged as people started to use it in practice [Sayers, 2012].

The last case is Breton, another Celtic language in the French territory – the name ‘Britain’ comes from Bretony. The case of Néo-Breton shows that purism can bring to opaque solutions, such as *pellgomz* for ‘telephone’, similar to the German word *Fernsprecher*. The failure of Néo-Breton is due to the historical context that sustained its planning, i.e., the Nazi conquest of France during the Second World War. This is an example of how the politics of language doom LPP sometimes. Romaine [2011] argues that there is so much invention here, that the results are not so dissimilar to planned languages.

Schreyer [2011] had an interesting experiment in class, asking to her students to compare planned languages having a community of practice behind them – in particular Esperanto, but also Tolkien’s and Hollywood languages – and two case studies of endangered languages, Tlingit and Kala. The main questions to put are: how to speak such languages? Why to learn them? What type of people gets interested? The key factor for revitalization is coolness: a language should sound sexy to the young generation. Another advice is that today the use of the Web is very important, so one, simple orthography for that purpose is vital.

Gobbo [2013] also brought planned languages in class, but in primary schools. In a pilot experiment in an Italian Montessori school, he guided pupils to plan a language from scratch following the model of Bausani’s *Markuska*, and using *Psychogrammar* by Montessori. The results were very interesting, as pupils raised their metalinguistic awareness of all the languages in their repertoire.

¹²⁷ They were the L1 of the first settlers in Palestine. For instance, the suffix *I > O -acia* similar to the English *-action* was borrowed from Russian.

¹²⁸ Cornic was even accused to be intricate like Klingon.

English: Lingua Franca or World language(s)?

The situation of English now has no precedents in history, and that is why we are not well prepared to face it. English is a *polycentric* language, where the centres are found in the following states: UK (British Standard English being the *A*, let's say BBC), US (General American English being the *A*, let's say CNN), but also Canada, Australia and New Zealand. These states are norm-providing: they have a clear standard register without any need of Ausbauization. In the Kachruvian model, they constitute the *inner circle*. Then, surrounding them, there is the set of post-colonial countries¹²⁹, in Asia (e.g., India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Singapore, Hong Kong) and in Africa (Tanzania, Zambia, Nigeria, Kenya, and so on). These countries form the *outer circle* and they are norm-developing: specific varieties of World Englishes are coming out, with a lot of paradoxes. Like the Ancient God Janus, these varieties have two faces: on one face, they look to the colonial past; on the other face, they are put as a flag of an adopted identity, where their English is becoming more and more distant from the other varieties, always in an *A* position. However, there is an acquisitional language planning problem: should these specific varieties be taught in primary schools? Of course not, as families want their pupils speaking 'proper' English. So the official status is low, while the unofficial status is higher. There are also cases of rejection of the colonizers' language, being this English, French or others. Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o is a Kenyan novelist, winner of many Prizes for Literature, that decided to shift his language of writing from English to Gikuyu in order to 'decolonise the mind', to use his own term. Why in Western Universities we have African Studies for literature, while European Studies are part of political studies, and in order to access European literature you should turn to English Studies, Romance Studies and so on? Because Africans themselves propagate the colonizers' languages, he argues, in using it in writing.

At the periphery there is the *expanding circle*, where all countries studying English as a Foreign Language (EFL)¹³⁰ are included – the Netherlands being one of the most clear example. All these countries are norm-dependent: they refer either to the British or to the American norm. In the last two decades, there is a lot of discourse about English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), a supposed norm extracted from the Vienna Corpus of spoken English, where some simplification in the phonological system and a rich and various phraseology can be found. The main proponents of this concept are Barbara Seidlhofer and Jennifer Jenkins, who have published a lot on this topic. The point is that 'lingua franca' means 'free language': free from whom? From the native speakers, obviously. Therefore,

¹²⁹ *Stricto sensu*, only England is not a colonial country; even within the UK there is no consensus, as the recent results of the referendum in Scotland show. Ireland is never considered, because "there is Irish". However, in the literature these countries are the ones which set themselves free only recently.

¹³⁰ Ideologically speaking, also English as a Second Language (ESL) is found, and it is similar.

whenever the native speakers are in, the magic of ELF vanishes. ELF borrows the expression from the *original* lingua franca, a supposed bilateral pidgin used for trade in the Mediterranean area during the Middle-Ages. In spite of its history – the term was invented in 1909 by Hugo Schuhardt – it is still debated by scholars if we can talk about a distinctive language variety or not (for sure, people using it was not aware they were using a lingua franca). As Canagarajah pointed out, the Kachruvian model has the following drawbacks: first, it is not clear where the real centre is;¹³¹ second, new migrations and technology change the picture (a Pakistani living in London will probably change the linguistic habits in favour of the norm-providing variety, and influence via Skype people still living in Pakistan)¹³².

Personally, I retain the term ELF only as a *situational notion*: a kind of ‘thirdness’ when non-native speakers only are involved; there, people from other cultures are free to put in, in a very volatile form, idioms and expressions from their own culture. For example the Italian expression *conosco i miei polli* (lit., “I know my chickens”) can be shared with another, if the standard idiom ‘I know what (s)he’s like’ is not at hand, in a conversation with a speaker of Spanish, who will put in *lo conozco come es* (lit., “I know how he is”).¹³³

In a revised version his model, Kachru [1996] explains that the boundaries between the outer and the expanding circles are now fuzzy, because there are more non-native speakers of English than native ones. This lead us to a paradox: the *irrelevance of native speakers*, to use the words of the British linguist David Graddol [2006]. Already in 1997, in a book sponsored by the British Council, he argued that:

the centre of authority regarding the language will shift from native speakers as they become minority stakeholders in the global resource. Their literature and television may no longer provide the focal point of a global English language culture, their teachers no longer form the unchallenged authoritative models for learners.

If supporters of ELF are post-modern linguists, on the opposite side ecolinguists are strongly against it. In particular, in the same years Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas [1996] introduced the notion of **linguistic imperialism**: the spread of English is a key factor in the politics of languages fostered by Winston Churchill and Franklin De-lano Roosvelt before the end of the Second World War. In particular, Churchill declared:

The British Empire and the United States who, fortunately for the progress of mankind, happen to speak the same language and very largely think the same thoughts [House of Commons, 24 Aug 1941] The power to control language offers far better prizes than taking away people’s provinces or lands or grinding them down in exploitation. The empires of the future are the empires of the mind. [Harvard University, 6 Sep 1943]

So, the rhetorics of Global English are part of a explicit political project from a long ago.¹³⁴

At last but not at least, from the field of language economics (or economics of languages), we learn that there is no obvious solution

¹³¹ The British and the American varieties are more prestigious than the others, but it is not clear whether one will prevail as the world guiding norm-provider.

¹³² This phenomem is attested in a study about call centers in India serving Western customers.

¹³³ According to the German linguist Sabine Fiedler [2011], this ‘third space’, while volatile in situational ELF, builds up a distinct culture in the case of Esperanto, as any idiom has the right to be put in.

¹³⁴ We will see afterwards that – not by chance! – Churchill was an estimator of Basic English, at that time used by Cambridge (C.K. Ogden) and Harvard (Ivor Richards) so to control the vocabulary of broadcasting abroad and to teach English among immigrants wishing to become citizens.

to this problem, even if we limit ourselves on the analysis of languages regimes in the institutions (official status planning). This kind of studies are often directed towards the EU.¹³⁵ In terms of effectiveness (which objectives of a policy are achieved? Are there any unexpected outcomes and results?) fairness (who gains? who loses?) of the EU's language regime, English is not equally distributed so an English-only, ELF-based policy would increase the implicit costs by the 86% of EU citizens, leaving out any consideration about the symbolic value of such a maneuver [Gazzola and Grin, 2013].

¹³⁵ For the EU, these are the common options found in the literature, as examples of viable language regimes: English-only (monarchy); Triumvirate by English, French, German (oligarchy); full multilingualism – all 24 languages in use, which works *de jure* but not *de facto*. Perhaps we *do* have alternatives, as we will see in the second part of our course.

Part II

Application

The heritage of the Scientific Revolution

In this chapter we will see the philosophical roots of Interlinguistics. It is always difficult to decide a starting point. For example, Eco [1997] starts from the Genesis and the speculates of the language spoken by God to Adam in Eden. Other scholars start from the Ars magna by Ramon Llull (Lullus, in Latin). We take for granted the letter of Descartes to Mersenne, written on Nov 20 1629, as the starting date of Interlinguistics.

THE ROOTS OF CLASSIC INTERLINGUISTICS trace back to the 17th century. It was Louis Couturat who started this narration, as he wanted to impress the need of an IAL on the scholars of his time, so to give dignity to the Auxiliary Language Movement as a ‘natural’ descendant of the Scientific Revolution. In Latin *scientia* meant only knowledge: there was no apart reference to methodology nor to mathematics. What we call ‘science’ was referred as a “universal key”, in Latin **clavis universalis** [Rossi, 2000, Preface, p. xv]:

The term *clavis universalis* was used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to designate a method or general science which would enable man to see beyond the veil of phenomenal appearances, or the ‘shadows of ideas’, and grasp the ideal and essential structure of reality. Deciphering the alphabet of the world; reading the signs imprinted by the divine mind in the book of nature; discovering the correspondence between the original forms of the universe and the structures of human thought; constructing a perfect language capable of eliminating all equivocations and putting us in direct contact with things and essences rather than signs; the construction of total encyclopaedias and ordered classifications which would be the true ‘mirrors’ of cosmic harmony [...] These approaches, projects, and themes were widely disseminated in the early modern period, and exercised a decisive influence on the development of logic and rhetoric, and led to a thorough investigation of the problem of language and memory, and questions concerning ‘topics’, taxonomic classification, signs, hieroglyphs, symbols and images.

It was only after the Copernican revolution that European scholars started to investigate nature using mathematics. In order to distance themselves from the pre-Copernican, Ptolemaic *scientia*, most of them decided not to write in Latin but in national languages. So, for instance, Galileo Galilei started to write in Italian, Newton in English and Descartes in French. But this ideological choice – which eventually caused the decline of Latin – brought to a new ‘scientific Babel’ [Gordin, 2015].

In parallel, the methods used to observe nature were applied to knowledge in general. The problem of transferring scientific results across language barriers was addressed by several scholars. In order to achieve logical discourse, philosophers – in Britain, in particular – started analyzing language, trying to overcome the ambiguities of human thought in one of two ways: either by perfect *semantics*, where all concepts are true or else by perfect *grammar*, i.e. a grammar resembling arithmetics, where all ideas are decomposed in atomic pieces, like natural numbers. That semantic line lead to *philosophical* languages, where the emphasis is put on the analysis of nature through an explicit model. The grammatical line lead to *universal* language, where the emphasis is put on the simple elements and their ways of combination [Slaughter, 1966]. They are all a priori, in

the sense of Couturat and Leau [1903].

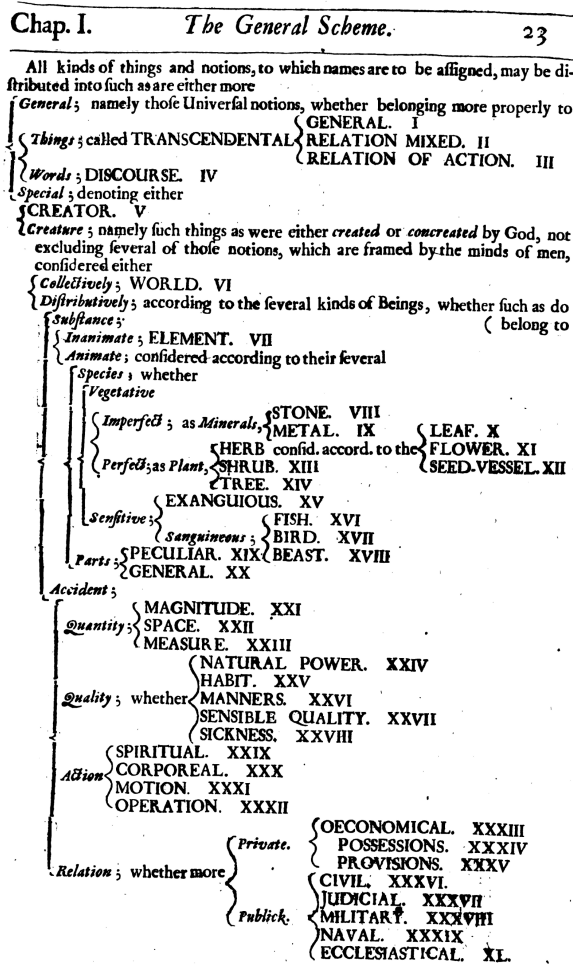


Figure 13: Extract from the *Essay* by Wilkins [1668]

John Wilkins' Real Characters

There is a specific course in our Faculty of the Humanities about the relation between Logic and Language, held by Jaap Maat. See for instance Maat [2004]. Philosophical languages were the most popular, especially in Britain. The most extensive project was done in particular by Wilkins [1668]. Jaap Maat introduces John Wilkins's work in this way:

The *Essay* [Wilkins, 1668] contains 275 pages devoted to 'universal philosophy', that is, extensive classificatory tables describing and defining the referents of over 4,000 English words. [...] Wilkins points at learned academies in Italy and France which had been engaged for decades in establishing national dictionaries, and he calls for assistance in furthering his own design, which is, he claims, to be preferred as much to dictionary-making "as things are better than words, as real knowledge is beyond elegance of speech, as the general good of mankind is beyond

that of any *particular Countrey or Nation*". [Maat, 2004, 135,146]

So Wilkins proposed ending of the new Babel in the New Science using Real Characters, i.e., a writing system that intends every sign to be real, that is non-conventional, directly meaning true things and notions. Maat [2004, 159] comments on the proposal of Wilkins in this way:

Apparently Wilkins conceived his method to be the following: first, all things and notions to which names are to be assigned are enumerated, secondly, a real character is devised by means of which the things enumerated can be expressed, and thirdly, a way of pronouncing the real character is created, called the 'philosophical language'. Within this framework, the character is designed to enable written communication, and the language is regarded as a supplementary invention to make oral communication possible.

Wilkins, himself a Bishop, supported his a priori, artificial language with an impressive classification starting from God – see Figure 13. It is 'a priori' because it was not supposed to be spoken, but to be used as a written code among philosophers of different nations. Knowledge is classified in terms of binary trees: for example *De* is 'element', while *Deb* is 'fire'¹³⁶ and *Deba* is 'flame'. So, concepts are decomposed in semantic primes: for example *chronology* is defined as 'history of times' and 'computing (art) of times'.¹³⁷

Wilkins uses a Chinese-like alphabet to write his "real" characters in a pseudo-phonological writing system. Real characters can be combined in order to form derivations, such as:

Monk + Collegium = Abbey (1)

Foot + Like = Pedestal (2)

Metal + Place = Mine (3)

He also prepared a set of "transcendental particles" which work like Esperanto suffixes. For example, there is a transformation from masculine to feminine (in Esperanto: *frato* 'brother', *frat-in-o* 'sister'), or diminutives (in Esperanto *seĝ-o*, 'chair', *seĝ-et-o*, 'small chair'), and so on. A kind of "natural" grammar is provided, so 'I love' is transformed in 'I be in-love'. Wilkins's proposal has been inspirational for generations of interlinguists.

Descartes on philosophical languages

The first philosophical criticism of all philosophical languages proposed in his time is made by Descartes, who on the 20th November 1629 had just arrived in Amsterdam: the Dutch Republic allowed him the necessary freedom to think – he was under suspicion of heresy – and also he was far from the social life he had in the

¹³⁶ The elements are taken from pre-Socratic Greek tradition: lighter Air and Fire, heavier Earth and Water

¹³⁷ Wilkins can be considered a pioneer of this interpretation of semantics. The idea of Natural Semantic Metalanguage by Wierzbicka [1972] is not so different from Wilkins' intuition.

Parisian court dominated by Cardinal Richelieu. That day he wrote a letter to Father Marin Mersenne where he answered a question regarding his opinion of philosophical languages¹³⁸ How to build up a rational language? The adjective ‘rational’ is central: *ratio, rationis* in Latin means the human faculty of thinking, what human beings do not share with other species – in Descartes’ terms, the *res cogitans*¹³⁹ – and in particular the ability to calculate (‘ratio’ in English is related to calculus). Rossi [2000], commenting on Descartes’ letter, explains that the perfect language should have three features:

1. *easy to learn*. i.e., easy to write, to pronounce; this is an absolute novelty, as British philosophers were not concerned with a language that could be spoken;

2. *regular grammar*, where the relation between words and concepts should be clear like arithmetics, so to be taught in primary schools (order and combination rules);

3. *explicit dictionary*, where words are broken down into atomic ideas, then all the others are generated through derivation; atomic ideas should be identified through cross-linguistic analysis in order to find semantic primes, then to regularise the result;

In the conclusion, Descartes argues that the perfect language would be a means to discover scientific truths, even for uneducated people. This point is also worth a comment. The language dreamt by Descartes is not ambiguous, like formal languages, so that false conclusions cannot be derived from true premises. Moreover, there is the suggestion of a political and social use for this perfect language. Unlike most of his contemporaries, Descartes directs his idea not only to scholars but also to uneducated people.¹⁴⁰ However, his conclusion is sad, and that’s why he did not delve into this topic, after all: “world is not a terrestrial paradise”, concludes Descartes, “so I do not believe that it really could be done” [Rossi, 2000].

Leibniz’ universal characteristics and lingua generalis

Leibniz became acquainted with Wilkins’s work in 1671: ‘a Latin translation of the work would be a very desirable thing!’ he exclaimed [Rossi, 2000, Ch. 8]. After having studied the tables in the *Essay*, Leibniz started to take distance from Wilkins’s program as well as from Descartes’ letter. He also wanted to have a *written* tool with a perfect grammar – in modern terms, a *syntax*, not semantics. This is the main point in Leibniz’ research: science does not need perfect meaning (the *real* characters) rather a *ratio* to develop truths (this is why he uses the adjective ‘universal’). He took inspiration from chemistry:

The comparison between algebraic characters and the notation used by the chemists is very significant. For

¹³⁸ Mersenne had previously sent a project of universal language by Des Vallées who argued to have found the ‘linguistic matrix’ of every possible human language. [Marrone, 2004, 111].

¹³⁹ *Res* means ‘material, concrete thing’, while *cogitans* means ‘able to think’. All other parts of Nature form the *res extensa*. This mind/body dualism influenced all Western philosophy until at least the Second World War, before to be proved wrong by neurobiology [Damásio, 1994].

¹⁴⁰ Another exception is Dalgarno, influenced by the pedagogical ideas of Comenius. We won’t delve into Comenius’ ideas

Leibniz was not only concerned with constructing a language which was able to facilitate communication, but to develop a universal writing which could be used, like algebraic and arithmetical symbols, to *construct demonstrations*. [Rossi, 2000, 176]

That is why he called it *characteristica universalis* “the Universal Characters” (in Latin) instead of ‘real’, because the faculty of intelligence is universal, it goes beyond the cultural boundaries. In other words, the characters are meaningless for Leibniz, they are a pasigraphia for writing maths, a *calculus of reason*. This is how he differs from Wilkins.

But Leibniz also indirectly criticises Descartes. There are no atomic ideas, everything is divisible *ad infinitum* – hardly surprising, if we remember that Leibniz invented infinitesimal calculus. Leibniz was concerned that people like Wilkins or Decartes did not use Latin anymore for scientific purposes, so he proposed a way to simplify its grammar. Leibniz wanted a language that lead to certain proofs of reasoning, unlike others (Phil, VII, B, III, 4).¹⁴¹ Adverbs are pseudo-adjectives of the verbs (Phil, VII, B, III, 7),¹⁴² while the grammar can be reduced: plurals of nouns, declinations of verbs are useless, writes Leibniz (Phil, VII, B, III, 8)¹⁴³ and even verbs can be transformed in copula plus adjective (Phil, VII, B, III, 10).¹⁴⁴ In pseudoformal notation:

$$\text{verbum} \rightarrow \text{adjectivum} + \text{copula} \quad (4)$$

and

$$\text{adverbium} \rightarrow \text{nomen} + \text{adjectivum} + \text{copula} \quad (5)$$

He called this simplification **lingua generalis**. It is important to underline the fact that Leibniz never published his idea, and therefore it stayed as a fragment buried in the library of Hannover until the 20th century.¹⁴⁵

The scientific attitude formed in the 17th century and in particular Leibniz’ ides of *characteristica universalis* was the start of a long journey, a road that goes from Leibniz to Boole, Frege, Kurt Gödel and eventually Alan Turing [Davis, 2000]. However, the linguistic side of this endeavour was forgotten for centuries. Why?

Really nothing happens after Leibniz? Of course not: but the quest for the perfect philosophical language had an abrupt stop after the publication of the *Encyclopédie* by Diderot and d’Alembert,¹⁴⁶ which signs the triumph of the scale A-Z as the favourite method to classify knowledge, over trees and maps; however, the tree-based ideas of Wilkins influenced Linnaeus’ taxonomy of natural sciences, still the basis now [Barsanti, 1992].¹⁴⁷ No a priori language was really significative in the 18th century, with the important exception of Solresol, which we will not see here.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴¹ Latin: *et ut versus hujus linguae possint componi velut certa demonstratione, ob omnia determinata.*

¹⁴² Latin: *adverbia sunt quasi adjectiva verborum.*

¹⁴³ Latin: *Gramatica: videtur pluralis inutili in Lingua rationali [...] Varie declinationes inutiles.*

¹⁴⁴ Latin: *Verbum in naturali gramatica omitti posse.*

¹⁴⁵ After a suggestion by Giuseppe Peano, Couturat went to Hannover and delve into the archives. The result was that the collection of fragments published in [Couturat, 1903].

¹⁴⁶ The PDF of that fundamental book is available at: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k505351>.

¹⁴⁷ For the record, Linnaeus, a Swede, took his doctorate in the Dutch Republic. He also worked in Amsterdam. Barsanti [1992] is a wonderful book, with a lot of illustrations, in Italian; you can read a review in English by La Vergata [1994].

¹⁴⁸ For the most interested among you: a bilingual English-Esperanto paper is available on the subject, in comparison with language whistling [Gobbo, 2011b].

The Pioneers: from Volapük to Esperanto

In this chapter we will see how the idea of IAL was born, with the Volapükist Movement, and how the pioneers of Esperanto took the lead, in particular in Paris. We will also briefly see how Zamenhof, the founder of Esperanto, had different plans for the language he planned, and why these plans did not realise, why the Romantic idea of Esperantista Popolo eventually won. A linguistic profile of Esperanto is also given, along with the main criticisms that received.

Glory and fall of Volapük

THE END OF THE CENTURY OF THE FIRST GLOBALISATION was the period where the whole idea of IAL was introduced in Europe and then throughout the world. According to Thomas Piketty [2014], the first globalisation took place between 1870 and 1914, when the major European colonizing nation-states conquered the world and established their empires (*de jure* or *de facto*). Then a relatively peaceful period followed. Science was perceived as a tool to foster the Kantian ideal of perpetual peace, and every step of technical progress was seen as beneficial for humanity per se – a philosophical tenet called **Positivism**. The strong nations tried to set up international standards (in modern terms) so to facilitate trading and communication: in 1865 the International Telegraph Union was founded, while in 1874 it was the turn of the Universal Postal Union, where the price of postage was no longer calculated on the basis of distance.¹⁴⁹ In 1884 the world was divided into time zones (International Meridian Conference), setting Greenwich (London) and not Paris as point zero. At the end of the century, the World Fair, or *Exposition Universelle* (now Expo) demonstrated lifts and telephones, while Pierre de Coubertin restored the Olympic Games in 1894.

The ‘civilized’ world in general and Europe in particular was keen to adopt an IAL for commerce and trade. But the first proposal came out from a man, **Johann Martin Schleyer** (1831–1912) who was at the margin of this process of globalisation and modernisation. A German Catholic Priest, he published the first an article about the revelation of Volapük in 1879.¹⁵⁰ Schleyer believed that Volapük was a gift from God revealed during a dream, so it was a perfect, sacred language.¹⁵¹ He started to spread the word in the German Catholic communities, and in 1884 the first congress was held in a small town close to Constance. Some material in other languages about the Volapük was also published. In 1885 this material reached Auguste Kerckhoffs (1835–1903), a Dutchman educated in France. He was already an important figure in the history of cryptography, and he became convinced that Volapük could soon be adopted as the world language. Kerckhoffs became the director of the **International Academy of Volapük** (in Volapük: *Kadem bevünetik volapüka*) an organisation devoted to con-

¹⁴⁹ This idea was suggested by Charles Babbage. He was a pioneer in the history of computing machineries. But this is another story.

¹⁵⁰ 1879 also is the same year as Frege’s *Begriffsschrift*. Pure coincidence.

¹⁵¹ Since 2001, there has been a campaign to beatify Schleyer, mainly led by Reinhard Haupenthal, the most important scholar of Volapük Studies. He passed away in October 2016.

trolling the development of the language and to spread the word. He was influential in France for his cryptographic work, and he understood that the English-speaking public too had to embrace the idea. Unlike Schleyer, Kerckhoffs was pragmatic, secular and interested in the practical use of the language, not as a means to talk to spiritual entities.¹⁵² In his Introductory Remarks of the English translation of his grammar of the language, published in 1888 in Chicago, we can find the new approach that will be adopted by all other IALs afterwards, starting with Esperanto. The arguments by Kerckhoffs can be summarized thusly:

1. the language should be suitable for international commerce (see the cover of the book);
2. it can function as a tool of diplomacy, so to foster peace in international relations;
3. as Volapük is “easily” learned, it can be used to educate the masses;
4. it should be the international language of science;
5. its practical utility would be demonstrated by travelling;
6. it would be the repository of the knowledge of the world, so the masterpieces of world literature (e.g., Shakespeare, Dante, Goethe, Cervantes, etc.) should be translated into the new world language.

His passionate work was really remarkable: in 1889, at the height of popularity, only ten years after starting its semiological life, there were 283 clubs, 316 manuals and over 20 reviews and journals. America was particularly in favour of it, even if the report by the American Philosophical Association (APA) in 1888 was not entirely positive. Interestingly, the simplification of English, Greek or any other ethnic language has never been considered a good choice in principle, because it always seems a bad copy of the original language, while a contact language, not linked with a special *ethnos*, like Volapük, is better.

The word ‘volapükist’ occur often through the text, and also there is also mention of the refusal of any reform by Schleyer, who disowned Kerckhoffs and his *Kadem*. In fact, many commentators felt that four cases (like German, the mother tongue of Schleyer: Bausani effect) could be reduced to one or two to introduce prepositions, while others felt that eight vowels, including { ä }, { ö }, { ü } with the German umlaut, were too difficult in pronunciation. Roots tended to be monosyllabic imitating Chinese¹⁵³, but in doing so they become obscure like a cryptography. For example *mother* becomes

¹⁵² Garvía [2015] rightly points out that the Kulturkampf erupted in the region of Messkirch, where Schleyer was serving. As a young priest, he took an active part in “implementing the repressive measures the pope decreed against the Old Catholics” (p. 54), who were a schismatic fringe that opposed Pius IX, pretending to substitute the Catholic hierarchy with a network-based power model, the nodes being the diocesan episcopates. Kerckhoffs, himself a Catholic, was a supporter of the Old Catholic movement. The struggle between the two was unavoidable.

¹⁵³ The oldest spoken language in the world, so presumably closer to the mythic pre-Babelic Adamic tongue, according to the fascination of Athanasius Kircher, see Eco [1997] for details.

Mot (motion?) while *father* becomes *Fat* (need a diet?), and *brother* becomes *Blod* (blood?).¹⁵⁴ Another example: *Mot* and *Blod* are both related to the grapheme {th} of ‘mother’ and ‘brother’, but it is not straightforward to understand why in one case it leads to {t} and in the other to {d}. Vol-a-pük means ‘world-GEN-speak’. Again, the Bausani effect can be invoked here, as in English you say ‘language’ to indicate a language, while in German you use *Sprache*, which is etymologically and semantically related to ‘speak’. Furthermore: why is a genitive marker needed, if in German they say *Weltsprache* and in English ‘world language’ with a noun + noun construction?

The grammar is regular, because of agglutination, i.e. the juxtaposition of morphemes that remains invariable in the process. Moreover, there are many affixes to transform parts of speech. This was enough for many volapükists at that time to promote the idea that the language was easy to learn. In truth, easy languages simply do not exist, because there are two areas for evaluating the relative ease of language acquisition: internally, the regularity of the system – allomorphy makes for difficult acquisition, and here Volapük is in a good position – and externally, the distance of the target language vis-a-vis the repertoire of the learner – and here, Volapük is far from most would-be learners. Quoting Gobbo and Durnová [2014]:

Although it is partially based on German, English, and other languages, in Volapük word compounding is partially a-priori, which made the language become difficult to master. For example, the compound *nobastonacan* for ‘jewellery’ is formed by ‘nobility’ (*nob*), ‘ston’ (*stone*) and ‘merchandise’ (*can*), with the genitive ending *a* in-between – see Couturat and Leau [1903, 141].

It is completely obscure, encrypted, that:

$$\textit{nobility} + \textit{stone} + \textit{merchandise} = \textit{jewellery} \quad (6)$$

No natural language apparently exhibits that behaviour, and certainly no major European language. Perhaps only a trained cryptographer like Kerkchoffs could appreciate that in Volapük ‘urine’ is *luvat*, i.e. *vat* ‘water’, and *lu-*, the pejorative prefix.

Another big problem is the similarity of forms in phonological terms. Let’s take this paradigm to highlight the contrasts:

<i>Volapük</i>	<i>Esperanto</i>	<i>English</i>
Adelo	hodiaŭ	today
Ädelo	hierau	yesterday
Egelo	ĉiam	always
Evelo	neniam	never

It is clear that the words in Volapük are too similar one to the others. Another aspect is the verbal system. There are three diatheses: active, passive, reflexive, and a lot of moods and tenses, such as the plusquamperfect and the second future in the indicative, and others.

¹⁵⁴ As Chinese cannot distinguish [r] from [l], argues Schleyer, it is better to import roots with [r] transforming it in [l]. In any case, the language had both sounds.

Table 5: Volapük, Esperanto and English in comparison

According to a famous calculation by a Volapükist, 505,440 verbal inflections for a single root are theoretically possible.

To sum up, the critical points regarding Schleyer's creature are the following:

- first, cryptation of the dictionary, which becomes opaque for everybody, regardless of their linguistic repertoire;
- second, no clear phonological rules are provided for importing new roots into the system;
- third, scarce phonological contrastiveness among similar forms, as seen in the above-cited paradigm;
- fourth, a priori, arbitrary semantics in the formation of compounds.

Volapük led to a whole class of IALs which were proposed as reforms of it. Couturat and Leau [1903], called them 'mixed languages', neither a priori nor a posteriori.¹⁵⁵ By the time Esperanto entered the arena, Volapük was doomed.

The heritage of Volapük

Zamenhof, the language planner of Esperanto, had certainly some esteem for his German colleague. In a letter to Schleyer, written the 27 of November 1887, in Esperanto, we read:

Kiam mi antaŭ kvin jaroj aŭdis pri Volapük', mi ne forĵetis mian laboron, ĉar la konstruo de Volapük' ŝajnis al mi ne tute praktika; mi diris al mi, ke lingvo tutmonda devas esti antaŭ ĉio komprenebla [...] Mi estimas Vian noblan deziron porti utilon al la homaro; kun plena estimo por la aŭtoro de Volapük', mi laboras ne kontraŭ la Volapük', sed por la ideo. Sankta estas por mi la ideo de lingvo tutmonda, kaj en kiu ajn formo l' homaro ĝin havos, mi estos kontenta kaj feliĉa.

My translation:

When five years before I heard about Volapük, I did not throw away my work, because the construction of Volapük seemed to me not completely practical; I told myself, that a global language should be above all else understandable [...] I appreciate your noble desire to bring utility to mankind; with highest esteem for the author of Volapük, I don't work against Volapük, but in favour of the ideal. Sacred for me is the idea of a global language, and whatever form humanity will choose, I will be satisfied and happy.

A lot of local clubs simply changed IAL, so Esperanto was fortunate to find a relatively large network of adepts essentially available. In particular, the *Nürnbergischer Weltspracheverein*, founded in 1885 as a volapükist club. There, Leopold Einstein was a key figure in this IAL shift that also contributed monetarily to the first periodical in the language, *La Esperantisto*, founded in 1889.¹⁵⁶ When relevant people such as Kerkchoffs left Schleyer alone because he treated Volapük as if it were his own son, Schleyer dismissed the *Kadem*. Therefore, after 1889, there were two distinct Volapük Movements: the first supported the *Cifal* (great master) of the movement, initially Schleyer himself, who proclaimed himself *datuval* (the great discoverer, a sort of "Pope") until his death (1912); the second, composed of intellectuals, looked to the Academy as their reference point. As we will see in the sequel, many members of the Academy eventually will become followers of other IALs.

¹⁵⁵ The most important examples are Nuvo-Volapük (1887) by Kerkchoffs and Spelin, which was also evaluated by APA in 1888. I have an exemplar of the obscure Zi Mondal pamphlet published in Italy in 1885, that apparently was never mentioned by any source

¹⁵⁶ Leopold is no relative of Albert (who, by the way, expressed his sympathy to Zamenhof's ideals). The main financier was Wilhelm Trompeter in those crucial years, from 1891 until 1894, where he left the movement, dissatisfied with the results of the referendum – see below.

After the First World War, the language was reformed by a Dutchman, Arie de Jong, born in the Jakarta (Dutch East Indies) but educated in Leiden, where he came across with Volapük. He introduced non-sexist roots in the vocabulary and a prepositional system as an alternative to cases. All IALs were prosecuted by totalitarian regimes, in particular by Hitler and Stalin; Volapük was no exception. However a tiny group of supporters survived.

After the Second World War, there were other *Cifals*. The Volapük you can find with Google is mainly de Jong's. In 2012 much material by de Jong was re-published in digital form. The seventh *Cifal*, Brian Reynold Bishop¹⁵⁷, took over his work thanks to a long correspondence with de Jong. The tasks of the *Cifals* has been mainly to keep the memory of the language alive. With the words of Johann Schmidt: *Vilobs kälön püki at leigoso äsä kälöy vöno-saxadapüki* [We all should take care of Volapük as if it were ancient Greek or Anglo-Saxon]¹⁵⁸.

In practice, apart from the tiny community of volapukists, Volapük is used today as a they-code by the Esperantists, i.e. a language apt to express Otherness. In the Esperanto culture, Schleyer's creature has a place of its own. In the words of Zamenhof in the first *Universala Kongreso* [World Congress] in Boulogne-sur-Mer, 1905:¹⁵⁹ *Ni esprimas nian koran dankon al sinjoro Schleyer, la unua kaj plej energia pioniro de la ideo de neŭtrala lingvo internacia* [We express our heartfelt thanks to Mr. Schleyer, the first and most active pioneer of the idea of a neutral international language]. In fact, Volapük was used by Esperanto author Giorgio Silfer in a pièce called *La familio de Anto Speri* and in the translation of *Tin Tin in Tibet* by Hergé, when captain Haddock insults a Tibetan for silly reasons, as seen in the cartoon below, calling him *volapukisto*.



¹⁵⁷ himself supporting the Living Latin movement around the journal *Latinitas Viva*

¹⁵⁸ Quoted by Bishop, Leigh-on-Sea, November, 1978.

¹⁵⁹ The importance of that moment in the Esperanto history will be clear in the sequel.

Figure 14: Extract from the *Tinĉjo en Tibeto* (Casterman, 2005)

In 2014, the new *Cifal*, Hermann Phillipps, immediately re-established contact with the Academy of Esperanto, extending respect and collaboration.¹⁶⁰ Outside the world of planned languages, the language survives in Danish as a they-code in the form *volapyk*, meaning ‘it’s Greek to me’. It is unclear if Danish copied Esperanto or vice versa. In fact, in Esperanto they say: *tio estas volapukaĵo*.

Two Lazars, two Jews, two languages

LET’S START WITH THE JEWISH GHOST inside Esperanto – a nice expression from Schor [2009]. To do so, we will see in parallel the work of two Jewish men both called Lazars, who gave their respective first sons the name Adam: Ludwik Lejzer Zamenhof¹⁶¹ and Eliezer Yitzhak Perelman, better known as Eliezer Ben-Yehuda, the Hebrew name he chose for himself. While Zamenhof was born in 1859 in Byałystok, while Perelman was born in Luźki/Łuzki. At that time, these cities of the Suwałki region – separated by only 130 km one from the other – were controlled by Tsarist Russia. The two Lazars were both *litvaks*, i.e., Lithuanian Jews and both early bilingual in Litvishe Yiddish (used for in-group communication, i.e., among local Jews) and Russian (for out-group communication, e.g., Russian people). Ashkenazim were all Jews living in Central and Eastern Europe after the diaspora.¹⁶² Some Jews followed a Hassidic lifestyle, based on ancient tradition, severe and orthodox, while others on the contrary lived according to the more secular, Mishnaic tradition of the Talmud. In that context, the Mishnaic traditions was highly influenced by the **Haskalah**, i.e., the Jewish Enlightenment, where the motto is “be a Jew at home, a citizen in public”.

The two Lazars both belonged to the latter group, but they had very different visions and strategies for their respective plans. We should remember that in 1863 a nationalistic attempt at independence by the Polish was bloodily put down, and a severe Russification of Poland ensued. Zamenhof was highly impressed by the fact that in his own city there were four nations with four different languages, four religions and two writing systems: Jews speaking Yiddish (not written at that time), whereas Russians were Christian Orthodox and used the Cyrillic alphabet, Poles were Catholic and used the Latin alphabet, while finally the German-speaking minority was Protestant.¹⁶³ Not surprisingly, the young Lejzer wanted to find a way to foster peace by overcoming these religious and linguistic barriers. He especially targeted his own people, the Jews. In 1878, as a teen-ager, he wrote his first IAL called *lingwe universala* now known

¹⁶⁰ Email message by Christer Kiselman (Uppsala), former President of the *Akademio de Esperanto*. 25 jun 2014.

¹⁶¹ Alternate spellings, for bibliographic research, are: Ludwig Lazarus Samenhof (with {S}, German), Ludovico Lazzaro Zamenhof (Italian), Ludwik Łazarz Zamenhof (Polish). Try to dig the search engine inside the *Esperantomuseum der Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*, at <http://www.onb.ac.at/esperantomuseum.htm> and check the spelling. Leizer and Elizer both mean ‘Lazar’, the man whom Jesus resuscitated, according to the New Testament.

¹⁶² Famous Ashkenazim, among the others, were: Heinrich Heine, Marc Chagall, Albert Einstein, Sigmund Freud, Stanley Kubrick, Felix Mendelssohn. Nowadays, Ashkenazim are 10-11 millions in total, the majority living in the United States (5-6 millions) and in Israel (less than 3 millions).

¹⁶³ Jews in Białystok were the majority, but political power was in the hands of the Russians, while the territory is considered Polish, and the Germans a rest from the past times (Eastern Prussia).

as Proto-Esperanto. Only a fragment has survived until our days. It is an hymn sung on Lejzer's birthday by his comrades:¹⁶⁴

Malamikete de las nacjes,
Kadó, kadó, jam temp' está;
La tot' homoze in familje
Konunikare so debá.¹⁶⁵

Here, we can already see the main tenet of the Esperanto ideal, which is called *interna ideo* ('internal idea'): the idea that nations should exist in peace and reciprocal respect, using a non-ethnic, neutral, common language.¹⁶⁶

In parallel to his cosmopolitan views, Zamenhof was concerned with the destinies of his own people, the Jews. In fact, he wrote the first grammar of Yiddish ever, published only in 1909 in *Lebn un Visenshaft*, published in Vilnius. The grammar, written in Russian, proposed a Latin alphabet for Yiddish, with the intention that Yiddish could be Ausbauized so as to become the official language of the new State of Israel, which had yet to be founded at that time. In the early years of his coming of age, Zamenhof joined Proto-Zionism, the nationalist movement analogue to its German, Italian or Polish counterparts.¹⁶⁷ In particular, the Jewish intelligentsia in Russia discussed two questions in the late 1870s. First, which was to be the official language for the new Jewish state? Second, where to found this new state? Zamenhof joined the discussion during his student's year in Moscow, where he was studying medicine. In those years, his idea was to Ausbauize Yiddish, and to found Israel in the US. The reactions by the Russian Jews were negative. Firstly, Yiddish is a Germanic language belonging to the *Ashkenazim*, but it is foreign for the *Sefardim* (Mediterranean Jews). Secondly, his idea of clearing the uninhabited wamp along the Mississippi river was not very appealing to the Jews, even if very rational: Zamenhof argued that Mormons founded their own state, the Utah, a state of the United States of America, with a lot of freedom¹⁶⁸ In Zamenhof's mind, that could also work for Jews.

But in reality the phantom of Romanticism was stronger: no, argued Eliezer, we should go back to the fatherland and speak Hebrew. The majority rejected the American option in favour of the Palestine one, discounting Zamenhof's counter-arguments: first, as the Jews in the world were approximately 30 millions, all of them could not settle in a relatively small area such as Palestine; second, the land there was not free but inhabited by *goyim*, non-Jewish people. However, Zamenhof's rationality lost in favour of the reason of the heart.¹⁶⁹

Theodor Herzl, who founded modern Zionism during the Basilea congress in 1897, was very skeptical about the revitalisation of Hebrew: how can we buy a train ticket in a centuries old language that

¹⁶⁴ Among them there was Leo Wiener, the father of Norber Wiener, the founder of cybernetics, and a key figure in the development of Computer Science. But this is another story. For the relation between Leo Wiener and Esperanto, see Hauptenthal [2015].

¹⁶⁵ Translation: Enemies of the nations / fall, fall, it's your time; the whole humanity in a family / together should become.

¹⁶⁶ Interestingly, the expression *jam temp' está* (hurry up! it's time!) became an idiomatic expression in Esperanto. We have not time to delve into the relevance of the *interna ideo*.

¹⁶⁷ These movements, influenced by Romantic ideas, were led by the motto: 'one people, one language, one nation' and hence they struggled to form what we now call a nation-state. The reference for European continental movement was France. We should understand that at that time Zionism was very different to what became after the congress in Basilea led by Theodor Herzl in 1897.

¹⁶⁸ Only small modification of their religion were needed. Essentially, they had to abolish polygamy.

¹⁶⁹ Today's Jewish population in the US is approximately 7 millions, while Jewish citizens in Israel are 6,4 millions, according to the respective official bureau of statistics.

has only been used for religion and ceremony? But the tide of history was on Ben-Yehuda's side: the terrible pogrom in Russia after the Tsar's attempt to assassinate the Tsar in 1881 persecuted the Jews alleging they were responsible (which was proven false afterwards), and Zamenhof's family took refuge in Warsaw, while Ben-Yehuda started the first *aliyah* ('ascent', 'return', in Hebrew), i.e., mass migration to Palestine. Already in 1884 the journal *Hatzvi* was launched to teach Hebrew to L2 adult learners: in Fishman's terms, Modern Hebrew was reaching stage 6 of the GIDS. Zamenhof, however, remained skeptical, because one century before the *maskilim*, i.e., the adepts of Jewish Enlightenment, tried to revitalise Hebrew, only on the base of the Bible, with unfortunate results. Regardless he proved to be wrong in this case.¹⁷⁰

At the same time, Zamenhof's concerns no longer focused exclusively on Jews but extended to all humankind: for this reason, he started to develop his two-prong plan: a language and a religion to act as a bridge connecting all the nations, on a neutral, human ground – in Esperanto, *fundamento neŭtrale-homa*.¹⁷¹ The first book (*Unua Libro*) of his *lingvo internacia* was ready in 1885 but funds for publishing were available only in 1887, thanks to the generosity of his father-in-law [Zamenhof, 1887]. Published in Russian, in 1888 it then came out in Polish, French, German and – significantly! – in Hebrew, while the edition in Yiddish came out in 1889.

Response coming from the Jewish people was not forthcoming. They had other urgent concerns: in 1894 the captain Alfred Dreyfus, an Alsatian Jew, was accused of treason, and this affair became a landmark in history – mainly because of the *j'accuse* by Zola – as a moment where Antisemitism came to boil in France and throughout Europe. This convinced many Jews that they should 'ascend to Israel' as quickly as possible. Zamenhof took his distance from Zionism, focusing on what we now call Esperanto.¹⁷² And the future of Esperanto was to be in France.

The early days of Esperanto (1887-1905)

THE STRUCTURE OF ZAMENHOF'S LANGUAGE reveals a lot about his origins and aspirations. First, the name 'Esperanto' comes from the pseudonym *Doktoro Esperanto* (lit., the Doctor Who Hopes) that Zamenhof used in publishing the book. We should not forget that he lived in Tsarist Poland, and censorship, especially for Jews, was very strict.¹⁷³ The language quickly was called "Esperanto" to distinguish it from Volapük and other IALs. So, the word 'Esperanto' can mean: one who hopes, following the morphology; Zamenhof,

¹⁷⁰ Modern Hebrew also took material from the Mishnaic tradition as a basis for corpus planning, and just in case from Aramaic languages, also Semitic, now in danger. See Hagège [2002] and Romaine [2011] for an account.

¹⁷¹ At first, Zamenhof wrote in Russian for his people, i.e., the Russian-Yiddish speaking Litvak Azkenazi, claiming for setting 'neutral temples' in a city in Switzerland, where a new open-minded Jewish rational tradition should be set up, which would welcome Christians and Muslims alike, and everybody after some generations would have become 'Hillelists'. This religious project, called Hillelism, has some resemblance with Auguste Comte's 'Religion of Humanity'. In practice, nobody followed Zamenhof's Hillelism.

¹⁷² In parallel, Zamenhof tried to frame his religious project in philosophical terms through Esperanto, i.e., without referring to Judaism anymore. Inspired by Publus Terentius Afer's motto *Homo Sum* and the humanists, he decided to call it 'Homaranismo'. More emphasis was put on individuals and their ethical behaviour.

¹⁷³ Markus Fabianvich (Mordechaj) Samenhof, his father, a Jew integrated in the Russian society, was a foreign language teacher (German and French) and the censor of the Jewish publications, the newspaper *Hacefira* (also spelled *Hazefirah*) among the others. He probably came from a village in Bavaria, called Samenhof, and therefore the name of the family.

by metonymy; Zamenhof's IAL; in the early days, an Esperantist, again by metonymy.¹⁷⁴ This example proves two important facts: first, Esperanto is not only a language but it has strict cultural associations from the very beginning; second, that lexicalization does exist in Esperanto. Therefore, from that fact, in the case of lexicalized expressions from a semantic point of view, the whole meaning of a word is greater than the sum of its morphemic parts.¹⁷⁵

A lexicon between East and Western Europe From a lexical point of view, Esperanto is a contact language. Quite often it uses Latin or Romance material but builds words by means of Germanic construction. The prototypical example is *terpomo*, 'potato', whose construction is identical to the Dutch *aardappel* but the lexical material is borrowed from the French *pomme de terre*. Esperanto always swings back and forth from phonetic calques to semantic ones or coins. Let's see some examples.

<i>English</i>	<i>semantic calque or coin</i>	<i>phonetic calque</i>
hospital	malsanulejo	hospitalo
football	piedpilko	futbalo
Facebook	Vizaĝlibro	Fejsbukko
Twitter	Pepejo	Tvitero
blog	retĵurnalo	blogo

As an anecdote, a beautiful coin for 'Facebook' is *vizaĝaro*, built on the paradigm of *vortaro*, but it is hardly ever used, because it is not so transparent for non-fluent speakers of the language.

The community hotly debates these kinds of innovations, because it is argued that (a) a bigger dictionary will render the language too much Western European languages, and (b) exploiting the compounding potentialities of Esperanto is the way to form "purest" Esperanto words.

We can say since now that this flexibility gives a big advantage to the language, compared to its competitors, which in general downplayed the role of the Germanic group in their structure. We will see it below, when the competitors will be analysed in comparison with Esperanto.

Some morphosyntactic traits and the gender issue Let's see how the language works from the first book (*Unua libro*) published in the Esperanto: The first words in the language are *por Rusoj* (for Russians). The commas are important: Zamenhof decomposed the concepts in atomic parts, in order to reduce considerably the lexicon. According to the corpus-based analysis by Gledhill [1998],

¹⁷⁴ In an influential poem by Zamenhof, called *La Espero*, we read: *rapide kreskas la afero per laboro de la esperantoj*, where the plural *esperantoj* means Esperantists. The full text is available below in this text.

¹⁷⁵ Lexicalization, which is a metonymic process, is the complementary phenomenon of grammaticalization, which is metaphorical [Cabrera, 1998].

Table 6: Lexical strategies in importing new concepts in Esperanto



Figure 15: The cover of the first book in Esperanto, 1887

the 6,000 most frequent English words of the American Heritage Dictionary corpus can be produced by only 850 morphemes (lexemes and affixes) in Esperanto. The biggest monolingual dictionary, the *Plena Ilustrita Vortaro* (PIV), has approximately 16,000 entries, that corresponds to 120,000 words in English or French, more or less. The reduction of the amount of entries is impressive. This was obtained consciously by Zamenhof. In fact, he declared the following in the first book:

Ĉiu vorto [de mia Lingvo Internacia] sin trovas ĉiam kaj sole en unu konstanta formo, nome en tiu formo, en kiu ĝi estas presita en la vortaro. Kaj la diversaj formoj gramatikaj, la reciprokaj rilatoj inter la vortoj, k.t.p. estas esprimataj per la kunigo de senŝanĝaj vortoj. Sed ĉar simila konstruo de lingvo estas tute fremda por la Eŭropaj popoloj kaj al kutimiĝi al ĝi estus por ili afero malfacila, tial mi tute alkonformigis tiun ĉi dismembriĝon de la lingvo al la spirito de la lingvoj Eŭropaj, tiel ke se iu lernas mian lingvon laŭ lernolibro, ne traleginte antaŭe la antaŭparolon (kiu por la lernanto estas tute senbezona), li eĉ ne supozos, ke la konstruo de tiu ĉi lingvo per io diferencas de la konstruo de lia patra lingvo.

My translation:

Each word [of my International Language] can be found in only and only permanent form, that is in the form, in which it was printed in the dictionary. And the different grammar forms, the mutual relations between words etc. are expressed through the compounding of these invariable words. But, as such a linguistic construction is completely foreign for European people and becoming acquainted in it would be uneasy for them, I conformed this splitting of the language to the spirit of European languages, so that if somebody learns my language following the textbook, without reading in advance the preface (for a learner, unnecessary at all), he will not suppose that the construction of that language will differ in some sense from the construction of his mother tongue.¹⁷⁶

So, coming back to the first words in Esperanto ever published: *por* is a preposition, *Rus* is a lexeme, while *o* always indicates nouns, and *j*

¹⁷⁶ Please note that ‘mother tongue’ for Zamenhof is *patra lingvo*, i.e., ‘father’s tongue’. Recall our presentation of Bonfiglio [2010] made in the theoretical part. In contemporary Esperanto it is *gepatra lingvo*, i.e. ‘genitor’s tongue’.

is for plural. Figure 16) shows the first sentence in the language,

— 13 —

метъ (съ ключемъ или даже безъ него) всякій, кто не только не изучилъ предварительно грамматики языка, но даже никогда не слышалъ о его существовании. Объясню это примѣромъ:

Я очутился въ Россіи, не зная ни слова по Русски; мнѣ нужно обратиться къ кому нибудь, и я ему пишу на бумажкѣ свободнымъ интернаціональнымъ языкомъ положимъ слѣдующее:

Mi ne sci,as kie mi las,is la baston,o,n; ĉu vi ĝi,n ne vid,is?

Я подношу собесѣднику интернаціонально-русскій словарь и указываю ему на начало, гдѣ большими буквами напечатана слѣдующая фраза: „Все, что написано на интернаціональномъ языкѣ, можно понимать съ помощью этого словаря. Слова, составляющія вмѣстѣ одно понятіе, пишутся вмѣстѣ, но отдѣляются другъ отъ друга черточкой; такъ напримеръ слово *fratj,n,o* составляя одно понятіе, сложено изъ трехъ словъ, изъ которыхъ каждое надо писать отдѣльно”. Если мой собесѣдникъ никогда объ интернаціональномъ языкѣ не слышалъ, то онъ сначала выпучитъ глаза, но возьметъ мою бумажку, пороеетъ указаннымъ образомъ въ словарѣ и найдетъ слѣдующее:

<i>Mi</i>	{	<i>mi</i> я	}	я
<i>ne</i>	{	<i>ne</i> не, нѣтъ	}	не
<i>sci,as</i>		<i>sci</i> знать	}	знаю
		<i>as</i> означаетъ настоящее время глагола		
<i>kie</i>	{	<i>kie</i> гдѣ	}	гдѣ
<i>mi</i>	{	<i>mi</i> я	}	я

which is quite complex: *mi ne sci,as kie mi las'is la baston,o,n; ĉu vi ĝi,n ne vid,is?* 'I do not know where I left my stick; [perhaps] did you see it?' The pronouns *mi* and *ĝi,n* reveal that there are at least two genders in the language, masculine and neuter¹⁷⁷, and a marked case, the accusative – ending in *-n*, see also *baston,o,n*. The strategy for polar questions follows the example of Polish: *ĉu* is a borrowing of *czy*, and its function is exactly to transform a declaration into a polar

Figure 16: The first sentence published in Esperanto, 1887

¹⁷⁷ There is also feminine and common (underspecified animated), as we will see below. The pronominal system is clearly borrowed from English. In the last few year, new pronouns are proposed by LGBT esperantists, so to have a less gender-marked language. See the blog *Egalecen* for more information.

question. The basic word order of Esperanto is SVO, but Zamenhof used a marked order here: *vi ĝin [ne] vidis* instead of *vi ne vidis ĝin*, so as to focus on the anaphoric reference to the stick. Figure 16 also shows how *sci,as* is clarified: *sci* is the root of ‘sci-ence’ (to know), while *as* indicates the present tense.

Separate mention should be made for the accusative in *-n*. Esperanto strictly follows the German example for the accusative, which also is used for time, space and direction, as in German.¹⁷⁸ From an internal point of view, the accusative case offers a reasonable degree of freedom in word order when dealing with focusing, topicalization, etc. Languages that do not have it, like Dutch or Italian, use far more complex strategies to accomplish the same function. This gives interesting insights into the acquisition policy and planning of Esperanto in Zamenhof’s mind: Esperanto should be not only the language for science, but, on the contrary, the language for everybody.

Let us go back to the first book [Zamenhof, 1887]: in the last pages there is a dictionary for Russians, *vort,ar,o por Rus,o,j*. One of the most creative parts of the Esperanto internal linguistics is morphology. Esperanto has a quite rich set of affixes for derivational morphology.

<p>A (A).</p> <p><i>a</i> означаетъ прилагательное; напр. хот человекъ—хот,а человекскій</p> <p><i>acid</i> кислый</p> <p><i>acel</i> купить</p> <p><i>ad</i> означаетъ продолжительность дѣйствія; напр. ит идти—ит,ад ходить; данс танецъ—данс,ад танцованіе</p> <p><i>adiay</i> прощай</p> <p><i>aer</i> воздухъ</p> <p><i>afer</i> дѣло</p> <p><i>agl</i> орелъ</p>	<p><i>arb</i> дерево</p> <p><i>arĝent</i> серебро</p> <p><i>as</i> означаетъ настоящее время глагола</p> <p><i>at</i> означаетъ причастіе настоящего времени страдательнаго залога</p> <p><i>atend</i> ждать</p> <p><i>ay</i> или</p> <p><i>ayd</i> слышать</p> <p><i>ayskult</i> слушать</p> <p><i>aytun</i> осень</p> <p><i>av</i> дѣдъ</p> <p><i>avar</i> скупой</p> <p><i>azen</i> осель</p> <p style="text-align: center;">B (B).</p>	<p>C (Ц).</p> <p><i>cel</i> цѣлиться</p> <p><i>cent</i> сто</p> <p><i>cert</i> вѣрный, извест-ный</p> <p><i>ceter</i> прочій</p> <p><i>cigar</i> сигара</p> <p><i>cigareted</i> папироса</p> <p><i>citron</i> лимонъ</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Ч (Ч).</p> <p><i>ĉaŭren</i> причинять до-саду</p> <p><i>ĉambro</i> комната</p> <p><i>ĉar</i> шанка</p> <p><i>ĉapel</i> шляпа</p> <p><i>ĉar</i> ибо, такъ какъ</p>
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Figure 17 shows an extract of the dictionary, in Esperanto *vort,ar,o*, literally ‘a set of words’. Here, the model is English (diction-ary) or French (*diction-aire*), not German (*Worterbuch*).¹⁷⁹ That first dictionary, of only a few pages, presents exactly 947 morphemes: apart from 11 proper nouns, the rest is a mixture of lexemes (i.e., open classes) and functional words (i.e., closed classes) together, which for that time is an unusual choice. In fact, the grammatical tradition of Europe, based on Latin, never lists functional words together with lexemes.

¹⁷⁸ Interestingly, some pioneers asked Zamenhof about the so-called ‘Greek accusative’: he suggested not to use it, because non-educated people are not familiar with that construction.

Figure 17: Extract from the first dictionary of Esperanto, 1887

¹⁷⁹ A German borrowing in Esperanto would be *vortlibro*, which is morphologically correct but pragmatically it is felt as inadequate.

Note that there is (almost) no definition in the language or examples in Esperanto, rather translations into Russian [Zamenhof, 1887, 41-44] and Figure 17. The first morpheme in the list is *a*, which is the final suffix indicating adjectivity: from the neuter noun *hom,o* (a human being) we obtain the corresponding adjective turning the last vowel *hom,a* (human). We will see below that *hom* is a fundamental concept in Zamenhof's *Weltaanschauung*.

While the semantics of the lexicon is pan-European, the agglutinative strategy followed by Zamenhof put the language at the periphery of the Standard Average European (S.A.E.) *Sprachbund*, i.e., language league.¹⁸⁰ For instance, affixes can become heads of their syntagmas, which is possible but unusual in Western languages.¹⁸¹ In Esperanto, words like *aro* (set) or *eble* (perhaps, possibly) are part of the standard register, even if they are suffixes: *kompren-eb-l-e* ('obviously, naturally', as a pragmatic marker to confirm the agreement on the content between the listener and the speaker, lit. 'the circumstance of the passive possibility to understand'), *lav-eb-l-a*, ('washable', lit. 'wash-passive-possibility-adj'); *arb-ar-o* ('forest, wood', lit. 'set of trees'), *vort-ar-o* (dictionary, lit. 'set of words'), *jun-ul-ar-o* ('youth', meaning set of young people, not the quality of being young, which is *jun-ec-o*). This structure is somehow familiar to people speaking Hungarian and Finnish, which are European languages sociolinguistically but not structurally, i.e., they do not belong to the Indo-European tradition.

We can rightly ask why Zamenhof chose such a structure. The answer is clear: he was concerned with *productivity*, i.e., the ability to use the language actively (speaking and writing), and the goal was to use Esperanto quickly and effortlessly. Of course: there is a price to pay for this choice. In fact, supporters of rivals attack the Esperanto morphology saying that it is "artificial", because it leads to unnatural forms. Adepts of rivals often call them **volapukisms**. In particular, the most delicate parts of morphology in this respect are gender and correlatives.

Let's delve into the gender issue. Languages of Europe are more inclined to masculine than feminine, and Esperanto is no exception. Nominal roots can be neuter, especially if inanimate (e.g., *tablo*, *libro*, 'table', 'book') while animate are likely to be masculine: *viro*, 'man', *ĉevalo*, 'horse'. However, there are some animate roots that are neuter, like *homo*, 'human being', a key concept in Zamenhof's moral philosophy, and a few feminine, like *gejšo* (geisha) aŭ *putino* (bitch).¹⁸² The way to transform a masculine into a feminine is via the suffix *-in-* which comes from German: *studento* → *studentino* (student), *reĝo* → *reĝino* (King, Queen). However, in the domain of the family, which is universal and intimate, you will have forms that

¹⁸⁰ This terminology was introduced in linguistics by Benjamin Whorf, who was touched by interlinguistics, as we will see below.

¹⁸¹ A word like 'teen-ager' where the suffix *-teen* (from the numbers) is an exception in English.

¹⁸² There are very few examples, and most of these are unpleasant. I do not take responsibility for that.

shock most beginners: *patro* → *patrino* (father, mother), *frato* → *fratino* (brother, sister) and so on. Needless to say that these forms were attacked by the competitors. Note that *matrono* (matron) does exist, but not **matro*.¹⁸³ Moreover, the form of endearment is an exception, being fusive instead of agglutinative: *patro* → *paĉjo*, *patrino* → *panjo* (dad, mum).¹⁸⁴

The asymmetry of the gender issue is relevant also in the pronominal system, which is borrowed from English. But there is also another problem: *mi*, *vi*, *li*, *ŝi*, *ĝi*, *ni* are too similar from a phonological point of view, compared to the pronominal system of many natural languages, and if there is noise in the communication channel they can be easily confused. However, even if creative non-official pronouns were proposed by the feminist Esperanto movement in the past, they never became mainstream, with the partial exception of *ŝli* (s/he). In this respect, Ido and Occidental are more symmetrical, compared to Esperanto, as we will see below.

Esperanto is fairly regular. As an example, let's see the following Table 7, made of words derived from the lexeme *san*-:

Esperanto	English	Dutch	Italian
sana	healthy	gezond	sano/a
sane	healthily	??	in maniera sana
sani	to be healthy	gezond (de zijn)	essere sano
saneco	healthiness	gezondheid	salute
malsano	illness	ziekte	malattia
malsaneco	unhealthiness	ongezondheid	essere malati
malsanul(in)o	sick person (female)	zieke	malato/(a)
malsanulejo	hospital	ziekenhuis	ospedale
resaniĝi	to convalesce	herstellen (de zijn)	fare la convalescenza, rimettersi

¹⁸³ The asterisk indicates impossible forms, meaning unacceptable by the speech community of a language in a given diachronic moment as part of the standard register. Some Esperanto LGBT speakers use *gefrato* to indicate 'sibling' and *gepatro* to indicate 'parent'. I thank the student who point me to this use.

¹⁸⁴ These forms come presumably from Russian: Tanja is the name of endaerment of Tatiana, Sonja of Sofia, in Russian, for example.

Typological collocation of Esperanto From a typological point of view, Esperanto is agglutinative: morphemes are invariable, as we have just seen. This leads us to a question: is Esperanto part of the S.A.E. language league? As is well known, S.A.E. languages are not mainly agglutinative: agglutination is typical of languages like Turkish or Hungarian, which are not part of the S.A.E.

We have seen why Zamenhof chose to plan an agglutinative language. With such a high degree of productivity of word-compounds, Esperanto can considerably reduce the number of vocabulary entries in the non-specialized dictionary: with few affixes you can produce a lot of words. Esperanto is therefore highly regular. But also Volapük was regular, as seen before, and very few people consider it an 'easy' language. Unlike Schleyer, Zamenhof tried to put together

features from the major language families of Europe, so that *any European speaker could find something familiar in the language*: Romance, Germanic and Slavic. In general, the structure is Germanic-Slavic – mainly from Yiddish and Russian, but also from German and Polish – and the lexicon is *mainly* latinate, but not only – see Lindstedt [2009].

He could do it because of his repertoire. In fact, he was an early Yiddish-Russian bilingual. At school he studied German and French, while he learned Polish in the street and with his peers. He was also exposed to Lithuanian. Through books he learned Ancient Greek, Latin and (Biblical) Hebrew, and finally English. These languages act as superstrates (lexifiers) or substrates, following the terminology by Lindstedt [2009]. All other languages can be similar but not because of direct influence: Spanish, Italian, for instance, can appear similar because of Latin.

However, there are some structural similarities with the morphology of non S.A.E. languages such as Hungarian, Turkish, or Chinese, which can be only clarified invoking the Universal Grammar or language universals. This happens because the invariability of Esperanto morphemes. Compare the following examples by Piron [1981]:

<i>Chinese</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Esperanto</i>
tā	he	li
tāmen	they	ili
tāmende	their	ilia
xīn	heart, spirit, mind	koro, spirito, menso
xīnlǐ	psyche	psikeo
xīnlǐxué	psychology	psikologio
xīnlǐxuéjiā	psychologist	psikologo
tóngchéng ^h rén	fellowtownsman	samurbano
tóngguó ^h rén	compatriot	samlandano
tóngdào ^h rén	fellow believer	samideano
tóngzú ^h rén	member of the same race	samrasano
tóngjiào ^h rén	coreligionist	samreligiano

Table 8: Comparison between Esperanto and Chinese

These similarities come by accident, as Zamenhof did have no command of Chinese, Hungarian or Turkish. On the other hand, we can find interesting parallels in the word formation between Esperanto and Semitic languages, in particular (Modern) Hebrew and Arabic, which is not by hazard. Semitic languages are inflective, that is the lexeme is consonantic (e.g. KTB means ‘write, compose’) while inflection comes from the vowels (e.g., KaTaBa, ‘he wrote’, KiTāB, ‘a book’, KāTiB, ‘a writer’). For instance, Berdichevsky [2014, 35, adapted] notes that the Semitic root MLC works in an analogous way to the Esperanto root *reĝ*-:

We will never know if Zamenhof consciously applied the Biblical

<i>Esperanto</i>	<i>Hebrew</i>	<i>English</i>
reĝo	MeLeCh	king
reĝino	MaLKah	queen
reĝeco	MaLCHut	monarchy
reĝa	MaLCHuti	royal / regal / kingly
reĝlando	maMLaCHa	kingdom
reĝe	bi-ofen MaLCHuti	royally

Table 9: Comparison between Esperanto and Hebrew

Hebrew system for Esperanto: what we know is that certainly he had studied the Bible. It is possible that those feminine forms that appear unnatural only through the lens of S.A.E. languages would appear natural to him because of Hebrew:

<i>Esperanto</i>	<i>Hebrew</i>	<i>English</i>
frato/fratino	aĥ/aĥot	brother/sister
onklo/onklino	dod/dodah	uncle/aunt
policisto/policistino	ŝoter/ŝoteret	policeman/policewoman
kelnero/kelnerino	meltzar/meltzarit	waiter/waitress

Table 10: N-Adj derivation in Esperanto, Hebrew and English

As we will see later, supporters of competitors often attack Esperanto because of these forms – they said ‘unnatural’, ‘artificial’, or even ‘volapukist’. Most probably this is due to the ‘Jewish ghost inside Esperanto’, to use a nice expression by Esther Schor.

In conclusion, we should also note that the lexicon was enriched through the years and changed considerably thanks to use: Lindstedt [2009] finds some interesting examples of Slavisms, that are now no more acceptable in contemporary Esperanto.¹⁸⁵ The main semantic reference – both in a positive and negative sense – of the language changed in time, from a Russian-driven origin (the pioneers lived in the Tsarist Empire) to French, especially after the First World War, and then to English, after the Second World War, as we will see afterwards.

In conclusion, from a typological point of view Esperanto is still in the S.A.E. language league (*Sprachbund*), with a East European structural substrate, even with some non-Indo-European traits, while it shows a clear Western European lexifying superstrate.

Phonology and graphisation: a critique Going back to the internal description of the language, the Bausani effect is clear in the phonetic space of the language, which is quite similar to that of (Litvak) Yiddish, especially in consonants, which present typically East European clusters, like for instance /ŝpr/ in *ŝpruci* (‘to gush, to spurt’). In particular, the letter {ĥ} (sound [x], in IPA) tended to be less productive, and now is an archaism. New words without that sound emerged:

¹⁸⁵ For example, the semantic space of *naĝi* (‘to swim’) is linked to animated actants: e.g., a boy, a duck, a fish can swim, not a boat or a ship, as in Russian and in the early days of Esperanto.

<i>archaic</i>	<i>modern</i>	<i>English</i>
Praĥo	Prago	Prague
ĥemio	kemio	chemistry
ĥino	ĉino	a Chinese
monaĥo	monako	monk

The most interesting series for that sound is the following one: *oro* ('gold'), *horo* ('hour'), *koro* ('heart'), and *ĥoro* ('choir'). The last word is now an archaism, replaced by the current *koruso* – from the Latin word *chorus*. Esperanto has five vowels, like Czech or Croatian.¹⁸⁶ The stress is fixed on the penultimate vowel in non-monosyllabic words: Zamenhof clearly had in mind that Russian causes a lot of problems in learning the stress because of mobility, while on the contrary in Polish the accent is fixed. He followed Polish in this respect.

Graphisation is one of the most criticized parts of the language. While Zamenhof chose a Latin-based alphabet, he used two diacritics quite unusual for us: the circumflex (sharp-shaped, also known as hat or roof, in the jargon of mathematicians), in these letters: {ĉ, ĝ, ĥ, ĵ, ŝ}, and the upside-down breve for the {ŭ} – also for the capital letters. The principle followed by Zamenhof is **Lautbild**, that is a graphisation that helps the learner, having the correspondence one letter, one sound, at the expense of etymology, which becomes partially opaque.¹⁸⁷ Typewriters in those times were set in French, the international language at that time, so the circumflex was included easily. The breve, however, was only present in German handwriting. So Zamenhof presented an auxiliary alphabet that was easy to remember: the first rule of thumb is “forget about the breve” (it mostly occurs in very familiar to Europeans, such as *Eŭropo* and *aŭtomobilo*, where ambiguity is not at risk), while the second is “append an {h} for special consonants”, e.g. {ĉ} → {ch}. Nonetheless, many people did not like this solution, even many Esperantists.¹⁸⁸ Zamenhof was also thinking about first language learners, i.e., children, in shaping the language, and a sharp *Lautbild* strategy is a boon for primary school pupils. For the same reason, the stress is fixed on the penultimate syllable: Russian is very complex, so he preferred to turn to Polish in this respect. Lindstedt [2009] presents Esperanto as a contact language, giving very valuable insights, because of this mixed strategy in choosing key features of the language itself.¹⁸⁹

Semantics and its influence on derivation There are many ways to classify the semantics of the Esperanto lexicon, which, unlike Volapük, always borrows from source languages – for instance, *lernolibro* coming from German *Lehrbuch* or Yiddish *lernbukh*. Jansen [2013a,b]

Table 11: Why the letter {ĥ} is archaic in Esperanto

¹⁸⁶ Unlike what many people think, Italian has a more complex system: five non-stressed vowels, but seven accented, because Italians distinguish between *bótte* ('barrel') and *bòtte* ('blows'), and also *pèsca* ('fishing') and *pèscà* ('peach').

¹⁸⁷ We will come back to this point later, after the presentation of IALA's Interlingua. See also Gobbo [2008].

¹⁸⁸ In the late 1980s, Don Harlow, an American Esperantist who published information in the pre-Web days of the internet, proposed to substitute the {h} with an {x}, which is a letter not found in the Esperanto alphabet – also {q, w, y}. I do not recommend using it, because the result is graphically odd. For example, common words like 'change', in Esperanto *ŝanĝiĝo*, appear like this: *sxangxiĝo*. People think of Basque or Maltese, which are at the periphery of the European linguistic landscape.

¹⁸⁹ However, I prefer to retain 'IAL' and 'planned language' as general terms, in order to avoid confusion with pidgins and creoles, which are formed starting from orality and a living speech community, as we have seen previously.

applies the tools of Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG) by Kees Hengeveld and colleagues who distinguish the following nine categories to classify the lexicon in any language of the world:

1. Individual (*x*): indicating singular entities, such as *hom-* ('human being'), *kat-* ('cat') or *tabl-* ('table'), *-u* (final suffix of a correlative series, see below);
2. State-of-affairs (*e*): for instance *pluv-* ('rain'), *panik-* ('panic'), *spektakl-* ('show');
3. Propositional content (*p*): *ide-* ('idea'), *koncept-* ('concept');
4. Location (*l*): *-ej-* (suffix for: 'place', see *malsanulejo* above), *dom-* ('house'), *palac-* ('palace'); *-e* (final suffix of a correlative series, see below);
5. Time (*t*): *jar-* ('year'), *moment-* ('moment'), *-am* (final suffix of a correlative series, see below);
6. Manner (*m*): *proces-* ('process'), *manier-* ('manner'), *-el* (final suffix of a correlative series, see below);
7. Reason (*r*): *motiv-* ('reason'), *kaŭz-* ('cause'), *-al* (final suffix of a correlative series, see below);
8. Instrumental (*ins*): *krajon-* ('pencil'), *martel-* ('hammer'), *pied-* ('foot'), *-il-* suffix;
9. Properties (*f*): *bel-* ('nice'), *larĝ-* ('large').

The semantics of the ending suffixes and the affixes depend on the category of the word. This is not straightforward and it has to be learned. It is also a hot topic in scholarly literature. In Figure 16, the second entry is *acid* (acid), which in English is labelled as a noun, while in other languages, such as Italian, *acido* can be either a noun or a masculine adjective. So, a problem arises here: what is the grammar character of the Esperanto *acid*? Is it a noun or an adjective? More generally: are there any roots in Esperanto that we can label as adjectives by selection, i.e. without any information on collocation? Only *use* can answer this question. For instance, roots belonging to the Individual (*x*) category usually are not verbified (*tabli*, to be a table?)¹⁹⁰ On the contrary, roots indicating Properties (*f*) tend to be verbified directly, even without the copula, in informal talk: *vi estas bela*, you are nice, becomes *vi belas*. The nominalization in this case indicate abstractness: *belo* means 'beauty', *verdo* means 'the green colour', or 'the green quality'. The most criticized category was number 8, the Instrumental (*ins*) one, especially by Couturat and the Idists. It is true that the verbification is highly idiosyncratic in its semantics. For instance, the verbal form *piedi* means 'to go on foot' (and not 'to stand still', which would be intuitive too, but for that there is the Property root (*f*) *stari*) while *kraĵoni* means 'to write with a pencil'. However, the list of roots belonging to this category is quite small; the most common strategy is to use the suffix *-il-* with Propositional content (*p*): *lernilo* is 'a tool to learn' (for instance, an app), *manĝilo* can be a fork (*forko*), spoon (*kulero*), knife *tranĉilo* (similar form), chopsticks (*bastonetoj*, lit. 'small sticks'). Similar considerations can be made for the use of affixes, whose

¹⁹⁰ However, sometimes this is possible, but it depends on the semantics inherited by the lexeme. For example, Claude Piron, a prominent Esperanto writer, translated a Chinese proverb like this: *patro patru, filo filu*, 'fathers behave as fathers, sons as sons'.

application and order in the word building is not casual but follows clear rules.

Let me illustrate this with a concrete example. In Table 12, \neg means ‘not true, false’ while \top means ‘true’. Stars indicate non-acceptable compounds while question marks still acceptable morphosyntactically but semantically unclear.

skribi	VAL=2	\neg esti skriba
skriba	\top skrib-it-a	
skribo	\top skrib-aĵ-o	\top skrib-ec-o
skribe	\top en skriba maniero	\top per skribo
novi	VAL=1	\top esti nova
nova	\neg *nov-it-a	
novo	\neg nov-aĵ-o	\top nov-ec-o
nove	\top en nova maniero	\neg ?per novo
tabli	?VAL=1	\neg ?esti tabla
tabla	\neg *tabl-it-a	
tablo	\neg tabl-aĵ-o	\neg tabl-ec-o
table	\neg en tabla maniero	\top per tablo

Table 12: Truth table to test the fundamental transformations

Let’s comment the examples. The lexeme *skrib-* is clearly verbal because its valency is two (VAL=2): in plain language, it accepts the accusative: *Petro skribas leteron*. Its adjectival form *skriba* is similar to the past participle *skribita* in its meaning, i.e., ‘written’. The substantive form *skribo* can indicate both a written text (*skribaĵo*) or the property of writing *skribeco*. The other two lexemes do have different valency values. In particular *novi* means ‘to be new’, and its substantive form *novo* can only indicate abstractiveness, i.e., the quality of being new.

At last, *tablo* is clearly a noun: it is not synonymous of *tablaĵo* (‘a part of the table’) nor of *tableco* (‘the quality of the table’). The adverbial forms *skribe* and *nove* means manner (in FDG: MAdv) while *table* means instrumental (‘done with a table’).

Final considerations To sum up, the most criticized points of the internal structure of Esperanto are: first, the alphabet, because of its special letters; second, the pronominal system, because it is not contrastive enough from a phonologically point of view and “sexist”, for being masculine-oriented; third, the mandatory accusative case, seen as too strict and redundant in word order; fourth, the mandatory N-Adj agreement; fifth, the ‘volapukisms’ in the derivations because of the regularity of the morphology, which can appear non-natural from the point of view of S.A.E. speakers; sixth, the

German and Slavic elements in the lexicon, at that time felt as not international enough; last, the correlative system (we will see it in comparison with the competitors of Esperanto).

There were also other attacks on the Esperanto phenomenon, and in particular on the features of the community of practice. An important terminological note should be explained here. In the case of planned languages, it is better not to use the term ‘speech community’ but ‘community of practice’. The former indicates a group that shares a neighbourhood, defined by precise sociological traits such as gender, ethnicity, sex, cultural habits, and so on. According to Eckert [2006], the latter indicates a group of people who define themselves according to a regular joint activity that conventionalizes meaning and ways to reflect on that activity. The term is not limited to planned languages only, but comprises each group-defined human activity, such as chess playing, vegetarianism, and so on.

This is why identity markers like the flag, the hymn and the cult of Zamenhof – even if hardly acceptable through the lens of positivism – were unavoidable in order to guarantee the survival of the language. Although Zamenhof never favoured the personal cult of himself, he understood that it was crucial not to block it, in order to build the **esperantistaro**, the community of Esperantists.¹⁹¹ Zamenhof was strategically aware of the importance of corpus language planning also. At first, it was him who personally answered in all internal linguistic questions – collected in a volume called *Lingvaj respondoj*. But he wanted to avoid linking the destiny of Esperanto to his own, so he allowed the formation of a Language Committee (*Lingva Komitato*) already during the First World Congress, *Universala Kongreso* in Boulogne-sur-Mer. 25 members took part, with only one professional linguist, Théophile Cart.¹⁹² According to the description by Carlo Minnaja of that period, three groups were present then: neutralists, who considered Esperanto mainly as a neutral tool for communication; artists, who wanted to use Esperanto as a tool to build a truly worldwide literary tradition (Kabe, Gabrowski, Junck); scientists, who wanted to use Esperanto as the language for science (Javal, Bourlet, Michaux, Bicknell). Initially, the Committee received a lot of reform proposals, that could not be accepted after the publication of the *Fundamento*. During the Second World Congress in Geneva, the directors of Esperanto gazettes and the presidents of the Esperanto societies were included in the Committee, then formed by 102 members from 26 countries. It was too difficult to be operative, so a steering committee was formed, called *Akademio de Esperanto*. Under the pressure of the Ido crisis, in 1908 the tasks were made explicit: *konservado de la fundamentaj principoj de la lingvo kaj kontroli ĝian evolucion*, i.e. conservation of the fundamental principles of the

¹⁹¹ There is a nuance between the terms ‘Esperantist’ and ‘Esperantophone’, the first underlying the ideological involvement, the latter the proficiency in the language.

¹⁹² Later, he will become the the President of the Linguistic Society in Paris.

language and control of its evolution.

The main task in that pioneering epoqe was corpus planning: the *Universala Vortaro* of the *Fundamento* remains untouchable, but official additions, *Oficialaj Aldonoj*, were made afterwards. The first addition, by Théophile Cart, consisted of 864 roots. The main sections of the Committee were: *komuna vortaro*, common dictionary, for everyday communication, headed by Cart himself; *teknika vortaro*, for specialized, domain-specific dictionary, head by René de Saussure; *gramatiko*. The **Akademio de Esperanto** as the steering committee was composed of fewer than 20 people. The name changed in *Akademio de Esperanto* only after 1948, on the model of *Accademia della Crusca* for the Italian language (1585) or the recent *Nederlandse Taalunie* for Dutch (1980).¹⁹³

The second entry is *acid* (acid), which in English is labelled as a noun, while in other languages, such as Italian, *acido* can be either a noun or a masculine adjective. So, a problem arises here: what is the grammar character of *acid*? Is it a noun or an adjective? More in general: are any roots in Esperanto that we can label adjective by selection? This is a hotly debated topic in Esperantic Studies since the beginning: Jansen [2013a] resumes the main positions and gives his opinion in the conclusion, arguing that a diachronic analysis shows that there are verbal and non-verbal root classes only. I am convinced that non-verbal roots are split into nominal, adjectival and adverbial since the beginning, but this kind of discussion would lead us too far.¹⁹⁴

In any case, all interlinguists – inside and outside the Esperanto Movement – agree that the morphology of Esperanto is quite peculiar.

¹⁹³ Web: akademio-de-esperanto.org/.

¹⁹⁴ Even adverbs do exist, even if they are few. Their pseudosuffix is *-aiŭ*, probably borrowed from Lithuanian: e.g., *hieraŭ*, *hodiaŭ*, *morgaŭ*, ‘yesterday, today, tomorrow’.

The Interlinguistic Wars (1905-1953)

In this chapter we will see the core of Interlinguistics, what we have already called the Golden Age. Esperanto was almost successful in the early days of the past century, then one rival after the other tried to supersede it, but in vain. We will see some structural traits of the rivals in contrast with Esperanto. As it always happens, we cannot understand mere linguistic data in full without the necessary cultural background, and therefore we will tell the story of some leading figures and facts that surround Interlinguistics.

THE CONGRESS IN BOULOGNE-SUR-MER WAS A SUCCESS. 688 persons came from different countries; among them, very important persons attended from the French élite.¹⁹⁵ Public readings of the Esperanto translation of Shakespeare's Hamlet and original theatrical *pièces* were performed: from the very beginning, Esperantists gave a great role to original and translated literature (in any form: prose, poetry, theater, music). There was a great echo in the press: Esperanto was a social reality, no longer merely an intellectual curiosity. Many people involved in the Auxiliary Language Movement abandoned what was left of the Volapük Movement and its ephemeral reforms in order to join the Esperanto Movement [Forster, 1982]. This gathering was a surprise for all the rivals, who were unable to form a consistent community of practice until then.

The first congress started a tradition, with its rituals, that resembles the Romantic idea of nation-state, in particular the French variant: the solemn opening, with the Esperanto flag, the first speech of Zamenhof¹⁹⁶, the Esperanto *antemo*¹⁹⁷ sung by all participants, as if it were a "national" anthem (see below a rough translation in English).

To our post-modern sensibility this may appear strange, but we should remember the context. At that time public opinion in France was divided by the **Dreyfus affair**, a scandal which would be settled the following year, in 1906. Basically, a young French artillery officer, an Alsatian Jew, was accused of spying for the Prussians, a fierce enemy of France at that time. Émile Zola wrote his famous *j'accuse* in 1898, supporting Dreyfus against a miscarriage of justice, among others, the most prominent French mathematician of those years, Henri Poincaré. The point was that no evidence was brought to support the accusation, which was driven by anti-semitic feelings of the Catholics, for the most part, while the pro-republican French supporters of the accused were called 'Dreyfusards'. This atmosphere of prejudice explains, with only one exception, no newspaper mentioned the Jewishness of Zamenhof, miscalled a 'Polish oculist': French Esperantists feared that Zamenhof's origins could harm the Esperanto Movement. Unfortunately, such miscalling is still present in the press and the media nowadays.

¹⁹⁵ We mention only the general Hippolyte Sébert, who played an important role in the rehabilitation of Alfred Dreyfus.

¹⁹⁶ Only in the first six congresses, until the one in Washington, D.C., in 1910. Then, the President of UEA will do it.

¹⁹⁷ Anthem. Archaism: now it is called *himno* [Sikosek, 2005].

La espero

En la mondon venis nova sento,
tra la mondo iras forta voko;
per flugiloj de facila vento
nun de loko flugu ĝi al loko.

The Hope

Into the world came a new feeling,
through the world goes a strong call;
on wings of a gentle wind
now let it fly from place to place.

Ne al glavo sangon soifanta
ĝi la homan tiras familion:
al la mond' eterne militanta
ĝi promesas sanktan harmonion.

Not to a sword, thirsting for blood
does it draw the human family;
to the eternally warring world
it promises sacred harmony.

Sub la sankta signo de l' espero
kolektiĝas pacaj batalantoj,
kaj rapide kreskas la afero
per laboro de la esperantoj.

Under the sacred sign of Hope
peaceful warriors begin to assemble,
and the Affair rapidly grows
through the work of those who hope.

Forte staras muroj de miljaroj
inter la popoloj dividitaj;
sed dissaltos la obstinaj baroj,
per la sankta amo disbatitaj.

Walls of millennia firmly stand
between the divided peoples;
but the stubborn barriers will burst apart,
knocked apart by Holy Love.

Sur neŭtrala lingva fundamento,
komprenante unu la alian,
la popoloj faros en konsento
unu grandan rondon familian.

On a neutral language foundation,
understanding one another,
by mutual consent the people will make
one large family circle.

Nia diligenta kolegaro
en laboro paca ne laciĝos,
ĝis la bela sonĝo de l' homaro
por eterna ben' efektiviĝos.

Our diligent co-workers
in the peaceful work will not get tired,
until the beautiful dream of humanity
for an eternal blessing comes to pass.

In his speech in Boulogne, Zamenhof defined what it means to be an Esperantist: essentially, one who uses the language, regardless of the goal of its use. On the other hand, the speech was full of mysticism:

... hodiaŭ inter la gastamaj muroj de Bulonjo-sur-Marjo kunvenis ne Francoj kun Angloj, ne Rusoj kun Poloj, sed homoj kun homoj.

My translation:

... today between the welcoming walls of Boulogne-sur-Mer gathered not French with English, not Russian with Polish, but human beings with human beings.

On the other hand, many Esperantists were secularized. Let's take as an example a prominent figure of the time, Théophile Cart, one of the first professional linguists that was actively engaged in the Esperanto Movement. In the Esperanto journal *Lingvo Internacia*, perhaps the most important at the time, he wrote, in May 1910:

Ĉu la Esperantistaro estas popolo? — Jes, certe! Ĉu la Esperantistaro estas nacio? — Ne, certe ne! Tiuj, kiuj klopodus por doni al ĝi oficialan reprezentantaron, registaron kaj leĝaron, por fari el ĝi apartan nacion, kun ĝiaj estroj; partioj kaj klientaroj, sukcesinte, mortigus Esperanton.

My translation:

... Are Esperantists a people? — Yes, indeed! Are Esperantists a nation? — No, absolutely not! Those, who work to give it an official representation, a govern and laws, so to form from it an apart nation, with its leaders; parties and clients, after succeeding, they would kill Esperanto.

Who were the Esperantists? According to the demographic analysis by Garvía [2015, 102]:

we see the Esperantists participating, in sometimes contradictory ways, in the public debate of their times, nested in a variety of social groups and phenomena, such as pacifists, free thinkers, old and new religious or quasi-religious movements, and movements that catered to the needs and expectations of new social groups (such as young people) or new lifestyles (vegetarians and theosophists, for example).

After 1905, Zamenhof tried to focus on the other, non-linguistic side of his project of bridge-building between nations: a neutral human religion that could be accepted by the three monotheisms having Abraham in common, i.e. Hebraism, Christianism and Islam. His religious project was called **Hillelism** at first, after the rabbi Hillel (a contemporary of Jesus) but, after the criticism of Catholic Esperantists, he opted for a purely Esperanto neutral word, **Homaranismo**, 'humanitarianism', literally 'ism of the members of humankind'.¹⁹⁸ That project was never a success, neither among Esperantists nor elsewhere. The Esperanto Movement, however, had more urgent things to think about after 1905.

The ambiguity of the two Louises

The success in Boulogne had been possible thanks to the work of French Esperantists who were part of the cultural and political élite of the country. In particular, two Frenchmen became key figures in our story: Louis Couturat (1868–1914) and Louis de Beaufront (1855–1935). De Beaufront, who loved to be called 'marquis' – even if he wasn't at all – discovered Esperanto in 1888. He founded the *Société Pour la Propagation de l'Espéranto* in 1898 and in the year 1900 he wrote a commentary on the Esperanto grammar. Concerned with the practical utility of an IAL, he disliked the moral attitude of Zamenhof. As a teacher of rich families in France, he succeeded in getting a contract with the prestigious publisher Hachette for the publications in Esperanto, which gave a tremendous visibility to the language in the early days of the new century.

Louis Couturat was a university professor of philosophy and logic, who defended his PhD at the Sorbonne with a doctoral thesis written in Latin entitled *De Platonis Mythis* ('The Platonian myth'). He started to work on Leibniz. When he discovered Esperanto, around year 1900, he became a supporter because it was the only organized Auxiliary Language Movement at the time, but even so he was convinced that the Esperanto language – as formulated by Zamenhof – could not be accepted by the European élite, and in particular

¹⁹⁸ If you are interested in delving into the topic, you may want to watch (or read) the lecture I delivered at the POLIN Museum in Warsaw, the 14th December 2017, just a day before the Zamenhof's Dau jubilee. Permalink: polin.pl/en/event/is-it-possible-for-all-people-to-speak-the-same-language

in France, because of too many Slavonic features. He convinced many associations and scholarly societies (mathematics, philosophy, chemistry, etc) to adhere to the idea of an IAL so to put pressure on nation-state governments. To do so, he launched an appeal in Paris in 1900 and formed a Committee of delegates representing those institutions to analyse the candidates for the role of the best IAL from a scientific point of view. After the World Congress in Boulogne, he understood that he should have a concrete result quickly, so he asked the delegates to come and work on it in 1907. The works of the Committee took into consideration IALs such as Esperanto, Idiom Neutral, Langue Bleue and Latino sine Flexione. Very important scholars of the time were part of the Committee, including Jan Niecisław Baudouin de Courtenay, Polish, one of the most important phoneticists of his time, Wilhelm Oswald, who will be awarded the Nobel Prize in Chemistry after some years, and Giuseppe Peano, the famous Italian mathematician. De Beaufront represented the party for Esperanto.¹⁹⁹ After long discussions, the Committee came to the conclusion that Esperanto was the best candidate, but that some ‘reforms’ and ‘improvements’ should be made. Soon after this conclusion, an anonymous project signed under the pseudonym ‘Ido’ (meaning ‘offspring’ in Esperanto) was put on the table in 1907. The Committee asked Esperantists to accept these reforms so that the language could be accepted by the international community of scholars. Zamenhof was shocked by this result, which neither he nor Esperantists could accept – the *Fundamento* book in 1905 declared that the language was *netuŝebla* until officially adopted by all the nation-states of the world. The Esperanto press started to call de Beaufront a traitor, and expressions like *Judasa kiso* (‘Judas’ kiss’) and *Ido-skismo* (‘schism by Ido’) became common in the press. De Beaufront declared himself the author of Ido to save the honour of Couturat, the real author, and counterattacked by calling Esperantists a sect, a pseudo-religion, against scientific progress, represented by the ‘logical’ and ‘rational’ grammar of Ido, which he and Couturat claimed to be superior to Esperanto because formulated by scholars.

The De Saussure brothers and Esperanto

The Francophone area was the center of the world at that time. In 1906 the second World Esperanto Congress was held in Geneva, Switzerland.²⁰⁰ The De Saussure family was one of the most important of the country: Horace-Bénédict (1740-99) was a geologist and physicist of such fame to be represented on the Swiss banknotes, while Henry William (1763-1839) worked close with George Washington in the foundation of the United States of North America.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁹ This story is well narrated in Ido by Otto Jespersen in 1912. Even if his perspective was in favour of Ido, he did not deny that there were a lot of discussions among the participants. Recent analyses are in Garvía [2015] and Gordin [2015].

²⁰⁰ A political neutral country would be the perfect place for an ethnically neutral language such as Esperanto. At the time, Swiss Esperantists hoped that Esperanto would have become the common second language of all Swiss citizens.

²⁰¹ Until 1778, that was the original term for designing the US. Still now, in Esperanto they say *Usono*, which comes from the letters U.S.N.

In 1906 Ferdinand de Saussure was producing the first edition of the course that would become the foundation of General Linguistics.²⁰² Ferdinand feared that attending the Congress could jeopardize his newly acquired Chair at the University, so he sent his youngest brother René to the Congress. **René De Saussure** was a mathematician who in 1906 became a fervent Esperantist. After the attack by Ido, René hosted a new association in his apartment to organize and protect Esperanto from external attacks. That association is the **Universala Esperanto-Asocio**, Universal Esperanto Association (UEA). The UEA was founded in 1908 by two young Esperantists who were members of the well-to-do society of Geneva, **Hector Hodler** and **Edmond Privat**. The UEA was set to be the ‘Red Cross of the soul’, and its members formed a network of delegates in the main cities of the world.²⁰³ While Ferdinand mentions a couple of times Esperanto in his *Cours*, arguing that after the launch (the “primitive contract” with its community) even an IAL is bound by the same laws as any other human language (“semiotic life”), René took the *nom de guerre* of Antido in order to fight Ido scientifically. To do so, he founded the *Internacia Scienca Revuo*.²⁰⁴ In that journal, René proposed the first ‘virtual’ worldwide currency – the grandfather of Bitcoin, so to speak: the **spesmilo**. It had a fixed value calculated on the amount of gold, which at that time still regulated the currency market.²⁰⁵ In any case, Couturat’s original attack generated an argued defense by René de Saussure who wrote an apologia for Esperanto under the form of self-published brochures in French and Esperanto, mainly under the pseudonym Antido. His work is the foundation of Esperanto Studies, as well as a explanation of how the unusual morphology of Esperanto works, which was praised by Zamenhof himself.²⁰⁶

Ido, the unwanted offspring

Even if some Esperantists left the Movement in favour of Ido, in particular intellectuals and scholars, Idists never made up a majority: the *Esperanta popolo* remained loyal to Zamenhof’s offspring. Let’s see how Ido answers to the main debatable point of Esperanto.

a. the alphabet Ido reduces the phonological space of Esperanto so it can be written in the English alphabet, which has no diacritics.²⁰⁷ For example, instead of {ĉ} for [tʃ] in Ido you will always write {ch}, while the phoneme [ʒ] corresponding to the Esperanto grapheme {ĝ} is abolished. Also the phoneme [x] of the grapheme {ĥ} is cut off. Thus, only the grapheme {j} suffices for the phoneme [dʒ]. For example, ‘change’ in Esperanto appears as *ŝanĝo*, in Ido as *chanjo*.²⁰⁸

The advantage of Ido is mainly practical as no special keyboards

²⁰² It happened almost by chance, because a full professor was ill. One of his French students, Théophile Cart, will become a major figure in the Esperanto Movement [Joseph, 2012].

²⁰³ Hector’s father was Ferdinand Hodler, one of the most famous Swiss painters at that time. Privat became personal friend of Mahatma Gandhi in his struggle for India’s independence from the British. During the Great War, Esperantists sent letters to the neutral Switzerland and the UEA returned them to the other side of the front, as information from the “enemies”. This was a concrete action of UEA in that time. Zamenhof, in his last testament, wrote an appeal to the diplomats, where he envisaged the United States of Europe (still to be created) and the International Court of Justice (settled in 1945, after the *Second* World War). He never saw the end of the war, as he passed away in 1917. However, all the steps were made in order to let Esperanto survive him.

²⁰⁴ That journal is still existing today; see: <http://scienca-revuo.info>.

²⁰⁵ Tragically, after the Great War René would be possessed by a real reform mania, publishing one reform after the other of Esperanto. The consequence of this is that he was isolated by Esperantists and rivals alike.

²⁰⁶ Although still valid in most parts, the Academy of Esperanto approved René’s systems some decades after.

²⁰⁷ Strictly speaking, this is not true: {i} and {j} have one point over, which is a diacritic. But nobody cares.

²⁰⁸ All phonetic transcriptions are given in IPA (1993).

are needed. On the other hand, Ido has no flag characters that marks the identity of the language.

b. pronominal system The Ido system is phonetically more contrastive than Esperanto and less sexist. We can say that in this respect Ido is better. Compare the Esperanto series *mi, vi, li, ŝi, ĝi, ni, vi, ili* with the Ido series *me, tu, ilu, elu, olu, lu, ni, vi, vu, ili, eli, oli, li*. While Esperanto borrows from English, Ido has a special pair of pronouns for the generic animate *lu/li* which is still needed in Esperanto.²⁰⁹

Nonetheless, after the Great War interlinguists complained about the ‘volapukisms’ of some forms, which were perceived as too artificial: in particular, *ilu* for ‘he’, *elu* for ‘she’ (compare: *ŝi* in Esperanto!) and *olu* for ‘it’.

c. accusative case The accusative is one of the traits of the Esperanto grammar that competitors often attacked. The solution of Ido, nevertheless, complicates instead of simplifying things. Compare the following sentences.

<i>Ido</i>	<i>Esperanto</i>	<i>English</i>
me vidis nulo	mi vidis neniun	I saw nobody
nulon me vidis	neniun mi vidis	I really saw nobody
nulo me vidis	neniu vidis min	Nobody saw me

Ido marks accusative morphologically only if non-standard word order is in charge for some pragmatic reason. Is it really better than Esperanto?

d. N-Adj agreement Esperanto shows agreement for number and case between nouns and adjectives, while Ido doesn’t but with less freedom in word order.

<i>Ido</i>	<i>Esperanto</i>	<i>English</i>
bona amiko	bona amiko	a good friend
bona amiki	bonaj amikoj	some good friends

Moreover, forms like *bona amiko/i* can be phonotactically reduced to *bon’amiko/i* in Ido. This possibility inserts a great number of homophones in word compounds.²¹⁰

e & f. volapukisms and the lexicon Esperanto shows some strange lexemes in the dictionary. One of the most famous is *edzo* for ‘husband’, that in Ido is *spozo*, borrowed from Italian.²¹¹

Words like *familio* [fa’miljo] or *radio* [’radjo] in Ido are pronounced like in Italian. The result is that the stress is no longer fixed as in Esperanto. Why so? Because Couturat was afraid of the accuse of vola-

²⁰⁹ Proposals to rectify this sexist approach to language are still made now; interested readers can have a look to the blog *Egalecen*. However, this topic is part of the Esperanto class, not of Interlinguistics, because it requires a deeper knowledge of the language.

Table 13: Accusative in Ido and Esperanto

Table 14: N-Adj agreement in Ido and Esperanto

²¹⁰ Esperanto also has this ambiguity in segmentation: *konkludo* can be *konklud-o* (conclusion) or *konk-lud-o* (playing with shells). Luckily, contexts save the conversations most of the time. Furthermore, it is often used by *jongleurs de la langue* for artistic and aesthetic purposes, notably Raymond Schwarz. Example: *lekantoj* can be ‘daisies, marguerites’ or ‘lickers’.

²¹¹ Zamenhof argued that he retroderived the word from the feminine *edzino* (‘wife’) after reading Heine’s word *Kronprinzessin*. I speculate that he really had in mind the Yiddish word *rebetsin* (‘rabbi’s wife’).

pukisms, i.e. “artificial forms”, having in mind the end of Volapük. Ido eliminated all Slavonic form and most Germanic lexemes: the reference languages are English and French.

For example, there are two ways to turn a substantive into an adjective, as sometimes happens in English:

<i>Ido</i>	Esperanto	<i>English</i>
teatro → teatr-a/teatr-al-a	teatr-o → teatr-a	theater → theatric/theatrical
historio → histori-a/histori-al-a	histori-o → histori-a	history → historic/historical

Table 15: N-Adj derivation in Ido and Esperanto

The beauty of Ido was justified with a meticulous and detailed grammar by de Beaufront, which was almost unusable without having robust knowledge of comparative linguistics. In particular, Couturat claimed that the derivational morphology of Ido was superior because it reflected a lot of logical and philosophical nuances. But were they really necessary? And why should the Romance lexicon be considered superior to the Germanic and the Slavonic ones? We will come back to this question in the Conclusion.

Correlatives between opacity and regularity Another point hotly discussed among interlinguists in the first decades of the 20th century was the series of correlatives. Gobbo [2013] analyses them in natural and planned languages, showing that paradoxically many rivals of Esperanto chose less regular systems than many natural languages. A certain degree of regularity is always present, even out of the S.A.E. corner of the world, for instance in Bahasa Indonesia, Japanese or Swahili.

Certainly, in the case of Esperanto, they are phonologically too similar and they seem rather artificial at first glance. On the other hand, their morphs are similar to the analogue series in Lithuanian, even if encrypted – in this specific point, the attack of ‘volapukism’ is not gratuitous [Gobbo, 2011a].

In the Table below, the ? indicates the questions, while the logical operators indicates the possible answers. There are two existentials: \exists is the classic operator, which means that an element does exist, but there is no guarantee of having a witness to it; \exists_C indicates constructive existence, that means that you can indicate at least one witness of its existence. The universal operator is \forall , and the negation is $\neg\exists$.

It is important to note that the answers of the series of Location, Time, Manner, Reason, Location²¹² are all modal adverbs (MAdv in FDG), while Individual, Properties and Possession are adjectives²¹³, the latter only without the need of agreement of number and case, like any other adjective: *ĉiuj libroj estas miaj* ‘all the books are mine’.

²¹² In the old schools, the German correlatives were taught through the acronym *tekamolo*, ‘temporal, kausal, modal, lokatif’.

²¹³ Individual is often used as a stand-alone Head of a NP phrase, such as in English: *Klara ŝatas tiun*, ‘Clara likes that’.

	?	\exists_C	\exists	\forall	$\neg\exists$
Location (<i>l</i>)	kie(n) where	tie(n) there	ie(n) somewhere	ĉie(n) everywhere	nenie(n) nowhere
Time (<i>t</i>)	kiam when	tiam then	iam sometime	ĉiam everytime	neniam never
Manner (<i>m</i>)	kiel how	tiel thus	iel somehow	ĉiel in every way	neniel in no way
Reason (<i>r</i>)	kial why	tial therefore	ial for some reason	ĉial for all reasons	nenial for no reason
Individual (<i>x</i>)	kiu(jn) who/which	iu(jn) that (one)	tiu(jn) everyone	ĉiu(jn) someone	neniu(jn) no one
Properties (<i>f</i>)	kia(jn) what a	ia(jn) such a	tia(jn) some kind of	ĉia(jn) every kind of	nenia(jn) no kind of
Possession	kies whose	ies someone's	ties that one's	ĉies everyone's	nenies no one's
Quantity	kiom how much	iom that much	tiom a bit	ĉiom all of it	neniom none
Thing	kio(n) what	tio(n) that	io(n) something	ĉio(n) everything	nenio(n) nothing

Moreover, Possession is evidently a Saxon-Genitive case, but a fossile: it cannot be productive anymore.²¹⁴

Finally, Quantity and Thing are heads of a noun phrase; interestingly, Quantity is a zero-marked object, e.g. *Kiom da pano vi volas?*, 'how much bread do you want?'. So, strictly speaking, there is also a positional accusative in Esperanto.²¹⁵

The solution of Ido is unclear: sometimes it mimicks Latin and Romance languages, sometimes it proposes more 'naturalistic' compounds. I give here only the series for Time (*t*):

	?	\exists_C	\exists	\forall	$\neg\exists$
Time (<i>t</i>)	kande when	lore then	ulatempe sometime	sempre everytime	nultempe never

Final considerations on Ido

The destiny of Ido is quite sad. In the words by Gordin [2015, 157]:

On 3 August 1914, while driving in the French countryside, a mobilization truck headed for the front plowed into an automobile out for a quiet drive, killing a passenger. His name was Louis Couturat. Given how much the Ido movement was driven by the indefatigable energy of the Paris logician, it never quite recovered. The first Ido congress, due to take place that September in Luxembourg, was delayed, and the movement revived after the war but never regained its earlier dynamism.

Wilhelm Ostwald helped the Idists in the 1920s thanks to the money of the Nobel Prize he received. In the year 1930 the top number of

²¹⁴ At least in theory. A non-official word is *alies*, which mixes up *ali-* and *-es*. For example *tiu biciklo estas alies*, 'that bicycle belong to somebody else'.

²¹⁵ If proper names and name-entities are not phonologically adapted, the positional accusative is also used. For example, for saying 'I read Shakespeare' you can either say *mi legas Ŝekspiron* (more classic style, Zamenhofian) or *mi legas Shakespeare* (modern style).

Idists was registered: more than 500, with up to 40 participants to the *Ido-Konfero* (the Idist answer to the *Universalaj Kongresoj*). Many Idists were also Esperantists at the same time, so some innovations of Ido came into Esperanto as retroinfluence.²¹⁶ In the Web Era, Ido had a revival independent from Esperanto. Since year 2001, an *Ido-Konfero* was held every year. However, even in 2014, one century after the death of Couturat, the conference in Paris was attended by very few people.²¹⁷

Latino sine Flexione, or Leibniz' dream reloaded

Couturat stayed in contact with **Giuseppe Peano** in the years 1896 - 1914 through correspondence, and the most preferred topic shifted from mathematics to the quest of the best IAL after year 1900 [Luciano and Roero, 2005]. While Couturat was secretly preparing Ido to challenge Esperanto, Peano was preparing his *Latino sine Flexione*, 'Latin without Inflection' (by now: LsF), published in 1903. Peano's idea was different from Couturat's. He used his influence on maths in order to promote his LsF. He was already a top class mathematician since the publication of the Peano Axioms in 1889, and his main concern after that was his fundamental work *Formulario Mathematico* that should contain all known mathematics until that moment written in his formal notation, still in use in all hard science departments of the world – unlike Frege's notation, generally considered too complicated. The last edition of the *Formulario* will be out in 1908, and the introduction was written in LsF, including the arguments against Volapük and Esperanto. That book became famous in the circles of mathematicians worldwide, and in many cases readers were unaware of all the interlinguistic debate until that moment. Moreover, he used his prestige to take up for himself the former academy of Volapük – passed through the ephemeral experience of Idiom Neutral. Eventually, in 1910 the *Academia pro Interlingua* was (re)born, theoretically accepting all IALs for the sake of discussion, but in practice promoting LsF, later called Interlingua by Peano himself.²¹⁸

Couturat kept correspondence with important philosophers and mathematicians of its time. Among the others, Bertrand Russell and Giuseppe Peano. Here the opinion of Russell about Esperanto (8 December 1900):

I have been too busy lately to be able to reply earlier to your letter on the subject of Esperanto. I read with great interest the pamphlets you sent me; it is an extremely simple and ingenious language. I am highly favourable to the project, in so far as it concerns scientific books, and memoirs of scientific societies. I will make it known to my friends, though we are much too conservative here to adopt a similar reform in publications. [...] However, I do not at all deny that the project is a good one; in particular, if one could assure its adoption by Russians, Danes, etc. For it would be intolerable if it would become necessary to learn as well all these barbaric languages.

²¹⁶ In particular, the ending of the countries in *-io* and the suffixes *-end-* and *-iv-*. These topics are, again, parts of the Esperanto course.

²¹⁷ According to my informants, less than 20. In the web site it is stated: *la nombro de partoprenanti esis deceptante mikra, quankam Paris esas un de la maxim bel urbi dil mondo*. The number of participants was acceptable minimal, even if Paris is one of the most beautiful cities of the world.

²¹⁸ The term *interlingua* indicating 'inter(national) language' comes from Peano himself.

And in spite of these theoretical reservations, I shall make as much propaganda as I can for Esperanto.

When LsF first and Ido then came out, Russell could not stand the situation anymore. From the letter to Lady Ottoline Morrel, 24 March 1912, where the British humour is evident:

I enclose 2 letters (which please return), one from Peano and one from Couturat, both occupied with the international language (or rather languages). First there was Vollapük [sic], then Esperanto, then an improvement on Esperanto called Ido (its proficientes are called Idiots), then Peano's "Latin without Inflections". These various sects hate each other like poison, but Esperantists and Idiots hate each other most because they are nearest akin. Couturat is an Idiot. I am ashamed to confess that he was my earliest disciple.

The correspondence between Peano and Couturat reveals that the approaches on grammar by Peano and Couturat were radically different. Peano pretended that his LsF was without grammar. On the contrary, Couturat tried to convince his colleague that Ido was the best IAL possible, and that Latin was too irregular for the purposes of an IAL. From the letter of Couturat to Peano, Paris, 7 May 1904:

... il est impossible de faire une langue *régulière* avec le latin. Vous avez fatalement des doubles radicaux, comme [...] *permitt* et *permiss*, [...] *vita* et *vive*; vous avez des doubles formes de participes: *empto-emeto*, *flexo-flecteto*, *posito-poneto*, *vecto-veheto*. [...] Vous avez par ex. 2 ou 3 suffixes pour le même sens: *bon-itate*, *fort-itudo*, *vir-tute*. [...] J'ajoute, au point de vue pratique, que votre latin ne peut plaire, ni à ceux qui savent le latin, ni à ceux qui l'ignorent, pour les uns, il est barbare, pour les autres, il est *beaucoup trop difficile*.

My translation:

... it is impossible to make a *regular* language based on Latin. You will inevitably obtain double roots, such as [...] *permitt* and *permiss*, [...] *vita* and *vive*; you will have double forms of the participles: *empto-emeto*, *flexo-flecteto*, *posito-poneto*, *vecto-veheto*. [...] You will have for instance 2 or 3 suffixes with the same meaning: *bon-itate* [goodness], *fort-itudo* [strength], *vir-tute* [virtue]. [...] Finally, from a practical point of view, your Latin can be appreciated neither by people who know Latin nor by people who don't know it. For the first group, it is barbaric, for the second one, it is *far too difficult*.

Let's see briefly how LsF works. The basic idea is to have a bunch of rules and a dictionary of Latin, in order to start using the language.

a. the alphabet LsF use the Latin alphabet, with graphemes like {k} or {ü} reserved only for borrowings. The digraph {ph} is used like in English. Double consonants (e.g. *officiale*) are maintained.

b. pronominal system The LsF system is similar to Ido, but less symmetric: *me, te, illo, illa, id, nos, vos, illos, illas*. There are three genders, masculine (*illo, illos*), feminine *illa, illas* and neuter, but, unlike Ido, only in the singular form (*id*). The possessive adjective are irregular, compared to Esperanto and Ido, because of the Bausani effect: while *me* ('I') becomes *meo* the second person *te* becomes *tuo* and not **teo*, and similarly *suo* (for the third person, singular and plural!) and even more irregular are *nostro, vostro*. Peano suggested in alternative analytical forms such as *de me, de te, de nos*, etc.²¹⁹

²¹⁹ A similar strategy was suggested for adverbs, when their ending in *-e* can be confused for adjectives. For example, *cum diligente mente* is 'diligently' while *in modo claro* is 'clearly' and *in forma elegante* is 'elegantly'.

c. accusative case The word order is strictly SVO, so ‘a son loves his mother’ will be *filio ama matre* (in Latin: *filius matrem amat*) without any case marking. For Peano, cases and declensions are the source of complexity in Latin.

d. N-Adj agreement Like Ido, LsF does not show agreement. Adjectives are constructed depending on the final vowel: nominative adjectives ending in *-e* remain the same (*breve*) while adjectives ending in *-us,-a,-um* will end in *-o* (e.g., *novoo*). All other adjectives start from the genitive and end in *-e*: *audax,-cis* becomes *audace*.

e & f. volapukisms, lexicon and correlatives Peano’s idea is to avoid any ‘artificial’ form, so that nobody can accuse LsF to be ‘volapukist’. Grammar words such as prepositions, correlatives and conjunctions are taken directly from Latin: *ab, ante, circa, contra, cum, de, ex, in, jam, per, pro, quando, semper, sine, supra, tamen*, etc. It is clear that non-educated people were ignored by Peano, who targeted scientists and scholars: LsF was not to be used for poems or world literature, but for science and maths; in this sense, unlike Esperanto and Ido, it is a domain-specific language project, to be used mainly in written form. In that moment of history, such a choice made sense, as science still had the main lexicon from Latin and all educated people could read Latin. With the words of Peano, 7 October 1907:

... Pro scribe in modo intelligibile sine studio (aut com pauco) ad Europaeos, es necesse cognosce gradu de internationalitate de varios elementos. Ope vocabularios commune et etymologico de linguas de Europa es facile determinatione de internationalitate de aliquo elemento. Sed isto labore es longo. [...] Pro scribe in L. I. suffice de praefer, inter elementos aequivalente, elementos internationale ad elementos idiomatico. L. I. fore facto reale, quando existe manuale commodo et practico pro isto comparatione. Isto manuale es labore puro scientifico.

My translation:

... In order to write in a clear way without study (or little) for Europeans, it is necessary to know the degree of internationalization of the various elements. With this common and etymological dictionary of European languages it will be easy to determine the value of internationality of other elements. But this is a long work. [...] In order to write in the International Language it suffices to prefer, between equivalent elements, the international to idioms. The International Language will be a real fact, when a handy and practical manual for this comparison will be ready. This manual is a purely scientific work.

Nouns are constructed from the ablative, while verbs are regularized with very few forms: infinitive in *-re*, present participle in *-nte* and past participle in *-to*. The unmarked form is the present.²²⁰ Unfortunately, not all roots in Latin behave like *ama* (‘love’), whose infinitive is *amare*, and the participles are *amante, amato*. Peano was forced to introduce some exceptions, like *es* for the auxiliary ‘to be’, *fi* for ‘to become’ and *fer* for ‘to bring’. Moreover, he never used the regular participle **scribeto* for ‘written’ but *scripto*, and similarly **legeto* and *lecto*, as the asterisked forms could be attacked of volapukism.

²²⁰ This implies that, like Esperanto and Ido, LsF is a non-prodrop language.

All other tenses are built analytically through auxiliaries, for example *me jam ama* ('I loved') or *me have scripto* ('I have written'). As Peano pretended that LsF has no grammar, he did not describe this form clearly. Thus, there was a discussion about how to express the future tense after a proposal by an English mathematician, who wrote *me vol publicare* ('I will publish' or 'I want to publish'? Or should be *me veni ad publicare*) indicates that Couturat had some good arguments on LsF. A lot of pages were devoted by Peano followers to clarify that form without coming to a definitive answer: a language without a grammar, as Peano expected LsF to be, is simply impossible.

After year 1910, Peano was ousted from the University of Turin and started to work full time on this interlinguistic comparison. In a letter sent to his friend Giuseppe Vacca the 24th of April 1910, he wrote in Italian: *Può essere che io dedichi questi ultimi anni alla interlingua, ovvero al giardinaggio*. Interlinguistics for him was a hobby for a retired person like gardening. He did not use the term LsF anymore, but *interlingua* – more focused on the dictionary – which he finally published in 1924. Peano died in 1932, and his mathematical school did not survive Mussolini's fascism and the Second World War. In the 1950s Ugo Cassina, a former student of Peano's, still used LsF, in order to keep the memory of his beloved mentor alive, but without any success. The most interesting texts produced after the passing of Peano are about the didactics of mathematics, published in the official bulletin of the *Accademia*, called *Schola et Vita*. Dénes Szilágyi, a Hungarian scholar, compiled a supplement of the bulletin under the title *Versus Interlinguistica* devoted to the definition of principles and keywords used in Interlinguistics, such as 'syntetic a posteriori language' or 'artificiality'.

Final considerations on LsF

The doom of LsF proves that a purely naturalistic, mimetic IAL, is destined to fail, like its opposite, the purely schematic but opaque Volapük. Following a strict etymological principle gives you the advantage of having a clear foundation, but on the other hand it misses an important point of all living languages: contact. Every living language exchanges words and features with other languages. Does it make any sense to keep an IAL "pure"? Our story proves that a viable IAL should stay somewhere in the middle between the extremes of pure schematism and absolute naturalism.

The naturalistic school of interlinguistics

The other attack faced by Esperanto came from new competitors. **Edgar de Wahl**, of Baltic German origins, was born in Ukraine but lived most of his life in Estonia, studying in St. Petersburg. In that city de Wahl met Waldemar Rosenberger, the director of the *Kademi Volapuka* since 1892. In 1902 Rosenberger proposed a strong reformed of Volapük, called Idiom Neutral, that in truth is more similar to Esperanto than Schleyer's creation.²²¹ Idiom Neutral ended when in 1907 the Committee led by Couturat preferred Esperanto as the basis for Ido over Idiom Neutral and other competitors.

Edgar de Wahl had a lot of experience in IALs. In fact, was one of the first supporters of Zamenhof, writing interesting articles for *La Esperantisto*, the first journal written in the language. After the referendum in 1894, De Wahl, who was in favour of reforms, left the Esperanto Movement. His first attempt to build an IAL, called Auli, was made in 1906, but he never published it. In 1907 he sent a memorandum to the Committee, in which he argued that the definitive IAL should have no unnatural forms, that he called 'volapukisms'. Dissatisfied also by Ido because of some 'volapukist' features, he feared that the League of Nations could adopt Esperanto, so he published a journal, *Kosmoglott* (then *Cosmoglotta*), presenting his IAL, that he called Occidental.

Having in mind Idiom Neutral, Occidental was made after the idea of "naturalism": the IAL shouldn't have any "artificial forms", that is forms that you cannot find in major Western languages, in particular French and English. This means, that, from a typological point of view, Occidental is close to the Romance languages: almost all Germanic elements were cut off – and all Slavic ones. The Holy Grail of the followers of the naturalistic school in interlinguistics is the concept of *immediate readability*: the language should be readable by educated people without further study. The problem in this tendency is that this principle collides with morphological regularity, as Latin and its offsprings are mainly fusional languages. With the words of De Wahl (from *Cosmoglotta* VII, 1928, 54):

Existe **du** principies: li **un** es li regulari grammatica e clar e precis derivation, e li **altri** li usation de paroles ja connosset, por ne cargar li memorie del usatores, e por max facilmen intercomprender-se. Ma li fatal cose esset, que ti du principies presc strictmen contradictet li un al altri. Pro to Schleyer obsedet del idé que li grammatica es lu principal in su Volapük negliget li vocabularium international. [...] Peano mem eat in su Latino sine Flexione till abolir li tot grammatica. [...] Un absolut harmonisation, quam ja dit, ne es possibil.

My translation (boldface and emphasis already in the original version):

There are **two** principles: the **first one** is the regularity in the grammar and a clear and precise derivation, the *other* is the use of already known words, in order not to load the memory of users, and for easy intercomprehension. But the fatal thing is, that these principles almost strictly contradict one to the other. For this reason

²²¹ For example, 'fortune' is *fortun* while 'fortunately' is *fortune*, like in Esperanto, while adjectives can be primitive (*grand*, 'great') or derivative, and they have seven suffixes according to the primitive root: *-abl, -ai, -an, atr, -id, -ik, -os*, such as *teknik-al* or *tim-id* or *elektr-ik*. The four cases are expressed through zero-marking (nominative, accusative) or prepositions just as Esperanto does: *de* for genitive, *al* for dative [Holmes, 1903].

Schleyer was obsessed by the idea that the grammar is the main mean in his Volapük, and he did not care to the international vocabulary already present. [On the other hand] Peano himself in his Latin without Inflexion went until the complete abolition of grammar. [...] An absolut harmony, as told before, is not possible.

The problem in this perspective is that the regularity is an internal, structural, criterion, while readability depends on the linguistic repertoires of the speaker. Eventually naturalistic IALs are parasitic of their source languages, as they should not produce “artificial forms”. Let’s see how Occidental differs, following the main points of criticism of Esperanto, the yardstick of all the competitors.

a. alphabet Occidental has 26 letters as in the English alphabet, plus 2 letters with apostrophs {l’}, {n’}, 8 digraphs {ch}, {eu}, {gh}, {ph}, {rh}, {sh}, {th}, {zz}. There are 7 vowels: the same of Esperanto and Ido, plus {y} (IPA: [y]) and {eu} (IPA: [ø]). The stress is mobile: for instance, in *cose* (‘things’) it falls on the penultimate [’kuzɛ] while in *position* (‘position’) it falls on the last one [pozitsi’ɔn]. These two examples show that Italian and French are taken as references by De Wahl: the English pronunciation of *position* was not take considered here, and it is unclear why. From French, Occidental borrows the habit to present accented letters, and sometimes this leads to difficulties. For example, the prefix *in-* is similar to the English one: *inpaccar* means ‘to prepare a package’, while *inscrit* means ‘inscription’. However, in Occidental, there exist another prefix, *in-*, which is written with the accent, and it is used for the antonym: for example, *infelici*, *invisible*, *inscrit*, ‘sad, invisible, unwritten’. The homophonic pair *inscrit/inscrit* is definitely an unwanted source of complexity in the language. Compare with the Esperanto *mal-*, which Zamenhof borrowed from Russian, probably because it is phonematically very distinctive.

b & c. pronominal system and accusative The structure resembles the one of Ido: *yo, tu, il, illa, it, noi, vu, ili*. Note *ili* for ‘they’, originally in Esperanto, and the pair *tu/vu*. Occidental is an SVO language with no accusative marking. However, there are oblique pronouns indicating the dative case, following the Romance model: *me, te, il, la, it, nos, vos, les* mean ‘to me’, ‘to you’, ‘him’, ‘her’, etc. Certainly they are more phonologically contrastive than Esperanto and Ido pronouns; on the other hand, they are fairly irregular.

d. N-Adj agreement Adjectives are invariable. In Occidental you say *li grand filio / filia / filios / filias* [The big son / daughter / sons / daughters]. There are two possible endings in adjectives: either they end in consonant (e.g. *metric systema*, ‘metric system’, or *introduction definitiv e official*, ‘definitive and official introduction’) or they end in

-i, like in *felici, sagi, organisatori* (happy, wise, organiser's) which is borrowed from the genitive case in Latin (first declension, masculine). While the choice of adding a genitive case on nouns (e.g. *omnidiari paroles*, 'everyday's words') is perfectly understandable, primitive adjectives ending in *-i* could suggest the learner that they are nominal, leading to confusion.

e & f. volapukism and the lexicon In order to avoid volapukisms, de Wahl prepared a set of rules to derive the lexicon. For example, from the theme *cre-a-r* ('to create') you derive *cre-a-tor* ('creator') and similarly from *atin-yer* ('to achieve') you will obtain '*atin-t-ion*' ('attention'). Similarly, *decider*, which leads to *decision* and *decisor* – note the rotation from /d/ to /s/. Occidental is an attempt to regularize the Latinate lexicon through the comparison of modern Romance languages, trying to keep irregularities out whenever possible. Suppletion, however, is quite high: why *jun-esse* ('youth') is acceptable and **jun-té* not, if *beau-té* ('beauty') is? Note that the Italian says *bell-ezza*. This form was considered "unnatural" because Italian was not one of De Wahl's source languages: in fact, he was a high school teacher of French.

g. correlatives Correlatives are based mainly on Latin. Compare the series for Time (*t*) here below with Esperanto and Ido.

	?	\exists_C	\exists	\forall	$\neg\exists$
Time (<i>t</i>)	quande when	tande then	alquande sometime	sempre everytime	nequande never

Evidently, they are quite irregular but somehow recognizable to people who studied French.

The destinies of Occidental and Novial

Occidental had some success in taking over the rests of the Ido Movement, which barely survived the Great War. But now a prominent linguist come into the scene. Otto Jespersen was already part of the Committee and initially he was unaware of the intrigues of the two Frenchmen, thus he became the first president of the Ido Academy [Manders, 1950]. In the journal *Progreso* he constantly called for an improvement of the language, that he felt unstable. After year 1910, it was clear that stability of Ido was necessary for use and in the meantime he became aware of the deceitful behaviour by Couturat and de Beaufront in presenting Ido, so he left interest in the Auxiliary Language Movement for some years. During the Great War, he did not bother about the subject much. It was the encounter in 1925 with Alice Morris Vanderbilt, an American rich woman interested into

the topic, that drove again Jespersen into Interlinguistics (see below for details). He started to study Occidental, that was raising some attention in the 1920s, especially in Geneva, where a tiny Occidental Movement tried to get the attention of the League of Nations – but eventually the League preferred to consider Esperanto.²²² Occidentalists – or *coidealistes*, borrowed from the Esperanto *samideanoj* – where mainly highly educated people who already participated in the discussion hosted into Peano’s Academia de Interlingua. Jespersen understood that having three movements behind the idea of an auxiliary language for the world was too much, so he had the idea that only through a synthesis of the major IALs competing at the time – that is Esperanto, Ido, and Occidental – they could hope to be accepted by the external world.

Eventually Jespersen proposed his own IAL project in a book called *An International Language* in 1928. After a detailed comparison, the book introduced the new competitor in the field: Novial – i.e., Nov-IAL, *Nov Internaciara Auxiliara Lingvo*. Three years after, Jespersen popularized the word ‘Interlinguistics’ in his talk in the third International Congress of Linguistics, held in Geneva. Novial was more regular than Occidental, and its initial writing system was more phonologically oriented. Some colleagues were intrigued by Jespersen’s project, and the result was a reform of Novial orthography in 1934, trying to establish a connection with de Wahl’s Occidental, and losing its connection with the IPA, so to keep distance from Esperanto.

De Wahl and Jespersen respected one the other, even if they proposed different IALs. Here below you can see a famous text, extracted from a public discussion they had, written in parallel in the two IALs. Occidental and Novial are in fact very similar. Exercise left to the reader: extract the morphological rules of Novial and Occidental in comparison and contrast to the rules of Esperanto and Ido, such as: plurals in nouns and adjectives; verbal forms; adverbs.

Novial Ante ke li nus comensa discussione pri li punctus kel separa nus, nus voli emfasa ke nus concorda pri tre multum malgre li diferens inter nusen lingues. Nus ambi apartena li naturalisti scole de interlingvistike: dunke et Occidental e Novial es polari contrastes de purim apriori lingues com exemplim Ro; Volapük esed kelkigrad basat sur existanti lingues, ma chanjad natural vordes ye verim perversi manere, e li toti systeme de flectiones esed tam complicat e non-natural ke lum nun excita nur rido. Esperanto esed tre grandi progreso, e nus mus admira multum in dis lingue – ma com totum Esperanto es absolutim non-acceptabli, pro ke li lingue contena tre multi elementes kel es trovat in nul national lingue.

Occidental Ante comensar li discussion pri li punctus quel separa nos, noi vole emfesar que noi concorda pri tre mult cose malgre li differenties inter nor lingues. Noi apartene al naturalistic scole de interlinguistica: do ambi, Occidental e Novial es polari contrastes de purmen aprioric lingues quam por exemple Ro; Volapük in cert gradu basat sur existent lingues, ma mutat natural paroles ye vermen pervers maniere, e li tot systema de flexiones esset tam complicat e innatural que hodie excita (evoca) solmen ride. Esperanto esset un tre grand progress, e noi deve admirar multcos in ti lingue – ma quam totalité Esperanto es absolutmen inacceptabil, pro que li lingue

²²² Society *Kosmoglott*, represented by de Wahl and Jakob Linzbach, sent a letter to the League with the following recommendations: first, the best IAL should be evaluated on a purely linguistic basis, i.e. the presence of a community of practice is not important; second, the best IAL should be immediately readable by educated people; third, the best IALs should be chosen via public competition.

contene mult elementes, quel ne es trovat in null lingue.

My translation Before beginning the discussion on the points that divide us, we want to emphasize that we agree on many things in spite of the differences between our languages. We are members of the naturalistic school of Interlinguistics: so both Occidental and Novial are at the opposite pole of pure apriori languages such as for example Ro [we have not seen it; it is presented in Couturat and Leau [1903]]; Volapük at some extent is based on existing languages, but it changed natural words in a really perverse manner, and the whole system of flexion [sic] is so complex and unnatural that today it evokes only laughter. Esperanto represent a great progress, and we should admire many features of that language – but the very totality of Esperanto is absolutely unacceptable, because this language has many elements, which you cannot find in any other language.

For de Wahl and Jespersen, Esperanto did not succeed because of its internal volapükist traits, not because of external, political circumstances, and this is what moved them in the proposition of their projects. In his hopes Jespersen wanted to gather all competitors of Esperanto under one flag. Novial was a spectacular failure. This impossible *Einbau* was neglected equally by Esperantists, Idists and Esperantists alike. More or less ten people in total – beside Jespersen himself – used Novial, in the review *Novialiste*.²²³

Esperanto and its rivals after the Great War

In 1917, i.e., two years after his appeal to the diplomats on the rebuilding of Europe when the Great War would be over, Zamenhof died. The Esperanto Movement was ready to survive his founder, but of course the hopes of the belle époque vanished in 1914 and therefore the Esperanto ideology adapted to the new world, a world without two empires (Austro-Hungary and Ottoman) and with a new form of state: the Soviet Union. Until 1924, when Stalin formally adopted the doctrine of ‘Socialism in One Country’, the USSR was very open to internationalisms. In fact, when the Third International was opened, in 1919, there was the option to adopt a ‘proletarian version’ of Esperanto as the working language of the *homo sovieticus*, probably a reform similar to Ido, which gains some popularity at that time [Kirkwood, 1989].

In 1921, many Communist parties were founded in Western countries, such as France and Italy, in order to spread the ‘permanent revolution’. In China, Esperanto was considered a tool for the liberation of the country from the Japanese invaders [Lins, 2008]. In the Far East, Esperanto interesting for anarchists, but more as an ideal than a practice, for lacking of teachers at that time. While Mao Zedong wanted Esperanto to be used as a propaganda tool of People Republic’s China abroad.²²⁴ In 1921, the World Congress of Esperanto was held in Prague. That year a new association, called **Sennacieca Asocio Tutmonda** (SAT) challenged the role of UEA in leading the Esperanto Movement. SAT, which was founded by the French anar-

²²³ In 1998, a young American scholar tried to revitalize the project, called Novial98. I wrote an email to him in 1999, and he answered to me that he left that because nobody cared. I was the only one who contacted him. No traces of his web site can be found now, at least to the extent of my knowledge.

²²⁴ Still now the government sends official information through the magazine *El Popola Ĉinio* and a public radio service.

chist Eŭgeno Lanti wanted to go beyond neutralism – George Orwell met in Paris, as we have already seen previously. His ideology, called **sennaciismo** (lit. ‘anationalism’) found in the source of evil in nation-states and the liberation of humanity in class struggle. Working class members, he argued, should speak Esperanto and do not consider themselves part of a nation anymore. SAT attracted a lot of people: after one year they had already 900 members, and in the 1930s the number of affiliates were comparable to UEA. Why did it happen? Since Zamenhof’s Homaranismo, the relation between Esperantism and Herderianism, i.e. the Romantic idea of ‘one country, one land, one people, one religion’ was complicated.²²⁵

After the Great War, the moderate pacifism fostered by the Genevian pioneers of Esperanto – whereby language is a shield of peace – appeared to be a failure for many Esperantists, who looked either to the left-winged ideologies *against* Herderianism or to totalitarisms, that struggled for a *strong version* of it. Both options revealed to be problematic, and hardly accepted by the societies of those times. As it is widely known, after the big economic crisis (1929), totalitarisms raised across Europe, especially in the USSR (Stalin), Germany (Hitler) and Italy (Mussolini). Unlike the Swiss, the French Esperantists interpreted ‘neutralism’ in a flexible way: Esperanto is like technology morally neutral, potentially the second language of mankind; therefore, Esperantists are allowed to have alliances with the Herderians. This is why the Esperanto Movement in Italy, for example, translated into Esperanto the speeches of Mussolini, when the World Esperanto Congress was held in Rome (1935). A few years later, it became clear that such alliances would have catastrophic consequences.

In the meantime, the Genevian line was not passive. Something significant happened at the League of Nations, when it moved to Geneva (1920). A Japanese diplomat, Nitobe Inazō, was sent to the World Congress in Prague in 1921 to investigate if Esperanto was dangerous, because it was so linked with revolutionary ideas, or if it could be considered as a working language for the League. This gentleman was member of the elite of his country: he was a Christian who studied with Woodrow Wilson (later the 28th President of the US) at the John Hopkins University, who would later become a Quaker.²²⁶ Mr. Nitobe had a very positive impression of that congress, so Edmond Privat, who worked as an interpreter at the League of Nations in Geneva at that time, wrote a report to foster the idea of Esperanto as a working language of the League. France was against it, with the support of Britain, who eventually succeeded to introducing English as a second official language, with the same status as French. However, the evaluation of Esperanto was sent to

²²⁵ The next paragraphs are illustrated in full by Gobbo [2017b].

²²⁶ Quakers Christians, originally moved away from the Church of England. They call themselves ‘Friends’, and they have a low level of hierarchy, unlike other Christian Churches. In America, many Quakers were active in abolitionism, i.e. the social movement against slavery. Edmond Privat will become a Quaker in 1936.

a Commission: the final report suggested that Esperanto should be investigated as a possible facilitator in learning foreign languages in primary schools – a Pyrric victory.

Otto Jespersen by chance met a woman who will become very important for the development of classic Interlinguistics. With his own words, translated from Danish into English [Juul et al., 1995, Ch. 14]:

During the [Great] war Esperanto was spoken and taught in some prisoner-of-war camps, but in general the idea lay dormant during those years. [...] When the League of Nations had been set up and everywhere people were looking to it as the saviour from prewar international disasters, it was quite natural for attempts to be made to persuade the League to decide the question of an auxiliary language. But there was strong opposition from several sides, and all that came out of it was that Esperanto was recognized as “plain language” for use in international telegrams [...] This [year 1925] was my first acquaintance with this American lady, who had eminent qualities: intelligence, personal charm, and wealth. She was infirm, so she had to spend most of the day lying on a couch. During a stay at a clinic she had come across Esperanto and had immediately been so fascinated by the idea of a common language that she decided to devote the rest of her life to working for this great idea. She founded IALA: the International Auxiliary Language Association, and persuaded many wealthy Americans to take an interest. From the first she was enthusiastic about Esperanto, but she realized that this language did not perhaps represent the last word on the subject; her association was to work impartially for a future authoritative decision as to which auxiliary language ought to be finally accepted as the best. [...] In Paris, Geneva, and Bex [Canton of Vaud, Switzerland] she had negotiated with the leaders of Esperanto and Ido. [...] so for about a week her large hotel Beau Rivage became the venue both for these people (joined by E[dgard] de Wahl, who a few years previously [in 1922] had formed his own language called Occidental) and also for leading Esperantists. There she gave alternating dinners and teas for these two camps.

Alice Vanderbilt (1874–1947), married to a member of the influential Morris family (US ambassador in Belgium in the 1930s) initially wanted to take up the work of the Committee by Couturat. She was a member of the American élite, and shared a freemason view of society, where the wealthiest should take care of the masses. In the mind of Alice Vanderbilt Morris, IALA was a scientific institution, with three lines of research: (a) interlinguistic research, i.e., comparison of the main IALs; (b) auxiliary language learning, following the advice of the League of Nations, i.e., acquisition planning; (c) IALs in practical use – mainly, corpus planning for scientific purposes.

For the first line of research, a lot of IAL proposals were under scrutiny, mainly: Esperanto (1887), LsF (1903), Ido (1907), Occidental (1922), Novial (1928), Basic English (1930; see below for details). But it was soon clear that the Ido-Occidental Movements and the Esperanto Movement were too distant to be merged into one only new language project. A final report was published in 1930. The minutes of the conference, occurred in Alice Morris’ Hotel Carlton Parc in Genf, were loosely trilingual (French, German, English), including texts in Esperanto, Ido and Novial. Professor Collinson, from Liverpool, wrote the following Points of Agreement (note: IL means International Language).

1. *Alphabet.* All ILs use Latin characters.

2. *Pronunciation*. All ILs agree in principle in the pronunciation of the following letters: a, e, i, o, u ('continental' values, *u* as in Italian, not as in French); b, d, f, h, k, l, m, n, p, r, t, v.
3. *Substantial roots*. The substantial roots of ILs represented are, as a matter of fact, drawn chiefly from the Indo-European languages.
4. *No "Ablaut" or "Umlaut"*. None of the ILs represented at the conference permit vowel change within the root itself.
5. *Plural*. All ILS represented form the plural by an ending. In each IL there is but a single method of forming the plural to which all substantives conform. No IL has a separate form for the dual number.
6. *Expression of "dative"*. In all ILs represented the normal way of rendering the "dative" of inflected languages is by using a preposition of direction (= Lat. *ad*).
7. *No gender in substantives or adjectives*. Substantives have no grammatical gender, but can be made to show distinction of natural sex. Adjectives have no gender and normally show no distinction of natural sex.
8. *Conjugation*. In every IL represented one single paradigm of conjugation is provided to which all verbs conform.
9. *Tenses*. There is no distinction of person or number within the finite tenses of the verb.
10. *Prepositions*. Prepositions as such do not govern any particular case of the noun.

This experience proved that it was impossible to find an 'ecumenic solution' for the rivals of Esperanto in order to join forces against the Esperanto Movement.

Neutralisms, internationalisms, religions, and Esperanto

According to Sutton [2008] and Minnaja and Silfer [2015], in 1921 the second period of Esperanto literature starts. Budapest became the new centre of innovation around two writers, Kalman Kalocsay and Julio Baghy, and a literary review, *Literatura Mondo*. The founder was George Soros' father, Tivadar.²²⁷ A lot of neologisms were coined by the Hungarian authors for the needs of original and translated poetry, and the style of their works turned from a positivistic triumphalism to sadness (e.g., *En amara horo*, 1922) and self-mocking irony (e.g., *Estas mi Esperantisto*, 1933). Motivations for writers to adopt Esperanto could vary, but there were always two aspects: an internal aspect, connected to the ease of producing new words in the language – unlike Esperanto rivals – for the sake of aesthetics; an external aspect, connected to the Esperanto community of practice, a sort of 'global village', where members have strong links like in a village but live throughout the whole world. In parallel, there is a Soviet literature school (in particular, Eügeno Miĥalski) which illustrates the wonder of the proletarian revolution and produces popular literature for the masses. An apart note should be done for the original science-fiction literature in the language. For example,

²²⁷ Also known as Theodor Schwarz or Teodoro Švarco, he fought in the Great War and would survive in Budapest during the Nazi occupation, in spite of his Jewishness. In 1956 when the Russians came in the city he succeeded to escape in the United States. His Esperanto autobiography, *Maskerado ĉirkaŭ la morto*, was translated in English, German, Italian, Russian and Turkish.

in *Metropoliteno* by Vladimir Varankin, published in Amsterdam in 1933, the plot, settled between Berlin and Moscow, tells the story of the bulding of the Moscow metro. The Gulliverian satire *Vojaĝo al Kazohinio* (1941), by the Hungarian Sándor Szathmári, narrates the story of a voyager among tribes who do not know capitalistic values and live in happiness.

Many Esperantists believed that Esperanto should be a tool to liberate the masses, and in particular these left-wingers focused on the methodology in Esperanto language learning. Here, the Netherlands play a distinguished role. Andreas Cseh (Andreo Ĉe, as he usually 'Esperantized' his name) was a Rumanian Hungarian who became acquainted with Esperanto in 1910. After the Great War, he became a Catholic Priest and he devoted his proselitism in teaching Esperanto to the workers, at that time mainly analphabets. His first class was in Sibiu in 1920, where he had no books and an international public of workers. After four years of intense fieldwork – he travelled all the time teaching Esperanto everywhere across Europe – he defined his methodology the "Direct Method" which is still very popular in Esperanto circles nowadays.²²⁸ In 1930 an institution for the formation of Esperanto teachers was founded, in the Hague: its actual name is *Internacia Esperanto-Instituto* (IEI). In the same year, SAT published the first consistent monolingual Esperanto dictionary: *Plena Vortaro*, Full Dictionary. While IEI would be a step forward in acquisition planning, the monolingual dictionary would be an invaluable tool of corpus planning and in particular modernization.²²⁹

In 1933, the World Esperanto Congress was held in Cologne, where the mayor Günther Riesen declared: "Even if national-socialism and its goals are often misunderstood in foreign countries, today we see that national-socialist Germany receives more an more recognition and esteem from the world". UEA decided to become an umbrella of the Esperanto national associations, and Swiss neutralists like Edmond Privat and Andreas Cseh left. In 1936 the headquarters of the association, now called *Internacia Esperanto-Ligo*, International Esperanto League, moved to London. This was the de facto victory of the French, pro-Herderian, neutralism inside the Esperanto Movement.

Already in 1928, Stalin explicitly prohibited Esperanto explicitly and almost destroyed all traces of it, sending people to the gulags, with the accusation of collaborating with Western countries.²³⁰ In Italy and Germany, the anti-Semitic propaganda was even worse: Esperanto was mentioned in the *Mein Kampf* as part of the Jewish conspiracy to rule the world against the Arians. Esperanto was a 'dangerous language'²³¹ and the Gestapo learned Esperanto so to

²²⁸ This direct method is similar to the Berlitz, which was invented afterwards. Apparently Berlitz was unaware of the work by Cseh.

²²⁹ The official dictionary published by the *Akademio* revealed to be too slow and small to fulfill the needs of the Esperanto community of practice, and the lexicographic work by SAT became the de facto standard reference.

²³⁰ A pioneer in machine translation, Petr Petrovich Troyansky, wrote a Soviet patent describing a machine which used Esperanto as a pivot language. This patent was re-discovered only in year 2000.

²³¹ The expression was originally written in German *Die Gefürliche Sprache* and in Esperanto *La danĝera lingvo* by the German historian Ulrich Lins. The English version was published recently.

spot Esperantists when they conquered Warsaw.

The Zamenhof family was at the top of the list of the dangerous Esperantists, and it was almost exterminated. Only one of them, Louis Christoph Zaleski-Zamenhof, succeeded in escaping thanks to the help of the Zaleski's, a Catholic family.²³² Louis-Christoph had two daughters, one living in America, the other in Europe. The latter, Margaret Zaleski-Zamenhof, who has a son, was presented by her old father in the 100th World Congress in Lille, 2005.²³³

For Esperanto, the most important member of the Zamenhof family after the founder was Lidia, the daughter of Ludwik Lejzer. Strongly influenced by her father's Homaranismo (see above), she went to the World Congress in Geneva in 1925, where she became acquainted with the **Baha'í** Faith, a post-Islamic religion from Persia originating in the 19th century. Its central tenets are the following: Bahais are a global monotheistic community, who believe that the founder of their religion completed the revelations of Abraham, Jesus and Mohammed; humankind should unite as a family, with a world government with no national frontiers; equality between men and women, world peace, and an international language are tools to achieve this long-term goal. Bahais are organized in Spiritual Assemblies and their headquarters are now in Haifa, in Israel. Esperanto was considered as a serious candidate at that time to fulfill this role. Lidia became a teacher of Cseh's Direct method and was the bridge between the Esperanto Movement and the Bahais. She translated the Polish masterpiece *Quo vadis?* by Henryk Sienkiewicz, published in Esperanto in 1933, and spent some years in America. Unfortunately, she decided to turn back in Europe, and died in Treblinka in 1942.

It is important to note that Esperanto attracted the attention of universalistic religions, i.e. religions whose Churches are not linked with certain nations. In particular, Catholic Esperantists were strong already in Zamenhof's times. They founded their journal in 1903, *Espero Katolika*, Catholic Hope, and Pope Pius X will bless the Catholic Esperanto Congresses since 1906. The idea is ecumenical: Esperanto should become the Latin of the new reunited Church, with Catholics, Orthodox and Protestants together.²³⁴ Lidia founded that Bahaim fulfilled the Homaranistic ideas of his father; in Japan, a new new-shintoist religion emerged in the early days of the 20th century called **Oomoto** would proclaimed Esperanto a sacred language, and Zamenhof a *misiisto de la anĝela regno*, a missionary of the angelic kingdom; in Denmark, the mystic Martinus in 1921 would found a new religion, and he wrote what is known as the Third Testament, in which Esperanto plays some role; the Spiritualism by Allan Kardec, a French educator and author lived in the 19th century, will have some fortune in Brazil, and along with Spiritism Zamenhof too, considered a Great

²³² His story is told in the book *Zamenhof Ulica* in Polish (2003), an interview by the Polish journalist Roman Dobrzyński. There are versions in Esperanto (*Zamenhof-strato*, 2003) but also Lithuanian (*Zamenhofo gatvė*, 2004), Japanese (*Zamenhof doori*, 2005), Portuguese (*A Rua Zamenhof*, 2006), Slovak (*Zamenhofova ulica*, 2006), French (*La rue Zamenhof*, 2008), Italian (via *Zamenhof*, 2009) and Korean (*Zamenhof geori*, 2009)..

²³³ She started to learn the language through Duolingo recently.

²³⁴ Johan Paul II encountered Esperanto in Poland before to become Pope, and he blessed *urbi et orbi* in Esperanto since 1994. Since the 1990s it was possible to celebrate Mass in Esperanto.

Spirit.

In 1942, Andreas Cseh tried to revitalize Hodler's neutralism founding the *Universala Ligo* in The Hague, with a new version of René de Saussure world currency, called *stelo*. After the end of the Second World, Edmond Privat became the president of the Universal League in The Hague fostering the idea that there are limits to the Esperanto neutralism, namely Esperantists cannot collaborate with people who are deliberately against world peace. Unfortunately, the *hongerwinter* was a disaster for the gulden, the Dutch currency, so the *Ligo* had hard times and eventually it was closed.

The Second World War changed the Esperanto Movement forever: on one hand, most members of SAT and left-winged Esperantists in general did not survive the war; on the other hand, neutral Esperantists collaborated with totalitarisms in order to survive.²³⁵

²³⁵ For example, Pierre Laval, the vice-president of the Vichy Republic in France, was an active Esperantist.

The unavoidable charm of Latin

As we have seen previously, the period of the Scientific Revolution saw the rise of national languages through the Ausbauization of the vernaculars. That process was slow, and Latin remained an important part of the education of intellectuals throughout Europe at least until the First World War. Therefore, at the times of Couturat and Peano the possibility to revitalize or simplify Latin was still considered an option. After the relative success of public obtained by Volapük first and Esperanto later, the possibility that an Auxiliary Language could work became a fact. Thus, some people wanted to enter the arena of the Auxiliary Language Movement and proposed 'modern', 'simplified' versions of Latin for international communication. Libert [2010] offers a survey of these IAL projects (in Blanke's sense) derived from Latin, including Communia, Latinulus, Latino Moderne, Nov Latin, Reform-Latein, Simpl-Latina. But before to present the most sociolinguistically relevant of them, i.e. Latino sine Flexione, we should understand the review briefly the importance of Latin in the foundation of the Western culture. It is not by chance that while Modern Hebrew was ongoing its extraordinary story of revitalization some circles – quite often linked with the Catholic Church – tried to revitalise Latin in a similar way. For example, the *Unione pro Latino Internationale* was founded in 1905 in Ventimiglia (Liguria, Italy) to realize such a program. Still, after the First World War, Latin was considered superior to IAL candidates – Esperanto and all its rivals, including Latin-derived IALs – for its unquestionable prestige, and it was not uncommon to find opinions like this one among intellectuals [Kent, 1922]:

We should have schools in which these methods could be practiced, tested, and demonstrated; and once the demonstration had been made, we should have to secure the support of educational authorities, making Latin so taught the first foreign language studied in the schools, with favorable opportunity for the continuance of it throughout the school course. This would not imperil the position of other foreign languages, for the training in Latin would still be, even as it is now, an invaluable preparation for the study of other tongues. And Latin would still yield fruits in mental discipline and in the power of clear thinking and in the other by-products which now attend its study.

In 1921, the IALA, an association devoted to study IALs scientifically, which will be presented below, wrote a report on the attempts to revitalize Latin. The bibliography collecting the publications around the question of the international language published in 1929 by Petro Stojan, a member of the Esperanto *Lingva Komitato*, listed active 87 journals publishing in Latin.

Why such a consideration for Latin? Let's see quickly the story of this language – I mainly follow Durante [1981] here. The first documents that attest Latin as a distinct language from Proto Indo-European come from the 3rd century b.C., when the Latins conquered part of the Italian peninsula. It is interesting that since the beginning Latin was the language of conquest: then, it was the *acrolect* of all Italic populations dominated by Latins, whose languages are lost, because they were not used to write down their languages. The Latin alphabet is basically an adaptation of the Greek one (previously, Latins used different solutions). In fact, the Latin language was fully *Ausbauized* after the conquest of Greece (146 b.C.), who was conquered but it conquered culturally the conquerors, who were still uncivilized, as reported in the famous quote by Oratius: *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit*. The standard variety of Latin comes from the writings of Cicero and Caesar (A_w); it is important to underline the fact that we do not have much information on the standard *spoken* variety of Latin (A_s) – see Figure 18.

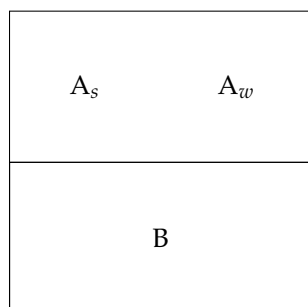


Figure 18: Latin schizoglossia

Latin was in a situation of schizoglossia, but different from Norwegian as the main axis is not diatopic but diamesic, i.e. the spoken/written use. Latinists could reconstruct the pronunciation of the spoken variety used by the classics (Cicero, Caesar, Tacitus, Plautus),

which is known as *pronuncia restituta*. If we look to how the word ‘Caesar’ was first imported to German (*Kaiser*) and then to Russian (*Tsar*) or the word *cella* that becomes *Keller* (cantine) we can extract the information that the grapheme *c* was pronounced [k]. In 313 A.D. the Roman Empire became officially Christian by Costantin with the *edictum Mediolani* (Edict of Milan) and the Church adopted the vulgar pronunciation of the time, that eventually will be known as the *pronuncia ecclesiastica*. After the fall of the Western Roman Empire (476 A.D.) the spoken acrolect (*A_s*) was fragmented in independent varieties which eventually will become Romance languages, from Portuguese (extreme Western) to Rumanian (extreme Eastern). The Catholic Church will maintain Latin alive in some sort being the official language of its state²³⁶ and the solely official language of the Mass until the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), which permitted to celebrate Mass in other languages. Because of the prestige of the Catholic Church in countries like Spain or Italy, the two pronunciations (*ecclesiastica* vs. *restituta*) are both in use by supporters of Latin as a living language. Today they can be found not only in countries traditionally linked to the Catholic Church, but also in Scandinavian countries and elsewhere. But pronunciation is not the only problem of Latin as a living language. Modernization in corpus planning is problematic because of the influence of Greek in the language. We can call neo-latinists who accept the role of Greek and generally international words Modernists, while neo-latinists who don’t we can call Traditionalists. Table 16 show the parallel versions of modern Latin words.

²³⁶ This involves an interesting operation of corpus planning when the Vatican has to write contemporary concepts, starting from ‘abat-jour’, which becomes *umbráculum lámpadis*, until ‘zoosafari’ which is *venátio Africana*. See the *Parvum Verborum Novatorum Léxicum* by Cletus Pavanetto in *Latinitas: Opus Fundatum in Civitate Vaticana* in the official web site of the Vatican state.

<i>English word</i>	<i>modernist version</i>	<i>traditionalist version</i>
(computer) file	archivum	tabularium
to photoshop	photopingere	pingere per computatrum
bank (place for money)	banca	mensa argentaria
car	automobile	carrus

Table 16: Modern words in Latin

Sometimes we find concurrent forms in Esperanto too. In the 1980s there were concurrent forms in Esperanto for the translation of ‘computer’: *komputilo*, while *komputoro* and *komputero*. Only *use* can determine which will be the winning form (*komputilo*, in this case) or – more rarely, the two forms that can live in parallel (in Dutch, for example, we have *etage* and *verpieding* for ‘floor’ that live peacefully together). Evidently, if spoke Latin would be put massively in use something would happen.

Contemporary Latinists – who are few, let us say approximately 1,000 aficionados around the world – can hear the news of the day in Latin (for example *Nuntii Latini*, in Finland, but others exist) or

read translations of popular literature, as the first volume of Harry Potter or *Hobbitus Ille*, the Latin version of Tolkien's classic, translated by Mark Walker and published by Harper Collins in 2012. Here the excerpt of the first lines (please note the asterisk for non-classic words), with the original text by Tolkien immediately below:

CAPVT PRIMVM: CONVIVIVM INOPINATVM. in foramine terrae habitabat *hobbitus: nec foedum, sordidum madidumque foramen, nec extremis lubricorum atque odore caenoso impletum, nec etiam foramen aridum, inane, harenosum, in quo nihil erat ad considendum aut edendum aptum; ommo foramen-hobbitum, ergo commodum.

Chapter I: An Unexpected Party. In a hole in the ground there lived a hobbit. Not a nasty, dirty, wet hole, filled with the ends of worms and an oozy smell, nor yet a dry, bare, sandy hole with nothing in it to sit down on or to eat: it was a hobbit-hole, and that means comfort.

Nowadays the Ølberg Method to learn Latin is becoming more and more popular: the basic idea is to learn Latin as if it were a living language with a monolingual textbook called *Lingva latina per se illustrata*. Note that there are no references on the modern world; in fact, the topic of the first level is the typical Roman family (*familia romana*) and the idea is to introduce the Latin culture while learning the language. Moreover, it is interesting that teachers that use the Ølberg Method never argue for a full revitalization of Latin as a spoken language outside the school. It seems that students following this method are happy of the results in the long term.

As a final note, it should be noted that sometimes Latin is still evoked nowadays as a key element to foster the process of European integration. For example, Ristikivi [2005] proposes Latin as the common legal language for Europe, as "the diversity of legal languages is an obstacle to integration, and therefore the plurality must be eliminated."

Interlinguistics going Romance

The amount of scholarly literature produced in the European period of IALA (1924-1939), i.e., before the beginning of the Second World War, is impressive. Interlinguistics became well known among linguists, and somehow respected. Among them, we should at least mention the *Originala Verkaro* [Collected Works] of Zamenhof and the impressive bibliography of IALs by Petro E. Stojan, both published in 1929. Finally, we should mention *Cosmopolitan Conversation* (1934) by Herbert N. Shenton, where strategies of language diversity management are illustrated, in particular the so-called *lingua receptiva* (LaRA). This happens, for example, when a Norwegian speaks his language with a Swedish, who does the same, and both can understand the other's language.

Mrs. Morris considered the second line of research the most important. A main result was the report entitled *Language Learning*, authored by Edward L. Thorndike, a prominent American psychologist. That work opened the field of Second Language Acquisition (SLA). Thorndike analysed the experiments conducted mainly at the Columbia University to measure how much Esperanto can speed the acquisition of French for native speakers of US English. This is known now as the 'propaedeutic value' of Esperanto, and it is worth to mention the fact that there were a plethora of experiments in this sense after the Second World War. Let's review the most important briefly. In the 1970s, professor István Szerdahely at the Eötvös Lorand University in Budapest (now ELTE) did a lot of work in measuring the propaedeutic effect of Esperanto for Italian as the target language for Hungarian students. In the 1980s and 1990s, the cybernetic Helmar Frank, co-founder of the International Academy of Sciences San Marino (AIS San Marino) coined the word **Sprachorientierung** (in Esperanto: *lingva orientigo*) showing that Esperanto is like a map of orientation in the land of European languages. Nowadays, the project Springboard2languages tries to teach Esperanto in British primary schools, as in general second language learning there has been no substantial results. This project is lead by Angela Tellier at the University of Liverpool, where the headquarters of IALA stayed for some years before to move to the United States.

The third line of research mainly compared scientific and technical dictionaries among major European languages, trying to set up a common, shared terminological lexicon. This work will lead to an unexpected result.

In 1939 the headquarters of IALA had to cross the ocean and go to New York. The period 1939-1951 is the American period of the IALA. In that moment, the concept of Standard Average European (S.A.E.) was popular, and the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis was highly debated by the scholars. Interestingly, while Sapir was in favour of a "world language", as he named it, and worked with the IALA until his death (1939), Whorf argued that no IAL can really work unless it strictly adheres to the core of the S.A.E., that is Latin, Greek, and the Latinate lexicon spread throughout Germanic languages like English and Slavic ones like Russian.

Alice Morris Vanderbilt decided that it was the time to prepare the definitive IAL for the postwar world; therefore, she paid André Martinet and Alexander Gode to lead two teams in competition so to work on this new language, the latter working practically alone. Martinet was a structuralist, along the lines of Ferdinand de Saussure and Antoine Meillet, while Gode was a philologist who was fascinated by the ideas of Sapir and in particular Whorf. During the

war, it was clear to the linguists on the payroll that they wouldn't have their contracts renewed after the death of Mrs Morris, who was ill. Her son would no longer fund this 'crazy hobby' of his mother after becoming the heir, so the two groups had to quickly conclude their work. In 1945, a General Report was published, with four proposals, illustrated with parallel translations: Martinet's group proposed three IALs: K, schematic, similar to Ido and Novial, but not so elaborated; C, semi-schematic, similar to Occidental, but without some oddities. The last one by Martinet, project M, was "modernistic naturalistic", obtained through a comparison of Romance languages, and appeared as a Romance-like Southern European regularized language.

Gode proceeded with a different approach: instead of comparing modern languages, he was fascinated by the *Ursprache*, the ancestor language of the S.A.E., i.e. Latin. This project was named P.

Parallel texts in C, K, M and P were sent to approximately 3,000 informants. Most informants were scholars: only 18% were technicians or engineers and 8% members of the working class. The survey asked to choose the "most appealing" one after a first look, and then it gave a set of questions, leaving the possibility of revising the previous evaluation. Questionnaires containing the survey were sent all over the world (US, UK, France, Denmark, Czechslovakia and Chile) in 1947. Interestingly, only the 11.9% replied (approximately 350). 64% of the preferences were for projects P and M, the naturalistic ones. However, Martinet lost any hope because of the lack of further funding, so eventually Interlingua was born as the offspring of Gode's naturalistic project P.

Supporters of Occidental were scarcely loyal to the language, moving to Interlingua almost in total. In 1949, after the death of de Wahl, Occidental was rebaptized as Interlingue (iso code: IE), but it was too late.²³⁷ Alphonse Matejka, a Czech interlinguist settled in Switzerland, contributed to start one of the most important collection about IALs in the world, at the public library of La-Chaux-de-Fonds (Switzerland).²³⁸ But the real crisis of the Interlingue Movement happened after the publication of IALA's Interlingua in 1951 (see below), as 90% of the published dictionary so far was identical in the two IALs, according to Matejka's analysis.

A presentation of IALA's Interlingua

Gode worked under pressure in order to publish the language before Mrs Morris' passing away. As said before, he followed the *prototypical principle*, derived from the concepts of S.A.E. and the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. The lexicon is formed through the comparison of the

²³⁷ In fact, the name 'Occidental' was considered an indirect support to the Western block; in fact, in the late 1940s the Iron Curtain was built up and *coidealistes* aimed to be different from Esperantists supporting the West. An exception was *Association Proletari Interlinguistic* was founded in Paris after the name change, but it proved to be ephemeral.

²³⁸ It is called CDELI, the Center of Documentation and Studies of the International Languages, and it is still active now. The web site is in French and Esperanto: cdeli.org/. No competitors are used by the librarians, according to my visit in 1998.

'angloromance group', that is English, French, Italian, and Spanish/Portuguese (considered as a unique language!), with German and Russian as 'control languages'. For example, the word 'herring' in English is similar to the French *hareng*, the Italian *aringa* and the German *Hering*, so in Interlingua it will be *haringo*. Sometimes the forms differ too much: 'to kill' is *tuer* in French, *matar* in Spanish, and *uccidere* in Italian. In such cases, the prototypical Latin form *occidere* is taken as the model for the Interlingua *occider*.²³⁹

a. the alphabet There are five vowels in Interlingua, like in Esperanto, while the consonants are the ones you find in English, with no accents and no diacritics. In Interlingua there are two possible graphisations: the first one is based on English, and it is the most used, because it respects the etymology; the other one is based on Italian. The {k} is almost never used, save some Greek words. So, you can write *pathophysiology* as well as *patofisiologia* in Interlingua for 'pah-topphysiology'. Gode was not concerned too much with the spoken use of the languages, as he envisaged that Interlingua should be used mainly in written form. Thus, few phonological indicators were given to the learners. As a result, the pronunciation of Interlingua remains unstable.

b. pronominal system As all the IALs we have seen until now, Interlingua is no pro-drop, i.e., there is no redundancy of the person in the verb, therefore you cannot drop the pronoun – unlike Romance languages like Italian or Spanish. The system is Latinate: *io, tu, ille, illa, illo, nos, vos, (il)les, (il)las, (il)los*, and there exist the genitive form: *mi(e), tue, sue, nostre, vostre, lor(e)*. There are two auxiliaries in Interlingua, *esse* and *haber*, which are irregular, compared to all other verbs, who can belong to three declinations, according to the final: for example, *amar*, ('to love'), *creder* ('to believe'), and *andir* ('to go'). Auxiliaries mark the diathesis, which can be active or passive: *io ha amate* ('I have loved') and *io es amate* ('I am loved'). Verbs are declined like in Italian, with rarely used tenses like the *plusquamperfect*.

c. accusative Interlingua is SVO and it is not clear who to render cleft sentences without a morph marking the accusative. There are oblique cases in the pronouns, like in Italian: *io/me, tu/te*. In the pronominal system, Gode had left an ambiguity corrected afterwards by an ex-Occidentalist, the Swiss André Schild: *le can qui mordeva le senior* means 'the dog who bited the man' while *le can que mordeva le senior* means 'the dog whom the man bited'.

²³⁹ Here, I follow the detailed analysis of Interlingua written in an (unpublished?) manuscript by the Swiss Tazio Carlevaro. That manuscript reports the date March 1987. Written in Italian, the title is *La scuola "naturalistica" nell'Interlinguistica, la "International Auxiliary Language" e l'Interlingua* [The "naturalistic" school in Interlinguistics, the IALA and Interlingua]. I am convinced that my English summary here may be useful to the readers.

d. N-Adj agreement Substantives end with *-o* or in consonant: *commerci-o* ('trading') and *nation* ('nation') are two examples. In general, adjectives are formed with the ending *-al*: *commerci-al* and *nation-al*. However, Carlevaro shows that there are many exceptions in this grammatical category change: *heroe* ('hero') comes *heroina* for the feminine instead of **heroa*, and the adjective is *heroic* instead of **heroal*. Some substantives end in *-e* in order to avoid allomorphs: *mur-o* is 'wall', while *mur-e* is 'mouse' (from Latin.)

The word order is unclear: theoretically, *un bon homine* and *un homine bon* are both 'a good man', but in many Romance languages the order is not free at all, and Interlingua users cannot find any rule for it. For example, in Italian *un funzionario alto* is an officer who is tall, while *un alto funzionario* is a high-ranked officer.

e, f & g. volapukisms, the lexicon and correlatives Even if Occidental/Interlingue and Interlingua appear very similar, Interlingua is more irregular than de Wahl's semilanguage, because Gode accepted double Latinate forms for the sake of 'immediate readability'. For example, you have the pairs *agente/actor*, *frangibil/fraction* and *unguento/untion*, whose relation becomes clear only if the user has previous knowledge of the Latin infinitive and supine forms.²⁴⁰

The fear of being accused of 'volapukism' let Gode introduce an enormous amount of exceptions. I give you only some examples of the derivation from verb to adjectives:

Interlingua	Italian	Esperanto	English
mord-er / mord-ace	mord-ere / mord-ace	mord-i / mord-em-a	to bite / biting
cred-er / cred-ule	cred-ere / cred-ulo	kred-i / kred-em-a	to believe / credulous

²⁴⁰ This information comes from the unpublished lecture notes in the basic course into interlinguistics delivered by Vera Barandovská for the International Academy of Science of San Marino in the 1990s. No date is reported in the notes.

Table 17: N-Adj derivation in Interlingua, Italian, Esperanto and English

According to the analysis by Tazio Carlevaro, there are 23 ways to transform a noun into an adjective, and it is very rigid compared to Esperanto. Carlevaro mention the translation of the following German word: *Zivil-verteid-ig-ung-s-aus-bild-ung-s-platz*, which means 'place for civil service training'. Interlingua follows a rigid analytical strategy in such cases, translating the concept in *loco de formation pro le defensa civil*, while in Esperanto you can have a syntetic translation, *civildefenda trejnejo* or an analytical one, *ejo por trejnado en civila defendo*.

Since 1953, a small movement of supporters was formed, after the publication of the dictionary by Gode in 1951, mimicking the Esperanto Movement: the association is called UMI, *Union Mundial pro Interlingua*. Stenström [2008] tells the story of the Interlingua Movement in the last 50 years from the inside, directly in the language. Ric Berger and Alfonse Matejka, ex-Occidentalists, gave their

support to the newborn Interlingua Movement in the 1950s, helping the production of translations – especially the abstracts of scientific publications – and the bulletin by the UMI. In the 1960s, at its top, the *adressario* listed approximately 200 members. Some scientific journals regularly published abstracts in Interlingua, especially in the field of medical research. Most of them were American journals written in English, but there were also publications in Spanish (*Revista Cubana de Cariología*) and in Italian (*Giornale Italiano di Chemioterapia*) [Stenström, 2008, 66]. Gode died in 1970, and then the Interlingua Movement entered a crisis because of internal discussions on reforms: the indifference toward the achievement of the Interlingua Movement and the constant attacks against Esperanto (and also against the few supporters left of Ido and Interlingue) almost broke the small community of practice up. Whenever the IAL project proves to be unaccepted by the majority, supporters do not consider the external factors, such as the political and societal panorama²⁴¹, and turn their attention towards the internal traits of the language. That crisis transformed the Interlingua Movement in a small version of the Esperanto Movement, with annual world congresses and a myriad of ephemeral national-based associations. Interestingly, the language usage in the years 2000 got slightly away from Gode’s prototype [Stenström, 2008, 205].

²⁴¹ In the 1990s there was a language learning project called CATENA in order to teach Interlingua in the schools of a “chain” of neighbouring countries across Europe, from Sweden to Greece. It never got any funding.

<i>classic Interlingua</i>	<i>modern Interlingua</i>	<i>Esperanto</i>	<i>English</i>
quia	proque	ĉar	because
sed	ma	sed	but
dum	durante	dum	whilst/while
nimis	troppo	tro	too much/many

Table 18: Small diachronic changes in Interlingua

The Interlingua movement today has less than one hundred speakers all over the world, mainly settled in Sweden. The future of Interlingua is uncertain, as there is no strong sense of belonging, unlike Esperanto. In the words by Stenström [2008, 246]:

Poco numerose, ma importante. Interlingua non ha multo in commun con Esperanto, ma un movimento es essential pro divulgar los. Solmente un fanatico pote negar isto. Certo le numero de esperantistas es plu grande que illo de interlinguistas, e lor Universalaj Kongresoj de Esperanto es manifestationes gigantesc, locos de peregrinationes, in comparison con nostre Conferentias International de Interlingua. Pro convocar quasi le totalitate del actives in un movimento on deve haber un gruppo organisatori quasi permanente e professional, e super toto un tradition de incontri de “coidealistas”. Qui ha participate in un del congressos mundial de esperantistas, sape que isto es un manifestation quasi-religiose que da un forte experientia de solemnitate inspirative, que homines vole re-viver. Illo es un sensation spiritual. Le significantia de iste ethos del congressos mundiale pro le “moral combattiv” del esperantistas es difficile a supertaxar. Forsan iste appello a emotiones in vice de al ration es un explication de lor successos relative?

My translation:

Few, but important. Interlingua does not have much in common with Esperanto, but a movement is essential to spread them. Only a fanatic can deny it. Certainly, the number of Esperantists is larger than the number of Interlinguists, and their *Universalaj Kongreso de Esperanto* are gigantic meetings, place of pilgrimage, compared to our International Conferences of Interlingua. In order to gather the almost totality of activists in a movement you need a group of professional organizers who work on that on a permanent or almost permanent basis. Overall, you need a tradition of gatherings of *coidealistas*. Who has participated to a world Esperanto congress know that that is a pseudo-religious meeting which gives a strong experience of inspirative solemnity, that people want to live again. That is a spiritual sensation. The meaningfulness of this ethos of the world congress for the “fighting morality” of Esperantists is hard to overjudge. May this appeal to the emotions be the case for the relative success of them, instead of our appeal to reason?

Some other ephemeral Latinate projects were published after Interlingua, such as Alfandari’s Neo (1961) or Boeree’s Lingua Franca Nova (1965), that deserve some attention in the Web Era (after 1991), but no other project succeeded to become a semilanguage like IALA’s Interlingua.²⁴²

This extract shows that the Esperanto Movement remains the yardstick to evaluate the success of the rival IAL projects so far. In the next section, we will see that the modern Esperanto Movement will lose most of its messianic and pseudo-religious characters, transforming itself into a non-governmental organization such as Greenpeace or Amnesty International.

²⁴² The galaxy of Latinate projects in the web is extremely variegated, especially in Facebook. They do not bring substantial innovation.

The modern Esperanto Movement

In the aftermath of the Second World War, UEA was founded on a new basis. In spite of its name, which suggests that only individuals can be accepted as members, UEA followed the model of the *Internacia Esperanto-Ligo* (after 1936) and it becomes the umbrella of nation-based Esperanto associations. UEA clearly lead the Esperanto Movement, as many left-winged Esperantists died during the war. SAT will retain its importance in corpus planning, through the publication of the monolingual dictionary.²⁴³

The new UEA succeeded in being recognized as the flagship of Esperanto by UNESCO in the 1954 in Montevideo, thanks to the energetic and charismatic general secretary and president **Ivo Lapenna**. He was an Italian speaking Dalmatian Yugoslav, who fought the Ustashe (pro-Nazi nationalist Croatian party) during the Second World War. After the establishment of Yugoslavia by Tito (who spoke Esperanto too, according to the chronicles of the time), Lapenna moved to London and eventually became professor at the London School of Economics. In the early 1950s in the US, after the Chinese Civil War (1949) and during the Korean War (1950-53) the influent senator Joseph McCarthy started a ‘witch-hunt’ of

²⁴³ The PIV, *Plena Ilustrita Vortaro*, Full Illustrated Dictionary, was published in 1970 and then updated in 2002. Nowadays it can be accessed for free through the web site Vortaro.net.

'communists', and Esperanto was considered a possible "enemy from within". Lapenna feared that UEA could lose its neutrality, and re-doubled his efforts to make Esperanto a working language of the UN. In 1966, he submitted a pro-Esperanto petition with one million signatures. UN rejected the petition, as only member states has the right to change the UN language policy. Esperantists seized the occasion to limit Lapenna's power and eventually in 1974 he was removed from his position. When he left, he said that that was a *komunista puĉo*. The results of Lapenna are remarkable, however: UEA had 17,707 members in 1948, and thanks to Lapenna that grew to 32,202 in 1966. Such numbers will never reached again by UEA. In the field of original literature, the new raising star is **William Auld**, a Scottish poet who will become a candidate for the Nobel Prize because of his Esperanto work.²⁴⁴ In his works, he often analyses the position of Esperanto in the whole history of humankind. His poetry shows a modernistic style, which gave new life to the literary use of the language.

In the 1960s, a new generation emerged: a generation of revolution, of youth, of peace and love. Since 1956, UEA has had a youth section called **TEJO** (*Tutmonda Esperantista Junulara Organizo*, World Youth Esperanto Organization) that signalled an ideological shift in a Declaration, signed in Tyresö (Sweden) in 1969. In that document, for the first time the action of Esperanto was connected to human rights and language rights in particular, and to the defense of the endangered peoples throughout the world. Destroying languages and cultures, they said, is nothing less than *instrumento de lingva imperiismo*, an instrument of linguistic imperialism. The attack against the raising power of English was launched, with some collaboration of the national associations of the Eastern block, under the idea of anti-Americanism.²⁴⁵ The most influent Esperantist since then became Humphrey Tonkin, later professor of English language at the University of Hartford, Connecticut.

The 1970s were a period of great change, and the new generation of young Esperantists had different ideas compared to Lapenna's and the signers of Tyresö's. In particular, they signed a Manifesto at Rauma (Finland) in 1980, which formulated the idea of *raŭmismo*. This has been an internal division of the Esperanto Movement until recent years. In that text they declared that Esperanto should say something original to the world, and Esperantists should not worry about the role of English, rather they should consider *esperantistecon kvazaŭ la apertenon al mem elektita diaspora lingva minoritato*, "esperantistness" as if they belong to self-appointed diasporic language minority. That document has been the most discussed for the following 20 years. In truth, the idea of *diaspora lingva minoritato* is misleading,

²⁴⁴ The most famous work by William Auld is *La infana raso*, which was translated in English, Dutch, Italian so far.

²⁴⁵ Nation-based Esperanto associations were called *landaj asocioj*, instead of *naciaj societoj*.

to say the least. In fact, a minority can be defined only if we frame it in a context where a majority exists: and this is definitely not the case of Esperanto. Apart from that, the positive effect of **raŭmismo** was that young Esperantists started to produce original pop culture, like rock music, comic books, and so on. According to the analysis of Becker [2006], since 1974 the production of cultural manufactures raised dramatically. In particular, while all novels originally published in Esperanto before the 1950s were 52 in total, only in the 1980s there were 42 [Pietiläinen, 2005].

The geopolitical position of post-Lapennian UEA served as a bridge between the Western block (capitalistic, lead by the US) and the Eastern block (Communist, lead by the USSR). But after the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989 and the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, that role no longer had a purpose. UEA had a big crisis, as membership plummeted: a new ideological stance was needed. In 1996 in Prague a new Manifesto was drafted, this time by UEA itself, and in particular by Mark Fettes, a scholar who became the most influent person in the Esperanto Movement in the last generation. and immediately translated in many other languages – an absolute element of novelty. In it, we can find some instances for a better linguistic world order from one hand (from Tyresö) and a clear acknowledgement of Esperanto as a value per se on the other (from Rauma). Finally, Tyresö and Rauma connected.

The Prague Manifesto

We, members of the worldwide movement for the promotion of Esperanto, address this manifesto to all governments, international organizations and people of good will; declare our unshakable commitment to the objectives set out here; and invite each and every organization and individual to join us in our effort.

Launched in 1887 as a project for an auxiliary language for international communication and quickly developed into a rich living language in its own right, Esperanto has worked for more than a century to connect people across language and culture barriers. Meanwhile, the objectives of its speakers have not lost importance or relevance. Neither the worldwide use of a few national languages, nor advances in communications technology, nor the development of new methods of language instruction will likely realize the following principles, which we consider essential for just and effective language order.

1. Democracy. A communication system which privileges some people but requires of others that they invest years of effort in order to attain a lesser degree of competency is fundamentally undemocratic. Although, like any language, Esperanto is not perfect, it greatly exceeds all rivals in the sphere of equitable global communication.

We assert that language inequality entails inequality of communication at all levels, including the international level. We are a movement for democratic communication.

2. Transnational Education. Any ethnic language is linked to a certain culture and nation or group of nations. For example, the student who studies English learns about the culture, geography and politics of the English-speaking world, primary the United States and United Kingdom. The student who studies Esperanto learns about a world without limits, in which every country is like a home.

We assert that the education of any ethnic language is linked to a specific worldview. We are a movement for transnational education.

3. Pedagogical Efficiency. Only a small percentage of those who study a foreign language begin to master it. Full understanding of Esperanto is achievable within a month of study. Various studies have ascribed propaedeutic effects to the study of other languages. One also recommends Esperanto as a core element in courses for the linguistic sensitization of students.

We assert that the difficulty of the ethnic languages always will present obstacles to many students, who nevertheless would profit from the knowledge of a second language. We are a movement for effective language instruction.

4. Multilingualism. The Esperanto community is one of the few worldwide linguistic communities whose members are, without exception, bi- or multilingual. Each member of the community accepted the task of learning at least one foreign language to a communicative degree. In multiple cases this leads to the knowledge and love of several languages and generally to broader personal horizons.

We assert that the speakers of all languages, large and small, should have a real opportunity to learn a second language to a high communicative level. We are a movement for the provision of that opportunity.

5. Linguistic Rights. The unequal distribution of power between languages is a recipe for permanent language insecurity, or straightforward linguistic suppression, in a large part of the world's population. In the Esperanto community, the speakers of a language, large or small, official or nonofficial, meet on neutral terms, thanks to a reciprocated will to compromise. This equilibrium between linguistic rights and responsibilities provides a precedent for developing and evaluating other solutions to language inequalities and conflict.

We assert that the vast variations in power among languages undermines the guarantees, expressed in so many international documents, of equal treatment without discrimination of languages. We are a movement for linguistic rights.

6. Linguistic Diversity. The national governments tend to consider the grand diversification of world languages as barriers to communication and development. For the Esperanto community, however, linguistic diversity is a constant and indispensable source of enrichment. Therefore, every language, like every living thing, is inherently valuable and worthy of protection and support.

We assert that policies of communication and development, if not based on respect and support for all languages, condemn to extinction the majority of the world's languages. We are a movement for linguistic diversity.

7. Human Emancipation. Every language liberates and imprisons its speakers, giving to them the power to communicate among themselves while barring them from communication with others. Planned as a universal communications tool, Esperanto is one of the largest functioning projects of human emancipation or projects to enable every human to participate as an individual in the human community, with secure roots in their local culture and linguistic identity, while not being limited by it.

We assert that the exclusive use of national languages inevitably raises barriers to the freedoms of expression, communication, and association. We are a movement for human emancipation.

Interlinguistics after Interlinguistics

In this short chapter we will see some basic data of the contemporary Esperanto Movement, 'contemporary' meaning in the new Millennium. Then, we will offer some final reflections on the next future of Interlinguistics.

SINCE THE EARLY 1990S GREAT CHANGES COME, from the fall of USSR and the digital turn, in particular the emergence of the World Wide Web by Tim Berners-Lee. Publication became easier thanks to the print-on-demand and ebook technologies. The development of the book market from the beginning to the end of the 20th century shows clearly the increase in the last decades – see Figure 19; source: [Becker, 2006, 277].

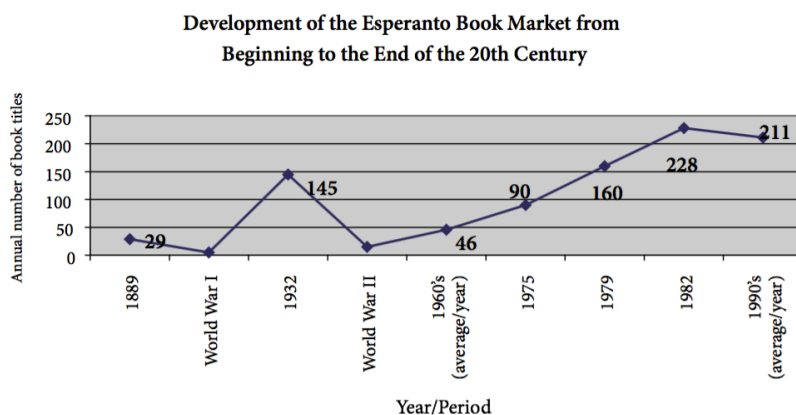


Figure 19: Development of the Esperanto book market

A new generation of Esperantists, digital literate, fond of free software, travellers, polyglots, came into the community. I want to mention here only Chuck Smith, who started the Esperanto Wikipedia and co-founded the Duolingo course in Esperanto – over 1 million students in less than two years since its launch, on average 30 students per day finish the course – and the Amikumu mobile app, that permit to speakers of minor languages to find language partners nearby.

The tendency of the last generation of Esperanto speakers is to be far less ideologized, and more interested in the pragmatic gain through the language. We can read in this sense the statement by TEJO delivered in 2012 (my translation from Esperanto):

Rezolucio de la 68a Internacia Junulara Kongreso en Hanojo. La komitato de TEJO kunveninta en Hanojo, Vjetnamujo, kadre de la 68a Internacia Junulara Kongreso, ĝojas je la plenumo de valoroj kiel Amikeco, Frateco kaj Amo, kiuj estas bazaj valoroj por la Esperanto-movado kaj kiuj plene ĉefrolas en internaciaj Esperanto-renkontiĝoj. [...] En la junulara movado jam estas kutime labori kaj por evoluigo kaj fortigo de la Esperanto-komunumo kaj kulturo, samkiel por la disvastigo de la lingvo internacia, neŭtrale homa. Ni kredas ke la TEJO-agado povas esti pli komplete kaj amplekse difinita kiel raŭmisma finvenkismo.

My translation:

Resolution of the 68th IJK in Hanoi. The committee of TEJO gathered in Hanoi, Vietnam, for the IJK, fully enjoys

the values of Friendship, Brotherhood and Love, which are the basic values of the Esperanto Movement and which fully plays the major role in the international Esperanto meetings. [...] In the youth movement it is already usual to work for the fostering and strengthening of the Esperanto community and culture, as well as for the dissemination of the *lingvo internacia, neŭtrale homa* [Zamenhof's idiomatic wording, lit. 'neutrally human international language']. We believe that the action by TEJO can be more completely and fully defined as *raŭmismo finvenkismo* [almost untranslatable: approx. a pioneer's view on Esperanto as everybody's L2 with a gentle touch or Raumism].

This means that the new generation is not interested anymore in ideological fights for their one sake, but they are more practical. Interestingly, there are some small start-up companies founded by Esperantists who offer services somehow linked with the language: *Kosmo Strategio Ltd.* helps NGOs to obtain public money from the EU through public projects for life-long learning, such as Grundvig;²⁴⁶ *E@I – Education@Internet* is an international youth non-profit organization that hosts educational projects and meetings to support intercultural learning thorough internet technologies, officially registered in Slovakia in 2005. E@I's activities include the development of educational websites (lernu! and Slovake.eu among others), publishing, such as producing books and DVDs, and organizing conferences and seminars.²⁴⁷ A specialist group within the organization is dedicated to Wikipedia. E@I is a member organization of the Council of Europe's European Youth Foundation and one of the 29 organizations represented in the European Commission's Civil Society Platform for Multilingualism. Its headquarters in Slovakia are one of the few places where Esperanto is the everyday language of the workplace, the other one being the headquarters of UEA in Rotterdam and of SAT in Paris.

²⁴⁶ Official web: kosmo.eu.com.

²⁴⁷ Official web: ikso.net.

The phenomenon of Hollywood linguistics, already seen previously, greatly contributes to the normalization of planned languages in general and Esperanto in particular. Perhaps in the next future talking about Esperanto and Interlinguistics won't anymore raise a skeptical eyebrow.

By way of conclusion

The aftermath of the Second World War saw the victory of English as an international *non*-auxiliary language. It is not by chance that the chauvinistic IAL project called Basic English was supported by Winston Churchill (speech at Harvard, 1943), when he formulated the *pax anglica-americana*:

Basic English is a carefully wrought plan for transactions of practical business and interchange of ideas, a medium of understanding to many races and an aid to the building of a new structure for preserving peace [...] the empires of the future are the empires of the

mind.²⁴⁸

The idea of Basic English by Charles K. Ogden – the founder of semiotics, author of the *Meaning of meaning* – is similar to Peano's LsF: the problem, according to them, is not the grammar but the size of the vocabulary: so, instead of learning *to descend* let's say only *to go down*. So, 850 basic words were identified, and still now they are used as an easy introduction to English, for example in China. Nerrière's Globish is only Ogden's grandson, in interlinguistic terms: this idea of de-ethnicized English, pioneered in the 1930s, became more and more fashionable after the Second World Wars, as we already know very well with the discourse about ELF (English as a Lingua Franca).

After the Second World War winds changed in linguistics, and linguists became much more inclined to descriptivism. Unfortunately, they left language policy and planning tasks to non-linguists in most cases. As Mario Pei already pointed out, this attitude should change:

The linguist should go beyond setting forth the facts of language as he sees them. Language is a human activity, and therefore subject to intelligent guidance and handling, even more than plagues, iron rails and chemical compounds. Language is primarily a human tool for human use. If blind forces have been allowed to shape that tool in the past, there is no reason why they should be allowed to continue to shape it in the future [...] it is the linguist's task, among others, to shape existing languages so that they may become better, finer, hardier tools for human use, and to try to evolve a form of communication that may eventually lead to world understanding, at first in the purely material sense of the word, later perhaps in that more spiritual, much abused, much misunderstood sense which may ultimately spell out a diminution of conflict, prejudice, hatred, intolerance and war. [Pei, 1964, 137-138]

We are at the end of our journey. Let me state a personal note: when I was writing my MA thesis on the sociolinguistics of Esperanto in 1997, most people thought that Esperanto was a dead language. After the spread of Google, that reaction almost disappeared (exception: old, unwired persons). Nowadays, the fact that English is unavoidable but is not enough is gaining ground – at least in my personal experience, having lived in Western Europe all my life. The internet is creating a lot of possibilities for creative young people, and Esperanto and planned languages in general can play a role in it. Use them in whatever way you may imagine to make the world a better place. Your turn.

²⁴⁸ The quote is somewhere in one Phillipson's book introducing the concept of 'linguistic imperialism' [Phillipson, 2009, see at least].

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