Mori Arinori's "Simplified English:" A Socio-Historical Examination

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Abstract

The late nineteenth century was the time in which several English reform movements were advocated on both sides of the Atlantic. In the historical studies of English, however, little attention has been given to "simplified English," which was proposed by Mori Arinori (1847-89), a Japanese chargé d'affaires to the United States. Mori's thesis of "simplified English" is an attempt to regularize the inflection and orthography of English for the benefit of the Japanese. This proposal is intriguing in that it soon invited some animated discussions as to the worldwide adoption and simplification of English in the 1870s' United States. This paper revisits the debates to claim that Mori's proposal evinced responses that were not as negative as was considered before; in fact, they were even somewhat positive. I first deal with what Mori's "simplified English" is from a socio-historical point of view. I then reexamine the critical evaluations of "simplified English," focusing on three responses from American scholars that appeared in a few journals in the 1870s. This study should contribute to providing some implications for American ideas on English in the late nineteenth century, in which varieties of English began to emerge.

I Introduction

With the rise of evolutionist ideas in the study of language as well as pseudo-linguistic thinking, several English reform movements were advocated on both sides of the Atlantic in the late nineteenth century. Histories of English have dealt with such movements as Alexander M. Bell's "World-English" (1888) and Isaac Pitman's "Phonography" (1883) both of which challenged irregularities in English spelling or grammar (e.g., McKnight 1928; Baugh and Cable 1993) Andresen (1990) discusses the spelling reform movements from Webster to Whitney in the United States from the linguistically historiographical point of view. Bailey (1992) traces a wide range of attempts to improve English from the sixteenth to the twentieth century, based on abundant evidence of English-speaking people's voices.

However, these studies, except for Bailey (1992) do not refer to "simplified English," which was proposed by Mori Arinori (1847-89) a Japanese chargé d'affaires to the United States. Mori's thesis of "simplified English" is an attempt to regularize the inflection and orthography of English for the benefit of the Japanese. This proposal is intriguing in that it soon invited some animated discussions

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as to the worldwide adoption and simplification of English in the 1870s' United States, although the advocator Mori was neither a native speaker of English nor a student of English.

While it has been disregarded in the history of English, this proposal of the famous Japanese diplomat has been studied in such areas as the history of Japanese studies and the history of Japanese education. But previous research in these fields has justly concentrated on Japanese responses to it and neglected the contemporary responses of Americans. A few references known to us to explain American responses to Mori's "simplified English" are Takahashi (1934) and Hall (1973) Takahashi Tatsuo, a Japanese philologist, states that William Whitney admonished Mori that his reckless attempt to abolish a native language and adopt a foreign language could never be accomplished and could even threaten the basis of the nation (Takahashi 1934: 387) Ivan Parker Hall, who has researched the history of Japanese education, concludes on this issue that "all available evidence suggests that the reception of Mori's proposal was overwhelmingly unfavorable, both in Japan and abroad" (Hall 1973: 194) However, neither of these studies offers a fair evaluation of the proposal, providing any concrete evidence of actual American responses in the late nineteenth century.

In the present paper, I deal with Mori's "simplified English" to deepen our understanding of the English reform movements in the late nineteenth century. I first discuss what "simplified English" is from a socio-historical point of view. I then reexamine the critical evaluations of "simplified English," focusing on three responses from American scholars that appeared in a few journals in the 1870s, which have been ignored in the historical studies of English.

II What is Mori's proposal?

It is properly desirable to describe Mori's proposal in detail before moving on to reexamining the critical evaluations of "simplified English." However, it is not so easy to illuminate the whole picture of his proposal, which was advocated from 1872 to 1873. We find only a few materials available¹, which do nothing but convey fragmentary information. In spite of this fact, it is fairly certain that Mori's proposal can be roughly divided into two chief claims: one concerns the adoption of English in Japan, the other the simplification of the language.

In this section, I discuss Mori's "simplified English" from a socio-historical point of view. I first present the context of his contention that Japan should adopt English as an official language, using the sociolinguistic notion of *diglossia*. I then show how Mori attempts to simplify the orthography and grammar of English.

1 The adoption of English

We begin our consideration with the question of why Mori attempted to introduce English into Japan. Some researchers have confused the adoption of English with the abolition of Japanese. For instance, as we saw in Section I above, Takahashi calls Mori's proposal a reckless attempt to abolish a

native language and adopt a foreign language (Takahashi 1934: 387) But this understanding is questionable.

In order to understand his intention completely, we need to introduce the sociolinguistic concept of diglossia into our discussion. Diglossia is "one particular kind of standardization where two varieties of a language exist side by side throughout the community, with each having a definite role to play (Ferguson 1959: 325)" Ferguson (1959: 336) points out that one of the characteristic features of this linguistically coexistential situation is that in addition to the primary dialects of the language, there is a very divergent, highly codified, superposed variety, which tends to be the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community. According to him, this prominent variety "is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation (Ferguson 1959: 336)" Typically, an ancient prestigious language is called the high variety (H-variety) which is used in government, the media, and education, while a modern vernacular is called the low variety (L-variety) which is used in the family, with friends, etc.

These *diglossic* circumstances are also true of premodern Japan. Until the unification of the spoken and written languages in the late nineteenth century, there was an estrangement between the written language, which was classical Chinese, and the spoken language, which was vernacular Japanese. Consequently, classical Chinese functioned as the H-variety, while vernacular Japanese was regarded as the L-variety. Mori describes this situation as follows:

... the written language now in use in Japan, has little or no relation to the spoken language, but is mainly hieroglyphic a deranged Chinese, blended in Japanese, all the letters of which are themselves of Chinese origin.

(Mori 1872b [1978]: 48)

For him, however, classical Chinese was not useful to modern Japan, which was adopting Western civilization, but rather "a great drawback to our progress" (Mori 1872b [1978]: 48) But, if it had not been for classical Chinese, only indigenous Japanese would have subsisted, which was also extremely useless to modernization. Mori states in his letter to William D. Whitney in what condition vulgar Japanese was in those days:

The spoken language of Japan being inadequate to the growing necessities of the people of that Empire, and too poor to be made, by a phonetic alphabet, sufficiently useful as a written language, the idea prevails among us that, if we would keep pace with the age, we must adopt a copious and expanding European language.

(Mori 1872b [1978]: 47)

Here we notice that Mori describes vernacular Japanese as "inadequate" and "poor," whereas he represents a European language (English in this case) as "copious" and "expanding." This difference between them proceeds from the quantity of vocabulary that is capable of expressing a diversity of modern ideas with accuracy. This gap impressed Mori with want of vocabulary in vernacular Japanese.

In addition to the *diglossic* problem, there was also a pragmatic reason, which was the increasing intercourse with the world as a "commercial nation" (Mori 1872b [1978]: 47) Mori states as follows:

The necessity for this arises mainly out of the fact that Japan is a commercial nation; and also that, if we do not adopt a language like that of the English, which is quite predominant in Asia, as well as elsewhere in the commercial world, the progress of Japanese civilization is evidently impossible.

(Mori 1872b [1978]: 47)

He keenly realizes that vernacular Japanese is insufficient even for foreign commerce. Accordingly, this fact led him to the idea that the demand for a new language such as English was vital to the rapidly growing commercial association with foreign countries.

Thus, Mori was faced with both internal and external problems at the dawn of modern Japan. The domestic problem was the *diglossic* rift between the written and spoken languages. The external one, on the other hand, was the rapidly increasing intercourse with foreign nations. Mori's proposal rose from these two problems.

2 The simplification of English

In the previous section, I considered the reasons why Mori dared to propose that Japan adopt English with alacrity. In this section, I move on to the question of how Mori attempted to introduce English into Japan. I also discuss how Mori attempted the simplification of English.

Mori's main claim on language reform is a shift from "hieroglyphic" to "phonetic" basis both in English and in Japanese. In his view, "hieroglyphic" refers to quite a few etymological spellings² in English and all the *Kanji*, Chinese characters, in Japanese, while "phonetic" means orthography that is consistent with actual pronunciations. He construes these "hieroglyphic" elements as irrational and inconsequential for both language learning and language teaching. Consequently, he advocates two linguistic reforms:

One suggestion is the romanization of vernacular Japanese. Mori tries to write vernacular Japanese, which had been written in both *Kanji*, Chinese characters, and *Kana*, Japanese syllabic characters, so far, using the Roman alphabet. He states as follows:

The only course to be taken, to secure the desired end, is to start anew, by first turning the spoken language into a properly written form, based on a pure phonetic principle. It is contemplated that Roman letters should be adopted. Under such circumstances, it is very important that the alphabets of the two languages under consideration Japanese and English be as nearly alike as possible, in sound and powers of the letters.

(Mori 1872b [1978]: 48)

The second proposal concerns the simplification of English. Although he advocates the immediate adoption of a new language, Mori recognizes that English has a large number of obstacles, which might impede the introduction of English into Japan. According to him, they are chaotic spellings and irregular inflections in English. These complicated elements may be obstacles to native speakers of English as well as foreign learners. Mori, therefore, proposes the creation of "simplified English" first and then its introduction into Japanese schooling.

What is "simplified English?" It is a form of English that attempts to regularize its inflection and spelling for the purpose of facilitating Japanese people's learning the language. Mori frankly expresses it as follows:

... I propose to banish from the English language, for the use of the Japanese nation, all or most of the exceptions, which render English so difficult of acquisition by English-speaking people, and which discourage most foreigners, who have the hardihood [sic] to attempt to master it, from persevering to success.

(Mori 1872b [1978]: 49)

Mori then strives for the regulation of the "exceptions" in English. In the first place, he aims to regularize the inflection of irregular verbs. For instance, the substitution of *seed* for *saw* and *seen*, *bited* for *bit* and *bitten*, *thinked* for *thought*, and *buyed* for *bought* is suggested. In the second place, he drives for the "uniform rule or law" (Mori 1872b [1978]: 49) of the English orthography, which makes a substantial change from "hierogliphic" to "phonetic" spellings. He suggests, for example, the substitution of *fantom* for *phantom*, *invey* for *inveigh*, *receit* for *receipt*, *tho* for *though*, and *bow* for *bough*.

In the previous sections, I dealt with the grounds for Mori's "simplified English." It was observed that his proposal to adopt English in Japan was not identical with the abolition of Japanese, though some researchers such as Takahashi (1934) claim that it was. Instead, Mori attempts to replace one H-variety (classical Chinese) with another ("simplified English") under the *diglossic* circumstances (See Figure 1 below) And, at the same time, he strains for the regulation of the morphological

exceptions in both English and Japanese.

Linguistic situation Mori's proposal in premodern Japan Written Language: Simplified H-variety Classical Chinese English estrangement regularized Spoken Language: Romanized L-variety Vernacular Japanese Japanese

Figure 1 Diglossic situation and "simplified English"

III The responses of American scholars

Mori's proposal was offered from 1872 to 1873. It had been taken up in several media since 1873: the American newspaper *Tribune* published Mori's letter to William D. Whitney, a professor at Yale College; then, *Japan Weekly Mail* (*JWM*) a Yokohama-based English newspaper, reprinted on 1 March 1873 the letter from *Tribune*³. His proposal gradually became famous among the learned in the United States as well as in Japan, and it soon invited some animated discussions over the worldwide adoption and simplification of English.

In this section, I reexamine the critical evaluations of "simplified English" that appeared in the 1870s' journals, focusing on three responses from American learned scholars. I first deal with the American writer Coates Kinney's remark on Mori's proposal, referring to Schleicher's ideas on language. Then, M. G. Upton's comment on it is discussed. I finally discuss the American writer E. E. Hale's critical essay on "simplified English," making mention of Herder and Humboldt's views of language.

1 Coates Kinney

In his article "Japanning the English language," published in August 1873, Coates Kinney, an American writer, introduces Mori's proposal in detail and strongly supports it. He begins his discussion with the practicability of a universal language. He believes that all nations in the world converge on *E pluribus unum* in the course of time and that the universal language is essential to realize "a United States of Earth" (Kinney 1873: 188) How could he "bring thousands of diverse tongues, into *E pluribus unum*?" (Kinney 1873: 188) He affirms that Mori suggested a solution of this problem and has great expectations for it as follows:

No experiment like this proposed by Mr. Mori has ever yet been tried. A trial may show that it has been reserved for a Japanese diplomat to discover, and a Japanese emperor to put in operation, the very means by which the ideal of the fond old philologers and the brave anticipations of our sanguine President are to be realized, and the universal language spread over the earth. For, if Mr. Mori's experiment should succeed with the Japanese, why would it not be immediately repeated by the other Oriental despotisms, till soon the great Asiatic majority of the human race should be found speaking the language of Great Britain and America reformed, indeed, but perfectly intelligible to all the English-speaking people of the globe?

(Kinney 1873: 188-89)

Kinney's view of language reflects the eminent nineteenth-century philologist August Schleicher's (1821-68) ideas on language. Schleicher classifies all the languages in the world into three classes: isolating language, agglutinative language, and inflectional language. Isolating language is a language in which word forms do not change, and in which grammatical functions are shown by word order and the use of function words. Agglutinative language is a language in which various affixes may be added to the stem of a word to add to its meaning or to show its grammatical function. And inflectional language is a language in which the form of a word changes to show a change in meaning or grammatical function (Richards, Platt, and Platt 1992) According to Schleicher, this classification indicates that language evolves from the isolating stage into the inflectional one.

Kinney uses this classification to discuss what are the similarities and dissimilarities between English and East Asian languages. He points out that one important affinity between them is lack of inflection. According to him, however, both languages are completely different in terms of evolution. He goes on to state that East Asian languages stopped short of the inflectional stage, while European languages developed copious inflections in proportion to the development of civilization in ancient times, but came to the discard of them in modern times (Kinney 1873: 191)

Although Schleicher presumes languages with profuse inflections such as Sanskrit to be ideals, and the lack of inflections to be in degradation, Kinney forms an opposite estimate of it: he considers the degeneration of inflections to be an evolutionary process. For him, therefore, English, which has a natural simplicity, has a good reason to be preferred by Mori and his "intelligent fellows." Kinney's view of English, which, according to him, has reached the most advanced stage, is expressed best by the following passage:

Thus have the progressive languages of mankind spread round the world, flowering in a thousand glorious forms, and dying and giving seed to their successors, till now this last, inheriting the wealth and vigor and the fine subtleties of all the civilizations back of it, and embodying the greatest literature as a whole in existence, yet almost clean stripped of the old

grammatical artificialities, offers itself as the facile link for completing the circuit and uniting the waiting East and the careering West together.

(Kinney 1873: 191)

However, even for Kinney, English is not a perfect, ideal language. He accepts without bitterness Mori's objections to the language that it has no universal law in its orthography and its inflections. And he proposes more completely regular inflections and more absolutely "phonetic" orthography than Mori did.

First, Kinney puts together the following four major rules of inflections, adding a few exceptions to Mori's proposal: (1) Adjectives and adverbs have inflections as follows: an drops n before initial consonants; this and that pluralize into these and those; and comparison is formed either by adding er and est or by prefixing more and most; (2) Nouns have one inflection, for either the possessive case or the plural number; which is formed by adding s to singular endings that will unite therewith, and es to such as will not; (3) Pronouns have, at most, five inflections, for the possessive and the objective case singular and the three cases plural; (4) Verbs have two inflections, for the present participle, which is formed by adding ing, and the past tenses, which are formed by adding d to endings that will unite therewith, ed to endings in t and d, and t to all others; except that be has were for preterit and been for perfect participle; have has had, and do, did (Kinney 1873: 193) Moreover, Kinney proposes discarding number and person agreements as well as introducing new pronouns into English so that it could undergo further simplification.

Then, Kinney also proposes "phonetic" alphabets that should be used for his own "simplified English" (See Figure 2) He contrives these letters by recasting the existent alphabets together with some diacritics. He also creates some "combined letters" such as *ai*, *ng*, and *sh* that he claims should be treated as a single letter (Kinney 1873: 194)

Thus, it follows from what has been discussed that Kinney is very positive of both the worldwide diffusion and the improvement of the English language. He believes that this improved English would be used not merely in Japan but also all over the world, including native speakers of English, in the future. His attitudes toward it could be clearly understood from the following passage:

... and when the new language shall have pushed west and proselyted China, winning Ah Sin from his monosyllabic nasals and his Pigeon [sic] English; absorbed the Indies and conformed to itself the British speakers there; then, careering north and west, swept the continent clean of Turanian, and Semitic, and dead Aryan; and finally, coming into Europe by the old route of its ancestry, conquered at last its kindred continental tongues, Great Britain and America having already Japanned their English and naturalized it in Africa and Isles long before; then the mighty benefaction of Mori shall be fully appreciated, and gratefully celebrated in eloquence and song

Figure 2 Coates Kinney's proposal for "phonetic" alphabets4

Source: Kinney 1873: 194

a, as in far or o in not: far, nat.
ă, as in fat: făt.
e, as a in mate: met.
ë, as in met: mět.
i, as e in be: bi.
I, as in bin: bin.
o, as in or or a in all: or, ol.
ŏ, as in word er u in but: wŏrd, bŏt.
ō, as in note: nōt.
u, as in rude or oo in pool: rud, pul.
ŭ, as in pull or oo in book: pŭl, bŭk.
w (always initial), as in woo: wu.
y (always initial), as in ye: yi.
aĭ, as l in Ireland: Aĭrlŏnd.
au, as ow in cow: kau.

oi as in voice or oy in boy: vois, boi.
iu, as u in mute or ew in mew: miut, miu.
p, b, as in pine, bind: pain, baind.
t, d, as in tear, dear: tir, dir.
f, v, as in fain, vane: fen, ven.
k, g, as in kind, gone: kaind, gon.
c, j, as ch in church, j in judge: corc, joj.
s, z, as in seal, zeal: sil, zil.
sh, zh, as sh in shall, z in azure: shal, azhor.
th, th, as in thin, then: thin, then.
n, ng, as in win, wing: win, wing.
l, r, as in low, row: lo, ro.
h, m, as in home: hom.

2 M. G. Upton

In his article "The English as a universal language," published in October 1873, M. G. Upton⁵ discusses the necessity of the universal language and how appropriate the English language is for a universal language. Unlike Kinney, who struggles for the improvement of language that is more thorough than Mori's, Upton is very skeptical of language reform. For him, the universal language in the future must be a living, spoken language, excluding "extreme artificiality" (Upton 1873: 326) from it. Upton gives some requirements the universal language must fulfill in the following passage:

... the universal language will depend upon considerations of a far different character than those of intrinsic merit and superior internal structure. Commerce, geographical situation, and probably increase in numbers, are the governing and absolute factors in the problem.

(Upton 1873: 326)

What the passage makes clear is that Upton considers the exterior conditions such as the increase in speakers to be more vital to the universal language than the interior ones like linguistic structure.

What kind of observation does Upton make on Mori's "simplified English?" He makes reference to it as following:

To Mr. Mori, the Embassador [sic] of the Japanese Empire, we are indebted for starting the

discussion as to whether the English is not the "coming" language. It is to be noted as one of the curious coincidences of the times that the representative of a nation which had been shut up for centuries in haughty exclusiveness, should have been the first to point to one of the most curious and significant signs of the present epoch.

(Upton 1873: 327)

Although he admits in this passage the significance of Mori's suggestion, which embarked on a discussion on these linguistic problems, it does not seem that Upton gives high evaluation to Mori's proposal itself.

Upton's opinion on Japan's adopting English is contrastive to Kinney's, too. As was seen in the previous section, Kinney brings a linguistic ground that English has affinity with East Asian languages in terms of the lack of inflections. On the other hand, Upton's claim is extra-linguistic: he states that "the Japanese should adopt our language, because America was the nearest civilized country to them, and the one with which they are apparently destined to have the closest commercial relations" (Upton 1873: 327)

Turning to the improvement of the language, Upton comments on it as follows:

The reform in orthography, therefore, upon which both Mr. Mori and Professor Candolle⁶ insist, must of necessity be confined to a very small portion of the language. It may be doubted, however, whether an artificial change, such as that which has been suggested, can be effected. Nothing may appear to be impossible to Mr. Mori, who represents a nation which is bent upon laying aside not only the habits and traditions of centuries, but its language, though less progressive reformers will shake their heads.

(Upton 1873: 329)

For Upton, who asserts that language must be alive, it is dubious to make any factitious improvements on a natural language such as English without mentioning artificial languages.

3 E. E. Hale

E. E. Hale, an American writer in Boston, published in 1873 an article that discussed Mori's "simplified English." Hale forms an unfavorable estimation of it, maintaining that Japan should develop existent, living Japanese, rather than exchanging it for English.

Hale's view of language resembles that of the German philosophers Johann Gottfried Herder and Karl Wilhelm von Humboldt, both of whom emphasized the inevitable relevance between language and national mind. In fact, for Hale, language and mind are inseparable. He states that:

... different races, like different single men, have differing mental traits. These appear in the languages which such races construct for the purpose of expressing their thoughts. The differences appear in the choice of single words, in the modes adopted of inflecting those words, and in the form and order of what may be called *the national sentence*.

(Hale 1873: 346, italics in original)

Hale presumes the "mental traits" of each nation to be backed up by each national language. As an example, he gives "word order." English speakers, for instance, feel the order of subject, verb, and object to be the most logical. On the other hand, languages such as German and Japanese have the "periodic" structure, which exhibits the order of subject, object, and verb. He continues to state that:

We should find ourselves hampered with an unnatural and disagreeable apparatus, if we were forced to throw away (not our vocabulary, observe, but) our way of stating our thoughts, that is, our way of thinking, and to adopt a mode of progress, which, according to the natural operation of our minds, is tail foremost.

(Hale 1873: 347, italics in original)

What is apparent in the above passage is that Hale affirms that every language reflects its nation's thoughts and minds. For this reason, it is well expected that if English were imposed upon the Japanese mind, it would be a heavy burden. Hale, therefore, claims that the Japanese should develop their own existing language, in particular new vocabulary, rather than introducing a new language.

IV Conclusion

The objective of this paper was twofold: the first was to deal with Mori's "simplified English" from a socio-historical point of view; the second was to reexamine the critical evaluations of "simplified English," focusing on three responses from American scholars that appeared in the 1870s' journals. It was observed from the discussion in Section II that his proposal to adopt English in Japan was not identical with the abolition of Japanese, which some researchers such as Takahashi (1934) assert; instead, Mori attempted to replace one H-variety (classical Chinese) with another (English) under diglossic circumstances. In Section III, we surveyed three responses from American scholars: Coates Kinney, M. G. Upton, and E. E. Hale. There we saw that both Kinney and Upton supported the adoption of English in Japan, while Hale did not; and that Kinney maintained the reformation of English, while both Upton and Hale did not. From this analysis, it is clear that Mori's proposal aroused relatively much controversy among Americans despite the fact that it has been unacknowledged in the history of the English reform movements. It also indicates that their responses were not as negative as was considered before as in Takahashi (1934) and Hall (1973) in fact, they were even

somewhat positive.

This is a limited study, restricted to the responses of three American scholars. We are not yet in a position to offer a satisfactory explanation for the debates over Mori's "simplified English." Notwithstanding its limitations, this study may provide some implications into American ideas on English in the late nineteenth century. Further research into their attitudes toward Mori's proposal would contribute to constructing an elaborate social history of varieties of English emerging in those days.

Notes

- 1 . Three materials are available: the first material in which Mori himself stated his own plan is a letter to William D. Whitney, a professor at Yale College, dated on 21 May 1872. The second is an address delivered by him at the annual meeting of the National Educational Association in Boston in August 1872. And the third is a preface in *Education in Japan*, which is a book that he edited and published in the United States in January 1873 while he stayed in Washington as an ambassador.
- 2 . According to Mori, the following are some examples of etymological spellings in English: *ph* in *phantom*, *gh* in *inveigh*, *p* in *receipt*, etc.
- 3 . JWM has some comments on Mori's proposal, too. It comments on 1 March 1873 that his plan was "a flagrant instance of this dangerous superficiality." In its editorial "Foreign Education in Japan" on 19 July, JWM states as follows:
 - ... and Mr. Mori has proved himself so unpractical and reckless a visionary in his educational views, that little apology need be offered for our having paid no attention in England to his vagaries. When a man has once seriously made a proposition to carry over the English language bodily to Japan, and there tinker it for easy adaptation to the wants of this people, there is no further necessity for arguing with him.

("Foreign Education in Japan." 1873: 509)

In addition, *JWM* writes on 2 August an editorial "Education in Japan" and calls his proposal "much and properly-ridiculed scheme for the displacement of the Japanese by the English language" in it.

- 4 . The example "corc" in the right column, which corresponds to *church*, should be "cŏrc," according to diacritical notations in the left column.
- 5. The author is unidentified in terms of his professional background.
- 6 . Alphonse de Candolle (1806-93) was a Swiss botanist who made a large contribution to phytogeography. Although he was not a linguist, he published some articles on a dominant language in the realm of science and claimed the preponderance of English (e.g., Candolle 1885)

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