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REPORT
OF THE
FIRST YEAR'S OPERATION
OF THE
INTENSIVE LANGUAGE PROGRAM
OF THE
AMERICAN COUNCIL
OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

1941 - 1942



by

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and

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COMMITTEE ON INTENSIVE LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION.

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Kemp Malone, Johns Hopkins University
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Cornell University). Since April 1, 1942 the details of operation have been in the hands of J. M. Cowan, of the University of Iowa, Secretary of the Linguistic Society of America, as Director of the Intensive Language Program. The general division of interest between the two committees is that the first, the Committee on the School, concerns itself more with the scientific features of supplying implementation for instruction in these languages, as will be explained later on in the report, while the operations of the second, the Committee on Instruction, relate more intimately to the provision of courses of instruction. This division, however, has not been rigorously maintained; either Committee retains the right to engage in either type of operation whenever its own ends can thus best be served. The Committees have worked in complete harmony.

The Program operates in the belief that an intensive course in any language can be offered in a college or university whenever there can be assured a sufficient number of tuition-paying students to provide reimbursement to the institution for the expenses involved. The first step, consequently, in encouraging the establishment of a course is the guarantee of such sufficient number of students. Funds are then utilized for the provision of grants to individual students in order that these guarantees may be fulfilled. During the first year of operation, however, the nature of the language under discussion, local conditions, the novelty of the method, and other considerations often prevented the immediate application of this formula, and, because the element of time was considered important, recourse was had to other types of financial aid. Nevertheless, the year's activity has been a gradual approximation to the system of assistance described.

By an intensive course the Committees mean a course which occupies the full time of the student, generally computed at about fifteen hours of classroom instruction, fifteen hours of drill with native speakers, and from twenty to thirty hours of individual preparation per week. Two or three six-weeks sessions of this character separated by short intervals of rest

Mortimer Graves had begun the Intensive Language Program with the help of ACLS staff men—there were no women as long as Leland was still there—and those were only fractionally competent and disinclined to do anything in a hurry. Graves needed a free-wheeling Director of Operations, one who could take off into wild blue yonder on an hour's notice, often to come hundreds of miles back to the Washington office before he was missed. The one person who combined talents and temperament both and could be pried loose from his home base was the only one that was invited: the new LSA Secretary-Treasurer, Assistant Professor Cowan of the State University of Iowa. He easily got 'war-time leave' and came in February.

seem to yield the best results in the shortest time. Here, too, however, accommodation has been sometimes made to suit university schedules and other special circumstances, though the year as a whole exhibits this same progress towards a more nearly uniform procedure.

In some of the languages with which the Committees are concerned, for instance, Chinese, Japanese, Russian, and Portuguese, there was already a modest though improving American tradition of intensive elementary instruction. Some implements—grammars, text-books, phonograph recordings, dictionaries, etc.—were at hand and these were constantly being bettered; there was a small, though quite inadequate, personnel equipped for instruction; and the methods of the intensive approach were beginning to be worked out. But in by far the largest number of the other languages, these desiderata simply did not exist in the English language, and frequently were not available in any language at all. In Malay, for example, the best implements were in Dutch, a fact which makes them all but useless to the American student. In addition they were, on account of difficulties of transport, not obtainable in sufficient quantity. Finally, because they had not been prepared by scholars with sufficient technical linguistic competence and in particular because they had not been prepared for intensive instruction they were, even if they could be secured, in the opinion of the Committee on the School and its advisers, totally inadequate for the work envisaged. Moreover, since all experience with intensive language instruction had already shown a high correlation between good results and good implementation, it became obvious that the first task of the Committees must necessarily be the provision of the implements of instruction before instruction itself. Perusal of the details of the Program will show, consequently, very considerable devotion of funds and effort to the development of grammars and other implements* of study and teaching. This process, analogous to tooling on the industrial front, was the only firm basis for production later. About half of the funds available have been expended on fellowship awards to Fellows of the National School.

Art and Archaeology and Indiana University, or by Malay at the University of Michigan and at Yale University; the one took advantage of the best available opportunity to secure intensive instruction, the other, while it presented instruction, devoted its major attention to the provision or improvement of implements. In general these reflect the diverse yet complementary activities of the two committees; to a considerable degree the success of the Program is to be measured by the speed with which the two types of approach coalesce. Persian at Columbia is a case in point. Here a competent teacher and a trained linguist worked hand in hand. The linguist supplied the teacher with his materials and the processes of implementation and instruction were simultaneous.

A detailed survey of the operations of the Program follows:

African Languages. Of the eight hundred or more languages spoken in Africa, half a dozen or so are of immediate practical importance because each is the *lingua franca* by which communication is established over a wide area on the continent. The most important of these are Swahili spoken in the Belgian Congo and East Africa, Fanti spoken on the Gold Coast, Hausa spoken over most of West Africa, Moroccan Arabic, Pidgin English, and in diminishing importance Amharic, Somali, and Afrikaans. An attempt to offer a course during the summer in Swahili at the University of North Carolina, where there was in residence a professor who had learned the language, failed because suitable informants could not be engaged. Work was finally undertaken in this language at the University of Pennsylvania in mid-summer. It was decided that for the time being work in African languages should be confined to the University of Pennsylvania. Under the auspices of the Committee on the School, Zellig S. Harris was already there at work on Moroccan Arabic and had interested himself also in Fanti. Informants were found in this language as well as in Swahili and Hausa, and young linguists were put to work with them, W. E. Welmers in Fanti, Fred Lukoff in Swahili, C. T. Hodge in

Hausa, and Charles Ferguson in Moroccan Arabic. During the summer a course in Fanti (eight students) was held and implementation has proceeded far enough to permit offerings of courses in all these languages in the fall-spring terms of 1942-43. Introductory courses in Moroccan Arabic and Hausa are nearing completion at the present writing. Advanced work will be offered in the next term and a course in Swahili will be organized. Registration in these intensive courses has not been large, but has been decidedly satisfactory considering the fact that these are initial offerings and quite unusual. It happens that the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania has a considerable African collection and a long-standing interest in African cultures. The Director of the Museum, George C. Vaillant, consequently viewed the development of African language instruction at the University with interest and appointed to a post in the Museum a specialist of African studies, Heinz Wieschhoff. This happy collaboration between the Museum and the Department of Oriental Studies, to which Dr. Harris and his associates are assigned for administrative purposes, creates at the University of Pennsylvania the nucleus of an American center of African studies, very much needed in the war emergency (in Germany there were according to latest reports at least sixteen institutions offering instruction in native African languages and civilizations) and of great scientific importance for the future if it can be further developed. Meanwhile, preliminary work in African Pidgin English has been begun at Columbia University by George Herzog; this will be transferred to the University of Pennsylvania as soon as practicable. Tentative discussion has also been held with Mark Hanna Watkins, of Fisk University, and with officials of Howard University, with a view to discovering if work in African languages can be developed at these institutions.

Arabic. Four of the major dialects of Arabic have thus far received the attention of the Program. The implementation by Zellig Harris of Pennsylvania in Moroccan Arabic has already been mentioned. This work is now sufficiently

Asked to explain why the Report has none of the stigmata of commercial typesetting, Cowan almost inadvertently wrote to Joos telling more than what had been asked for, namely, the reason why his dating (20 Dec. 1942) is correct in fact: 'By the way, there's a story about that Report. When it was ready [in Graves typing] we couldn't find a printer who would touch such a small job by the time we needed it. A friend of mine, Henry Edmunds who was working at the War Production Board, had a small hand-operated press. He and I (I had learned printing in the technical high school I went to) set the type and printed it ourselves.' We can guess that the typescript was frozen after the setting was well along, say 20 Nov.

advanced so that an analytical grammar, texts, and dictionary are about ready for publication. A preliminary sketch of some of this material is in press and will appear shortly in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. Teaching materials have been prepared as the class progressed this fall. This work was coincident with the compilation of an Army phrase book for the War Department under the direction of our workers. Colonel Arthur Vollmer requested Dr. Harris to undertake this work and arrangement was made by which the Army advanced funds to defray part of the expenses for informants. Since the materials requested by the Army could also serve as teaching materials, both ends could be achieved without any additional expenditure of time.

The elementary colloquial Egyptian Arabic offered at Columbia under the direction of Arthur Jeffrey in the spring was so successful and there were so many students who were interested in continuing that it was felt desirable to establish an advanced course. The services of Edwin E. Calverley of Hartford Theological Seminary were secured, together with those of Ibrahim Mansauri and Riad Askar, and both elementary and advanced courses were offered during the summer. It was necessary to limit the registration in the elementary course to twelve and in the advanced course to nine. Because of the large number of applications for these courses, it was possible to get a highly select group of students and these made rapid progress during the summer. Elementary and advanced courses were also offered in the fall. The shortage of dictionaries and text books has compelled the preparation of much of the materials while the courses were in progress. These were manifolded for distribution among the students and will not be published until they have undergone the test of use.

A request was directed to the Department of State and the Office of Strategic Services for assistance in securing foreign materials. Through the latter, several copies of Arabic dictionaries and primers unavailable in the United States have been received. The sponsors of the Program are aware that such importations, valuable as they are to fill temporary

needs or for advanced work, are no substitute for sound implementation to be used in elementary intensive courses. But the cooperation of the Office of Strategic Services must be recorded.

Courses in Syro-Palestinian Arabic were offered at The Johns Hopkins University both in the spring and summer under the direction of W. F. Albright, with the assistance of R. F. Ogden, J. A. Thompson, Habib Kurani, and Nabih A. Faris of Princeton University. The number of students was small, seven in each of the courses, and consequently it was not deemed advisable to attempt an advanced course. Dr. Faris also conducted a semi-intensive course at Princeton during the summer, with seven students enrolled.

A course in the Arabic of Iraq was offered at the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology under the general supervision of Gustav von Grunebaum, with the assistance of Mr. Turabian and Mr. Fouad, with nine students enrolled.

The courses at the American Institute, Johns Hopkins, and Columbia all suffered from the same lack of readily available materials for the proper conduct of an intensive course, but this difficulty was met as best it could be by the preparation of materials as the courses progressed. The only sound implementation which can be shown in this field is that for Moroccan Arabic. In the light of the importance of the Arabic dialects, it would doubtless be desirable to undertake work in the dialects spoken in Libya and Eritrea. Lack of qualified linguists and suitable informants has prevented such an undertaking down to the present time, but the Program has been cooperating with the Special Service Division, S. O. S., in the preparation of phonographically recorded phrase-book materials in these dialects.

Burmese. Paul K. Benedict worked for six months during the spring and summer on an analysis of Burmese with the assistance of a native speaker at Yale University. Progress in implementation in this language has been beset with many complications. The informant was one of two native Burmans known to be in this country. When he was called for induction

Mortimer Graves was born 1893 in Philadelphia. In the First World War he was an aviator in the Navy. With a 1920 Harvard A.B. he was taken on as a History Master in the William Penn Charter School and also began his graduate student years, 1920-26, in the University of Pennsylvania. 'I'm the world's worst historian,' he says now, 'always more interested in the future than the past.' And, 'Joos adds, always learning from written and printed items that his professors weren't prepared to decipher, so that they instead read translations or by-passed them. Graves was and remains temperamentally skeptical of all translating, including his own translating work, and has always kept looking for the actual events behind official publications.'

into the Army, the Director notified officers of Military Intelligence Service in Washington who were interested in the work on Burmese. As a result of their direct appeal to National Selective Service Headquarters the informant was granted occupational deferment. Shortly after this Mr. Benedict accepted a post with the Office of Strategic Services. Mr. R. I. McDavid Jr. replaced him, and work was continued at Yale under the direction of Leonard Bloomfield and with the assistance of William Cornyn. The west coast branch of the Office of War Information then requested the release of the informant so that he could be sent to San Francisco to broadcast directly to Burma. It was necessary to call a conference of all agencies, civilian and military, which were interested in a continuation of work in Burmese. It was decided that the need of the O. W. I. was sufficiently urgent to warrant release of the informant. All parties participating in the conference expressed a desire for a continuation and agreed to assist in locating another informant. The search for native Burmese residing in this country was fruitless, but recently a Burman has arrived from Trinidad and has indicated an interest in assisting the Program. At the present writing it appears likely that an arrangement can be made with the assistance of the Foreign Language Branch of O. W. I. in New York so that the linguistic work in this strategically important language can be carried on from where it left off. Implementation has already progressed sufficiently so that a course could be offered with the aid of a native informant.

Chinese. One of three students in an intensive course in Cantonese given by Yuen-Ren Chao at Harvard University during the summer was aided by the Program. Similar assistance was available in F. W. Cleaves' course in Mandarin but was not necessary because a sufficient number of students enrolled without it.

Fifteen students participated in a course in Sino-Japanese offered by P. A. Boodberg at the University of California in Berkeley. An advanced continuation section as well as a repetition of the elementary course is now in progress.

George Kennedy of Yale University offered two courses in Chinese at the Linguistic Institute held this summer at the University of North Carolina. The first of these courses was an elementary course designed for students who were primarily interested in structure of colloquial Chinese. The materials for these students were presented entirely in transcription. For those who were interested in the acquisition of written Chinese, concentrated work in reading from characters was offered. The advanced course was likewise divided to meet the needs of students with these different interests.

Upon the conclusion of the courses at Chapel Hill, Dr. Kennedy began an intensive summer course in elementary Chinese at Yale University with forty-three students enrolled.

William Acker offered a course in the spring in Chinese at George Washington University for eleven students. This course was not intensive in nature but was looked upon favorably by the Program because of the fact that many of the people enrolled in it were employed by Governmental agencies which were interested in seeing their people acquire as much knowledge of the language as possible in the time which they were able to devote to it.

Though not formally part of the Program, the intensive Mandarin Chinese of the College of Chinese Studies, moved from Peiping to the University of California (Extension) in Berkeley, should be mentioned. There may quite possibly develop points at which the college and the Program can cooperate.

Modern Greek. Johns Hopkins University has been prepared to offer intensive instruction in modern Greek under Mr. E. Malakis, but to date only sporadic requests for this language have come in.

Hindustani. Murray B. Emeneau of the University of California at Berkeley began work on Hindustani early this spring but was forced to give it up because of the difficulty in securing suitable informants. The Hindustani students on the campus were too busy with their studies to devote a

Trustworthy estimates of Mortimer's scope in understanding archives written or (most usually) printed in languages foreign to our schools run from dozens to twelve or fifteen; the list of alphabets is indicative: Chinese character-text, Japanese read with a Chinese/Japanese dictionary, Armenian, Greek, Russian, Arabic and Hebrew. His personal font of Chinese type supplied inserts into ACLS publications for decades, hand-set by Mortimer when money for printing was scant. His shelves of grammars and dictionaries were famous far and wide and on occasion were appealed to by the Library of Congress—which during the Second World War borrowed his huge collection of maps, very few of which ever came back to him, since most of them had been worn out or lost in the hands of military users.

sufficient amount of time to assure rapid progress, and the other Hindustani residents in the vicinity are apparently employed full-time at good salaries by governmental and private agencies, so that it is impossible to compete for their services.

A course in Hindustani was offered at the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology under the directorship of Bernard Geiger with the assistance of Mr. A. Singh. H. M. Hoenigswald was called from Yale University to assist in the organization of this course after it had started. The preliminary reports from this course show that it suffered from the difficulty which arises whenever an attempt is made to offer an intensive course in a field in which there is inadequate implementation. The formal presentation of structure of the language can only be effective when it is complemented by well organized drill materials exemplifying the structure of the language. In instances where the director's full time is devoted to the structural aspects of the language and the drill is left in the hands of the native informants, experience shows that the informants misunderstand their roles and tend to assume the role of instructor, repeating the materials which have already been presented instead of devoting their time to painstaking drill. This problem can only be met by profiting from experience and gradually bringing the two aspects of the instruction into their proper relationship.

In September H. M. Hoenigswald began work on Hindustani at Columbia University with an informant. Arrangements have been completed with Hunter College for the offering of an intensive course in Hindustani under Hoenigswald's supervision, beginning in February 1943. According to present plans this course will be continued at Hunter College during the summer as an advanced section and a new elementary course will be started at Columbia University as a part of the coming Summer Program.

Hungarian. Leslie Tihany of Harvard University has prepared a *Modern Hungarian Grammar* together with

exercises which is being used in a semi-intensive course now in progress. An attempt to organize an intensive course this fall failed because of lack of students. Until the present time there have been few applications from students desiring to pursue the intensive study of Hungarian.

Icelandic. Kemp Malone and Stefán Einarsson of Johns Hopkins University were prepared to offer a course in modern Icelandic during the summer but there was not a sufficient number of students to organize this course.

Iranian (Persian). The close cooperation of Stanley Newman and Christie Wilson in the offering of Persian at Columbia University has already been mentioned. Dr. Newman had been preparing texts, phonographic recordings, and a phrase-book under the auspices of the Committee on the School at the time the summer course opened. These materials were all used to good effect in making a successful course in which ten students were enrolled. A sufficient number of the students indicated an interest in continuing the work and an advanced Persian course is now in progress. Dr. Newman's analytical grammar of Persian will be ready for publication in the early spring.

A course in Persian was also offered at the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology during the summer, in which there were four students. This course was under the supervision of Abu Turab Mehra. It did not have the financial guarantee of the Committee on Intensive Language Instruction because it was deemed not wise to support two elementary Persian courses in New York City.

Japanese. Four projects in the implementation of Japanese have been undertaken by the Committee on the School. One of these, being conducted by Morris Swadesh, was cut short when he was called into the armed forces. Bernard Bloch of Brown University has been working on colloquial Japanese with native informants since early spring. His course in spoken Japanese offered this fall had to be limited to fifteen

students. Five army officers are taking the course. Dr. Bloch has worked in close cooperation with George Kennedy of Yale University. Dr. Kennedy conducted an experimental course in Japanese at Yale in the spring, with some forty students enrolled. These students are now continuing in an advanced section at Yale which will run throughout the fall and winter. Two informants devote their entire time to the courses at Brown and Yale, alternating in such a manner that the services of an informant are available at all times in both institutions. The most recent project in the implementation of Japanese is the outgrowth of the Second Conference of Japanese Teachers which was held in Ann Arbor, Michigan, September 17-19, 1942. A brief account of the Conference is included here as background. Twenty-six persons attended, including practically every teacher of collegiate Japanese in the country and representatives of government agencies. The earlier discussions of the conference were devoted to the problems of instruction in Japanese. All of the delegates who had been actively engaged in this work reported on the various phases of their experience and contributed much useful information which could be used in improving Japanese instruction throughout the country. The discussion turned to the fundamental problem of how to commence instruction in a language such as Japanese where the system of writing is not phonetic. There was final general agreement that the teaching of spoken Japanese and the Japanese system of writing constitute two distinct and different tasks. It was further agreed that both tasks should not be attempted at the same time and that the early months should be devoted to acquisition of a speaking knowledge of Japanese without burdening instruction with an introduction to the study of writing. It was felt that in the intensive course the introductory period could profitably be devoted to colloquial Japanese in transcription. Those who had already used such an introduction testified that the acquisition of a reading knowledge of Japanese was greatly simplified when the students had a reasonable command of spoken Japanese and that under these conditions progress in mastery of the system of writing was

very greatly accelerated. As a result of these discussions, a committee was appointed consisting of George Kennedy of Yale University, *Chairman*, Bernard Bloch of Brown University, and Ichiro Shirato of Columbia University to organize a sixty-hour basic course in colloquial Japanese. The work of this committee has been going forward since the Ann Arbor Conference and the course apparently will be ready for publication shortly after the first of the year.

Harvard's Japanese course under Serge Elisséeff and E. O. Reischauer showed the largest enrollment (52) of the Japanese courses offered during the summer. A large number of students who completed the elementary Japanese course at Columbia University in the spring continued in the intermediate section under Hugh Borton and H. G. Henderson in the summer. There were twenty-four students in the intermediate section, which was assured by guarantees from the Committee on Intensive Language Instruction. Twenty-five students were enrolled in the elementary Japanese course at Michigan under Joseph Yamagiwa.

There were also sixteen students enrolled in the Japanese course conducted by Mr. Acker at George Washington University in the spring.

It is interesting to note that, although the Japanese courses are always well filled, there is the largest turnover of students in this field. This is due to the fact that courses at Columbia, Harvard, Michigan, and Yale act as feeders for the Signal Corps Japanese course organized by Colonel Eric Svennson, the Navy Japanese School under the supervision of Lt. Commander A. E. Hindmarsh, and the newly organized Army Japanese School. These Government schools take over practically all of the students of Japanese who are eligible for military duty. In some cases the transfer from the courses sponsored by the Program is as high as fifty per cent. If some such working relationship could be set up in other language fields there would be a definite acceleration in the Program with a resulting reduction of the amount of time now devoted to attempts to secure placement for students coming out of courses in governmental and civil agencies where use can be

made of their special linguistic training. The activities of the Program in placing students upon completion of courses will be discussed elsewhere in this report.

Korean. A. M. Halpern worked on an analysis of Korean under the guidance of the Committee on the School at the University of Chicago during the summer months. Implementation in this language is far enough along so that a sound course can be offered if the demand arises. Mr. Halpern was called to Washington this fall to offer a semi-intensive course in Japanese at George Washington University for governmental employees. His work in Korean is continuing.

Kurdish. Kurdish was offered at the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology by Dr. Geiger with the assistance of Mr. Turabian for four students.

Malay. Early last fall Isidore Dyen commenced an analysis of Malay at Yale University, where he had been appointed a Research Associate, with view to preparing a systematic grammar and teaching materials in this language. By spring this work had progressed far enough so that an elementary course in Malay could be introduced into the curriculum at that institution. Fortunately Raymond Kennedy of the Department of Anthropology at Yale was prepared to offer work in the cultural background of Malaysia, and the University undertook the establishment of an undergraduate major in Malay studies, open to juniors and seniors. The time is divided equally between the linguistic studies and study of the cultural background in this program. We have here, consequently, the possibility of a development in the Malayo-Philippine field of a center of study not unlike that promised in the African field at the University of Pennsylvania.

Meanwhile, quite without reference to the Program, W. M. Sensius of the University of Michigan had started a course in Malay with a dozen or more students.

Mongol. Ferdinand Lessing at the University of California at Berkeley is offering an intensive course in the Mongolian language with emphasis on the Khalkha dialect. Six highly qualified students having a general background in Asiatic studies entered the course in the fall. At the present time this course appears to be in danger of annihilation because of the operation of Selective Service and activities of enlisting officers of the Army and Navy.

Pashtu. Herbert Penzl of the University of Illinois has been taking advantage of the presence of a considerable number of Pashtu students at that institution to implement the work in this Afghan language. Although Dr. Penzl has been able to devote only part-time to his investigations he has made considerable progress, which was reported at the annual summer meeting of the Linguistic Society of America at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill on July 11.

Pidgin English (Melanesian). Both the practical and scientific importance of the "pidgin" varieties of English and French are very definite. For Melanesia particularly, where native speech is mutually unintelligible from island to island, there exists no other language of comparable utility. Robert A. Hall Jr. of Brown University has completed an analytical grammar with texts and vocabulary of Melanesian Pidgin English. This work is now in press and will be published after the first of the year by the Linguistic Society of America. It will constitute a satisfactory working hand-book, should there be call for the establishment of a course in this *lingua franca*. Negotiations are already under way for such a course for both the Navy and the School of Military Government. Hall has also prepared a *Melanesian Pidgin Phrase-Book and Vocabulary* designed for use by the armed forces. Four thousand copies of a special edition of the phrase-book which is now ready for distribution have been ordered by the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps. The copies of the special edition bear an Army Institute cover and are not available for public distribution. The regular edition may be obtained through

the Council offices. Work on West African Pidgin English is mentioned above.

Portuguese. Two intensive courses in Portuguese were offered at the Portuguese Institute held at the University of Vermont during the past summer. The work was under the general direction of M. A. Zeitlin of the University of California at Los Angeles, who was assisted by a group of Brazilian scholars and teachers. Forty-four highly selected students were enrolled, and the summer Institute was eminently successful. One course was an elementary course and the other an advanced course for teachers of Portuguese. This course was separately financed and is reported in more detail elsewhere.

Intensive Portuguese was also offered at the University of North Carolina in conjunction with the Linguistic Institute. This elementary intensive Brazilian Portuguese was under the direction of Urban T. Holmes, Jr., who was assisted by P. Pinto, D. W. MacPheeters, and Mr. and Mrs. Peixoto. Nineteen students were enrolled.

Panjabi. After Murray Emeneau was forced to give up the work on Hindustani because of lack of informants, he turned his attention to Panjabi and devoted full time to work on this language with the informants during the summer months. Arrangements were made for a fall course in this language which is of strategic importance because of the fact that it is spoken by a large portion of the Indian army. Unfortunately not enough students applied to make the offering of the course feasible.

Russian. Because of its present political and military significance and possibly because of the wide-spread feeling of closer cultural affinity, Russian has been the most popular language for selection by those universities desiring to participate in the Intensive Language Program. There have been, consequently, more offerings in this language than in any other. During the summer Russian was offered at the American

Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology to nine students. Columbia University was forced to limit its registration to sixteen students; although there were more than forty applicants of first-class, Cornell University offered elementary and advanced courses in Russian to twenty-seven students. The elementary and advanced courses at Harvard enrolled sixty students. Thirty-nine students, most of them regular undergraduates, were in the Yale course, and twelve students registered for the intensive Russian offered at Ohio State University. In the Fall Program advanced intensive courses were given at Cornell and Harvard; elementary courses at Columbia, Cornell, and Yale. Elementary intensive courses were also started at the University of Chicago and the University of Iowa with the support of the Program. These new courses were filled to capacity by selecting the best students from the number of applicants which exceeded the number of students which could be accommodate. *

The Committee on Intensive Language Instruction has received requests for assistance in offering intensive Russian at five other universities. Curtailment of assistance in the development of Russian studies may be necessary in order that there may not be overburdening of the Program in one field.

Thai. Mary Haas at the University of Michigan has now been working on an analysis of Thai for more than a year and has made considerable progress toward the preparation of the materials necessary to afford access to this language. During the past summer she offered, with the assistance of resident Thai students, a course for six students. An advanced class is continuing this fall and winter.

Turkish. The Program has supported three separate projects now in the Turkish dialects. Norman McQuown until recently worked on the preparation of texts and other implements at the University of Mexico, where, on account of the presence of a numerous Turkish-speaking colony there was possible an approximation to a sojourn at Ankara or

* See the note on our page 991

Istanbul. Charles F. Voegelin was released from his duties in the Department of Anthropology at Indiana University early this spring to work with Turkish students and prepare materials to be offered in an experimental course at that institution this summer. This work went ahead rapidly, and a supplementary seminar in which the students worked along with the instructor learning Turkish and methods of analysis was offered for ten students in the Folk-lore Institute at Indiana University in July and August. Beginning with the fall term an intensive Turkish course was started at Indiana with a capacity enrollment. Mr. McQuown was recalled from Mexico to assist with this work. Turkish was offered in the spring at Columbia University (six students) by Karl Menges, and during the summer at the American Institute of Iranian Art and Archaeology for four students.

In order to determine the extent of intensive language instruction in the unusual languages outside the Program a letter was sent in August to the presidents of one hundred fifty of our major colleges and universities. Supplementary materials consisting of a comprehensive description of the Summer Program, description of the intensive course and an explanation of the sort of assistance available through the Program were also sent. The letter requested a listing with the Program of any courses in the unusual languages which had been offered in these institutions and which in general approximated the intensive course of the Program. Requests for assistance in establishing such courses wherever the facilities of the institution warranted were also solicited.

Responses were received from about two thirds of the institutions addressed. From these replies two facts were immediately clear. All of the intensive language work in unusual languages in the country was being done with the cooperation of the Program. No new courses were listed. Further, many new courses in the unusual languages were being added to the curricula of various institutions. These were practically all three-hour-a-week courses and their

establishment reflected the influence of the Program, though their character did not demand its support. Amusingly enough, a large percentage of the new courses were labeled "intensive".

At that time there seemed to be a general reluctance on the part of university administrators to break the order of the traditional arrangement in offering language courses. On the whole, the feeling seemed to be widespread that such courses are "practical" and "non-academic" and consequently do not rightly belong in a university curriculum. To the extent that this intensive work is designed to provide tool-competence in languages to be used by specialists in disciplines other than language, linguistics, and literature, this criticism, if it be one, is valid. The sponsors of the Program, however, see no mutual exclusiveness in the terms "practical" and "scientific." They believe that 1) a practical tool-command of a language is the best foundation of scientific or academic work in it, 2) that such practical command can be secured most efficiently in the intensive course, and 3) that all instruction which is not based on scientific analysis of the language in question is inefficient. They are willing to contend, consequently, that their operations are not only "practical" and "scientific", but even "academic". Recently there seems to be a swing of attitude in the direction of favoring sound experimentation with intensive language instruction in French, Spanish, German and Italian. The Program has received expression of a desire to undertake such experimentation from four universities.

We should face frankly the difficulties with which the first year of operation has been beset and the deficiencies—some attributable to the difficulties, some not—which that year's activity has exposed. Obviously the most efficient way in which to learn a foreign language is to study under competent teaching in the country of which that language is the native tongue. In the emergency situation this procedure was impossible for almost all of the languages subsumed under the Program. Teachers and implements had to be developed quickly,—and they had to be developed in America. We are

far from perfection, but the sponsors of the Program feel very hopeful over the year's experience. Any lingering doubts of American ability to do just this job, and do it completely and well, have been dissipated. The sponsors recognized at the outset that sound linguistic analysis of a language, which is a necessary preliminary to writing a grammar, could advantageously be carried on simultaneously with instruction, and they have worked to achieve a general recognition of this point of view. It cannot be overemphasized that the intensive course which the Program aims to develop is not simply a stepped-up course of the usual sort. Perhaps the unqualified term "intensive course" is not the best usage. For one thing, in the initial stages of the course a native informant is indispensable and emphasis is placed on acquisition of the spoken language. The students are trained to apply the method of analysis which has been developed, chiefly by the Americanists, for recording non-literate languages and to arrive inductively at the structure of the language through the use of speech forms. Work with the informant becomes more a matter of posing and solving problems than one of rote memorization. Study of the system of writing is taken up only after the student has a working knowledge of the structure of the language if the system of writing used for the language in question happens to be non-phonetic and gives no clue to colloquial speech.

University cooperation has been good; the reception of the idea of cooperation has always been friendly, though sometimes local conditions have made impossible the working out of the details. To some extent difficulties of this order are attributable to the fact that the Program has needed the year's experience to crystallize its own ideas, and that consequently proposals made early in the process could not be nearly so specific as those which would be made now. The geographical distribution of the Program's operations is not at present good—confined as these are for the most part to the Eastern States. This state of affairs reflects the accident of the first personal contacts made, and is being corrected as rapidly as possible.

But by far the greatest handicap to the Program's complete success is the lack of good students. Most applicants are—disregarding for the moment the cranks—persons with no particular competence who believe that the mere possession of an unusual language will make them useful, persons with linguistic interests alone—sometimes scientific sometimes not—and polyglots who—unable to make useful employment of some sort of competence in several languages—think to improve their situation by adding a couple more. Applications from persons qualified in a regular discipline who wish to acquire a language competence for use as a tool in that discipline are disappointingly few, yet it is for these that the Program was originally designed. The fact that this factor does not operate quite so thoroughly in Portuguese, Russian, and Japanese—languages for which the need is generally accepted as evident—suggests that the condition may be somewhat alleviated as the American public becomes similarly convinced of the need for the other languages. A major problem of the Program, in any case, is to secure more and better applicants for language training. Very recent developments indicate that this problem may be solved in part by governmental recognition of the Program and assignment of students for this kind of work.

Any program of this sort is naturally handicapped by the operation of Selective Service. In the case of the Intensive Language Program this handicap was reduced to a minimum during the summer by a quite general realization on the part of many Selective Service Boards of the value of deferring induction into the Army until a stage of language competence likely to be useful to the Army had been reached. During the summer the Director made more than a hundred appeals to local boards for postponement of induction until completion of course for students studying under the auspices of the Program. Two students were inducted and one was granted a furlough to complete his course before being called for active duty. At the conclusion of the summer program, it was becoming increasingly apparent that such success in securing deferments could not continue. Most of the students had been

evidence could be shown that there was a demand for the particular language in the Army or Navy. The lay attitude was summed up in an article which appeared in early summer in one of the national news magazines describing the activities of the Program. The article was sympathetic, but the avowed intention of the Program to develop a stock-pile of strategic language competences was termed "high-sounding". Subsequent developments have shown that the stock-pile could not be created in the sense of a usable reserve to be drawn upon as the occasion arose simply because the students coming out of the courses were, through the efforts of the Program, fed directly into the various civil and military branches of the government. The Program has accepted every opportunity to be useful to government agencies in meeting their emergency needs with respect to all phases of language and linguistic operations, without reference to their direct connection with the Program. This activity has been time and effort consuming and all too frequently has not yielded results commensurate with that expenditure. In general the government agencies do not, possibly cannot, know exactly what they want in language-competencies; in particular they do not forecast their needs sufficiently early to have them supplied, for it is obvious that training in a difficult unstudied language is not something to be accomplished overnight. The problem would be greatly simplified if the government agencies could forecast their needs and in particular if they could hold out some hope that use could be found for qualified persons trained in accordance with such forecast. But probably such efficiency is not to be expected of a democracy.

Cooperation with the Education Branch, Special Service Division, S. O. S., has already been mentioned. The sponsors of the Program believe that this cooperation has resulted in the formulation of a sounder plan of linguistic activity by the Special Service Division than would have been otherwise likely. Besides providing the linguistic handbooks and the *Melanesian Pidgin Phrase-Book* and participating in the production of specially designed phonograph records for teaching foreign languages to enlisted men, they were

instrumental in assuring the appointment of a competent linguist to direct this phase of the Special Service Division's program. The machinery of the Program has been used by the Military Dictionary Project of U. S. Military Intelligence as has been mentioned above and in other ways as opportunity has offered. The Director is constantly called upon for advice on language problems by practically every agency of the Government, which has these problems—Office of Strategic Services, Board of Economic Warfare, Department of Justice, as well as the numerous departments of the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps—and for recommendations of persons with unusual language competences for employment by these rapidly expanding agencies. The Program is not equipped with a staff sufficient to perform these functions adequately, but it does what it can without impairing the performance of its major duty. There seems to be need for 1) an employment service providing a channel of information concerning, and evaluation of, persons with unusual language competences demanded by the Government and 2) of a semi-volunteer translation service through which those with such competences throughout the country might be organized to provide translations for Government agencies. Perhaps the newly created Ethnogeographic Board will assume some of this burden, at any rate there seems no reason why it should be assumed by the Program, unless this is to be considerably expanded. It is hardly necessary to add that the full details of the Program's cooperation with agencies of the Government cannot in all cases at present be divulged, but the record is one which gives the Program a definite and increasing place in the war effort.

As will be seen from the names of one of the Committees in charge of the Program, the sponsors are alive to the need for development in the United States of a National School of Modern Oriental Languages and Civilizations. The activities of the Program have consequently been designed to make such contribution as possible toward this end. At first the conception embraced the creation of a school, presumably though not necessarily in Washington, comparable with the School of

Oriental Studies of the University of London, the École Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes of Paris, and similar institutions in Leningrad and Berlin. Recent developments in governmental participation and control in education, the past year's experience, the great size of the United States, and the difference in academic organization between this and European countries suggest consideration, at least temporarily during the orientation period, of a development of a somewhat different type, not toward a single central school, but toward a central holding agency in Washington, providing relatively elementary intensive instruction in languages and civilizations especially for government personnel and maintaining contact with the departments of the Government concerned with those matters, but carrying on its activities of advanced training and research through and in the universities best equipped in facilities and personnel for such work. The elements of such a pattern are discernible in the development of African studies at the University of Pennsylvania and in the development of Malay-Philippine studies at Yale University, besides the several developments of Chinese, Japanese, and Russian at several other centers. Ultimately a single, centrally located National School would seem to be most desirable, but this does not appear to be an auspicious time to attempt the founding of such a school. No doubt the proper solution will be found at the conclusion of the war, after the American people have gone through a period of becoming aware of the need for such an institution.

The Committees directing the Intensive Language Program look back upon the activities of the year 1941-1942 with considerable satisfaction; they consider it hardly extravagant to claim them as epoch-making,—not only when measured by the considerable number of new courses introduced, but perhaps even more when judged in terms of increased experiment with and advertising of intensive methods, improvement of implementation, and scientific study of linguistic phenomena, much of this last not only for the first time in America but for the first time anywhere in the world.

In addition, almost as a by-product, a considerable number of Americans have been trained to efficient tool-control of unusual languages, and many of them have already been absorbed into governmental activities concerned with the war. By the end of the year well over a thousand students will have completed intensive courses conducted under the auspices of the Program. Study-aids have been awarded to 252 of these and of their number 42 have held grants for two courses. Roughly 42 per cent of available funds have been expended in this manner.

It is proposed to continue operation in the year 1942-1943 along very much the same road, with perhaps somewhat more specific and highly crystallized ideas at the beginning of the year and more attention to the end product, the student. The Program for this year will, it is hoped, accordingly include:

1. The continuation of enterprises of implementation already undertaken, with perhaps modest additions,—for instance in Malagasy, Roumanian, lesser Slavic languages, Pacific Ocean languages (Polynesian particularly), etc.
2. Experiment with semi-intensive instruction in Washington designed primarily for employees of the Federal Government.
3. Stimulation of courses in universities and colleges, as follows:
 - a) Courses over which the Committees exercise full control similar to the Portuguese Institute at the University of Vermont.
 - b) Courses offered by the universities and colleges in accordance with guarantees of students by the Committees, and.
 - c) Courses approved by the Committees, for attendance at which the Committees will make fellowship awards.

These operations will be conducted through the media of conferences, fellowships, and the administrative activities of the Director and his associates.

In addition, the experience of the Program demonstrates that the time has come for the next step, that is, the development of the Language Program into a Program of Regional Studies. For example, instead of developing a centre for the study of *Turkish*, we should develop a centre for the study of *Turkey*. In such a development, obviously, language is the central core, but it should be surrounded by the disciplines of history, the social and natural sciences, and those studies which deal with the human being and his relation to his environment, physical and social. Such a development suffers from the same disabilities as did the Language Program,—lack of teachers and of implementation. Perhaps the year 1948 will see some experimental activity in the production of both. The idea of regional or areal programs is a trend in university education, accelerated rather than originated by the war. It is not at all unlikely that in beginning some experimental work of the kind suggested now, we can not only contribute to the war and the peace effort, but can make some valuable contributions to education for the second half of the twentieth century.

Annex A, pp. 33–38, is a list of 266 lines in depth on the model of these few which have been included here because each is otherwise interesting; few members!—

| | | | |
|----------------------|------------|-----------|---------------|
| Bender, Ernest | Hindustani | Summer | Iranian Inst. |
| Choseed, Bernard J. | Russian | Sum.-Fall | Columbia |
| Fahs, Ned Carey | Portuguese | Summer | Vermont |
| Rubenstein, Herbert | Fanti | Sum.-Fall | Pennsylvania |
| Sheldon, Esther Keck | Persian | Sum.-Fall | Columbia |

Annex B, pp. 39 & 40, is printed on the two sides of the same sheet of cover-stock paper as the outside-front text and inside-front that we reprint both on page 97. Its title is 'A bibliography of materials produced and in process of production by the Intensive Language Program of the American Council of Learned Societies'

Benedict, P. K., "Cantonese Phonology", 84 pp., unpublished typescript.

Bloch, Bernard, and Trager, George L., Outline of Linguistic Analysis, 86 pp., Linguistic Society of America, 1942.

Bloomfield, Leonard, Outline Guide for the Practical Study of Foreign Languages, 16 pp., Linguistic Society of America, 1942.

(The two preceding publications have also been bound together under the title, Practical Guides for the Study of Languages, Bloomfield, Bloch, and Trager, for the Army Institute, which has purchased a large number of copies. This is not available for public distribution.)

Dyen, Isidore, Malay Lessons, mimeographed texts and translations for classroom use. Not yet being published for distribution.

A Malay Grammar, in preparation.

Haas, Mary, "The Phonemic System of Thai", unpublished typescript.

"Types of Reduplication in Thai", Studies in Linguistics, Vol. 1, No. 4, 1942.

"The Use of Numeral Classifiers in Thai", Language, Vol. 18, No. 3, 1942.

Beginning Thai, 86 pp., Dittoed, University of Michigan, copyright 1942, but not yet available for public distribution.

"The Thai System of Writing", unpublished typescript.

Hall, Robert A., Jr., Melanesian Pidgin Phrase-book and Vocabulary, 28 pp., Linguistic Society of America, 1942.

(A special edition of this work has been produced for the Army Institute under the title, Melanesian Pidgin English, Short Grammar and Vocabulary. The Armed Services have purchased more than four thousand copies of this edition but it is not available for public distribution.)

Melanesian Pidgin English Grammar, Texts, Vocabulary. 160 pp., Linguistic Society of America, 1942.

Harris, Zellig, and associates (Ferguson, Glazer, Hodge, Lukoff, Welmers) Descriptive Grammars, Texts, Dictionaries of Fanti, Hausa, Moroccan Arabic, Swahili. In mimeographed form for class-room use; not yet ready

A STATEMENT ON INTENSIVE LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION

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Inasmuch as there is bound to be—in fact has already appeared—a certain amount of criticism of “extravagant claims” alleged to be made by the advocates of modern intensive language teaching, it seems wise to set down the rather modest “claims” which these advocates really do present. They follow:

(1) The “dribble method” of learning languages (three hours a week for years) has failed to give students practical command of any language. It may, of course, have had other educational values, but the need now is for practical speaking command.

(2) Better results are to be obtained by more concentrated use of the students’ time (a minimum of ten hours per week). Only continued experiment will give us exact knowledge as to when, in the increase in concentration, a period of diminishing returns sets in. Our present guess is that, if the study is to occupy three months or more, about twenty-five hours a week of class-room contact and supervised study is the optimum, though there are varying opinions among the advocates with respect to this.

(3) Major emphasis at first should be placed upon the acquisition of spoken language. There is a variety of opinion as to exactly when study of the written language should begin, but this difference does not affect the general principle.

(4) Language instruction should be controlled by a trained technical linguist. In the ideal case he would be completely bilingual and an inspired and inspiring teacher. Unfortunately these qualities are not combined in one person sufficiently frequently to meet present demands. Moreover, whenever they are so combined we have a person so valuable that his time should not be inefficiently used in doing the incessant drill-work necessary for proper control of spoken language. This drill-work should be carried on by native speakers who need only good intelligence, good ears, an acceptable dialect, some small training and tight control. Since the optimum condition is too infrequently met to supply the language needs of the present moment, recourse has to be had to such approximations to it as are possible under the existent local circumstances.

(5) There is probably no new method of language training. It is most likely that the successful features of the alleged new method have been implicit in all good language teaching. Since, however, there have been hitherto practically no materials planned for intensive study of spoken language, there are now appearing some new materials. These are in varying stages of experiment and trial and will doubtless be greatly improved with experience. Intelligent and thoughtful criticism of them will be welcomed.

(6) Language is not to be taught “without grammar,” nor “as a child learns his native tongue.” A student should learn all the grammar useful to him, but he should learn it scientifically, not as a kind of theology, and he should learn it only when and as it becomes useful to him. Moreover, he should not learn language as a child, but with all the tools that maturity, intelligence, and education have given him.

(7) Within the limits of agreement on the need for intensive instruction in spoken language by scientifically-trained personnel, there is room for wide divergence as to detail and even for the personal eccentricities of teachers.

(8) The expression “intensive language” is sometimes used in a context which implies the exclusion of area study. This is not a necessary, though it is sometimes a useful, extension of the term. We all—even the alleged “mechanists”—acknowledge that a language does not operate in a vacuum.

[Reprinted in Newmark’s *Twentieth Century Modern Language Teaching*, with publication date May 5, 1948, we find the title distorted to read ‘A Statement of Intensive Language Instruction’ instead of ‘on’; further, the calendar-year 1943 for *Hispania* XXVII is illusory: Doyle had taken on the editorship of a moribund journal, had fought a paper war to get out the first number with ACLS help, and

had agreed to print any condensed statement describing the ILP that Graves could furnish; Cowan thereupon prepared a typescript of a perfected version, got Graves's endorsement, and had it delivered to Doyle's office in October or so—the distance is less than two miles or three kilometers—to appear in the earliest possible issue, which turned out to be the year-late one named.]]

The final sentence, 'We all—even the alleged "mechanists"—acknowledge that a language does not operate in a vacuum,' is said to have been added late by Cowan. It is a pointed allusion to the nowadays only rarely mentioned Bloomfield article, 'Secondary and Tertiary Responses to Language' Language 20.45-55, which was mailed to members in early June, 1944, and which, with its antecedents and consequences for many subsequent years, constituted a sizeable chapter of our Society's actual history: see the Index. That final sentence couldn't have been composed by Graves; we understand that when the galley proof came to him in the ACLS office he said 'Boys will be boys!' and let it stand.

Later references to the Intensive Language Program, after the 1943 experience, almost uniformly use the acronym A.S.T.P. (within weeks condensed to ASTP) and writers employing it often betray confusion or total ignorance as to the meaning of each of the four letters. The 'S' originally abbreviated 'Specialist' in the military sense of a non-commissioned officer whose duties were ancillary in some special way, e.g., confined to communications; but since TP meant Training Program, the normal military language, instead of using 'Specialist's' or 'Specialists', cut the knot by shifting to the derivative adjective 'Specialized' [parallel to Naval Officer] and making it Army Specialized Training Program, early A.S.T. Program. Only rarely do we encounter hints that ASTP work was designed for and normally confined to enlisted-men classes, and never any recognition of its origin in foundation funding or ACLS planning, not at all in Government money:

The first ASTP language course began in April, 1943. At the end of the year there were approximately 15,000 trainees studying languages under this system in fifty-five colleges and universities throughout the country. ... The beginners were given frequent tests, as a result of which they were shifted into fast or slow sections. Frequent promotions and demotions were made to allow trainees to progress according to ability. ... In general the men selected had definite linguistic aptitude and, in the opinion of the supervisors, were superior on the average to the students at representative universities and colleges. Most of the trainees displayed greater enthusiasm than is seen in regular classes. Only rarely did the trainee view his assignment as just another job to be done. In almost all units, observers agreed, the esprit de corps existing among both teachers and trainees has rarely been equalled.

Hispania 27.402 f, 1944, quoted the foregoing from A Survey of Language Classes in the Army Specialized Training Program, the Report of a Special Committee, prepared for the Commission on Trends in Education of the Modern Language Association, New York, 1944. Under Rockefeller Foundation financing, the survey staff—the six foreign-language specialists called 'observers' above—spent six weeks visiting 44 institutions chosen to represent all sorts (large, small, public, private, southern, etc.) and situated almost everywhere apart from the hardly accessible Far West. Besides visiting the enlisted-men's ASTP groups, they took in on certain campuses some of the Civil Affairs Training Schools, familiarly CATS, where post-war dealings with defeated populations were being prepared for: relatively mature professional people—economists, lawyers, anthropologists, cultural geographers, political scientists, orientalists, and even Germanists like Joos and other Ph.D. holders—were invested with 'direct commissions' without having had military training and issued uniforms bearing insignia of 'assimilated ranks' according to academic rank attained or the like and additionally civilian passports before leaving United States territory.

Eventually we can dismiss such acronyms as ILP, ASTP, and CATS, purely war-time epiphenomena easily forgotten in a handful of years. One acronym, however, retained permanent significance to each of roughly a million uniformed persons. This one is USAFI, far oftener so written or spoken than its full name, the successor to the Army Institute, the United States Armed Forces Institute, and

pronounced either 'you-sáf-fee' or 'you-sáh-fee' by everybody. Until its demise, the USAFI was, just as it was at its start in 1941, another one of those 'correspondence schools' which have been familiar in American education since late in the 19th century and in the various States are most usually conducted by the State's University Extension system or equivalent. Army Institute or USAFI began as a marginal office in or near the University of Wisconsin in Madison, expanded and in consequence moved its central office eastward along State Street in steps and, well after the fighting was over, paused for many years in a commercial structure at the northern corner of the Capitol Square roughly a mile from its start; finally, while its services to uniformed persons (technically called 'personnel') taught principally those born long after its founding, the world-wide USAFI operation was centrally guided by a staff of 197 Federal Civil Service employees located at 2318 South Park Street (about 2.5 miles or 4 km from the first locations) with a Madison budget exceeding \$6,000,000 [as we used to say, 'six megabucks'] apart from the costs for postage, telephones, and the like, charged directly to the Department of Defense in Washington. The total destruction of USAFI was one of the triumphs of the national presidency following its 1972 re-election. It was not instantaneous, being valiantly contested by Wisconsin people in Congress. From our LSA point of view, the process ended when the Madison USAFI management, under orders to terminate all operations forthwith and destroy unused lesson materials, followed the recommendation of Harry T. Charly who had been dealing with Milt Cowan about such matters for quite a long term of years, that one full set of materials for each of the two dozen languages (both paper and recordings, which were on tapes for the most popular languages but on disks for the others) should be sent to the Madison-residing Historian for such areas, Martin Joos, who was listed in the local telephone book. [At the moment of writing, everything is on shelves within 10 feet (3 meters) of the typewriter in use today, 25th July, 1976]

These Spoken Language Series latterly made up a minor fraction of USAFI's services to the Armed Forces, just as languages had been a minor fraction of what the 1941 inventors had proposed; and when in 1944 the Spoken Language books and disc-records came into the picture they came as hitch-hikers on the supervision and implementation/distribution facilities of a USAFI which had foreseen nothing of the eventual language needs of men in uniform. They had an idea natural to us and to the allies we best understand, such as the Scots and the Scandinavians, but incomprehensible to our adversaries, namely, that a civilian Army is most effective when its morale is maintained by bringing civilian amenities along into the theatre of war; and specifically, when it is composed mostly of young men whose schooling has been interrupted by effects of the Selective Service and its alternate entry via volunteering before one's Number was called, then the cure for dismay or boredom is simply to continue their education no matter what their personal interest, whether vocational or academic. We condense from USAFI archives:

Colonel (then Lt. Col.) William R. Young on 2nd October, 1941, submitted to Brigadier General F. H. Osborn, Chief of the Morale Branch (later Office of Armed Forces Information and Education) a Memorandum for the General's signature, Subject: A Correspondence Course Program for the Army.

On 25th November, 1941, a Memorandum for the Chief of the Morale Branch came down from the General Staff which said (among other things) 'The Chief of Staff approves the organization of a correspondence school course as outlined in the accompanying memorandum for the Chief of Staff dated Oct. 2, 1941, and directs that not to exceed \$390,000.00 be allotted from the Chief of Staff's Contingent Fund to finance this program during the remainder of the present fiscal year [ending with 30th September 1942].'

In Madison, March 27, 1942, General Orders No. 1 issued by the Army Institute was signed by the second-in-command of the University ROTC, who had been chosen to get his promotion from Major by the document he cites: 'Under the provisions of paragraph 4, AR 600-20, the undersigned hereby assumes command of the Army Institute, The Special Services Branch, Madison, Wis.' Signed: William R. Young, Lt. Col., F[ield] A[rtilillery], Commandant.

One language whose inclusion in the Spoken Language Series was maximal will serve to illuminate more details than any other. Its military title is Spoken Russian, [Army] Education Manual 524, by I. M. Lesnin and Luba Petrova. Competent directories of scholars list Miss Luba Petrova, Lesnin's assistant, but ignore her principal, the mysterious man who was Lesnin. Well then, who was Lesnin, huh? He was, Joos eventually learned a dozen years or so later, a pseudonym for the only person competent to do all the deeds required to create not only the Basic and the Advanced Spoken Russian books but additionally the theoretical frame for the pronunciation key and the grammatical key to the Russian-to-English part of the War Department Technical Manual TM 30-944, Dictionary of Spoken Russian, dated 9 November 1945, which is printed without naming any author anywhere in its 579 pages of two columns each, trim size 20x26.2 cm or 7.85 inches wide by 10.25 deep. It is only by stylistic analysis that the unmistakable expository style of Leonard Bloomfield emerges from pages 215-234, where we see him laying out the known facts in complete independence and unsurpassable succinctness—only slightly disturbed by a couple of sets of misprints in the pages (218, 219) on 'Alternation of Sounds' which confuse students: (a) p. 219, 2nd column, line 5, 'unstressed' a mistake for 'stressed' which strayed upward two lines from correct 'unstressed' in line 7; (b) p. 218, last 6 lines, a cluster of errors introduced by some busybody who understood so little of the Bloomfield message that he contradicted it inside the [] brackets, namely by changing these two—[brad zabfl], [djed zabfl]—to the false [brat zabfl] and [djet zabfl], perhaps not realizing that these are governed by the first words of the same paragraph 'But when words belong together in a phrase' or else not realizing that Odessa speech differs from Bloomfield's in not following the same sandhi rule. More than once, groups of Joos students have protested that the [boh dast] against citation-form [box] can't be right: after all, they said, [h] is not a voiced symbol! We simply remark Bloomfield's choice in this book as a neat pedagogical device which is very likely to fail because a teacher misunderstands it or can't defend it against half-knowledge politically. In other books he makes other choices, and one of those is another thing worth commenting on.

Readers who are not among Leonard Bloomfield's closest friends could hardly be expected to make anything of his alter ego I. M. Lesnin; the insiders, increasingly rare now in 1976, still include Cowan and Graves, and Cowan considers the Joos explanation unduly simplistic. One root source is the enigma of unknown age which is created out of reciting slightly distorted or dialectally spoken English letter-names, or writing them down in majuscule letters with interspersed marks of punctuation and challenging a victim to interpret the result as a social colloquy: FUNEM? YSIFM. FUNEX? XOEFX. OKMNX! (Joos and Bloch constructed this at the time we were interchanging cryptographic challenges; that's why there are five groups of five letters each. The marks of punctuation here do not include the commas which would have clarified the text notably; they are used, one explains, only to mark off the groups...) Now this example, recited in Bloomfield or Bloch style for reporting something said to have been overheard in a quick-lunch place, goes: Have you any ham? Why, yes, I have ham. Have you any eggs? Eggs? Oh, we have eggs. OK, ham and eggs! — And I. M. Lesnin in the context of Spoken Russian must be 'I am listening' when spoken in such English and imitated by a Russian who has not learned how to listen to English by English listening-habits but instead... And this still supplies only one source for the choice of 'I. M. Lesnin' for its service as a pseudonym, leaving the question 'What was the specific stimulus causing this pawky scholar to assert that he was listening?' Well, the printed Spoken Russian book was not properly harmonized with the disc-recordings which pre-date both our use of tapes and our long-playing discs—78 r.p.m. recording on wax was all, and when it was discovered that every page had errors or wrong dialect forms—what to do? Answer: Bloomfield single-handed listened and revised all the print (partly by textual change, partly by inserting notes and uses of the asterisk*) to meet an urgent deadline for fulfilling a schedule for delivery to the Field; for five weeks, we have been told, he filled solitary post-midnight hours with that.

Letters from J Milton Cowan to Joos in 1973 explain the fraudulent Copyright:

The Linguistic Society of America was the original applicant for registration in the Copyright Office of the Library of Congress, as the assignee of the author's rights—nearly all book copyright applications do come from an assignee of the author's property-rights, and usually that assignee is the 'publisher' identified by filling in the line provided for the publisher's name on the printed form provided. For *Spoken Russian* the author's name was entered as I. M. Lesnin, his/her citizenship as USSR, his/her domicile as USA, his mail address only c/o ACLS at the current address on 16th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. The Copyright Office shot back a form-letter asking for further biographical particulars which came to the desk of Mortimer Graves and, says Cowan, 'was conveniently side-tracked.' And Copyright Certificate No. AA 492378 was issued to LSA with nothing further on it.

The Copyright Gazette goes to all libraries and to others who subscribe; thus it came to the notice of Russian watchers fairly soon, and they started inquiring after the whereabouts of Lesnin I. M., obviously a native of the Soviet Union with an ascertainable place of birth and presumably relatives still resident where they could be sought out by agents of the Government and ... Mortimer Graves was an old hand at that game, as earlier LSA History pages have made clear, and Cowan in the same building (when not a thousand miles away for a couple of days) was a delighted pupil; and so for a number of months they played cat-and-mouse with dead-pan letters that nowhere mentioned Cowan but did mention known persons, a different one each time, until the civilian-edition publisher, Henry Holt and Company, requested details for use in textbook publicity; a fake biography was then efficiently assembled in a small committee including Bloch and Bloomfield contacts, and sent (with a covering-note in code) to everybody's old friend in the Holt office, New York City, Archie Shields. Joos has seen only leaked excerpts from that biography, and Cowan has not supplied a complete version; but Joos has been given to understand that it placed Prof. Dr. Ignatius Mendeleeff Lesnin very close to each fine line from his 19th-century student days at unidentified borderline institutions down through the decades when he taught Russian in Turkey (or was it Greece or Rumania?) and dropped out of sight until he came to the United States with a Mexican passport of unknown date or number and so to New Haven. All so plausible that for a good many years the ACLS incoming mail included bits of Lesnin froth designed to identify claimants for what he had coming to him. The Cowan letter to Joos dated 10 December 1973 supplies specifically requested dates:

Two dates are significant. May 4, 1944, the ACLS and Henry Holt and Company signed a contract for public editions of those works, the first editions of which were published for the War Department. August 17, 1945, is the date of copyright registration for *Spoken Russian*, Book I. Now, none of these books were printed by the Government Printing Office! For a hectic period there, JMC-ILP was one of the largest book publishers in the nation. Not only did I style all of the books and read page proof (we were in too big a hurry to bother with galleys) on everything except the foreign language material, but I also found printers who could guarantee delivery on short deadlines, got them paper allocations from the War Production Board, and handled the paperwork on overseas shipment of several hundred thousand books for the Government.

Since I controlled the printing, after the Holt-ACLS contract was drawn I could tell Archie which printer was producing that book and could authorize the printer to do the number of copies Archie wanted as overruns, costing HH&Co. only the extra paper, presswork and binding.

For those overruns, which were comparatively small (guessed at about 5% as a usual thing) but sufficient for test-marketing Book I (those 12 'Lessons' which were to be used with one set of disc-recording per teacher: Book II of 18 more Lessons was designed for use without recordings in a second High School semester or College quarter or whatever experience imposed) after which later school sales would be supplied from reprinting, 'Archie supplied his own paper, but not literally,' for the printers had the stock and used it up under orders from customers who transferred to them the allocations that they had wrested from the WPB. In the Russian case the manufacturer was the Edward Stern Press in Philadelphia, 'which firm,' Cowan wrote, 'did many of our jobs. I drove poor Mr. Wm. Hamburger prematurely into his grave by browbeating him with threats of imprisonment if he didn't deliver on time.'

Earliest to be printed of all the Spoken Language items was Book I of Spoken Chinese, E[ducation] M[annual] 506, 2 January 1944, with a far shorter Introduction than the other Spoken X books were provided with. With the second and subsequent ones, we find each Book I of an EM introduced by a sequence of pages, iii-vi, in which the section-titles are adapted to the particular language, e.g.:

1. What We Are Trying to Do. This course in spoken Hungarian ...
2. The Hungarian Language is spoken by about thirteen million ...
3. How to Use This Manual. ... a native speaker and this book. The two must be used together, and neither one is of any use without the other. ...
4. A Native Speaker is the only good source of first-hand knowledge ... The method used in this manual requires a native speaker ... or next best, the voice or a native speaker recorded on phonograph records ... The native speaker ... is referred to as the Guide. He will give you the Hungarian to imitate, and will check your work; but he is not the teacher and should not be asked to explain ...
5. The Book is divided into parts ...
6. The Basic Sentences in each unit are arranged so as to give you a number of new words and a number of new ways of saying things; first broken up into words or short phrases, and then combined in complete sentences. ...
7. The Aids to Listening represent the sounds of Hungarian in the letters of our alphabet ...
8. The Hints on Pronunciation are to help you to speak as nearly as possible like a native Hungarian. No language has sounds exactly like any other; and ...
9. Pronouncing to be Understood. Of course the better you can pronounce ...
10. The Native Speaker is Always Right. If the manual or the records ... differ from that of your Guide, follow the Guide. ...
11. The Word Study gives you new uses and new combinations ... You are taught how words are built up, ... [i.e., this is the stuff we call 'grammar']
12. The Listening In gives you a number of conversations, anecdotes, ...
13. Conversation ... the principal aim of the course. You should know ...
14. In Speaking Hungarian do not think out what you want to say in English and try to translate it into Hungarian. Instead, think in terms of the expressions you have memorized that apply to the situation. Keep the conversation going by asking questions ...

The General Foreword composed by Mortimer Graves (anonymously: that is to say he names himself only in the third person) was used unchanged throughout the Holt printings of civilian editions throughout the years of interest to us. We print a skeletonized version to remind readers what ground it covers; the complete text will not be printed anywhere in this History. [On 'more than thirty' see later!]

This is one of a series of self-teaching textbooks in more than thirty languages initially prepared and published for the Armed Forces and now offered to the general public. ... the product of team-work between numerous collaborators. A brief review of the origin and growth ... Early in 1942, within a month of Pearl Harbor, the Joint Army and Navy Committee on Welfare and Recreation began ... A survey of materials ... confirmed their suspected inadequacy. Many of the pertinent languages had never been taught ... few of them had ever been studied or described by competent linguists. ... The form of the materials had to be such that they could be used for self-instruction ... But the Army and Navy fortunately did not have to start completely from scratch, for several months previously the American Council of Learned Societies had organized its Intensive Language Program ... The Joint Army-Navy Committee drew the Intensive Language Program into its deliberations and planned a development of language instruction for the Armed Forces. Responsibility for the prosecution of this development was entrusted to the Education Branch of what is now the Information and Education Division, A[rmey] S[ervice] F[orces], functioning through its subsidiaries, the Language Section and the Editorial Staff of the United States Armed Forces Institutes. These in turn called upon the Intensive Language Program of the Council for coöperation in the production of materials, a coöperation which has since been so intimate that it is impossible to tell what proportion of any single operation is the responsibility of each. The series of more than thirty language textbooks is one result ... not only has every listed author coöperated in the production of elements of the series other than his own, but also many of our most valued collaborators do not appear as authors at all. ... it would seem almost invidious

to cite the names of those collaborators, in addition to authors, whose contributions are more readily identifiable than those of others. Yet for the sake of the record, perhaps this should be done. The Intensive Language Program of the American Council of Learned Societies, without which this series would not have been possible or would been of completely different character, owes its existence to Mortimer Graves, Administrative Secretary of the Council. Colonel Francis T. Spaulding, Chief of the Education Branch above referred to, saw the implications of teaching language to American troops and assumed the responsibility for developing a program to this end. The detailed planning and construction of the series now presented owes more to Dr. Henry Smith, Jr., (then Major and Chief of the Language Section in the Education Branch) than to anyone else. Constant liaison with the Intensive Language Program was maintained through J. Milton Cowan, its director during the preparation of the series. William E. Spaulding directed the Editorial Staff of the United States Armed Forces Institute. The dean of American linguistic scientists, Leonard Bloomfield of Yale University, gave unstintingly in many ways—ways as difficult to appreciate too highly as they are to describe succinctly. Almost the same may be said of Lt. Morris Swadesh, Lt. Charles Hockett, Robert A. Hall, Jr., Norman A. McQuown, Doris Goss, José Padín, and others who served from time to time on a special advisory and editorial board. [[Joos omits a dozen lines at end]]

That 'more than thirty languages initially prepared and published' was Mortimer's promise to all parties concerned at his time of writing, early in 1944; over thirty were under contract, each person by contract with the ACLS at least, and the ACLS had contracted with the War Department for a certain specified list of books-and-records implementations named by language without naming persons, of course: that is always the military theory: persons are interchangeable, since persons of the same military rank must step into the shoes of casualties without loss of time ...

Well, with the cessation of hostilities late in 1945 the military procurement system (in which our books were in the Service Of Supply area that controlled the procurement of e.g. telecommunications equipments and their Service Manuals, all manufactured to meet Government Specifications by any available makers!) abruptly shifted into reverse-gear. Those 'more than thirty languages' began to shrink, to dwindle towards a roughly half-size list whose membership naturally seemed to depend on such things as whether the disc-records had been or already were being pressed: without the modern use of tape, the speakers did their work in the Library of Congress installation adopted in the 1930's for recording voices of historical interest, where the immediate result was a disc of rather soft wax which (if not junked because its content was fatally flawed) would presently be dusted with graphite and sent on its way for further steps toward final pressing of relatively fragile 'shellac compound' disks for The Field: 78 r.p.m. of course. Shock-waves from that abrupt termination more or less violently made their way downward to the authors of record. Mortimer Graves was one of the buffers. As one who had flown in the First World War for the Navy, he was prepared to feel the shock vicariously for each person down to the perhaps reluctantly liberated author and the author's paid staffers. Ultimate effects upon the Courses varied; one of the slowest and most thorough workers was Merrill Y. Van Wagoner, who never could be hurried: his *Spoken Arabic* (Iraqi of Baghdad) was the only Arabic item completed, and when it was issued in 1949 [signed M.Y.V.W., New York City, 1948] it would have been too fat in the page-size used otherwise (8 inches wide by 5.25 deep = 224x137 mm) with its roughly 500 pages that could not be accommodated in the buttoned side-pocket of the military tunic as in the 1943 plan. With a separate grant that ultimately derived from oil revenues, they say, it was printed with the exceptional page-format, 7 inches wide and 9 inches deep trim-size, that only this one book has in all Holt Spoken Language Series, and with its title-page noting that it was 'Originally prepared for publication by The United States Armed Forces Institute' and overleaf page reading 'This material was prepared under the direction of the Linguistic Society of America and the Intensive Language Program of the American Council of Learned Societies. / Copyright, 1949, by the Linguistic Society of America'

Thus we cannot be surprised that, e.g., no other Scandinavian book ever came

along to match the Danish of Jeannette Dearden and the stunning Spoken Norwegian of Einar Ingvald Haugen and his wife and her mother. The Graves list of 'more than thirty' was roughly one third published when the abandonment order came down; he fought ingeniously to get them all published, and had to give up when the War Department cut him off at the pockets with five (here asterisked with *) sunk without a trace from the publicity-sheet he issued in 1944 and called Language Courses Prepared Under This Operation which prefaces 'Spoken' to each name except for one book named 'Colloquial Dutch' which was issued without records:

Iraqi [sic] Arabic, *Moroccan Arabic, *Bengali, Burmese, Chinese, Danish, Colloquial Dutch, (Spoken) Dutch, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Hindustani, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Malay, Norwegian, *Persian, *Polish, Portuguese, Russian, Serbo-Croatian, Spanish, *Swedish, Thai, Turkish.

We note that everybody knew that Icelandic was urgently needed and Swedish too, but cannot spare the space for speculating on their absence. Readers can guess at other absences; we can assure them that whatever language they think of was thought of first by Mortimer Graves, but this is not the place for details.

The publicity-sheet originally was page-numbered to fill 4 2-column pages next after the Copyright page of the civilian-edition books, by calling them pages iia, iib, iic, iid (but with small-capital letters preceded by a short dash each) and incorporated by tipping-in that extra insert before the Introduction beginning p. iii. Its first employment was when those inserts were separately sent in bundles to every target imaginable from Pentagon to local School Boards for distribution, and also in the Spoken German book by Jenni Karding Moulton and William G. Moulton, where the extras are still more with numbering iie, iif, and iig, plus an unnumbered half-title in extra-large italics saying "Book One" before page iii. We quote that Authors' Preface (no other book of the series has any!) only as to its long footnote attached to its first clause by asterisk, thus: 'When the authors were asked to write the present book,* and were told the general plan ...

*The original request was made to me, and the book started out as a one-man job. I worked out the material, put it into as final a form as I could, and then submitted it to J. K. M. for corrections and improvements. Units 1-10 were largely written in this way. Beginning with Unit 11, however, the work became definitely a cooperative venture. I continued to do the grammatical parts and the exercises, but the remainder of the material was written jointly. Usually I would set the subject of a unit and the grammatical topics to be covered, J. K. M. would write a first draft of the Basic Sentences and the Listening In conversations, I would pare them down to keep them within necessary limits, and then we would work out the final version together. As a result, the units from 11 on are probably better than the earlier ones, certainly more interesting. Those who know J. K. M. will recognize her light touch on nearly every page.

If this book had a dedication, it would be to her. As it is, I can only express my gratitude, quite inadequately, in this little footnote.—W. G. M.'

Dated September 3, 1944, the place named is Providence and Washington, and the two sets of initials are both printed with the date, hers first!

The Spoken Dutch and Colloquial Dutch books, both constructed by Bloomfield, bore a relation to each other and to the other parties concerned which was so extraordinary as to deserve a considerable section of this History. Here it will be necessary to draw upon private files and memories; since the official documents say nothing about the most revealing details the narrative will be mostly Joos's.

Cowan was based in Washington, in the ACLS office, and had been doing work which I suspected was the sort of thing I ought to be doing myself; I was wrong; then in August, 1942, I received a telephone call at home in Toronto inviting me to report as soon as possible to Arlington Hall in Virginia to do 'translating'—which turned out to be cryptanalysis and kept me occupied for slightly more than 48 months. From that work, however, I had several kinds of escapes, such as the Library of Congress and the second-hand book-shops; or, when my wife was free to come along, as she was only on Sunday, we had bicycle excursions all around the region—even up into the Appalachian Trail area via Snicker's Gap. Always I worked 7 days and then got a day off, making an 8-day cycle with a creeping off-day—Monday one week, Tuesday next week, and so on until Saturday-plus-Sunday

gave me days-off counted as the end of one week and the start of the next week: two days free! Around 11:20, then, on a marginal day of November in 1943, when I had visited only one or two Washington bookstores and picked up one hefty tome from a bargain counter, a chilling drizzle drove me to the ACLS office for warmth. There I was told that Cowan wanted to see me that same day: eight days' delay would be too long. When he came in from who knows where, there was a hasty conference in which Cowan explained the contents of an awkwardly shaped bundle which, he said, was a job of the sort I had been hoping for and could I tackle it immediately and telephone to say whether I could do it at all? And by the way, he supposed I must be fluent in Dutch. I wasn't; but the chance to get my teeth into something substantial in a language area—after the war, cryptanalysts would be a dime a dozen, and the chance to impress Leonard Bloomfield, if only indirectly, was not to be lost, so I said that within 48 hours I would learn enough Dutch to tell whether I could do the job at all and report the fact by telephone. Altogether I spent something like an hour at 1219 16th Street N.W. Then, the drizzle having ceased, I wrapped those irreplaceable marked-up page-proofs in my slicker along with a Dutch grammar from Mortimer Graves's shelves and (leaving my second-hand purchase behind) set out in chill sunshine for the Joos apartment six miles beyond the Potomac and close behind the Arlington Hall grounds newly occupied by four-story brick buildings since 1942. I arrived soaked through and chilled, the rain having begun again, and went to bed alone—my wife was on night-duty that month—prepared to fight off a cold. (Failure of the expected fever to come on schedule is unexplained to this day.) Studying my collectanea the next day, I found I had been pitchforked into that remarkable Bloomfield transaction with barely sufficient information to enable me to do what was called for—formulate detailed procedures for undoing what had been wrongly done to Bloomfield's work by busybody meddling, so that those page-proof sheets could be cleaned up by a printer's staff—but far from enough to understand why. It was not until 1974 that ad-hoc Cowan letters came to clarify the mystery.

Bloomfield's procedure for covering the total military requirement for Dutch can be described as comprising two or more steps of research and composition. First he constructed a complete college-classroom textbook for use by experts—who were expected to have a native Dutch drill-master continuously available—so that the expert could draw upon its strongest feature, the topical vocabularies, to create his own lesson-plans week by week. Second, treating that first book as a source of information, he wrote a derived Spoken Dutch typescript conforming to the settled schema for the Spoken Language course-writing teams, the template or matrix into which things were to be fitted, which the largest group of them had begun quite early to call 'the mould' (chosen as a more professorial spelling than 'mold' with special intent) with derivatives that included ambiguous mouldy, mouldier, mouldiest and phrases which kept the house dialect light, even fluffy.

Finally, Bloomfield's way of obviating the 'Query to Author' nuisance was to ship both typescripts together to Cowan at the ACLS, so that they could go along through the process as companions, intending the college-classroom version to supply answers in cases of editorial doubt. Under the established rules, so far adhered to precisely under an agreement between the ACLS and the Language Section, namely that the Language Section was to treat all Spoken Language typescripts as authoritative and simply rubber-stamp them and send them direct to the printer, that ought to have worked. Cowan's corresponding procedure, which saved always at least six weeks of publishing time and often about ten weeks, was a routine planned to be automatic. First, each completed Author's MS was registered in the ACLS office, so that thereafter all inquiries as to the book's progress could be answered clerically. Second, the MS was sent to the War Department's Language Section for a pro-forma treatment called 'review and adopt.' Third, the Language Section sent the MS to the designated Printer; that Printer/Press put it into type and put the whole into pages and made the required number of page-proof copies. Fourth, that Press sent those page-proofs variously as agreed: (a) the MS with a set of proofs to Cowan, the MS multiply marked-up and barely decipherable and rather tattered, (b) page-proofs to the Author ... (c) information copies to ...

Cowan in 1964 wrote again to Joos: 'I gave you only copy of the original Spoken Dutch typescript and the page proofs together with the altered typescript from which they had been set; I explained the dilemma to you and asked you to determine what the minimum proof changes would be to restore the integrity of Bloomfield's original formulation; you never saw the Colloquial Dutch typescript.'

When the page-proofs for Spoken Dutch had come to him a few days earlier, Cowan had discovered, to his amazement and consternation, that the copy had been extensively (and unsystematically and irregularly) altered by War Department functionaries under a superior officer who had undertaken to enforce the right to 'review and adopt' as stipulated in publication contracts for items still to be written under contract. Now that phrase could mean anything from the simple rubber-stamping initially promised all the way to total revision to suit the latest official notions; cautiously tested by telephone, this particular Author adamantly refused to permit publication of anything like the page-proofs he had received: it has been said that Graves, no stranger to harsh language, was impressed and said there was nothing to be done.

The Dutch language at this season, the Winter of 1943/1944, was far more important than the public could be allowed to suspect. In staging areas of three or more quarters of the globe, preparations were being made for incursions into at least Dutch Guiana (or Surinam) in whose estuaries enemy bases could hide and support submarines and otherwise threaten our security, in the Netherlands East Indies and all that huge region now called Indonesia the Dutch language was the dominant European language, and of course in the Dutch-Belgian homeland a single language was spoken in two slightly different varieties: 'Dutch' in the Netherlands, 'Flemish/Vlaamsch' in Belgium; and finally, the Afrikaans of South Africa began as a variety of Dutch and is still mutually intelligible with Dutch. And now all these enterprises were at the mercy of one cloistered academic in New Haven, Connecticut. What to do? Admirals joked about blowing him out of the water, colonels about dropping paratroopers to take him alive; but then it turned out that he had never been personally under contract for Dutch work and still owned the rights. How about a rush job by somebody else? No, all competent 'personnel' were busy. It would have to be a political solution.

Archives tell us nothing; they are empty; all the negotiations were by telephone or face to face without written memoranda: nothing resulted other than cryptic instructions to printers. The ACLS had money to make promises with, yet money seemed to mean nothing to Leonard Bloomfield personally; what he cared about, apparently, was something said to be named 'academic honesty' or the like, and on that basis he drove a hard bargain, to judge from his demands that were met.

First off, he required the 'classroom book' to be scheduled for immediate printing and binding (instead of the originally intended post-war scheduling) and distributed (without recordings, of course!) to the same military units that got Spoken Dutch and its records. Assured by the ACLS that that was being done, he forbore to stipulate quantities, but gave his simple consent. What would those first books be called? Well, let's just ask him! Cowan passed the word along, and the result that EM550 was issued as Colloquial Dutch, 29 February 1944, copyright entry effective 15 May 1944, Cowan certifying that the Army, Navy, and USAFI had promised to give those tons of paperbacks the same 'distributions' as the forthcoming Spoken Dutch books-and-records from the Army Language Section. Spoken Dutch was ultimately issued 1 November 1944 (Copyright certificate date 23 Nov. 1944) and sent out in all directions in somewhat less than ship-load lots but not so very much less: its final designation in 1974 appears on its front cover, printed first as EM 529 and later re-numbered as USAFI textbook A 629: accompanying disc-records have latterly been long-playing ones on vinyl, but the huge stock of paperbacks was re-numbered with a rubber stamp after blotting out 'EM 529'. [See our Index for the gruesome tale of the ultimate 1974 termination of USAFI]

We return to our page 121, lines 7 and thereafter: Francis Trow Spaulding was a noted educator when given his direct commission. Later he was New York State Commissioner of Education, truly a hardship post; he died 25 March 1950. His

brother William Ellsworth Spaulding (1898-19) in 1974 was nominally retired but still active and influential in Houghton Mifflin. During the Second World War he was the single book-printing boss that Graves and Cowan and others in the ACLS office most often spoke of in Joos's hearing, usually simply by his initials WES; and, on occasion, by shortening his usual written signature WESpauling by cutting it off just after the 'p' and leaving the 'p' unexploded, thus: /wesp/ or spoken 'Wesp' to the bafflement of non-insiders in the Spoken Language game or otherwise involved in the Battle of the Potomac said to be fought in such bewildered confusion that we spoke of its locale as Foggy Bottom.

While Cowan was winding up his regular work in Cornell University in anticipation of his 1972 retirement, he drafted a narrative "USAFI and the Spoken Language Series" and circulated it for criticism both in Ithaca and elsewhere. To WES he sent four firm pages plus a fifth sheet which in rough outline covered the period 1946-1971. That went by mail to Boston automatically, and remained unanswered until Spaulding's return from a visit of a number of months to the African field; then under date 22 March 1972 he wrote Cowan a letter beginning 'Just back from the land of Swahili and Geez. Great country but my God how it needs good linguistic guidance for the 3-8 year-olds! Without it they're never going to make a noticeable dent in the problem of illiteracy. On the other hand, maybe ...' and along with it sent a marked-up copy of Cowan's missive which his letter speaks of thus:

Enclosed is one copy of your USAFI statement with a few marginal comments. Shouldn't the "Useful words and phrases" records for shipboard use be mentioned and the cooperation of John Langenegger (?), engineer in the recording lab in the Library of Congress? Also I think the assembling of guides for so long a list of languages was interesting and something of an accomplishment.

The guides he spoke of were the Guide's Manual for Spoken X; the bulkiest of them is EM 563 for Japanese, 528 pages prepared under the direction of Mikiso Hane, an Edwards Brothers lithoprint job issued 1 December 1945. The items for shipboard use were at the time called First Level Implementation: those pairs of discs were stamped from 78 r.p.m. masters: for Cowan and Smith samples used unexpectedly, see LSA Monograph No. 23, pages 129, 130, and the plates.

The 'USAFI statement' is printed here next almost complete and inflated by inserting WES marginalia in simple square brackets [...] and Joos remarks in doubled ones [...]. Fully redundant WES pencillings have been ignored.

Shortly after Pearl Harbor, the War Department (via Army Service Forces, Moral Services Division) entered into a contract (No. W-2181-55-144) with the American Council on Education (ACE) for the establishment of an Editorial Staff for the United States Armed Forces Institute (USAFI). Among other things, the Editorial Staff was charged with the production of self-teaching foreign language courses. ACE set up the physical facility at American University.

[Joos: That campus, on the very edge of the District of Columbia beyond everything else out to the northwestward, had suspended its peacetime tasks as far as we could casually observe. Language trainees and other uniformed persons slept in its buildings now called 'barracks' and exercised on its playing fields, so that admission through its gates into its 90 acres (37 ha.) of total area immersed one in the atmosphere of a military 'facility' and a non-uniformed visitor felt lost. Officers were billeted in faculty residences; CATS and ILP trainees were everywhere; and when I finally discovered that Hockett had returned to the continental United States from his slow boat to China and was there too with Chinese informant(s) I armed myself with a letter from the Commandant at Arlington Hall introducing me and requesting all courtesies, — in particular a look-see at the Language Development shop where Hockett ought to be: no such person was locatable by telephone, so I never did see him that month, but I was welcomed in the Spanish & Portuguese crew, found acquaintances after their evening meal, and finally just went off home via Chain Bridge to a late supper.]

Policy determination on such matters as which languages were to be implemented rested with the Joint Army-Navy Committee (JA-NC). These were in turn carried out by the Army Education Branch, whose chief was William E. Spaulding, who had previously been engaged professionally in educational publishing with the Houghton Mifflin Company. The professional linguist on

Col. Spaulding's staff as Officer in Charge of the Language Section was the well-known Dr. Henry Lee Smith, Jr. [WES: He served in this capacity with the rank of Major and was known to his friends and associates as "God"]

The American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) under the guidance of Mortimer Graves had become active in the preparation of language materials for out-of-the-way languages as early as 1939. At the time of Pearl Harbor, the ACLS set up its Intensive Language Program (ILP) and J. M. Cowan, then Secretary-Treasurer of the Linguistic Society of America (LSA), became its Director. The JA-NC drew the ILP into its deliberations from the very beginning.

Feeling the need for specialized competence in editorial problems of language publishing, Director Spaulding engaged the services of José Padín, who had been the foreign language editor of D. C. Heath and Co.; Padín in turn arranged to have three Heath authors assigned to the project: François Denoeu (French), Vincenzo Cioffari (Italian), S. N. Treviño (Spanish). The Language Section assigned Dr. Morris Swadesh as a linguistic consultant. Professor Robert A. Hall, Jr., who had produced a *Melanesian Pidgin English Grammar* for the ILP, was added on the recommendation of the ACLS in February, 1943.

Because an attempt was to be made in these new courses to break with the old familiar college classroom texts and incorporate the ideas of descriptive linguists, both about the arrangement of the grammatical material and pedagogical practice, for these essentially self-teaching texts desired by the JA-NC, an experimental class in Spanish was set up at the American University under the direction of Treviño and Swadesh. A Spanish course was evolved as a rough model to be followed in the preparation of the other courses. As it finally worked out, Denoeu and Hall became the authors of *Spoken French* with Denoeu supplying the basic conversations and Hall the grammatical analysis. When it came to publication, *Spoken Spanish* bore only Treviño's name, probably because it was considered improper for a person in uniform assigned to a task to receive public credit (and royalties). Cioffari managed *Spoken Italian* without too much guidance other than conforming to the general format, which had come to be relatively fixed (30 Units [12 with phonographic recordings plus 18 without], five blocks with each block made up of 5 Learning Units and one Test Unit—a pattern of remarkable persistence even a quarter of a century later; such is the inertia of educational innovation). *Spoken Portuguese* was a sort of committee production. Padín had been unable to engage the Portuguese author he wanted and chose Margarida Reno to supply the language content; Cioffari did the grammar and Hall the transcription. All three are listed as joint authors.

[Joos: Swadesh of course regarded himself as a civilian preposterously drafted and required to be grateful for escaping some guard-duty and kitchen police; this exacerbated his outrage on being denied access to royalties—which he spurned as a Capitalist sequestering of The People's Property. And Hall retained his doubts about the grammar-theory notions of all three Heath authors.]

Readers who wish to pursue this fascinating chapter of history further will find the rest of it neatly laid out in the 'Golden Reminiscences' paper by J. Milton Cowan in the LSA Bulletin issued for March, 1975; I correct the third line from the end of the first column on page 34: Bill Smith was William S. B. Smith. And on page 33, seventh line from its end, Tigner Holmes is a casual-mention form for Urban T. Holmes; finally, just after that, the 'Assistant Professor of German' was Penzl.

Returning to the Society's Proceedings and the like for our sources, we pick up the narrative from Bulletin No. 16, issued with the April-June 1943 issue of our quarterly *Language*. It begins with three pages of Proceedings... Summer Meeting / Chapel Hill and Durham, July 10-11, 1942. Only 40 'members and members-elect' registered; absences included both the President and the Vice-President; others who attended although non-members were not recorded and could at best turn up on later lists of members but would not deserve mention, unless otherwise in this History for later deeds: in case of doubt, see the Index.

Nor did the reported 40 include either of the two Directors of the imminent 1943 Linguistic Institute at the University of Wisconsin at Madison. Memorable members present included: Cowan, Franklin Edgerton, W. J. Gedney, E. Adelaide Hahn, R. A. Hall Jr., H. M. Hoenigswald, Harry Hoijer, George A. Kennedy, R. G.

Kent, Hans Kurath, George S. Lane, Winfred P. Lehmann, Herbert Penzl, Thomas A. Sebeok, and E. H. Sturtevant. That Bulletin ends, as usual, with the current List of Members 1942, each normally listed with the current address if known: only a few of permanent interest are listed here:

Jack Autrey Dabbs, M.A., Captain, 141st Infantry, Personnel Adjutant, U.S.A. (1938); William J. Gedney, A.B., Pvt., Linguistic Service Unit, Special Service Div., U.S.A., Room 1917, 165 Broadway, 215 W. 23d St., New York City (1940); Charles Francis Hockett, Ph.D., Lt., Education Branch, Special Service Div., A.S.F. [= Army Service Forces], Hurst Hall, American University, Washington, D.C. (1939); Heinrich M. Hoenigswald, Fellow of the National School of Modern Oriental Languages and Civilizations [of the ACLS], 503 W. 121st St., New York City (1939); Urban T. Holmes, Jr., Ph.D., Principal Research Technician, Office of Strategic Services, 1445 Spring Rd., N.W., Washington, D.C. (FM); Martin Joos, Ph.D., War Department, 1201 N. Cleveland St., Arlington, Va. (1936); John Kepke, M.A., War Department, Box 1135 Central Station, Arlington, Va., 1 Grace Court, Brooklyn, N. Y. (1930; Life Member, 1935); Winfred Philipp Lehmann, Ph.D., Cpl., Signal Corps, 1233 N. Utah St., Arlington, Va. (1938); and finally ACLS President Fred Norris Robinson, Ph.D., Professor of English, Harvard University (1926): total personal members: 586.

Immediately thereafter follow the 47 names of Members of the Group for American Indian Linguistics alphabetically from Leonard Bloomfield to C. F. Voegelin, and the Bulletin ends by listing the 150 Subscribing Libraries: total text pages: 48.

Page 6 was filled solid with italic type narrating the vicissitudes of compensating for the impossibility of holding a constitutionally valid Annual Meeting when the Government has banned the requisite massive travel; it ends: 'In the following pages are presented the reports of the officers and committees of the Society, such as in previous years have been included in the Proceedings of the annual meeting.' The Report of the Secretary includes details of the 3.3% drop in net personal members, with a list of 31 who had resigned in good standing effective with the end of 1941. That was the time of the ultimate resignation of SC member John L. Gerig; the Secretary being swamped with war work, nobody pursued him. The Report of the Director of the 1942 Linguistic Institute at Chapel Hill, Urban T. Holmes, Jr., tells us that 20 students were enrolled for the full fee but we do not learn what that fee was, and the 12 others paid the \$10 fee as holders of doctorates. The Thursday Luncheons were well attended; the five speakers were Miss Hahn and Messrs. Edgerton, Kent, Hoijer, and Sebeok. The Sunday evening Public Lectures were given by Alfred Senn, Franklin Edgerton, George Kennedy, and finally a joint lecture was given by Albrecht Goetze and Myles Dillon on the common features shared by Hittite and Old Irish within the Indo-European framework.

Hans Kurath conducted the Introduction to Linguistics. Simultaneously with the Institute there was an intensive course in Portuguese directed by Urban T. Holmes, Jr., supported by the ACLS rather than being under our Society's auspices; student attendance from each group at many classes of the other group was free; that was what made it possible for the Luncheons and Sunday Evening Public Lectures to be 'well attended' when then were only 32 students enrolled in the Linguistic Institute.

These Reports record the successful invitation from the University of Wisconsin to hold the 1943 Linguistic Institute in Madison. (Eventually the 1944 Institute also was held in Madison, but that was the last Institute in Wisconsin: the vanishing of a great many rare books from the collection assembled to serve the visiting members of the Institute Faculty, some of them at extraordinary expense, was spoken of in every Administration discussion of subsequent proposals, and that was that.)

From the 1942 personal membership to the 1943 figure there was again a notable shrinkage, 22 losses or 3.9% of the net. Resignations tendered by 32 members lost us Professor Norman L. Willey, a 1935 joiner, who had taught in Ann Arbor Linguistic Institutes 1936-1940 and been one of the five-man Administrative Committee, and also lost us the other such man, Professor William H. Worrell: see p. 56! Others worth mentioning among those resigning in good standing—nobody dropped for non-payment of Dues is ever named by our Secretaries in print—include these four: Charles J. Donahue, Ph.D., Capt., Signal Corps, U.S.A. (1933), who was in a precarious state of health when Joos first saw him in the Fall of 1942, the keenest

Accordingly, we had the Biltmore Hotel convention facilities to ourselves. 'Guests' registered to the number of 28; no such name appears in our printed records apart from those who converted that status to regular membership by payment of \$5.00 Dues for the ensuing year 1945; in addition there were an unguessable number of casual visitors (one recalls a few in French and in a few in British uniforms) who did not include themselves in those 28 but did stay, perhaps for lack of anything else to do with their half-hours: traces of that phenomenon could be found, it is said, but we haven't looked for them.

Asterisks below signify that Baugh was at the same post in the 1944 and the 1943 Lists of Members; that Austin's posts were different on the record while his work was the same; and that Barnhart moved from the Chicago post to a higher-level one in New York; these *** are samples of possibilities; other, parallel cases are left unmarked but can be detected, often, by recognizing that the 1945 posts are also stated in the listing below, simply flagged by the underlined 'next' for that:

William Mandeville Austin,* Ph.D., Language Technician, Language Section, Information and Education Div., War Department, 165 Broadway, New York City, next Fellow, Intensive Language Program, ACLS, Hunter College (1937); Clarence L. Barnhart,* Ph.B., Dictionary Editor, Scott Foresman & Co., Chicago, next Dictionary Editor, Random House, New York (1935); Albert Croll Baugh,* Professor of English, University of Pennsylvania (1936); Ernest Bender, B.A., Fellow of Intensive Language Program, ACLS, University of Pennsylvania (1940); Bernard Bloch, Assistant Professor of Linguistics, Yale University, next Associate Professor (1931); Yuen-Ren Chao, Ph.D., Visiting Professor of Chinese, Harvard University (1939); Edith Frances Claflin, Ph.D., Lecturer in Greek and Latin, Barnard College, New York City (FM); Emory Ellsworth Cochran, Ph.D., Acting Chairman, Dept. of Foreign Languages, Fort Hamilton High School, New York City (1943); William Stewart Cornyn, Ph.D., Instructor in Linguistics, Yale University, next Assistant Professor (1941); Cornelia Catlin Coulter, Ph.D., Professor of Greek and Latin, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. (1927); J. M. Cowan, Ph.D., Director, Intensive Language Program, American Council of Learned Societies, Washington, D.C. (1937); Ephraim Cross, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, City College, New York City (1927); Jack Autrey Dabbs, M.A., Captain, 141st Infantry, Personnel Adjutant, A.U.S., Austin, Texas (1938); E. Jeannette Dearden, Ph.D., Language Section, Information and Education Div., War Department, Room 1917, 165 Broadway, New York City, next Somerset Center, Mass. (1939); Isidore Dyen, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Malayan Languages, Hall of Graduate Studies, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (1934); Helen S. Eaton, Linguistic Research Assistant of the International Auxiliary Language Association, New York City, next 148 Hollis Ave., Braintree, Mass. (1927); Franklin Edgerton, Ph.D., Salisbury Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, Yale University, next Sterling Professor (SC); Charles Albert Ferguson, M.A., Fellow of Intensive Language Program, ACLS, Upper Darby, Pennsylvania, next Dept. of Linguistic Analysis, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia (1942); J. William Frey, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of German and Mathematics, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, next Head of Department of German (1941); Charles C. Fries, Ph.D., Professor of English, University of Michigan, Director, English Language Institute, Angell Hall, Ann Arbor (FM); Allan Harrison Fry, Ph.D., Radio Program Officer, Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs, 3084 Dept. of Commerce Building, Washington, D.C., next 39 Green Ave., Lawrenceville, New Jersey (1939); Elizabeth F. Gardner, M.A., Assistant in Instruction in Japanese, Yale University, next Instructor (1935); William J. Gedney, A.B., S/Sgt., Language Section, Information and Education Div., A.S.F., 165 Broadway, 86 Bedford, Apt. H-2, New York City, next with residential address only (1940); Louis H. Gray, Ph.D., Professor of Comparative Linguistics, Columbia University, New York City, next Emeritus (SC); Yakira Hagalili, A.B., Assistant in Instruction of Hindustani, University of Pennsylvania, next a non-member (1943); Sivert N. Hagen, Ph.D., Professor of English, Franklin and Marshall College (1936); E. Adelaide Hahn, Ph.D., Professor of Latin and Greek and Head of Department, Hunter College, New York City (FM, Life Member 1935); Robert A. Hall, Jr., Litt.D. (Rome), Assistant Professor of Italian, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island (1935; Life Member 1943); Miles L. Hanley, M.A., Professor of English, University of Wisconsin, Madison (1929); Zellig S. Harris, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Hamito-Semitic Linguistics, University of Pennsylvania (1929; Life Member 1945); Einar Haugen, Ph.D., Thompson Professor of Scandinavian Languages, University of Wisconsin, Madison (1937); George Herzog, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Anthropology, Columbia University, New York City (1931); Charles Francis Hockett, Ph.D., Lt., Language Section, Information and Education Div., A.S.F., 165 Broadway, New York City, next Capt. (1939); Carleton Taylor Hodge, Ph.D., Fellow of the

Intensive Language Program, ACLS, 33 Kent Road, Upper Darby, Pennsylvania, next 7860 Beverly Blvd., Highland Park, Pennsylvania (1938); Heinrich (next Henry) M. Hoenigswald, Litt.D., Instructor, Department of Oriental Studies, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, next Instructor in Japanese, Hall of Graduate Studies, Yale University (1939); Fred Walter Householder, Jr., Ph.D., Greek and Latin, University Extension, Columbia University, New York City (1944); Lee S. Hultzen, Ph.D., Auburn, New York, next Assistant Professor of Speech, University of Illinois, Urbana (1937); Roman Jakobson, Ph.D., Professor of General and Slavic Linguistics, École Libre des Hautes Études, 205 W. 88th St., New York City (1941); Martin Joos, Ph.D., War Department, 205 N. Trenton St., Arlington, Virginia (1936); Henry R. Kahane, Ph.D., Assistant (next Associate) Professor of Spanish and Italian, University of Illinois, Urbana (1940); Renée Kahane-Toole, Ph.D., University of Illinois, Urbana (1940) (Mrs. Henry R. Kahane); Allen B. Kellogg, Ph.D., Instructor in English, Indiana University, Bloomington, next Professor of English, Indiana Central College, Indianapolis (1939); George A. Kennedy, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Chinese Language and Literature, Hall of Graduate Studies, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut (1937); Roland G. Kent, Ph.D., Professor of Indo-European Linguistics, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia (SC; Life Member 1927); John Kepke, M.A., Language Technician, Language Section, Information and Education Div., War Department, 165 Broadway, New York City, 1 Grace Court, Brooklyn 2, N.Y. (1930; Life Member 1935); J. Alexander Kerns, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Classics, Washington Square College, New York University, New York City (FM); Harold V. King, M.A., Instructor in Latin and French, Culver Military Academy, Culver, Indiana (1943); Alice E. Kober, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Classics, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, N.Y. (1933); Helge K. A. Kökeritz, Ph.D., Professor of English, Hall of Graduate Studies, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut (1941); Hans Kurath, Ph.D., Director of the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada, Professor of Germanic and General Linguistics, and Chairman of the Division of Modern Languages, Brown University, Providence, R.I., next Professor of English and Editor of the Middle English Dictionary, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (FM); William Rockwell Leete, M.A., Professor, Nanking Theological Seminary, 7th Floor, 150 5th Ave., New York City; 144 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass., next 175 Lawrence St., New Haven, Connecticut (1938); Wolf Leslau, Licencié-ès-Lettres (University of Paris), Professor of Semitic Languages, École Libre des Hautes Études, New York City (1943); Juan Lopez-Morillas, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Brown University, Providence, R.I. (1941); Kemp Malone, Ph.D., Professor of English, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland (FM); Clarence Augustus Manning, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of East European Languages, Columbia University, New York City (FM); Raven Ioor McDavid, Jr., Ph.D., Language Technician, Language Section, Information and Education Div., War Department, 165 Broadway, New York City, next Fellow, Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada, Box 628, Greenville, South Carolina (1937); Norman Anton (next Anthony) McQuown, Ph.D., Language Technician, Language Section, Information and Education Div., War Department, 165 Broadway, New York City, next Lecturer in Linguistics, Hunter College (1937); Karl Heinrich Menges, Ph.D., Visiting Professor of East European Languages, Columbia University, New York City (1938); William Gamwell Moulton, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of German, Yale University, Language Section, Military Gov't Div., P.M.G.O., War Department, Washington, D.C., next Captain, A.U.S., Special Project Center, Fort Eustis, Virginia, 1 Everitt St., New Haven, Connecticut (1940);

Moulton's entry illustrates so many possibilities, most of them cloaked in military secrecy, that its abbreviations can be usefully spelled out here and in part explicated for the sake of the light they throw on the Society's involvements in The War Effort: he had completed (with his wife Jenni Karding Moulton) both little volumes of Spoken German four months before the Annual Meeting (December 1944) whose attendance-list is here being accounted for; he had acquired his Direct Commission while that work was in progress at Brown University, and had been moved to Washington to finish it and supervise the printing and the making of the records at the Library of Congress: that is why the dating of the whole complex is printed as Providence and Washington, September 3, 1944, as already remarked. The work was officially then a duty-assignment in the Military Government Division of the Provost Marshal General's Office and executed under that office which had the greatest flexibility possible in choosing duty-assignments for its officers and men; then when that job was finished, Moulton became, logically enough, a Prisoners-of-War expert in the governance of such POW compounds as the Fort Eustis one ...

Mary Munch, M.A., War Department, 4602 Wilson Blvd., Arlington, Virginia, next 301 Prospect St., New Haven, Connecticut (1943); Stanley S. Newman, Ph.D., Language Technician, Information and Education Div., War Department, 165 Broadway, New York City, next c/o Embassy of the United States, Mexico D.F., Mexico (1933); Eugene A. Nida, Ph.D., Professor of General Linguistics, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 506 Commonwealth Bldg., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, next Professor of Linguistics, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 450 Park Avenue, New York City (1939); Charles J. Ogden, Ph.D., 435 Riverside Drive, New York City (FM); John B. Olli, Ph.D., Instructor in German, City College, New York City (1931); Carmelita L. Ortiz (non-member 1943 & 1944); Leo Pap, A.M., Lecturer in Spanish, College of the City of New York (1941); Herbert Penzl, Ph.D., Pvt., Language Section, Information and Education Div., A.S.F., 165 Broadway, New York City, next Assistant Professor of German, University of Illinois, Urbana (1938); Luba Petrova, Instructor in Russian, Information and Education Div., [Officers] C[andidate] School, Florence, Italy (1944); John Phelps, Attorney, Baltimore, Maryland (1929); Ernst Alfred Philippson, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of German, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (1936); Gladys A. Reichard, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Anthropology, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York City (1943); Ernst Riess, Ph.D., Emeritus Professor of Greek and Latin, Hunter College (1925); Kimberley Sidney Roberts, Allentown, Pennsylvania, next Haverford, Pennsylvania (1939); Fred Norris Robinson, Ph.D., Professor Emeritus of English, Harvard University (1926); Philip Scherer, Ph.D., Teacher of German, Stuyvesant High School, Brooklyn, N.Y. (1936); John Norman Seaman, J.D., Captain, Signal Corps, A.U.S., Arlington, Virginia (1940); Thomas Albert Sebeok, B.A., Instructor in ASTP, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, next Instructor in English (1941); Edward Henry Sehr, Ph.D., Professor of German, George Washington University, Washington, D.C. (1926); Alfred Senn, Ph.D., Professor of Germanic Philology, University of Pennsylvania (1931); Ichiro Shirato, M.A., Instructor in Japanese, Columbia University, New York City (1943); Jane Switzer, M.A., Madison, Wisconsin (1944); Frank T. Siebert, Jr., M.D., Merion, Pennsylvania (1934); Muhammed (next Mehmed) Ahmed Simsar, Ph.D., 1 University Place, New York City (1936); Taylor Starck, Ph.D., Professor of German, Harvard University (FM); Edgar Howard Sturtevant, Ph.D., Lecturer in Linguistics, Yale University, next Professor Emeritus of Linguistics (SC; Life Member 1936); Donald C. E. Swanson, Ph.D., University of Minnesota (1939); Paul Tedesco, Ph.D., Institute for Advanced Study, Honorary Fellow, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut (1938); George L. Trager, Ph.D., Chief, Linguistics and History Section, Board on Geographical Names, U.S. Dept. of Interior, Washington, D.C. (1931); R. Whitney Tucker, Ph.D., Professor of Foreign Languages, Pennsylvania Military College, Chester, Pennsylvania, next Swarthmore, Pennsylvania (1929); W. Freeman Twaddell, Ph.D., Professor of German and Head of Department, University of Wisconsin, Madison (1930); Charles Frederick Voegelin, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Anthropology, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana (1934); James Roland Ware, Assistant Professor of Chinese, Harvard University (FM); Ralph W. Weiman, M.S., Chief, Language Section, Information and Education Div., A.S.F., 165 Broadway, New York City (1942); Rulon Seymour Wells, III, Ph.D., Instructor in Japanese, Yale University (1944); William E. Welmers, Th.B., Fellow of Intensive Language Program, ACLS, Oreland, Pennsylvania (1942); T'ung Yiu, M.A., c/o Gest Oriental Library, Princeton, New Jersey (1943).

These 96 persons recorded as present in the Annual Meeting, Friday/Saturday, December 29/30, in New York City, amounted to 17% of the personal membership. No greater fraction of the total current membership has ever been assembled at any subsequent time.

In assembling all the listed personal information with each name above the plan was to create a cinematic display, a moving picture presenting the whole war-time span of our Society's personal involvements. Expanded treatment of the Moulton case, and that one alone, is conspicuous here; that, however, should not be allowed to distort the totality. Relatively few of the 96 lacked personal tasks which were categorically war-effort work. Only casual significance attaches to the uniforms worn by some and the civilian garb of others, for the military persons were most likely under orders to attend this meeting in mufti if at all. What is significant in this particular Christmas Week gathering is not in every case apparent in the list but is instead an absence, a lacuna in the list of Members resident within reach of New York City; some of us, for example Archibald A. Hill, were too firmly tied to some urgent task to leave the Washington area on either of the two days.

Whereas in the ordinary way those attending an Annual Meeting of our Society find themselves conversing exclusively about civilian matters, so that anybody in uniform is definitely out of it, the 1944 congregation in the Biltmore was almost all composed of 'civilian soldiers' who were more comfortable in 'mufti' and in conversation about language than about the exciting events overseas in that crucial season: see any chronology of events in the Second World War—to which few of us gave the journalist's name 'World War II' because that sounded illiterate: that was still long before illiteracy became fashionable among American linguists, you see. We generally didn't know about the military status of our acquaintances, and most of them were commissioned (like Hockett) and thus able to conceal the fact as the Privates, Corporals, and Sergeants were not permitted to. Exact counting thus is impossible, but an expert estimate can be given: 80 of the 96, give or take two, were being paid by the Government or by the ACLS for militarily crucial work.

Both typical and idiosyncratic was John Kepke, around whom vivid memories of that 1944 Annual Meeting mostly cluster. Born in 1891, he served in uniform on the Mexican border before 1917 as a member of the National Guard under Pershing and then got into the Plattsburg (upstate New York) Officers Candidate School and got a commission in the Artillery and was sent to France as a 'balloon observer' sent aloft behind our lines in the 'basket' of a tethered balloon to report by phone on the accuracy of our artillery's aiming by spotting shell-bursts on the maps of the terrain that our American Expeditionary Force got from the French; always a swift learner, he was returned to the United States to serve as an instructor: see the Obituary by Raven McDavid in Language 43.825-26, 1967. For this Annual Meeting he was able to register from both his home and his job; he had gone to that from his first war-effort job (February to August 1943) in Arlington Hall (alias 4602 Wilson Blvd [the address given by e.g. Mary Munch, who was by rule required to conceal its existence: Kepke, as in duty bound, gave a local post-office box as his address when Joos first knew him for those six months]), the job that he held from the day of his Arlington Hall arrival in response to distress signals from Joos, who was overloaded with Finnish translating that Kepke first handled and then trained others to do: work combining cryptography and awareness of idiom in five languages (he spoke German from childhood, and had learned Russian as well as learning both Swedish and Finnish from the Mechanical Engineering crews he met in the SKF plant [Svenska Kullager Fabrik] where he gained the basis for his first advanced degree, [Mechanical] [Engineer]; Engineers did not in that era earn the Ph.D. degree, and the ME degree had the same ranking and was conferred only on the author of a published Thesis: his dealt with improved ball-bearing journals to replace the Timken roller-bearings which had been the best heavy-duty bearings previously. In no need of ready cash, he took his SKF fee in the form of shares of SKF stock, which helped make him a millionaire in the 1920's, after which he only worked or studied for fun. (That ME thesis is not listed by McDavid; it was published in Sweden, of course, and most likely was written in German.)

Whatever Spoken Language enterprise we start out from, if we continue toward completing a survey we very soon encounter the denizens of Bascom Hall, at that time the principal humanities building of the University of Wisconsin in Madison; and if we in the 1930's sought out the personal leadership we were told to look for them between classes in the University Club at the foot of Bascom Hill a quarter of a mile away towards the State Capitol building one mile further to the east. A letter to Joos from Twaddell dated 24 December 1973, and a slightly later postcard together say: 'I was uncommonly many-hatted: a technical linguist, a classroom language teacher, administrator [as Chairman of German and of ad-hoc committees], diplomat with the local military hierarchy, channel via Uncle Milt [Cowan] to and from the Provost Marshal [General]'s office and some other War Dept (as we called it then) agencies. That, God wot, was enough ... at least USAFI was not one of the important contributors to the burdens. ... I was not in charge at USAFI on the occasion of the LSA Annual Meeting of 1944. It is quite possible that I was pressured into attending because of that uncommon combination of linguist-teacher-administrator-curriculum designer. Not to speak of my wanting to use

such travel-authority as I had for the purpose of getting together with the brethren.'

[In twaddellian language, 'brethren' is a technical term, belonging to the same semantic field as 'uncle' (e.g. 'Uncle Milt' = J Milton Cowan) and 'cousin' (e.g. 'Cousin Martin'), for various stable placements among fellow academics. Here we may usefully adduce these names from the 1944 Annual Meeting: Twaddell had written his Ph.D. Dissertation under Taylor Starck in Germanics at Harvard and still today is glad to acknowledge a relation of devotion toward him. Marginally, E. H. Sehr of George Washington University was involved in ways gratefully remembered four decades later.]]

Einar Haugen, Thompson Professor of Scandinavian, had come to Madison two years later than Twaddell, at the beginning of the 1930's, and remained until 1964 before moving on to Harvard, 18 years after Twaddell's 1946 move to Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, his home base nowadays in 1976. We'll return presently to this pair of close friends, after saying more about two others who also used Bascom Hall, Alfred Senn and Miles Lawrence Hanley.

Senn was born in France of Swiss parents in 1899, and was naturally in school in Switzerland at the outbreak of the War; he eventually got his Ph.D. there in 1921, and went to Lithuania to continue his studies in the Baltic languages. After nine years in Lithuania, he came on a study grant to the 1930 Linguistic Institute at CCNY, arriving a little late because of being detained a few miles away at Ellis Island by deeply puzzled Immigration functionaries who debated whether he ought to be deported because he filled in both the 'Professor' box and the 'Student' box on the landing form; moreover, was he a French or a Swiss or a Lithuanian citizen, or even a stateless refugee who ought to be carrying a Nansen passport? When Institute Director Sturtevant at last got word of this, he sent a two-man task force to Ellis Island, Karl Reuning and Franklin Edgerton, who untied or cut the Gordian Knot in less than an hour: a few minutes to interview Senn, and then a telephone consultation with the Commissioner of Immigration, who happened to be a boyhood chum of Edgerton's—they wore same Old School Tie!

After the Institute, Sturtevant took Senn to Yale for an interim year as Sterling Fellow; and there the negotiations were centered during 1930-31 while Senn made up his mind to stay on our side of the Atlantic and bring his wife and children to America. Sturtevant, Prokosch, and others sifted the qualifications of campuses which both had good libraries and could provide a teaching position for a scholar who, no matter what academic title was given him, intended in any case to keep on compiling Lithuanian materials towards a modern dictionary of the standard language with the coöperation of Europeans. Now the University of Wisconsin had so many of the requisites that a visit to Madison took place within the Fall Semester. Notably, the Library had been building up steadily since about 1868 and had never suffered damagingly from political storms or even Depression scanting and was now found to be outstanding in just those fields which interested Alfred Senn. Professor Julius Olson, Head of Scandinavian Studies, who appointed Haugen after an interview in 1930, had taken Wisconsin's considerable Finnish population under his wing as geographically and culturally Scandinavian and automatically Baltic languages too, steps in which he had the warm support of A. R. Hohlfeld of the Department of German. Senn had come with his own check-list in hand, and now found (to his surprise: he had not really credited the fame of Madison as The Athens of the Midwest) that a lot of his listed books were shelved in Madison, in the Library of Congress, and nowhere else in all North America—not even Yale. At the end of the Spring season, in 1931, Alfred Senn was appointed Professor of Germanic and Indo-European Philology, so far within the Department of German; one year later, when Arthur Gordon Laird retired, Senn moved a little way along the corridor to become Laird's successor as Chairman of the Department of Comparative Philology, still with the major part of his salary retained as an item on the German budget—so that Hohlfeld called upon him to teach a fairly long list of advanced courses and seminars.

The six years 1931 to 1938, ending with Alfred Senn's departure for the University of Pennsylvania, included midway the development of Twaddell's Monograph No. 16, On Defining the Phoneme. Towards perfecting that, Senn's puzzlement was

crucial: paragraph by paragraph, it showed Twaddell which arguments would have to be spelled out more thoroughly to be intelligible to European readers; and one positive contribution has been certified to Joos: 'Guess what! Alfredo has just seen the light: Phonemes, he said to me yesterday, were what makes it possible to write a language alphabetically, and was that a fair statement? Nothing could be fairer, I said, and thanked him for the formulation.'

Twaddell and Haugen recognized each other as natural allies within half a year of first meeting in Madison. Both were born in that remarkable year of 1906 which gave us a group of three Presidents of the Linguistic Society of America within a single lunar month: Twaddell and Trager were both born on the 22nd of March and Haugen 28 days later. They met, Twaddell recently told Joos, in the University Club on a day that was extremely cold and dry, so that friction of shoe-soles on the carpet electrified the one to come second and caused a startling shock when their hands touched; that means that they met in a month when Bloch and Joos both were in Massachusetts in the first winter of Linguistic Atlas field-work. Haugen has reacted characteristically to a draft for the present page, protesting that he profited a great deal more from what he got from Twaddell than Twaddell could have learned from him. 'The influence was all the other way around,' says his letter to Joos in March, 1974, 'since I owe my introduction to general linguistics to him, after having been trained by George T. Flom at the University of Illinois in Old Norse and historical linguistics.' However, what the draft specifically had in view was such lessons as can be learned in field interviews and in no other way. Haugen had begun taking systematic notes from voices of Scandinavian immigrants and their descendants, born anywhere from the middle of the 19th century to a few years previous to his visits to the 1930's farmsteads (or villages) where they lived. Twaddell, in contrast, did his researches on campuses, in classrooms, or at home with wife, children, and perhaps visitors; hence he was fascinated by experiences on farms that he could now learn about from experts.

Subsequent language publication by either Haugen or Twaddell was normally somewhat colored, usually enriched, by slants derived from the other. For the academic year 1933-34, Twaddell had been made a member of the Program Committee of the campus Language and Literature Club, and had been requested to spice the year's half-dozen monthly meetings with 'something about the Phoneme' now that Bloomfield's 1933 book Language had appeared and was disturbing the peace in language departments including English. Bloomfield came for a lecture visit early in 1934; the writing of On Defining the Phoneme got started promptly, beginning with a letter from Twaddell to Bloomfield requesting criticism of one or two restatements of the book's and the lecture's messages, and ended when the Twaddell typescript was mailed off to Editor Bolling. Its footnotes were placed by design so that the dead-pan rejection of a note frivolously inserted from a Joos letter could be cut out editorially; it can be read today as the last footnote of the Introduction, page 7, and more conveniently in the reprint in Readings in Linguistics I, where it ends page 56 as fn 9. When that vulnerable footnote survived into the printed Monograph No. 16, March, 1935, Twaddell took that as an example of Bolling's well-known pawky humor, not realizing that in the crucial year 1934 the mechanics of his editing had to be delegated because of cataract trouble. [That must also have been the mysterious reason why the Joos review of Zipf's book, The Psycho-Biology of Language, was preposterously altered from the approved page-proof by adding a terminal 'e' to the first word of Godfrey Dewey's title, Relativ Frequency of English Speech Sounds, stolen from midway in the Joos spelling of judgement in the same review—a misspelling which still today keeps turning up in all references to Dewey's book by title and likely will persist.]

The Haugen-Twaddell coöperation just once generated a jointly signed item, their 'Facts and phonemics' in Language 18.228-237, 1942. Otherwise there are acknowledgements such as that in fn 1 of the first page of Monograph 16, 'In the preparation of this study I have drawn heavily upon several of my friends. ... My colleagues Professor A. Senn, Professor E. I. Haugen, and Mr. David Sheldon have been most helpful. I am indebted to Professor Leonard Bloomfield...'

When Twaddell in 1946 left Madison to go to Brown University the uprooting left traces behind in the Department of German in Bascom Hall; one was a handful of pristine copies of Monograph 16, and another trace was something that came to the surface accidentally in the Summer of 1967: in the Department's dead storage area called the Rumpelkammer which sometimes was unvisited for two years straight, we found more than seven issues of Language from the years 1942 and 1943, among them Trager & Bloch, The Syllabic Phonemes of English, 17.223-246, with notes in Twaddell's hand red-pencilled in its margin, e.g., p. 235, fn 21, opposite the 7 lines that run 'The total pattern is best revealed ... while /w/ is lowered' we find:

Consider wog = wuw. Phonetic resemblance!

and twice we find, in "... " which evidently flag the word as a quotation from one or another Trubetzkoyan disciple or from the Master himself, actualized opposite red-underlined 'the element heard as a lengthening of the vowel ... may be some kind of semivowel' on p. 239, late in section 11, and again on p. 240, opposite lines 10-14, wherein there are scattered red underlinings, single or doubled, thus:

What is the phonemic interpretation of the lengthening element which we have been writing with a raised dot? It cannot be any of the vowels, not even /ə/ (in spite of the phonetic resemblance), since there is no example anywhere else in the total pattern for two vowels in succession. It functions like the two semivowels /j/ and /w/, and like these must be reckoned a consonant ...

Joos guesses that this is one of the two personal copies of Language, either that of Twaddell or (conceivably) that of Haugen, which served to assemble their ideas by being passed between them and between conferences held by Twaddell while he drafted the text of their 'Facts and phonemics' article; it also bears black-pencil markings ascribable to either man, not numerous, and always simply down along a margin or placed as a short underlining; once a black arrow points to fn 12, to agree, seemingly, with the Trager & Bloch wording 'admittedly subjective ...'

In strong contrast to this holograph evidence of a known collaboration, Joos remarks in 1976 that the Haugen-Twaddell interaction produced, normally, not a salad of separately discernible ingredients but instead: an omelette which we could never undertake to unscramble, yet salted with personal wit and flavored with a peculiarly Scandinavian grim-seriousness that friends can both detect.

Now instead of giving two personal names to such ingredients, we can equally account for this interaction, plus dozens of other interactions as well, by pointing to the peculiarly Madisonian milieu in which this and indeed the whole development of the USAFI complex burgeoned; and, spreading out from Madison, we encounter the home of George Tobias Flom, Haugen's teacher in the University of Illinois, still within the confines of the same fairly small County of Dane (!) less than 20 miles (or 30 km) to the southward of the State Capitol and the University campus. Closer to the campus and to Capitol Square a mile east of it, we immediately see on the map that the ground-space is squeezed, confined, between Lake Mendota to the north and Lake Monona to the south of the mile-long State Street linking one to the other, so that that street is the axis of a slender area between the lakes; also, taking a broader view, we see the Capitol situated centrally on a mile-wide isthmus between the western University moiety and the northeastern factory area that is richly served with railroads and is the locale for Madison's light industry and generally highly-skilled workers' residences, while the hotels were originally all around Capitol Square and the department stores too, leaving State Street as the core of the Student Quarter and the place for light lunches and other conveniences. The terrain has of course always fostered an automatic symbiosis of Students and Faculty, especially on the fringes of the Campus area to the westward of Bascom Hall where both Haugen and Twaddell dwelt for many years in the 1930's, and the continual infiltration of new Faculty members, half them naturally staying for only two years and up to six years before that crucial Promotion to Associate Professor or Moving On to a job on another campus, and the details of the symbiosis viewed as an economic interdependence profiting both the job-holding students and the households of young professorial staff where the students tended furnaces, mowed

lawns, shoveled snow or raked leaves, did odd jobs and even carpentry according to individual talents, or equally well tutored children in algebra or Spanish or sat them while parents were out for an evening, or did the same for neighbors, the physicians, or lawyers, and some who were hardly distinguishable from members of the State Legislature or actually were members or judges; the police mostly lived on the other side of Capitol Square. The typical young-faculty house, or as a case of equal probability the typical Professor's Widow's house, had two floors plus a convertible Attic aloft, and below the front-porch level an almost totally convertible Basement, making four levels of occupancy in all. It was in the home of the Widow Terry that the Haugens and the Twaddells dwelt, in layer-cake relation of the two households (the Attic having been first converted elaborately with built-ins for the Twaddells) from the Summer of 1932 onward for three or four years until the Twaddells moved to a house they rented totally for themselves a scant ten-minute walk from the Terry house where the Haugens stayed on in the Attic plus the floor below it.

[Terry was always in the Physics Department and his specialty was vacuum-tube oscillators, in the initial and continuing development of which he was one of world's pioneers though not a patentee as far as Joos knows. In the biennial City Directory, Earle M. Terry and his wife Sadie (once Sarah in the 1909 edition) can be found in successive houses with successively more room for students to live there too and be listed by name, until his demise during the year 1928-1929 while Joos was working for the Western Electric Company in its Hawthorne communications-equipment factory employing over 50,000 of us at times; today, there is an endowed chair in Madison, the 'E. M. Terry Professorship', whose incumbent maintains the Physics Museum where visitors can see successively bigger and better functioning Oscillator tubes which Terry made by hand from the departmental stockroom's supply of varieties of glass, of platinum, and of tungsten metal (nowadays 'wolfram' metal, symbol W), apart from those totally destroyed behind Terry's wired-glass screening by explosion instead of simple burn-out. Terry's personal traits—extreme shyness, dedication to students in small groups or singly, tenacity in decades-long programs, sweetness towards serious students asking for help—were taken for granted among Electrical Engineering students who were assigned to him for High Voltage Laboratory. We never said he was Jewish. We had heard or read the word anti-semitism and wondered whether we would recognize it if it turned up in Madison! And that is the background reason why Martin Joos, on first seeing Bloomfield, felt he belonged in a Physics laboratory, a reason only recognized four decades later: Earle Terry and Leonard Bloomfield, say the long-buried memories, were alike enough to have been brothers.]

From his cellar-level private laboratory in Sterling Hall Professor Terry sent out his wireless news and music, as 'Experimental Madison Station [XM] in the ninth territorial district of the United States' which gives his official call 9XM, beginning in 1916 as a specially licensed exception to the universal black-out of Amateur Radio for the duration of the War. Eventually he used an antenna wire strung about 100 meters uphill to a steel-tubing flag-pole planted just outside the southwest corner of Bascom Hall, thus a scant 3 meters (10 feet) distant from the window of the German Department's basement-level office occupied by Chairman A. R. Hohlfield in the 1920's and eventually by his successor as Chairman, W. F. Twaddell. Haugen's office-space was less stable in size and in location, always in Bascom Hall and usually fairly close to the German area; Hanley's, two floors higher in the English Department's core-area in the northern wing of Bascom.

In the context of the 1944 Annual Meeting of the LSA in New York, these notes can serve to characterize the Madison frame within which Haugen and Twaddell spent an almost random assortment of relaxed hours and fractions together, the matrix of their informal collaboration in research-based language pedagogy. Haugen's two-volume formal report, perfected March 10, 1952, is The Norwegian Language in America, published jointly by the American Institute at the University of Oslo and the Department of American Civilization, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, University of Pennsylvania, and printed and bound in Norway, subsidized by the Norwegian National Research Council 'Norges Almenvitenskapelige Forskningsråd' and the Ministry of Church and Education, xiv + 317 + vii + 377 pages.

That is Haugen's formal post-war report on his American Norwegian research in a third of a century (during which he published numerous articles and reviews on the nature of personal bilingualism and bilingual regions in general) and counts as the core of his scholarly work; meanwhile, and beginning with his Madison arrival, he was developing practical books for college teaching of Norwegian in regions of its retreat as a cradle and community language. Antecedent to the USAFI books is the mimeographed Beginning Norwegian whose construction towards issuance in 1934/1935 took place in the Terry house; its 1937 letterpress form (New York: F. S. Crofts & Co.) was followed in 1940 by Reading Norwegian to constitute a new basis for college teaching of the language in modern spelling and contemporary idiom. One base for them was built up by his students counting word-forms in the oldest, the 19th-century, and the contemporary forms of literary Norwegian, the latest of them being the text of 15 volumes of Sigrid Undset with well over a million running words: see the review, Language 18.302-304, 1942.

To finish the list of Madison people to be accounted for in reporting the 1944 Annual Meeting, we turn to Miles Hanley as the remaining Faculty member of the group. On returning to Madison in 1934 from Linguistic Atlas work since 1931, he was assigned (apart from his office in Bascom) a capacious space that had been condemned as totally unusable, namely the unwanted fractions of the condemned building on the former Engineering grounds on lower Bascom Hill, anciently the first 'central heating plant' still standing with its moderately tall chimney and a quantity of 19th-century coal-dust. In 1930 it had been re-named Radio Hall; for better than three decades it was the home of the nation's pioneer Educational Radio Station, renamed from 9XM to WHA. That was where about two dozen of us impecunious students made the Index Verborum to Joyce's *Ulysses*, duly included in Haugen's Norwegian Word Studies (reviewed as mentioned above in Language) as an item in the 32-item Bibliography early in the first volume of the 2 volumes.

The foregoing accounting, beginning on page 132 with John Kepke, deals with the personalities best known to Joos among the 96 known to have attended the Annual Meeting of the LSA in December, 1944, in New York City. At the inevitable cost of over-emphasizing each event in which Joos was a participant a single point of view has been used to illuminate the central years of the Society's career; and within the years of most rapid flux, 1940-1945, the 1944 Annual Meeting serves best for gathering together bundles of personal careers where they intersected just then, and following some of the most illuminating of them backwards from there and to a useful extent forwards beyond 1950. There can be no question but what several other personal viewpoints than this single one could have served, but that can't be helped: no other single person has been found to undertake the present task.

There is also a built-in bias in naming only those 96 persons who attracted the historiographer's attention but leaving unmentioned certain others who were too young to have become visible. In partial correction, we take from Language 18.306 & 307, 1942, thirteen names under the rubric 'The following have been elected to membership in the Linguistic Society' with information still of interest in 1976:

Ainsley M. Carlton, Ph.D., 315 Georgetown Ave., San Mateo, California; Indo-European and Germanic linguistics.

Robert T. Clark, Ph.D., Professor and Head, Department of Germanic Languages, Louisiana State University; New Haven, Connecticut; Germanic and general linguistics.

A. Ferdinand Engel, 1143 New Hampshire St. N.W., Washington, D.C.; Italian.

Charles A. Ferguson, A.B., Graduate Student, University of Pennsylvania.

Edna E. Fritsch, M.A., Instructor in Phonetics, Moody Bible Institute of Chicago.

Kenneth H. Jackson, M.A., Associate Professor of Celtic, Harvard University.

Fred Lukoff, Graduate Student, University of Pennsylvania; African and Semitic linguistics.

Anne Milliken, Navy Department Civil Service; 2912 Dumbarton Ave., N.W., D.C.

Jacob Ornstein, Ph.D., Instructor in Spanish and Portuguese, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri; 423 Randolph St., N.W., Washington, D.C.; Romance and Slavic philology.

Richard Saunders Pittman, A.B., Apartado 20, Cuautla, Mor., Mexico; American Indian languages.

G. Raymond Shipman, M.A., Editor, Bureau of the Census, Dept. of Commerce; 1821 P St., S.E., Washington, D.C.; Indo-European and Romance linguistics.

Earl E. Tidrow, Jr., A.M.; Instructor in French, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island; Old French.

William E. Welmers, Th.B.; Graduate Student, University of Pennsylvania; Semitics.

Of these, Ferguson and Welmers were the only two to attend the 1944 Annual LSA Meeting, two years later than this listing.

Twelve months later, the Government's ban on 'conventions' was again imposed for the 1945 Holidays, and with good reason. With the official cessation of the War, first in Europe and then in and near Japan, the families and friends of Service-men inundated Washington with letters and telegrams and personal visitations to insist on bringing The Boys home from overseas without delay. With the next national election, not of a President but of 435 members of the House of Representatives plus 32 Senators out of the total of 96, constitutionally fixed in the first days of November, 1946, so that the whole of 1946 was under political-campaign pressure, the result was inevitable: Demobilization, the voters were told, was in safe hands. In fair weather and foul, winter or spring or summer, North America's railroads and airlines were overloaded until late in 1946. Civilians either traveled daringly by Greyhound bus or by personal automobile on much-patched tires, or hitch-hiked or arranged, many weeks in advance, to travel by train with a bottle-baby, or got a reservation for one person, the mother alone, on train or plane, optimistically resolved to insist on holding the seat when threatened with loss of it by being displaced ('bumped') at some way-station by a ticket-holder who held a higher Priority, a thing that could occur a dozen times during the journey from D.C. to Madison.

The 1946 Summer Meeting was more satisfactory. Deprived of the hoped-for 1945 Annual Meeting, Members received a Bulletin reporting Executive Committee informal consultations during October/November which also promised further progress and reports early in 1946; finally, there was confirmation of what had been rumored, that the Executive Committee's authority to act in the name of the Society in any matter whatever (except amending the Constitution) had been used to make E. Adelaide Hahn the 1946 President.

The weeks leading up to the Summer meeting of the Executive Committee late in the Summer Session at the Linguistic Institute in Ann Arbor were rife with talk about plans for the 1946 Annual Meeting to be held in Chicago on days overlapping the conventions of five 'affiliated' societies, old and recently founded ones both, namely the American Anthropological Association, the American Association of Physical Anthropologists, the American Folklore Society, the Society for American Anthropology [meaning the anthropology of indigenous peoples of the Americas from Alaska to Patagonia, especially 'cultural anthropology'], and the Society for Applied Anthropology [which Philleo Nash had just invented]. Those others had their own paper-reading sessions planned to begin with Saturday 27th December and to end with Monday the 29th; the LSA sessions according were to begin with that Monday and continue as long as necessary, conceivably including New Year's Eve but in any case ending early enough for escape from the festivities predicted for that very first such evening in seven years without war-clouds over it.

President Hahn had a scheme for splitting the 1946 Annual Meeting into an Eastern and a Western moiety, explaining that that had been done before (in some circumstances which have become obscure to historiographers now) by splitting into Northern and Southern sessions. That started a wrangle which could be given space on this page but will not—since both Cowan and Twaddell refuse to state its details and no other first-hand report is possible any longer now. To Adelaide, the APA always was the Senior Society, the LSA the junior one. The discussions revolved around the very real danger of allowing fragmentation to characterize the future forevermore if allowed to commence just then, the year for rebirth. A title, Rump Session, was finally settled upon for the Rochester APA/LSA one, and in the closing days of the Summer Meeting, when Joos presented his acoustic phonetics lecture she presided—and asked whoever could to come to Rochester.

Since there was no person charged with a duty to sign up the LSA members present in the joint session with the APA, the only names we can be sure of were the three who presented papers in a late-afternoon gathering after the American Archaeological group's meeting: Edith Claflin, Robert A. Hall, Jr., and Henry M. Hoenigswald. All three remained in the East; but President Hahn came to Chicago by overnight train so that she was there to preside over the Executive Committee's sessions in the Palmer House, 22 years to the minute after she had been on hand to count the house when the Society held its initiating Meeting.

On the Monday, and again on the Tuesday, our Annual Meeting was visited by all sorts of persons, probably over twice as many as are listed as 'members and members-elect' in the subsequently printed Proceedings; there we find 57, but two of them—M. S. Cox and G. R. Herner—must have neglected to pay any Dues, for both are absent from all membership lists. Deleting them, we list 55:

Bennett, Berg, Bloch, Bobrinskoy, Buck, Cowan, Edith Crowell, A. L. Davis, Dillon, Dunkel, W. F. Edgerton, Gelb, Georgacas, Gerstung, Goodwin, Jean Griffith, E. Adelaide Hahn, Haugen, Heffner, Joos, Kepke, Kerns, H. V. King, Kurath, Lane, Leopold, Levy, Lounsbury, McDavid, McGailliard, McQuown, Messing, Metcalf, Mutziger, Nida, Paper, Penzl, Petit, Pike, Scherer, Sebeck, Seifert, Sherman, H[elen] Hide Shohara, Aasta Stene, Swadesh, Swanson, Trager, Twaddell, Voegelin, von Grunebaum, Wise, Wolff, Wonderly, Yamagiwa.

Certainly at least 45 of these 55 persons—better than 4 out of 5—indelibly mark the permanent history of the Linguistic Society of America and so of linguistics. Readers may profit from comparing this with another statistical fact, p. 131.

VI: RECONVERTING: 1946 - 1950

The Chapter ending with Page 139 carried the external history of the Society to the end of December 1946. Now we step back to the end of 1945 and further back to the first week of October just before that. The Japanese surrender had just taken place; we are about to narrate events which Joos could see only dimly, and yet the Joos point of view is the only one that can be kept under control in the narrating.

In the last days of September, that is to say during the last few days of FY 1945 (= Fiscal Year 1945, after which FY 1946 would extend for 12 months to 1 October 1946), there came to the Joos desk in Arlington Hall, where routine work was now continuing on improvements in deciphering equipments, an official letter from a high-level Foreign Service Officer in the Department of State which offered Joos an advancement in Civil Service rank and 'permanent' appointment (in contrast to early release from the current emergency appointment which was likely to vanish with the official end of hostilities) if he would undertake to develop, beginning as soon as the transfer could be managed and in any case 'prior to' 15th December, a language teaching 'facility' within the Department of State's Diplomatic and Consular Service for which the outline of planning had already progressed during the months beginning 1 July 1945 to the point where one 'highly qualified' boss was to be found and offered the job, and was Joos a Citizen of the United States cleared for sensitive employment? Yes? Good; and here is the Job Description, and would Dr. Joos just take it home and prepare, during the next few days, a Table of Organization with job descriptions and requisite capabilities of each slot within it, plus the budget for salaries and supplies needed during an initial fiscal year; then in a final interview the agreement would be firmed up and prepared for top-level signatures which would make it a Contract of Employment.

The papers Joos carried off home (was his wife a native-born citizen and fully discreet—that is, would she keep mum, making sure of never finding out what her husband was doing to earn that handsome projected salary?) were too utterly goofy to be taken seriously; and yet... The basic idea was to teach each extra language, beyond the normal French that every FSO called home for refresher courses was to study to the extent needed, filling the remainder of his 35-hour week principally devoted to International Law and the Rule Books, entirely in after-hours Evening Voluntary Laboratory work, 5 or ten such hours a week, or in extreme cases 12 or 15 hours; the Facility was to be equipped with all the Linguaphone disc-records in the world, and work-books and examinations to match; and if perchance those were not quite adequate, the Facility could procure, on Joos's requisition which could presumably be countersigned and put through in a month or so each time, a set of those phonograph records which had been rumored to eventually be used in a school called USAFI way out in the Midwest some place so that we could get them free of cost through channels if Joos thought they could possibly be used for supplementary study; and now Dr. Joos must forgive him for rushing off but Jester—was that really his name? yes, the framed document above his desk was issued to O. Jester—was already 10 minutes late for a Very Important Interview and thank you very much.

It took until the next day at 10 o'clock to find out how to reach Haxie Smith on the telephone, and another 24 hours before hearing his voice. Thereafter, Joos and Smith kept each other (and Milt Cowan) informed while each separately did detective work on his own grounds and elsewhere. Joos repeatedly sent written reports; Cowan's voice was heard occasionally; Henry Lee Smith, Jr., never wrote to Joos, who was not sure of having extricated himself from a precarious position until the word came through, late in January, that Dr. Smith was actually on the ground in Washington and had lined up some warm bodies from 165 Broadway.

Besides the work which the military men in that establishment expected those lamentably un-disciplined men to execute, there was of course other activity with languages that would have been hard to explain to the Inspector General. Part of that was something which the experts believed necessary, namely, construction, at least sketchily complete, of at least one inverse spoken-language course, which was to deal with e.g. the English/Spanish problem as one of learning English when the learner's native language is Spanish. Somehow the 'inverse' came to be so often replaced by 'inverted' and 'reversed' that eventually, when a standard word had to be adopted for letter-writing and the like, it turned out to be 'reverse' and the first of them, a miniature mimeographed one for learning English in Mexico, was privately circulated with the title El inglés hablado and usually called/cited as 'the Reverse Spanish' book. Rewritten repeatedly amid considerable discussion for more than two years, worn out and ultimately destroyed each time except for souvenir sheets, it was ultimately mimeographed afresh before an ample supply was transported to Washington in January, 1946, and there used up in various ways that need no further discussion here. Year by year thereafter, both in the State Department's Foreign Service Institute and in the Division of Modern Languages of Cornell University, the two ends of what was referred to as 'The Washington-Ithaca Axis' rather privately, there came to be more of those things for various languages; and presently they acquired a model with an official title: Structural Notes and Corpus was multilith-manufactured in a very large number of copies containing ten Groups of five Lessons each, intended to constitute the first half of a Volume One, while development went on, to a second volume of comparable size, which was to complete the project as a whole as it developed coöperatively in the Ithaca-Washington axis. That second volume was never converted into field-service books as it stood; its multilith form followed along just 3/4 of the way in the basic format, and then was temporarily closed and manufactured with plastic-spiral 'binding' in a hundred or so copies ending with a single sheet of 'Group 15: Lesson 75' that was soon supplemented with unbound sheets to the number of 28, bearing 56 pages, which read:

Note to teams:

The material for the remaining five groups will be given in a skeleton form, in order to get the most important parts of it into the hands of the two teams concerned in a hurry. ...

The two teams immediately concerned are welcome to add their own reading lessons, additional ... If there is demand and time, the General Form staff will prepare such materials during the summer (July-August). [... of 1952]

The Joos home study in Madison, Wisconsin, has a perfect set of those 28 sheets as well as a copy, Copyright 1954, published by The Committee on the Language Program, American Council of Learned Societies, Washington, D.C., of Book II (Preliminary Edition) of the whole as already described, ending with Page 434.

In January of 1946, however, the 'Reverse Spanish' was carried by Dr. Smith to Washington in the form of a freshly cut set of mimeograph stencils and quite a number of souvenir pages of the penultimate 165 Broadway form. Clearly there would have to be something of the sort, but this one had issued from its cradle in rather primitive condition and was regarded as a make-shift: 'Haxie was definitely unhappy with it,' says a Cowan letter to Joos in 1974; but it remains unclear just what epoch this remark would best fit, and we needn't say any more about it.

The first letter-press book entitled El inglés hablado, Copyright 1952, was published by Henry Holt and Company. Its tone and a good many of its details are best clarified by the record of who was where in the 1948 and later Membership Lists. By 1948 the staff in the Cornell Division of Modern Languages included Agard, Cowan, Fairbanks, Hall, Hockett, Moulton, Olmsted, Paratore, Partridge. The 1949 recruits, Clarity, Frith, Goodison, and Charles Cleland Harris, rounded out the earliest dozen of Cornell names; and Cowan by letter tells Joos that in the course of 1950 he 'had a staff (Welmers, McDavid, Seeler, with Hockett giving general supervision and Agard doing the Reverse Spanish) working on the development of Structural Notes and Corpus as well as some students working on the various other reverse courses.'

Parallel to those 16 Cornell names, we find on the LSA List of Members this partial roster of persons who state that they are members of the Foreign Service Institute, Department of State, in most instances adding illuminating information on their status there: John M. Echols, Ph.D., Language Instructor (1934 Member); Charles A. Ferguson, M.A., Language Instructor (1942); Carleton T. Hodge, Ph.D., Language Instructor (1942); Edward A. Kennard, Ph.D., Foreign Service Institute, Dept. of State (1947) without statement on placement; Naomi Pekmezian, M.A., Language Instructor (1946); Henry Lee Smith, Jr., Ph.D., Assistant Director for Language Training, Foreign Service Institute, Dept. of State (1936); George L. Trager, Ph.D., Language Instructor, School of Language Training, Foreign Service Institute (1931). Then we may add, to those seven FSI staff members for 1947, two added beginning with 1948 or 1949: Fritz Frauchiger, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Linguistics (1941); Lili Rabel, A.M., School of Language Training, Foreign Service Institute, Dept. of State (1949). Now nine names make a strikingly short list compared to the 16 Cornell names. But there are plenty of obvious reasons for that illusory disparity. In Cornell, those scholars filled the peak of a school which students entered from high schools with very high rankings in humanistic studies; in the FSI, everything was inevitably dominated by the general philosophy of a hive of budding diplomats: 'Don't make waves; strive to match the French in urbanity and Culture, the Arabs in subtlety, the British in probity (marry into a good family, of course) and Keep Your Nose Clean—and you may make Ambassador in thirty or forty years if you choose the Right Languages Right Now—or be left waiting in Limbo: it's mostly blind luck anyhow, so why worry about it at all!' Also, and crucially, the State Department's permanent book of rules forbade FSI people to maintain active participation in such entangling alliances as, e.g., the academic affiliations with one's College Professors and Alumni Associations if not specifically directed and authorized to do so for Foreign Service reasons. In those circumstances, it was tantamount to a near-reversal of Policy when Dean Smith delicately introduced the FSI titling of individuals with standard Academic Ranking, apparently beginning when Fritz Frauchiger was taken on with the rank and salary offered him that corresponded to his civilian achievements. The LSA List of Members, however, is not a safe authority for a historiographer to rely on in individual instances, since many of our Members don't bother to correct it but let the entry stand unaltered despite academic promotions.

The foregoing pairs of rosters of involved LSA members certainly are far from exhausting the totality of members who in December of 1948 were active enough in the missions of the Society to merit listing just here; but we must not attempt too much in the present Chapter. There will be very little real loss to readers, since the desiderated names, or pairs or small clusters of names, will come in along the way, and together will add up to an impressive list. (See our Index for others!)

During the late summer weeks of 1950, Mortimer Graves prepared a little brochure of 3 sheets of paper folded and saddle-stitched into a 12-page self-cover pamphlet; its front cover, not numbered as a page, reads

A NEGLECTED FACET OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY PROBLEM

By Mortimer Graves

American Council of Learned Societies

1219 Sixteenth Street, N. W.

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The first verso page, overleaf from that cover, is called '1' and the facing recto is '2' and so on through the final, verso, page reading

Washington, D. C.

October 15, 1950

Mortimer Graves

[[The text inside follows next, all omissions signalled by ... as usual]]

((Readers are presumed able to date the invasion of South Korea...))

The product of American industry spreads all over the world. Wherever there is a paved road there is an American automobile ... Half of the world's trains run

on American rails. No region is too remote to be the concern of American diplomacy. And all too frequently American armed forces must ply their trade in lands and among peoples whose very names would have been unknown to an earlier generation.

One would suppose accordingly that many Americans would be equipped with scientific and detailed understanding of these multifarious cultures, that the United States would lead the world in the study of foreign lands no matter how distant, that no society could be named for which there was not an American expert, and that the American academic structure would reflect this world-perspective. Unfortunately a true picture is almost the reverse of this.

[In continuing we reprint rather less than a quarter of the remainder:]

Those of us who participated at the beginning of the second World War in the frenzied search for Americans having even a nodding acquaintance with those civilizations and areas suddenly made pressingly important, remember how ridiculously unprepared the United States was for participation, to say nothing of leadership. We improvised, some might say, magnificently, but our pride in this improvisation should not blind us to the fact that it should not have been necessary. And even the improvisation was the child of crisis; as the crisis subsided, almost *pari passu* the newly won academic interest in the remoter continents ebbed, until now the candid observer finds little hope for improvement until the onset of another crisis ... a schedule of what seems to be our minimum needs, dividing the world into about forty areas of cultures and civilizations and indicating the number of Americans trained in each of these areas and readily available below which it would be dangerous for us to fall, viz.:

| | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----|-----------------------------------|-------|
| Australia—New Zealand | 20 | Mexico | 50 |
| Balkans | 30 | Moslem World | 30 |
| Brazil | 30 | Netherlands | 10 |
| Central Africa | 20 | Northern South America | 30 |
| Central America | 50 | Philippines | 20 |
| Central Asia | 15 | Polynesia | 10 |
| China | 100 | Portugal | 20 |
| Eastern Mediterranean | 30 | Russia | 100 |
| Eire | 10 | Scandinavia | 20 |
| France—Belgium | 50 | Siberia | 10 |
| Germany | 50 | South Africa | 10 |
| Great Britain | 50 | Southeast Asia | 30 |
| India | 50 | Southern South America | 50 |
| Iran | 10 | Spain | 30 |
| Italy | 50 | Turkey | 15 |
| Japan | 30 | West and North Slavs | 30 |
| Korea | 20 | West Coast of South America | 40 |
| Malaysia | 20 | Western Mediterranean | 20 |
| Melanesia | 10 | TOTAL | 1,070 |

Within each of these areas, in addition, one would wish further distribution by disciplines—economics, literature, philosophy, the sciences, etc.

These figures are to a very considerable degree arbitrary ... and yet there is no argument by which any one of them can be deemed extravagant when we consider that we are talking about the facilities of a nation of one hundred and fifty million people, the richest and most powerful the world has ever known. Rather would it seem that the figures represent an absolute and almost trivial minimum. Nevertheless, after all the forced draft of a total global war and a decade of world-wide activity, we are not equipped with even an approximation to this minimum.

[Seven of the eleven text pages are omitted at this point!]

... No contribution to the preservation of peace can be so great as that which could be made by greater American fundamental knowledge of that three quarters of the world which lies outside of the West European North Atlantic zone. And even the successful prosecution of a war is impossible without this knowledge. Pearl Harbor and its consequences were the ghastly price of American ignorance of the

Far East. Twenty-five thousand American casualties and billions of dollars are down payment on American ignorance of Korea; the instalments have not yet begun. And unless we do something about it soon, American ignorance of Turkey, Iran, Uzbekistan, Indo-China and twenty other areas promises even less attractive dividends.

Washington, D. C.

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Ten months earlier, Graves had visited the Society's Annual Meeting of 1949 and heard certain papers presented which obviously could not have been written at all but for the war-time experiences of their authors. Publications representing two of the new lines of thought are Hoenigswald's 'The principal step in comparative grammar' in *Language* 26.357-364, 1950, and then not much over a year later the powerfully seminal paper by Zellig Harris, 'Discourse Analysis' at 28.1-30. (Others could equally well be mentioned here, but this is not the place for full inventories.) Together, those two papers show that after three years of post-war recovery, the membership's research and publications were proliferating anew, displaying startling phenomena for which no Line of Descent is evident other than derivations from the forced inventiveness of the War years which involved linguists in cryptography situations that stimulated hitherto unknown applications of literary categories to utterly non-literary puzzles of desperate urgency; that was what we learned to call a 'spin-off' like the new technologies emerging from Space twenty years later or so in response to the Life Support problems of airlessness aloft.

In LSA Bulletin No. 19, dated October-December 1946, we find the reports that enable us to decipher the records that are almost visible in successive Lists of Members: The extraordinary Executive Committee meeting held in February, 1946, of course included the formal reports of Editor Bloch and Secretary-Treasurer Cowan:

Following Mr. Bloch's report, Mr. Cowan reported that the stock of certain of the publications undertaken jointly by the Society and the Intensive Language Program of the American Council of Learned Societies had been turned over to the Society for future distribution. This action was reported in the minutes of the Executive Committee of the ACLS for June 16, 1944, as follows:

The [ACLS] Administrative Secretary [Mortimer Graves] reported that several of the earlier publications issued by the Intensive Language Program of the American Council of Learned Societies had recouped to the Council from sales their full cost of production, and he recommended that the remainders of the editions and the rights and interests of the Council in the publications be transferred to the Linguistic Society.

Voted, To authorize the transfer to the Linguistic Society of America of all rights and interests of the Council in the following publications, together with such stocks of them as remain unsold on June 30, 1944: Outline Guide for the Practical Study of Foreign Languages, Bloomfield; Outline of Linguistic Analysis, Bloch and Trager; Melanesian Pidgin English: Grammar, Texts, Vocabulary, Hall; Melanesian Pidgin English Phrase Book, Hall; with the reservation, however, that the proceeds from any single sale of more than one hundred copies of ... Phrase Book ... shall accrue to the Council.

Next in the same LSA Executive Committee meeting, February, 1946, we find that Cowan quoted an ACLS Executive Committee's Minutes of its meeting of the previous December 13th, 1945:

The Director [Hans Kurath] reported on the progress of the Linguistic Atlas of the United States, and submitted estimates for the completion of the field work in the South Atlantic States during the next eighteen months. Mr. Cowan reported that a fellow of the Intensive Language Program, Mr. McDavid, had been allowed to devote two months of his tenure to field work for the Atlas in South Carolina, when it developed that the Intensive Language Program's project on which he had been working was impossible of completion at this time. The Director [Kurath], with the approval of Mr. Graves and Mr. Cowan, recommended an appropriation of \$6,000, chargeable to the Linguistics* Research Fund, for the completion of the field work on the Atlantic Seaboard, pending the organization of the new* Committee on the Language Program. It was agreed that an appropriation of \$6,000 for this purpose, chargeable to

the Linguistic* Research Fund, should be included in the vote of appropriation [which the ACLS Executive Committee was planning to recommend to the annual meeting* of the American Council of Learned Societies scheduled for January 24th and 25th at the Westchester Country Club, Rye, New York].

**** As the First World War came to its end of hostilities in Western Europe, the several national Academies set about preparing for their future, and sent delegates to the Versailles conference to do in concert whatever they could get agreements for. Waldo Gifford Leland (born 1879 in Newton, Massachusetts) in 1901 got an A.M. in History at Harvard and then embarked on what was probably a sort of Grand Tour in Europe, acquainting himself especially with museums and languages with special emphasis on French. In 1903 he became a staff member in the Carnegie Institute of Washington, a status maintained continuously to 1927, eight years after the ACLS was formed with Leland as its 'organizing secretary' and evidently with the simple purpose of qualifying the United States for membership in the International Union of Academies: alone among the nations of Europe and the Atlantic regions, we had no national academy, and that was impossible to explain in French to any of Leland's compeers, so (with the approval of the Carnegie Institute and of others, no doubt) he gave out that we had something equivalent and native, a self-organized Council of learned societies devoted to humanistic studies of which he was the organizing secretary. Thenceforth and until he retired in 1946, Leland was by title the ACLS Permanent Secretary, functionally its actual Director; the title 'Permanent Secretary' is disused since Leland's retirement and the concomitant reconstruction of the ACLS total structure and the functions of its Committees.

LSA Bulletin No. 23 says that LSA Delegate to the ACLS W. F. Twaddell, at the December 1949 Annual Meeting, reported to the Business Meeting there that

The Council's activities during the past year have been chiefly aimed at reorganization of its own structure and a new Executive Director's familiarizing himself with his work. [That was not Mortimer Graves: we know him as Executive Secretary, a seemingly minor shift from his Assistant status but in fact involving a total overload of added functional burdens] This is promising for the future; but it has involved a certain slowing down of Council activities in some fields, including linguistics. [Joos omits a good deal here]

The funds available to the Committee on the Language Program (J. M. Cowan, H. G. Doyle, S. A. Freeman, H. L. Smith jr., W. F. Twaddell; Mortimer Graves ex officio) have decreased, and no new grants have been made available as yet. The Language Program of the Council has thus consisted chiefly in terminating the Intensive Language Program; a modest program of scholarships and fellowships to the Linguistic Institute has been continued, on a slightly reduced scale.

That Language Program always was just whatever the ACLS was doing that was classed as a language-program item; and that can be here editorially defined as excluding the translation program which began much earlier and flourished in the 1930's and helped publish especially translations from Arabic, especially since grants (from whatever source, and often the ACLS was not involved) for translating typically came with a proviso that none of the grant money was available for book-printing, and also as excluding translation from Classical languages; in other words, the ACLS language program in the 1940's and 1950's dealt with fresh research projects in modern languages, usually neglected or non-school languages.

Half a year later Twaddell's Committee on the Language Program was dropped from the roster of ACLS working committees during June of 1950, and a 'new' one with partly retained membership was appointed; in the LSA Annual Meeting of 1950 in Chicago, he reported (as LSA Delegate to the ACLS) officially that

The Council's Committee on the Language Program met twice. In June, the old committee prepared a docket of agenda for the new committee, which was to come into existence on July 1. In November, the new committee considered the needs of the immediate future, in particular the program of cooperation with the linguistic activities of the Department of State. The Committee on the Language Program consists at present of the following members: J. M. Cowan (chairman), S. A. Freeman, M. Joos, A. H. Marckwardt, H. L. Smith jr., and N. A. McQuown (secretary).

We of the New CLP [Joos remarks] in our first meeting felt that six of us alone, even with Mortimer Graves sitting in (which he could not do in every half-day, worse luck) would be somewhat deficient in dealing with the enormous range of proposals that might be referred to us for study and recommendation, and what if one of us were to be forced to skip a meeting? Then Marckwardt agreed to ask Graves about that, and brought in a totally satisfactory answer. There would be no objection to our co-opting additional persons on particular problems; or in case we anticipated an accumulation of problems calling for a particular expertise we could ask for the CLP to be enlarged. In consequence, Bernard Bloch and A. A. Hill were immediately added; and before the first twelvemonth had passed, Stephen Freeman had missed two successive meetings and then resigned: attendance at two or three meetings each year in Washington had become unhandy for him, now that his other obligations had increased.

Meanwhile Smith had begun to bring in one deputy or another of his from the Foreign Service Institute, Department of State, e.g. his fiscal expert Howard Solenberger or his tape-recording expert Robert Stockwell, so that the membership in the CLP seemed to become diffuse, hard to define even on a single occasion; and again, when the Joos Book Construction shop got started in 1953-1956 and the ACLS focal office soon thereafter abandoned Washington in favor of a floor or two in a New York City building conveniently close to United Nations Plaza, we come to the 18-year segment of LSA History which Archibald A. Hill is to write starting with Chapter VII.