

Specimen

Inhalt / Contents / Sommaire

Aufsätze / Articles

Gonçalo Fernandes, Rolf Kemmler:
Controversies in the History of Linguistics. A Foreword 3

Paola Cotticelli-Kurras, Francesca Cotugno:
Modistic Grammar under Debate. Lorenzo Valla and the
Humanist Reconfiguration of Linguistic Heritage in Syntax (13th–15th c.) 9

Anneli Luhtala:
Robert Whittington in the “Grammarians’ War” in England (1519–21) 27

Gerda Haßler:
When Does Comparative Linguistics Begin?
On the Historicity of the Criteria of Scientificity 42

Rolf Kemmler:
A War of the Words in Early 19th Century Lisbon.
From the *Juizo imparcial sobre varios pontos grammaticaes* (1806)
to all-out war in the *Guerra Grammatico-Critica* (1807) 53

Bernhard Hurch, Sarah Melker:
Methode und Argumentation. Physiologie und Lautwandel im späten 19. Jahrhundert 76

Serhij Wakulenko:
Zwei Abhandlungen unter demselben Titel. Eine virtuelle Polemik zum Thema
Sprache und Volkswesen zwischen Esaias Tegnér und Alexander Potebnja 95

Guillermo Toscano y García:
Lo científico es un deporte de combate.
Sobre la polémica entre Amado Alonso y Arturo Costa Álvarez 117

Ezra Nhampoca, Gonçalo Fernandes, Isabel Viana:
Tone, Ideophones and Orthographic Controversies.
Missionary Linguistics, Colonial Ideology and the Making of Mozambican
Bantu Linguistics in Ribeiro’s *Gramática Changana* (1965) 139

Kateryna Karunyk:
Controversy between the Ukrainian Soviet and Émigré Linguists
over Issues of Language Standardization (1960–80s) 157

Sophie Jollin-Bertocchi:
Controverses sur la notion de phrase 176

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Controversies in the History of Linguistics

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Begründet von
Klaus D. Dutz & Peter Schmitter

Herausgegeben von
Gerda Haßler (Potsdam)
Angelika Rüter (Münster)

in Verbindung mit

David Cram (Oxford), Miguel Ángel Esparza Torres (Madrid),
Stefano Gensini (Rom), Ludger Kaczmarek (Borgholzhausen),
Masataka Miyawaki (†), Jan Noordegraaf (Amsterdam),
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| | |
|---|-----|
| <i>Gonçalo Fernandes, Rolf Kemmler</i> | |
| Controversies in the History of Linguistics. A Foreword | 3 |
| <i>Paola Cotticelli-Kurras, Francesca Cotugno</i> | |
| Modistic Grammar under Debate. Lorenzo Valla and the Humanist Reconfiguration of Linguistic Heritage in Syntax (13th–15th c.) | 9 |
| <i>Anneli Luhtala</i> | |
| Robert Whittington in the “Grammarians’ War” in England (1519–21) | 27 |
| <i>Gerda Haßler</i> | |
| When Does Comparative Linguistics Begin? On the Historicity of the Criteria of Scientificity | 42 |
| <i>Rolf Kemmler</i> | |
| A War of the Words in Early 19th Century Lisbon. From the <i>Juizo imparcial sobre varios pontos grammaticaes</i> (1806) to all-out war in the <i>Guerra Grammatico-Critica</i> (1807)..... | 53 |
| <i>Bernhard Hurch, Sarah Melker</i> | |
| Methode und Argumentation. Physiologie und Lautwandel im späten 19. Jahrhundert..... | 76 |
| <i>Serhij Wakulenko</i> | |
| Zwei Abhandlungen unter demselben Titel. Eine virtuelle Polemik zum Thema Sprache und Volkswesen zwischen Esaias Tegnér und Alexander Potebnja | 95 |
| <i>Guillermo Toscano y García</i> | |
| Lo científico es un deporte de combate. Sobre la polémica entre Amado Alonso y Arturo Costa Álvarez | 117 |
| <i>Ezra Nhamopca, Gonçalo Fernandes, Isabel Viana</i> | |
| Tone, Ideophones and Orthographic Controversies. Missionary Linguistics, Colonial Ideology and the Making of Mozambican Bantu Linguistics in Ribeiro’s <i>Gramática Changana</i> (1965) | 139 |
| <i>Kateryna Karunyk</i> | |
| Controversy between the Ukrainian Soviet and Émigré Linguists over Issues of Language Standardization (1960–80s)..... | 157 |
| <i>Sophie Jollin-Bertocchi</i> | |
| Controverses sur la notion de phrase | 176 |

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Gonçalo Fernandes, Rolf Kemmler

Controversies in the History of Linguistics

A Foreword

Debate and polemic have been constant companions of linguistic thought. Between continuity and rupture, established authority and theoretical innovation, “neutral” description and ideological intervention, the history of the language sciences is shaped as much by conflict as by consensus. *The XXXII International Colloquium of the Studienkreis “Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft” (SGdS)*, held in Vila Real from 6 to 9 September 2023, explicitly took this insight as its point of departure. The call for papers recalled that, “from the beginnings of the teaching of classical or even modern languages up to the most recent times, there have always been polemical disputes between individual authors or even among representatives of entire schools”, and invited contributions on this “area of conflict between long-established and novel considerations” as a particularly fertile terrain for historiographical work.

This special issue of *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft*, titled *Controversies in the history of linguistics*, brings together a selection of papers that for the most part were first presented at that colloquium, subsequently revised and expanded. The ten papers cover a wide range of time periods and geographical areas — from medieval scholasticism to Soviet Ukraine, from early modern England and Portugal to Argentina and Mozambique — and they show that controversies arise on many levels: regarding concepts and descriptive categories, regarding methods and criteria of scientificity, regarding spelling and grammatical norms, and regarding language policy and ideological agendas.

From the late Middle Ages to Renaissance humanism, Paola Cotticelli and Francesca Cotugno’s article on Modistic grammar and its critics, and Anneli Luhtala’s study of the “Grammarians’ War” in England (1519–1521), both examine disputes in which the very object and epistemic status of grammar are renegotiated. The speculative grammar of the Modists, built on the triad *modi essendi – modi intelligendi – modi significandi* and aspiring to the rank of a universal *scientia*, is attacked from within scholasticism by anti-Modists who contest its ontological underpinnings while preserving its syntactic metalanguage. Within this reconfiguration, Lorenzo Valla (c.1406–1457) appears not simply as an anti-scholastic polemicist, but as the initiator

of a new regime in which grammatical authority is grounded in *usus*, philology and rhetoric. Somewhat later, in the English context, the conflict between the humanist camp led by William Lily (c.1468–1522) and the more traditionalist stance of Robert Whittington (c.1480–1553) dramatizes the shift from a grammar rooted in medieval logic and precepts to one focused on the imitation of classical authors and new pedagogical ideals. In both cases, controversies over specific rules or examples reveal deeper tensions over what grammar is, what it should explain, and how it relates to logic, rhetoric and education.

Debates about what counts as “scientific” linguistic work also structure several contributions. Gerda Haßler’s article asks when comparative linguistics begins, and with what criteria of scientificity. By revisiting eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century projects — from the German naturalist Peter Simon Pallas (1741–1811)’s *Linguarum totius orbis vocabularia comparativa* to Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro’s (1735–1809) *Catálogo de las lenguas* to the *Mithridates* by Johann Christoph Adelung (1732–1806) and Johann Severin Vater (1771–1826) — she questions the common practice of reserving the label “truly scientific” for the German linguists Franz Bopp (1791–1867) and Jacob Grimm (1785–1863), as well as the Danish linguist Rasmus Kristian Rask (1787–1832), and their Russian contemporary Aleksandr Xristoforovič Vostokov (1781–1864). These earlier authors already practiced systematic word comparison, reflected on language relatedness, and proposed global classifications to link languages, peoples and histories. The controversies of their time — about the limits of vocabulary comparison, the need to include grammatical structure, or the influence of climate and geography — show that the criteria by which we judge what is scientific are themselves historically contingent. Bernhard Hurch’s and Sarah Melker’s study of the place, rejection, and persistence of experimental and instrumental phonetics in nineteenth-century linguistics revisits the polemics surrounding an emerging laboratory-based approach to speech sounds. Using, among others, the case of Hugo Schuchardt (1842–1927), they show that the exploration of palatograms, pressure measurements and laryngeal observation long predates the canonical phonetics of Paul Passy (1859–1940) and Jean-Pierre Rousselot (1846–1924), and that debates over their legitimacy prefigure later discussions about the relationship between natural-scientific techniques and philological or comparative traditions.

Other papers concentrate on what might be called “grammar wars” in Romance contexts, where disputes over rules, norms and teaching intersect with institutional and political struggles. Rolf Kemmler’s reconstruction of the *Juízo imparcial sobre varios pontos grammaticaes* (1806) and the *Guerra Grammatico-Critica* (1807) offers a detailed case study of a Lisbon quarrel that began with a public grammar examination in 1804 and escalated into a printed pamphlet war. The protagonists — Diogo de Melo e Meneses (1751–1847), a Hieronymite monk and Latin teacher; Manuel Francisco de Oliveira (1773–1842), a secular Latin teacher; and Lucas Tavares (?–1824), rhetoric teacher — argue over syntactic doctrine and examples, but also over precedence, authority and the role of religious versus lay teachers in the reformed educational system of the post-Pombaline era. Grammar here is both a technical and a political battleground.

In early twentieth-century Argentina, as Guillermo Toscano y García shows, the establishment of the Instituto de Filología at the University of Buenos Aires (1922) and its direction by Spanish philologists trained in the Ramón Menéndez Pidal (1869–1968) school became the object of a sustained polemic with Arturo Costa Álvarez (1870–1929), who advocated a normative programme focused on the “Argentine” variety of Spanish. Reading this controversy through the lens of Pierre Bourdieu (1930–2002)’s theory of the scientific field, Toscano y García highlights how it crystallized competing definitions of legitimate linguistic science (philological-historical vs. normative-national) and competing forms of authority (academic-degrees and international networks vs. local prestige and media influence). Although the Spanish philological model prevailed institutionally in the short term, the debate anticipated later discussions of national standards and the position of Latin-American varieties within Hispanic linguistics.

Questions about the relation between language, nation and power surface particularly clearly in the contributions by Serhij Wakulenko and Kateryna Karunyk. Wakulenko’s “virtual polemic” between Esaias Tegnér (1843–1928) and Aleksandr Potebnja (1835–1891) juxtaposes two different ways of conceptualizing the nexus between language and “peoplehood” in the late nineteenth century: on the one hand, Tegnér’s more instrumental, conventionalist view, in which languages can in principle be exchanged without essential loss to the nation. On the other hand, Potebnja’s view of language as the primary medium of thought, inspired by Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835) and of *narodnost*, whose loss through language shift entails a deep transformation of consciousness. Karunyk’s study of the controversy between Soviet and émigré Ukrainian linguists over standardization issues in the 1960s–1980s documents a highly asymmetrical but intense polemic. Exiled linguists such as Roman Smal-Stocki (a.k.a. Smal'-Stoc'kyj; 1893–1969), Jaroslav B. Rudnyckyj (a.k.a. Rudnyc'kyj; 1910–1995), George Y. Shevelov (a.k.a. Jurij Ševel'ov, Jurij Šerex; 1908–2002) and others denounced the Soviet policy of Russification: lexical and morphological calques, suppression of specifically Ukrainian phonological and grammatical features, and ideologized reinterpretations of language history. In response, linguists at the Kiev Institute of Linguistics, under Ivan Bilodid (a.k.a. Beloded; 1906–1981), promoted the official discourse of “mutual enrichment” and “harmonious bilingualism” and published attacks (under pseudonyms) accusing the émigrés of “bourgeois nationalism”. The controversy, while driven by strong ideological constraints on the Soviet side, hinged on detailed technical questions of codification and had lasting consequences for post-Soviet debates on orthography and norms.

Another contribution extends the focus to missionary linguistics and colonial settings (Zwartjes/Hovdhaugen 2004, Zwartjes/Koerner 2009; Zwartjes 2011, Regúna-ga/Zwartjes 2020). Ezra Nhampona, Gonçalo Fernandes and Isabel Viana’s article on tone, ideophones and orthographic controversies in Armando Ribeiro (1924–1981)’s *Gramática Changana* (1965) shows how a detailed and in many respects innovative description of a Mozambican Bantu language is intertwined with Portuguese colonial ideology and Catholic evangelization. Ribeiro positions himself in orthographic debates between “scientific” alphabets and Portuguese-based systems, criticizes the idiosyncratic solutions of other missionaries, and seeks a compromise

between phonetic adequacy and practical readability. At the same time, his grammar and later grammatical dictionary negotiate the status of ideophones and other Bantu-specific categories within a largely European classificatory framework, and explicitly frame linguistic study as a tool for “civilizing” and “assimilating” local populations.

Finally, controversies can also centre on concepts and descriptive units internal to linguistics itself. Sophie Jollin-Bertocchi’s contribution on the notion of “sentence” in French linguistics revisits several decades of debate about whether the sentence is a theoretically valid and operational unit, especially for spoken language. From its relatively late adoption in French grammar, in tension with the older logical concept of “proposition”, through its central role in structural and generative approaches, to its critique by scholars of oral syntax and discourse (who point to hanging topics, ellipses, dislocations, and the mismatch between punctuation and syntactic structure), the sentence has been variously defended, redefined, supplemented (by notions such as “clause” and “period”) and rejected. Jollin-Bertocchi shows that no alternative model has yet achieved wide consensus, and that the sentence persists in major reference grammars, albeit often in explicitly prototypical and pragmatically motivated definitions. The controversy over what counts as a basic unit of analysis thus exemplifies how core linguistic concepts are historically shaped and contested.

Across these various case studies, some common lines emerge. Foundational paradigm shifts tend to crystallize in controversies: the transition from Modism to humanism, from philosophical grammars to comparative linguistics, from purely philological to experimental phonetic approaches, all unfold through explicit or implicit polemics. Tensions between description and norm, between documenting actual usage and prescribing standards, persist in different guises in early modern England and Portugal, in twentieth-century Argentina and Ukraine, and in missionary settings in Africa. Linguistic decisions that may appear technical — choice of spelling, acceptance or rejection of certain forms, adoption of particular categories — are often deeply entangled with projects of nation-building, colonization, religious conversion or metropolitan cultural dominance. And crucial analytical categories (such as “sentence”, “ideophone”, “nationality”) are themselves products of historical negotiations and disputes rather than timeless abstractions.

Methodologically, the contributions in this volume draw on the rich toolbox developed by the historiography of linguistics in recent decades: the notion of “grammatization” as articulated by Sylvain Auroux (1994), highlighting the role of grammars and dictionaries as technologies that reshape languages; the insistence, in the work of Ernst Friderik Konrad Koerner (1939–2022; 1989, 1995, 2014) and Pierre Swiggers (2004, 2012, 2013, 2019, 2020), on contextualizing linguistic ideas within their intellectual, institutional and social environments; the attention to language ideology and power relations foregrounded by Jan Blommaert (1999) and José del Valle and Luis Gabriel-Stheeman (2002); and more generally, the multi-volume *History of the Language Sciences* edited by Auroux, Koerner, Niederehe and Versteegh (2000–2006), which has encouraged comparative and transnational perspectives.

By foregrounding controversies, this special issue does not seek to cultivate polemics for their own sake, but to argue that contentious issues — their arguments, their rhetorical forms, their asymmetries of power — are crucial for understanding how linguistics and grammar have developed, where their blind spots lie, and how their concepts and practices have been shaped.

We wish to record our profound gratitude to all the contributors for the care, seriousness, and scholarly dedication with which they revised, updated, and deepened their chapters for publication in this special issue. We are equally indebted to the editorial board of *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft* for its support and for recognizing the value of bringing these studies together in a dedicated volume. It is our hope that the controversies examined here, far from belonging solely to the past, will continue to inspire critical inquiry into the history of linguistic ideas and to generate new discussions of enduring historiographical significance.

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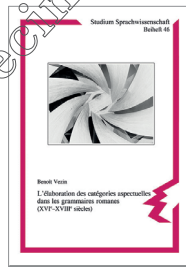
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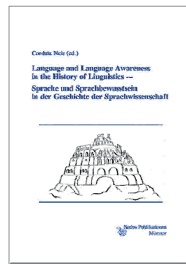
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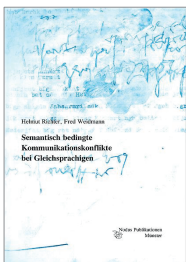
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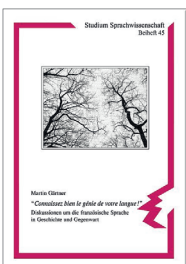
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Gerda Häbler
Leiterstraße 10
DE-14473 Potsdam
hassler@uni-potsdam.de

Angelika Rüter
c/o Nodus Publikationen
Lingener Straße 7
DE-48155 Münster
dutz.nodus@t-online.de

Oder an:

David Cram (Jesus College; Oxford, OX1 3DW; U.K.; david.cram@jesus.ox.ac.uk)
Miguel Ángel Esparza Torres (Universidad Rey Juan Carlos; Campus de Fuenlabrada; Camino del Molino s/n; E-28943 Fuenlabrada, Madrid; maesparza@cct.urjc.es)
Stefano Gensini (Università degli Studi di Roma “La Sapienza”; Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia; Dipartimento di Filosofia; Via Carlo Fea 2; I-00161 Roma stef_gens@libero.it)
Ludger Kaczmarek (Freistraße 2, D-33829 Borgholzhausen; l.kaczmarek@t-online.de)
Masataka Miyawaki (†)
Jan Noordegraaf (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam; De Boelelaan 1105; NL-1081 HV Amsterdam; info@jnoordegraaf.nl)
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