

**The Writings of  
Harold E. Palmer**  
*An Overview*

**Richard C. Smith**

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# Foreword

Harold E. Palmer did more than any other single individual to establish English language teaching (ELT) as an autonomous branch of language education in the first half of the twentieth century and to give it the 'applied linguistic' direction to which it has remained loyal ever since. The main aim in publishing his *Selected Writings* (IRLT 1995/1999) and this accompanying volume is to preserve this legacy and to ensure that it is available for study by future generations. The importance of identifying roots and sources in fostering a strong sense of professionalism – in this case among language teachers worldwide – cannot be overstated.

Palmer was a prolific writer but one or two of his works stand out as being of special significance. The first would have to be *The Scientific Study and Teaching of Languages* (1917), which offered a theoretically motivated but eminently practical model of language teaching drawn from many years of personal experience. Secondly there was his *Principles of Language-Study* (1921), which successfully married the needs of the language classroom to principles of learning theory derived from contemporary psychology. In addition, we should mention Palmer's great work of linguistic description *A Grammar of Spoken English* (1924), which applied his research and that of former colleagues at London University (in particular Daniel Jones) to pedagogical needs, and finally his most influential practical teaching manual *English through Actions* (1925), which gave English teachers workable activities and exercises to develop their pupils' oral proficiency.

The emphasis in all these works is on the teaching of the spoken language, reflecting the 'paradigm shift' in twentieth century linguistics

away from studying the written language (especially in the context of 'great literature') and towards research and teaching based on the everyday speech of ordinary people. This speaking/writing contrast was important in Palmer's own work, but he extended the argument much further by pointing to a fundamental distinction between (a) learning to speak a foreign language by using what he called 'spontaneous' language acquisition capacities, and (b) learning foreign language literacy skills through the use of 'studial' capacities developed through formal education. This distinction has been echoed in recent times by the (narrower) 'acquisition'/'learning' distinction developed in the USA. Another Palmerian idea born before its time, so to speak, was the use of graded listening tasks in the early stages of language learning ('imperative drill' was Palmer's term – Total Physical Response (TPR), as developed in the late 1960s, involves very similar procedures).

Palmer's contribution to ELT consisted of much more than a few isolated ideas. With his detailed and theory-based models of syllabus and course design and his principled but practical approach to classroom methodology, he laid the essential groundwork on which the profession could build a strong and flexible structure.

In a more narrowly applied linguistic connection Palmer's best-known work was in the field of lexicology, and the research he undertook at the Tokyo Institute for Research in English Teaching (IRET) in the 1920s and 30s eventually bore fruit in major publications which appeared in the UK after World War II, often completed by other writers. For example, there was the *General Service List of English Words* (Longman, 1953, edited by Michael West) and successive editions of the (*Advanced*) *Learner's Dictionary of Current English* (Oxford University Press, 1948 onwards, edited by A.S. Hornby et al.), both foundation stones of modern ELT and

both owing much to Palmer's pre-war research.

It is equally important to recognize Palmer's contribution to applied linguistics in Japan. While most of his energies were devoted to the improvement of English teaching there, he also found time to deal with topics of even more specific relevance such as *The Principles of Romanization* (1930). For this and other works he was awarded a D.Litt. by Tokyo University before he finally returned to England in 1936.

The ten volumes of Palmer's *Selected Writings* comprise more than five and a half thousand pages and contain no fewer than fifty-two separate works. Some, like the *Scientific Study* and the *Principles*, are well-known but most of the studies included have previously been unfamiliar to readers outside Japan. The collection shows that Palmer could work comfortably in more than one 'register'; his writing encompasses not only scholarly books and articles but also pamphlets and books for a wider audience (for example, *This Language Learning Business* (1932)) which provide evidence of his considerable sense of humour. (He had been a journalist before becoming a teacher and his versatility may owe something to this experience.) The IRLT compilation of Palmer's most significant publications – all of which are currently out of print in the UK – is a detailed and timely reminder of the debt we owe both to the man himself and to his far-sighted Japanese sponsors. In spite of its breadth of coverage, the set does not pretend to offer more than a selection of Palmer's writings – the 'essential Palmer' in fact. This companion volume by Richard Smith succeeds admirably in placing the writings which are included in context, and in indicating the full extent of Palmer's achievement.

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University of Edinburgh, Scotland

## Synopsis of Harold E. Palmer's life, career and major publications

- |      |  |
|------|--|
| 1877 | 6 March: born in London. Family moves to Hythe, Kent, around 1883. Educated in the local elementary school, and by his father.   |
| 1890 | Enters Prospect House School, a small private school in Hythe.   |
| 1892 | Leaves school. Goes on six-month exchange visit to Boulogne. On return, pursues interests in geology and works for his father's stationery, printing, bookbinding and newspaper publishing business. |
| 1897 | Begins serious work as a journalist on his father's newspaper, the <i>Hythe Reporter</i> .   |
| 1899 | Becomes editor of the <i>Hythe Reporter</i> .  |
| 1902 | Starts work as an English teacher in a language school in Verviers, Belgium, where he gains his first exposure to the 'Berlitz Method'.  |
| 1903 | Sets up his own small language school in Verviers, later to be known as the 'Institut Palmer'. Experiments to develop his own teaching approach.   |
| 1904 | Publishes an English course for French-speaking learners, in instalments. Subsequently, writes and publishes several more textbooks, for French and Esperanto as well as English.                    |
| 1910 | First contribution to <i>Le maître phonétique</i> , bulletin of the International Phonetic Association (IPA), which he had joined in 1907.   |
| 1914 | Outbreak of war forces him to escape from Belgium with his wife and daughter.  |
| 1915 | Invited by Daniel Jones to give public lectures on 'Methods of Language Teaching' at University College London (UCL).  |
| 1916 | Becomes part-time assistant in Department of Phonetics, UCL, with responsibility for the teaching of spoken English and academic courses on 'Methods of Language Teaching'.                          |
| 1917 | <i>The Scientific Study and Teaching of Languages</i> .  |
| 1918 | Begins teaching 'Methods of Language Study' at the School of Oriental Studies, University of London.   |
| 1920 | Becomes full-time assistant in Department of Phonetics, UCL.   |
| 1921 | Becomes full-time lecturer.<br><i>The Principles of Language-Study; The Oral Method of Teaching Languages</i> .  |



- 1922 Goes to Japan, and takes up post as 'Linguistic Adviser' to the Japanese Department of Education.
- 1923 Establishment of the Institute for Research in English Teaching (IRET) and foundation of the Institute's *Bulletin*.
- 1924 *Memorandum on Problems of English Teaching in the Light of a New Theory; A Grammar of Spoken English*.  
Begins development of the IRET's 'Standard Course'.
- 1925 *English through Actions* (with Dorothee Palmer).
- 1926 Begins development of the IRET's 'Reader System'.
- 1927 Makes a start on intensive lexicological research.
- 1929 *Eigo no rokushukan (The First Six Weeks of English)*.
- 1930 *Interim Report on Vocabulary Selection; The Principles of Romanization*.
- 1931 Embarks on eight-month 'world tour'.  
*Second Interim Report on Vocabulary Selection*.
- 1932 *This Language-Learning Business* (with H. Vere Redman).
- 1933 *Second Interim Report on English Collocations*.
- 1934 Takes a leading role at the 'Carnegie Conference' on vocabulary limitation in New York, and in London the following year.  
*Specimens of English Construction Patterns; An Essay in Lexicology*.
- 1935 Awarded D.Litt. by Tokyo Imperial University.
- 1936 Returns to England to become consultant for Longmans, Green.
- 1937 *Thousand-Word English* (with A. S. Hornby).
- 1938 *A Grammar of English Words; The New Method Grammar*.
- 1940 *The Teaching of Oral English*.
- 1943 *International English Course* begins to be published (in separate Italian, French, Spanish, Dutch, Polish and Czech editions).
- 1944 Falls ill during a lecture tour in South America.
- 1949 16 November: dies at home in Felbridge, Sussex.

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# Introduction

## Why Palmer?

Harold E. Palmer (1877-1949) has been identified as a leading figure in the twentieth century history of English language teaching (Howatt 1984: 230) and, along with Henry Sweet (1845-1912), a pioneer in the development of applied English linguistics (Howatt 1984: 326-7; Titone 1968: 70-72). Indeed, as Stern (1983: 100) notes, 'Palmer is often considered to be "the father of British applied linguistics"'. Howatt (1994: 2915) concurs with this assessment, viewing Palmer as 'the founder, with Daniel Jones . . . , of what eventually became the British school of applied linguistics', even though the term 'applied linguistics' only itself gained currency after the foundation in Michigan of the journal *Language Learning* , in 1948. More recently, Meara (1998a) has described Palmer as a 'colossus', and his influence as 'almost immeasurable'.

Howatt devotes a chapter of his (1984) *A History of English Language Teaching* to Palmer, explaining that his significance lay in his systematic fusing of practical (direct method) teaching ideas with the applied linguistic approach of the late nineteenth century Reform Movement, thus providing the methodological foundations for what came to be a distinctive British approach to the theory as well as practice of English as a foreign language teaching. Howatt has also offered the following, more recent assessment:

It is difficult to over-estimate Palmer's contribution to twentieth-century English language teaching. . . . After Palmer, ELT [i.e., (the British approach to) English Language Teaching] was no longer merely a junior branch of modern language teaching, but an

independent profession which led the way in applied linguistic innovation.

(Howatt 1994: 2915)

Nevertheless, Palmer's contribution to the establishment of ELT appears to have been greatly *under*-estimated in some recent studies which adopt a historical perspective. Thus, Phillipson's (1992) critical account of the history of (English) linguistic imperialism and its relationship with ELT refers mainly to post-war English-medium education in (former) British colonies, in particular in Africa, and hardly mentions Palmer's work. Similarly, Pennycook (1994), in his own account of the 'cultural politics' of ELT, lays most emphasis on colonial and post-colonial education (in particular, in Malaysia and Singapore), and on post-war 'global' developments, making only passing reference to Palmer's work. Thus, while these writers have together introduced a necessary critical dimension into studies of ELT history, their focus on post-war developments, and on the teaching of English in colonial and post-colonial contexts has led them largely to ignore Palmer's pivotal role in the development of English as a 'foreign' language teaching. It is to be hoped that future critical studies will redress this deficiency.

Another area of interest is the extent to which Palmer's thinking may have influenced post-war developments in the USA. It is notable in this connection that Titone (1968) presents a similar evaluation to Howatt's (cited above), despite writing primarily for an American audience and focusing on the history of foreign language teaching in general:

Most of [Palmer's] insights have become – sometimes without acknowledgement – permanent acquisitions of contemporary applied linguistics.

(Titone 1968: 72)

Titone devotes individual chapters to the work of Henry Sweet and Otto Jespersen (1860–1943) as well as to Palmer. He concludes that ‘Palmer went beyond the achievements of Sweet and Jespersen. His closeness to the sophisticated views of contemporary applied linguistics is striking’ (Titone 1968: 70). As we shall see below, a number of North American studies (among them, Haugen 1955; Diller 1971; and Glass 1979) have implied that Palmer influenced wartime and post-war American developments, to a far greater extent than is generally recognized.

Finally, Palmer’s specific contribution to the development of English language teaching in Japan is little appreciated in the west, but is highly regarded in Japan itself. Recently, the issue in ten substantial volumes of Palmer’s *Selected Writings* (IRLT 1995/1999) has been complemented by the publication of two monographs (Ozasa 1995b and Imura 1997) which have focused attention anew on Palmer’s important work in Japan between 1922 and 1936. Indeed, the continuing Japanese interest in Palmer’s ideas contrasts significantly with a general lack of historical sensibility in western applied linguistic and language teaching circles, where Palmer’s contributions – as with those of many figures from the past – appear to be largely forgotten, in spite of the appreciations cited above and suggestions by, for example, Stern (1983: 517) that a historical perspective can be of value in clarifying contemporary applied linguistic problems.

The significance of Palmer’s work, while highlighted by some scholars, does not, then, appear to be widely appreciated in the west. Accordingly, the present study is intended as an original ‘historiographical’ contribution which might not only help raise awareness with regard to Palmer’s specific achievements and significance but also contribute to the establishment of history as a relevant area of study within applied

linguistics. Before describing the intentions and scope of the study in greater detail, we shall provide further justification below by means of an overview of writings in English and Japanese on Palmer which have appeared during the fifty years since his death.

### **Previous Palmer studies**

As we have already implied, Palmer's work has received much more attention in Japan than in the western 'centres' of English as a foreign language teaching. However, there have been some studies by non-Japanese authors, and we shall begin this survey by focusing on their contributions.

Following Palmer's death on 16 November 1949, obituaries were written in English by Gauntlett (1950), Gerhard (1951), Hornby (1950), Jones (1950a, 1950b), Mori (1950), Pider (1950), del Re (1950), Redman (1950) and Stier (1950). With the exception of those by Hornby and Jones, these obituaries were published in Japan, in *Gogaku kyoiku* (a bulletin issued by the Institute for Research in Language Teaching (IRLT)), and have not previously been consulted by scholars outside Japan. Unpublished letters from Jones to Palmer's widow indicate that he went to some trouble to get the facts right for his own obituaries.<sup>1</sup> These have since been frequently referred to for biographical detail, particularly in relation to Palmer's work in Verviers, Belgium (1902–14) and London (1915–21). Titone's (1968: 57–9) biographical account, for example, is 'based almost entirely on Jones's article' (p. 57). However, being obituaries in slim publications, the accounts by Hornby and Jones are somewhat cursory. No obituary was published in the *Times* or other British newspapers, and no entry has yet appeared for Palmer in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.<sup>2</sup> Two years before Palmer's death,

Herman Bongers, a Dutchman, had published a study (Bongers 1947) which provides some biographical information derived from interviews with Palmer, as well as a useful summary of Palmer's ideas on vocabulary control and a bibliography which has since tended to be regarded as definitive. Later biographical studies based on personal reminiscence were to include those by Redman (1966, 1967) and, most importantly, a thirty-four-page essay by Palmer's daughter, Dorothée Anderson (1969), based partly on the obituaries by Jones and Hornby and the work of Bongers and Redman, but also on primary sources including letters and newspaper cuttings. Anderson provides a few extra details in a slightly later (1971) article, published in Japan.

More recently, additional biographical information relating to Palmer's formative years has been presented by Smith (1998b), while the same author's (1998a) account of Palmer's London lectures, in combination with recent work by Collins (1988) and Collins and Mees (1998) on Daniel Jones and the Department of Phonetics, University College London (UCL) provides new insights into the development of Palmer's thinking over the period (1915–21) when he worked in the Department.

A number of studies specifically on Palmer's London publications have also appeared over the years, including those by Barrutia (1965), who describes *The Principles of Language-Study* (1921) as 'a neglected classic', and Roddis (1968), who summarizes this book along with individual works by Sweet and Jespersen. More recently, Prabhu (1985) has re-emphasized the continuing significance of this particular book in relation to current language teaching concerns.

Darian (1969) provides a broader treatment, linking the overall work

of Palmer, Sweet and Jespersen. Indeed, as we have already indicated, Palmer has been viewed as a particularly significant figure in the modern history of language teaching and applied linguistics in several historical overviews. In his own history of teaching methods, Darian (1972: 65–71) presents a summary of Palmer's ideas as expressed in *The Scientific Study and Teaching of Languages* (1917) and *The Principles of Language-Study*, while Titone (1968) devotes a chapter to Palmer, referring mostly to the same (London) publications as those focused on by Darian. Writing in Italian, Rainer (1977) also summarizes these publications, presenting biographical information derived from Anderson 1969.

There have been relatively few scholarly contributions which go beyond simply summarizing Palmer's London publications and/or repeating information from existing secondary sources. Exceptionally, Titone (1968) concludes his chapter on Palmer with the assessments already cited above, and emphasizes the continuing relevance of Palmer's 'principled eclecticism' (p. 110). Another, less widely diffused exception is Tickoo's (1968) Ph.D. thesis, Chapter Ten of which ('Harold E. Palmer and the "Eclectic Approach" to foreign language teaching') presents a sixty-seven-page analysis of Palmer's thinking on the relationship between language teaching theory and practice. Parts of this chapter were subsequently incorporated into two more widely-read articles in *ELT Journal* (Tickoo 1982, 1986). In the first of these articles, Tickoo emphasizes the practical relevance of Palmer's achievements, and in the second advances the interesting and plausible (although unproven) hypothesis that Palmer's ideas on substitution were influenced by the work of Thomas Prendergast (1806–86). Diller (1971: 4), taking his cue from Haugen (1955), implies that there may have been



some influence *from* the early work of Palmer on the mimicry, memorization, and pattern drills of audiolingualism. The same basic suggestion forms the main thesis of another Ph.D. dissertation (Glass 1979). Signalling 'the vast contribution to language pedagogy and linguistic theory made by Palmer in the first part of the twentieth century' (p. 125), Glass assembles an impressive list of similarities between Palmer's early ideas and audiolingual theory, attempting to rewrite orthodox history in order to show that 'the fundamental ideas underlying audio-lingualism are *not* to be found in the structural-behaviorist alliance. . . . Palmer was antecedent to the structural linguists and behaviorist psychologists in articulating these ideas' (p. 2). Glass does not attempt to explain how Palmer's influence, if any, was mediated. However, the major deficiency of this dissertation, as with almost all of the studies so far mentioned, is the static view it presents of Palmer's ideas, resulting from a limited focus on only a few of his works, combined with an over-emphasis on those of his ideas which predate audiolingualism.

As Howatt (1984: 236) recognizes, relatively little is known in the west about how Palmer's ideas matured during his time in Japan between 1922 and 1936. Until recently, the only widely available sources have been the somewhat jaundiced accounts by Redman (1966 and 1967, the former as excerpted in Anderson 1969), and another rather negative assessment of Palmer's impact on English education in Japan by Yamamoto (1978). However, a recent study (Smith 1998c) has suggested that these accounts are based on serious misconceptions with regard to the intended role of the Institute for Research in English Teaching (IRET) which Palmer founded in 1923. Just as seriously, they fail to indicate the extent of his publishing activity following the Institute's establishment,

and fail, also, to acknowledge the degree to which Palmer's ideas developed in Japan, were appropriated by Japanese teachers associated with the Institute and have continued to influence Institute activities up until the present-day. Exceptionally, Cowie (forthcoming) has recently analysed a number of IRET publications in order to cast light on the lexicological work which Palmer engaged in and instigated during the latter half of his stay, but Palmer's broader achievements in Japan are still far from being fully recognized outside that country.

Howatt's (1984) *A History of English Language Teaching* has already been extensively referred to above, since it provides perhaps the clearest indication to date of Palmer's importance in the overall history of English language teaching, and the fullest picture of his achievement. Although Palmer's reputation enjoyed something of a revival during the 1960s (with the republication of four of his major works by Oxford University Press and the 'rediscovery' both of these works and of a history behind audiolingualism by several writers in the North American context (Barrutia 1965; Roddis 1968; Titone 1968; Darian 1969, all referred to above), it took another decade or two for Palmer's importance again to be asserted (this time in fuller form, in Howatt's (1984) history and the articles by Tickoo (1982, 1986) we have already referred to). In the 1980s there were also some citations of Palmer's work in relation to areas of contemporary concern such as syllabus design and the 'learning'/'acquisition' distinction (see, for example, White 1988: 11–12). Nowadays, with the revival of interest in lexicology in British applied linguistic circles, there are occasional signs that Palmer's work in this particular area has not been entirely forgotten (see citations by Cook (1998: 62) and Meara (1998b: 290), in addition to the important (forthcoming) study by Cowie already mentioned); generally, however,

it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the full extent of Palmer's contribution to the establishment of ELT and applied linguistics is today largely ignored in the west, including in Britain, despite the efforts of historians such as Howatt (1984, 1994) to re-establish his reputation.

Turning now, then, to Japan, there appears to exist in this country a far greater academic interest, generally, in the (local) history of English language teaching than in western applied linguistic and language teaching circles.<sup>3</sup> Numerous overviews of the history of English studies and English language teaching in Japan have appeared over the last fifty years, and few of these fail to recognize Palmer's importance in that history. Here, then, we will mention only writings over the last fifty years which make explicit reference in their title to Palmer or his work, basing this overview on the extensive bibliography compiled by Imura (1997: 273–7).

Alongside the obituaries in English which appeared in *Gogaku kyoiku* (already mentioned above), others were written in Japanese, among them those by Takezawa (1950) and Saito (1950). There were also a number of later reminiscences by former colleagues of Palmer which focused mainly on biographical aspects, including: Anon. [Hoshiyama Saburo?] 1959; Jimbo 1961 (discussing Palmer's Japanese language abilities); Ichikawa 1961 (containing transcripts of letters from Palmer); Fujita 1964; and Naganuma 1966. Two publications issued by the Phonetic Society of Japan, under the direction of another former colleague, Onishi Masao (who frequently corresponded with Palmer's daughter following her father's death), also provide biographical information and some summaries of Palmer's work (Phonetic Society of Japan 1971; Onishi 1981).

Aside from biographical pieces, there were also – in the late 1950s and

1960s – a number of summaries of Palmer’s ideas, among them: Kuroda 1959a, 1959b; Ishibashi et al. 1963; Ogawa 1964; Serizawa 1964; Hoshiyama 1968; and Onishi 1969. The last-mentioned of these appears to have been the first ever monograph devoted solely to Palmer. Kunihiro (1964) discusses one of Palmer’s earlier works, his (1924) *Grammar of Spoken English*. Of particular analytic interest, however, is a series of three articles by Yambe (1967), the best-known Japanese proponent of Charles C. Fries’s Oral Approach, in which he compares Palmer’s ideas with those of Fries (see also Ogawa 1958 for an earlier description of underlying similarities).

Scholarly interest in Palmer has, since the 1960s, largely followed the fortunes of the Institute for Research in Language Teaching (IRLT), the successor organization to the Institute for Research in English Teaching (IRET) established by Palmer in 1923. Whereas participation in the Institute was at a low ebb in the 1960s and 70s, due to the dominance of the Oral Approach (see Henrichsen 1989; Imura 1997: 251–2), the decline of the IRLT was reversed in the 1980s and 90s, and it is during these two decades that most research of importance in relation to Palmer has been carried out in Japan.

This period of renaissance may be said to have begun with two articles (Masukawa 1978; Nakao 1978) in a landmark survey entitled *TEFL in Japan* (edited by Koike Ikuo and others). In 1982, a special issue of *Eigokyoiku Journal* was dedicated to Palmer, containing articles by among others Horiguchi (1982) and Takanashi (1982) (to be discussed further below).

It is from around this time that Japanese scholars began to develop a properly ‘historiographical’ (Koerner 1978) approach to Palmer’s work, engaging in the discovery and investigation of new primary sources

rather than being content simply to summarize ideas on the basis of his best-known writings and previous secondary accounts. Two main centres for this type of research have developed: one in Hiroshima, the other in Tokyo. We shall consider each in turn.

One major centre for Palmer studies has been the Hiroshima branch of the Historical Society of English Studies in Japan ('Nihon eigogakushi gakkai Hiroshima shibu'), based at Hiroshima University. In this context, Ozasa (1982) has discussed a previously unknown work by Palmer which is of some interest, his (1944) *Three Lectures* (published in Brazil and discovered by Ozasa in the U.S. Library of Congress). Matsumura (1984) has similarly uncovered and presented new information relating to lectures Palmer gave in Hiroshima, while Tanaka (1991a, 1991b, 1992, 1993) has presented a series of reports on Palmer's life following his return to England. One of these reports (Tanaka 1993) includes analysis of Palmer's views on the (1937) Japanese invasion of China, on the basis of a five-page dialogue in three acts entitled 'The Case of A and B' which Palmer sent to a former colleague, Mori Masatoshi, in order to press home his point that this invasion was unjust.

Finally, and more recently, an important study by Ozasa, published in both a Japanese version (1995b) and a shorter, English version (1995a), has shed new light on the development of Palmer's ideas over the time he spent in Japan, indicating – on the basis of reports of demonstration lessons at the IRET Convention and Palmer's own lectures – how he moved beyond initial attempts to introduce structural reform, gradually recognizing, with the support of Japanese teachers, the need to adapt his teaching methodology to the Japanese secondary school context. Ozasa's extensive (1995b: 275–81) bibliography of Palmer's works also represents a significant advance on that of Bongers (1947: 350–3), presenting more

accurate detail and including a number of previously unreferenced writings.

The second centre of Palmer studies in Japan has been Tokyo, where the IRLT is based, and where teachers at and graduates of, in particular, Tokyo University of Education (now Tsukuba University) and Tokyo University of Foreign Studies have maintained a particular interest in Palmer's work. Palmer himself taught part-time at both universities, and his ideas continued to be conveyed to post-war teacher trainees by his former Institute colleague Kuroda Takashi, as well as Ito Kenzo and Ikenaga Katsumasa, at the former institution, and by Ogawa Yoshio and Wakabayashi Shunsuke at the latter university.

Significant studies in the Tokyo context have included Horiguchi's (1981, 1982) analyses of Palmer's textbooks for Japanese secondary school students, including the *Standard English Readers* (1925–7), and Takanashi's (1982) overview of Palmer's career and influence. Nakano (1984) has reported in the newsletter of the IRLT on an interview conducted with Dorothee Anderson, Palmer's daughter (who died in 1995), while in 1985 an important publishing event occurred with the photographic reprinting in seven volumes of all issues and supplements of the pre-war IRET *Bulletin* (IRLT 1985). In the seventh volume of this set, Kuroda (1985) presents new information relating to Palmer's educational background on the basis of a curriculum vitae in Japanese discovered in Tsukuba University archives, while Ono (1988), providing details of Palmer's teaching at the Peeress' School, cites another curriculum vitae which is kept in the library of Gakushuin University. More recently, Imura (1994) has discussed the relationship between Palmer and Okakura Yoshisaburo, the doyen of English language education in Japan at the time Palmer arrived in Japan. In his important

(1997) biographical study, Imura both synthesizes previous studies on Palmer's work in Japan and presents valuable new information, effectively contextualizing Palmer's contributions within the overall development of English education in Japan this century and identifying, like Ozasa (1995a, 1995b) two main phases in the development of Palmer's own ideas in that context.

Imura has also been one of the IRLT researchers primarily responsible, with Shiozawa Toshio and Wakabayashi Shunsuke, for the recent issue in ten volumes of *The Selected Writings of Harold E. Palmer*, (IRLT 1995/1999). This set brings together all the best-known and a variety of less well-known works by Palmer (the majority of them originally published in Japan), under the following thematic arrangement: Theory, Teaching Procedures, Grammar, Pronunciation (all two volumes each), Vocabulary and Miscellaneous Writings (one volume each).

In itself, the publication of Palmer's *Selected Writings* is evidence of the extent to which his work is still appreciated and seen to have contemporary relevance in Japan. Although, in this brief review, we have emphasized the value of Japanese historical studies relating to Palmer, it should also be emphasized that the Japanese interest in Palmer is rooted in current concerns. Thus, Niisato (1991) has explicitly discussed the contemporary relevance of Palmer's teaching methodology, Kosuge (1993) has drawn contemporary lessons from the role in reform played by Palmer, and Yamamoto (1996) has shown how the syllabus of Palmer's (1929) *The First Six Weeks of English* has been interpreted in recent textbooks and an English by radio series. The IRLT itself continues to be one of the most active and influential associations for secondary school English teachers and university-based teacher trainers in Japan (see IRLT 1993, 1994). It organizes an annual convention

in Tokyo and regular workshops elsewhere in the country, issues its own newsletter and journal and encourages various forms of teacher-research, the results of which have regularly appeared in the two most widely circulated magazines for secondary school English teachers in Japan: *Eigokyoiku* (*The English Teacher's Magazine*) and *Gendai Eigokyoiku* (*Modern English Teaching*), published by Taishukan and Kenkyusha, respectively. The IRLT has remained true to its reforming heritage, also, in playing a leading role in the activities of 'Kaizenkyo' (The Association for the Improvement of Foreign Language Education), which presents annual suggestions for reform to the Ministry of Education. Indeed, the fondest hope of the editors of Palmer's *Selected Writings*, as expressed by Shiozawa (1995), is that the writings which have informed their own and their colleagues' participation in the various research, study and teacher education activities still carried on with vigour by the IRLT may be found to be relevant, in turn, by future generations of teachers and researchers both inside and outside Japan.

### **Scope of the present study**

The continuing Japanese interest in Palmer contrasts strikingly with the general lack of appreciation of his work in western applied linguistic and ELT circles, although, with recent, critical exceptions, his importance has been consistently acknowledged by (the few) historians of these fields. These acknowledgements have come despite a lack of appreciation of the nature and full scale of Palmer's achievements in Japan, or of the considerable body of work by Japanese scholars specifically on these achievements. With only a few exceptions, indeed, western commentaries on Palmer have tended to rely heavily on the same secondary sources and have, by and large, been content simply to



summarize his best-known works for a readership assumed to be unfamiliar with them, and/or to cite him as a precursor in a particular area of current applied linguistic interest (most recently, lexicology, but previously syllabus design, the 'learning'/'acquisition' distinction, and audiolingual methodology).

What might be of use for a western readership, then, is an overview of the 'whole Palmer' which indicates his achievements in a variety of areas and involves consideration, in particular, of his work in Japan. Since the majority of Palmer's writings have, until recently, been unavailable outside Japan, the *Selected Writings* (IRLT 1995/1995) themselves go a long way towards plugging the gap, and – being arranged thematically – these volumes provide a good idea of the full range of Palmer's interests and ideas. However, the non-Japanese reader is likely to require some contextualization, on a chronological basis, in particular for the many works published originally to meet requirements in the Japanese context.

Accordingly, the present study consists primarily of a comprehensive bibliography of Palmer's books, pamphlets and articles (including, but not confined to those contained within the *Selected Writings*). The bibliography is organized within a year-by-year biographical account which attempts to explain the relationship of these publications to Palmer's professional interests at the time of writing. Summaries of individual works are not provided in most cases, since our main aim is to assist readers in consulting these for themselves, in the *Selected Writings* or elsewhere, as indicated (however, some of Palmer's less accessible works *are* briefly summarized, and an Appendix provides further information in English on publications in Japanese which are included in the *Selected Writings*).

While the bibliography offered by Bongers (1947: 350–3) and adopted, with only slight modifications, by Anderson (1969: 161–6) has for many years been considered ‘a complete list’ (Titone 1968: 72), recent Japanese studies have shown that this is far from being the case. In order to compile our own list of Palmer’s ‘Japan publications’ (Chapters Four and Five), we have depended for guidance on the bibliographies compiled by Imura (1995: 572–6; 1997: 263–72) and Ozasa (1995b: 249–66, 275–81). Details have been checked, in most cases, against copies of the writings themselves, in particular in IRLT 1985, IRLT 1995/1999, the IRLT Library and the British Library, and we have indicated our sources where this has not been possible. For biographical information relating to Palmer’s Japan years, we have, again, relied heavily on Ozasa 1995a/1995b and Imura 1997, although primary sources have also been consulted (in particular, in IRLT 1985).

For a non-Japanese readership, then, it is hoped that the present study will paint a clearer picture of Palmer’s work in Japan than has so far been available, and at the same time showcase some of the detailed historical work which has been carried out in this context. On this ‘historio-graphical’ basis, it may be possible in the future to reassess Palmer’s influence on ELT and applied linguistics, and to derive new perspectives on current concerns including the development of appropriate methodology in non-western, secondary school contexts (see Holliday 1994) and the alleged relationship of ELT and applied linguistics to cultural / linguistic imperialism (Phillipson 1992; Pennycook 1994, 1998).

For a wider (including Japanese) readership, also, the present study attempts to provide a fuller picture than has so far been available of Palmer’s career prior to his departure for Japan. Chapters One and Three

(on Palmer's 'early' and London years, respectively) summarize findings based on primary sources, most of which have previously been reported more fully in Smith 1998a and 1998b. Chapter Two presents new information on Palmer's work in Verviers, on the basis of previously unreported bibliographical and biographical research. It is hoped that these chapters will be of interest to Japanese as well as other readers, since most Japanese studies to date have focused on Palmer's work *in* Japan, relying largely on Jones 1950a, 1950b, Anderson 1969 and, more recently, Kuroda 1985 for details of his earlier development.

Finally, although Palmer's 'retirement' years in Felbridge (Sussex) have been previously investigated by some Japanese scholars (as indicated in our review above), we have been able to provide some extra bibliographical detail (in Chapter Six) on the basis of consultation of works in libraries in the UK. Some additional biographical details are also provided.

In conclusion, then, we hope that this study, while limited in being for the most part simply an exposition of facts rather than a complete biography or an attempt at analysis and assessment, succeeds in presenting a new picture of the 'whole Palmer', for a Japanese as well as a non-Japanese readership. On the basis of the details provided here and analysis of the writings referred to, it is hoped that students, teachers and scholars will, in the future, be better enabled to appreciate Palmer's crucial role in the development of applied linguistics, the history of English education in Japan and the overall growth of ELT as a worldwide enterprise.

## Notes

- 1 Daniel Jones to Elizabeth [*née* Elisabeth] Palmer, 9 January, 16 February, and 17 February 1950, Personal Files of Victoria Angela (PFVA). There are

only slight variations between the two obituaries by Jones, relating to differences in readership: Jones 1950a, like Hornby 1950, was written for *English Language Teaching*, while Jones 1950b contains more references to Palmer's phonetic work, having been written for *Le maître phonétique*.

- 2 Howatt's (1994) summary of Palmer's achievements has resulted, however, in an invitation to him to contribute an entry for forthcoming editions of this *Dictionary* (A. P. R. Howatt, personal communication).
- 3 Indeed, there exist two academic societies devoted to the history of English studies and/or teaching: Nihon eigakushi gakkai (The Historical Society of English Studies in Japan) and Nihon eigokyoikushi gakkai (The Historical Society of English Teaching in Japan). As their names suggest, both societies focus on history in the Japanese context.

## Bibliographical Considerations

### Notes on the comprehensive bibliography of Palmer's writings contained within the present work

- A policy has been followed of consulting Palmer's writings themselves, in their first edition, for all bibliographical information. Where this has not been possible, an indication of the edition consulted (or other source) is clearly given.
- Since almost all of Palmer's publications have been out of print for many years, we also provide details of where books and pamphlets can be consulted, indicating the name of a library or (where relevant) the volume number of *Selected Writings* (IRLT 1995/1999).
- Articles in or supplements to *The Bulletin of the Institute for Research in English Teaching* may be consulted in IRLT 1985. Editorials in the *Bulletin* have been ascribed to Palmer (except during periods when he was absent from Japan or when another author is indicated), even though these editorials generally appeared anonymously.
- Details of reissues, subsequent translations, and editions subsequent to the first edition are not provided. Palmer's early journalistic writings (see Chapter One) are omitted, as are the many gramophone recordings he made in Japan.

- Subtitles of books and pamphlets are printed in full, with no capitalization, following a full stop rather than a colon. Capitalization in main titles is standardized, and not necessarily that of the original.
- Throughout this study, Japanese names are written in Japanese rather than westernized order (family name appears first, followed by given name). The Romanization system adopted for Japanese names and words is a modified Hepburnian one (see Palmer's (1930) *Principles of Romanization*, pp. 120–3), except when titles or names of publishers are Romanized using a different system in the original, in which cases the original Romanization is retained (e.g. for title and publisher of Palmer 1922c). No distinction is made between long and short vowels, although Palmer would have disapproved!
- Works by Palmer appear in chronological order within shaded boxes in the text. For each work, information is provided in the following order:

Year of publication (month / day, if known). Any additional authors. Title. Name of Series. Translator / Illustrator. Name and place of publisher / Name of journal. No. of pages / page references. Where the work can be consulted, if a book or pamphlet.

### Abbreviations and other conventions

- Square brackets contain information (for example, date, publisher, name of a series or location of the copy consulted) which is not indicated in the work itself.
- 'H.E.P.' = Harold Edward Palmer. Works are by Palmer alone unless otherwise stated. This abbreviation is employed in cases of joint authorship, or when a work is, for example, edited or adapted by Palmer.
- *Selected Writings* = IRLT, eds. 1995/1999. *The Selected Writings of Harold E. Palmer*. Tokyo: Hon-no-Tomosha.
- IRET = The Institute for Research in English Teaching.
- *Bulletin* = *The Bulletin of the Institute for Research in English Teaching* (reproduced in IRLT1985).
- IRLT = The Institute for Research in Language Teaching.



## Chapter 1 Early years (1877–1901)



**1877–92**

Harold Edward Palmer was born on 6 March 1877, at 63 Wornington Road in North Kensington, London. He was the first and only son of Edward Palmer, a twenty-two or three year old ‘schoolmaster’ at the time of Harold’s birth, and Minnie (née Frostick), aged nineteen or twenty.<sup>1</sup> Edward Palmer had himself been born and brought up in Hythe, a small seaside resort town near Folkestone in Kent, where his own father was a respected figure in the local community, formerly headmaster of the local elementary school, and now (following his retirement in 1875) a School Inspector and Registrar of Births and Deaths.

Harold’s father maintained a lifelong practical interest in French and other languages, and he appears to have left Hythe at least partly with the intention of furthering his studies (the title page of a pocket-sized language-learning manual he published much later (Edward Palmer 1914) seems to indicate that he gained a London Chamber of Commerce diploma in French around the time of Harold’s birth ). However, he did not attend university, nor was he later to encourage his son to do so. According to the 1881 census, Edward Palmer was ‘certificated’ as a teacher, and it seems that he had previously taught in his father’s and other schools around Hythe, from the age of fourteen. However, he was of an entrepreneurial disposition, and in 1882–3 he appears to have been organizing classes in French and other languages, partly for adults, in the house he, his wife and young son had moved to in Islington. Harold’s mother, who was to cultivate in her son a ‘love of many forms of art’ (Anderson 1969: 135) may have contributed lessons in singing and drawing.



When Harold was five, he entered an elementary school in London (according to a curriculum vitae transcribed in Kuroda 1985), but the family moved to Hythe in 1883. Edward Palmer at first organized a new school there, then (perhaps additionally) started up a stationery and fancy goods shop at 129, High Street.

In 1889 Harold's only sister, Dorothy, was born, twelve years his junior. The following year Edward Palmer launched a local weekly newspaper, the *Hythe Reporter*, which he edited and published himself, at the same time or soon afterwards giving up teaching completely to concentrate on this and his other non-educational business interests.

Harold seems to have left elementary school in Hythe in 1887, at the age of ten. For three years he was taught at home (perhaps mainly or exclusively by his father and mother). Then, from 1890 to 1892, he studied as a 'day scholar' at a small private institution very near his home, Prospect House School, which had been set up by Bertram T. Winnifrith, a graduate of Oriel College, Oxford. A school report for Easter 1892, in which year Harold left the school, shows that he was first in his (small) class in examinations for Divinity, English Language, French, Euclid, History, Geography and Reading, and first overall in Division I, presumably the last year of the school. In other subjects on the curriculum (Latin, Algebra, Writing, Drawing, Mapping, Dictation and Book-keeping), he placed second or third in examinations.

Harold must have felt in several minds about his future at this time. While the principal and other teachers at Prospect House School were Oxford graduates, and the school itself more up-market, apparently, than Edward Palmer's own educational ventures, it advertised itself only in the following rather modest terms: 'Pupils successfully prepared for public examinations. . . . Highest references to Clergy and others in all

parts of England' (*Hythe Reporter*, 23 January 1897). Harold seems to have been approached about the possibility of his seeking ordination, but he is said to have showed no interest (despite his high examination score for Divinity).

He may instead have been aware that he was predestined, one day, to take over his father's thriving small business. By now, this had expanded into areas such as book-selling, book-lending, sheet music-selling, general printing and book-binding, in addition to fancy goods, stationery, and newspaper printing and publication. Harold, then, was not to be prepared for university (as his daughter, Dorothee, later suggested he himself might have wished) but instead sent on a six-month exchange visit to Boulogne.

### 1892-7

And so, in September 1892 (at the age of fifteen), Harold was accompanied across the English Channel by his mother, who then left him in the care of the Dié family (themselves involved in a small high street business, involving the rapid delivery of letters and parcels). René Dié, a boy of about Harold's age, made the return trip and stayed at the Palmers' in Hythe.

Harold appears to have appreciated the freedom, saying in one of his earliest letters to his mother (to whom he wrote weekly), 'I am glad Papa c'ant [*sic*] see and hear me'.

He returned to Hythe at the end of March 1893, presumably with improved abilities in French, although it seems that for the most part, rather than engaging in serious language study, he had pursued his interests in fossils, geology, map-making and photography (interests

which were to remain with him throughout his life). Dorothee Anderson (1969: 135) writes also that ‘most of his time was spent in the Art Gallery sketching and painting in oils’. There he had made the acquaintance of an Englishman, A. Beaumont, who had expressed some admiration of his artistic talents.

On his return to England, Harold corresponded with Beaumont regarding the possibility of gaining an introduction to museum work, for example in the area of geology. However, it is apparent that nothing in the way of concrete employment came from this correspondence. Harold seems to have spent his remaining teenage years in Hythe, perhaps helping his father with printing and bookbinding work, and probably writing short, unsigned pieces for the *Hythe Reporter*, though sometimes he set off with a rucksack on long bicycle trips, in search of fossils. During one of these expeditions he found himself in Felbridge, on the Surrey-Sussex county border, where he admired the houses and dreamt of living in one some day. At around the same time, he was earning extra money from another talent (inherited from and probably cultivated by his mother, who was a popular music-lover herself), as the following advertisement makes clear:

Harold E. Palmer  
Pianist  
129, High Street, Hythe.  
Open to Engagements at Dances or as  
Accompanist at Smoking Concerts, Entertainments, &c.  
Quadrille Band Provided.

(*Hythe Reporter*, 1 January 1898)

## 1897–1901

On Harold's twentieth birthday, 6 March 1897, the time appears to have come for him to play a more active and responsible role in assisting his father, whose occupational interests had by now expanded still further to include 'Bill Poster and Advertisement Contractor', 'Newsagent', and 'Marquee and Tent Proprietor'.<sup>2</sup> On this date appeared the first full-length article to be written by Harold for the *Hythe Reporter*, under the prominent headline 'Greece and Crete!!', and containing several other dramatic sub-headings uncharacteristic of the hitherto rather restrained graphical conventions of the newspaper.<sup>3</sup> This article reports a meeting called locally to protest Britain's support of Turkey against Crete, and is written in lampooning style, gently poking fun at the self-righteousness of some of the speakers, including the newspaper's proprietor, Harold's own father: 'Mr. E. Palmer, jun. . . . was somewhat carried away by his deep feelings on the subject, and some of the audience resented his reference to the absence of Conservatives'.

Like his own father ('Edward Palmer, senior'), Edward junior was a committed Liberal, devoted to Gladstone, and an active member of both the local Liberal and Radical club and the Hythe Ratepayers' Association. He was also something of a campaigner, having set up, via the *Reporter*, subscription lists for causes including striking Welsh miners (to whose fund Harold had also contributed) and India relief (both in 1897), and having argued in various earlier editorials in favour of, for example, Home Rule, nationalization of mines, and the building of a Channel Tunnel. Harold's father had himself called the above-mentioned 'indignation meeting' in support of the Cretans against the Turks, and conflict of interest may have been one factor in his giving his

son free rein to report on the meeting. Harold, though, seems to have temporarily failed the test, at least in his father's eyes, and was kept off 'serious' topics for some time. Instead, a 'Cycling Gossip' column began to appear in his name from 1 May 1897 onwards, detailing tours in the Kent region.

From January 1898, though, Harold's talents as a satirical writer began to be better acknowledged and utilized in the pages of the *Hythe Reporter*. Under the pen-name 'Jobbins Z. Jobbins' (a homage, perhaps, to Jerome K. Jerome), he was to write numerous witty pieces and parodies over the ensuing four years, most notably a series of special Christmas supplements in the form of extended verse dramas satirizing the pomposity of the Hythe town council.<sup>4</sup>

A major step for Harold occurred when his father transferred the editorship of the *Reporter* to him in February 1899. The sobriquet 'Messrs. E. Palmer and Son' had already been applied to the overall business operation in 1898, and the regional coverage of the newspaper was now to be expanded. One of Harold's first editorials, concerned with the impending 1 March General Election, shows at once a more serious attitude towards national issues than had been evident in his previous satires on local affairs and a suspicion of party politics quite distinct from his father's committed Liberalism:

Our views: We may be truthfully called independent, but even that word has many meanings attached. There is apathetic independence; there is the "between two stool" or "wobbly" independence. Then there is the "third opinion" independence. We incline to think that ours is of this type . . . We are not necessarily "ists" nor are our opinions "isms" . . . Party Politics: Oh, party politics! . . . You have made most of us believe that we cannot do without you.<sup>5</sup>

Harold's more serious side had also gained expression in articles written in 1898 on 'The Water Question', in other words the issue of where the Town Council should sink a well. On this local topic, presumably since it engaged his interests in geology, Harold produced some rather scholarly (as opposed to satirical) writing complete with references to a book previously recommended to him by Beaumont as well as to articles in the journal *Nature*.<sup>6</sup>

In addition to his scholarly (geological) interests, Harold's artistic talents were engaged, though to a similarly limited extent, in his work for his father. For example, in 1898 Messrs. E. Palmer & Son published a 'series of artistic photos' entitled 'Picturesque Hythe' and presumably produced by Harold, while in September 1901 an illustrated supplement appeared (*Hythe, Past and Present*) which he wholly illustrated in his own hand as well as wrote.<sup>7</sup>

However, on 21 September 1901 Harold Palmer said farewell to his local readership with a prominently displayed valedictory poem by Jobbins. Reasons are not given in the *Reporter* for his resignation, but there is no reason to doubt that his daughter was referring to 'insider information' when she wrote as follows:

Although Father found life to be full of interest and excitement, he felt that he must break away from work that was leading nowhere. So, in his mid-twenties, feeling cramped and frustrated, he had the urge to go abroad.

(Anderson 1969: 136)

Another perspective is provided by Jobbins himself in 'An interview with Jobbins Z. Jobbins' by Jobbins Z. Jobbins, which had appeared in the *Hythe Reporter* of 24 December 1898:

I take a great interest in all the Arts and Sciences, and have a practical acquaintanceship with Astronomy, Microscopy, Geology, Botany, Palaeontology, Biology, Mathematics, and Logic. I also pass some time in the pursuit of Art, by the medium of photography, painting, chalk, and pen drawing. But it is in Philosophy that I find myself in my element. I belong to no school of Philosophy. I have studied every school and have read every writer, but being dissatisfied, have written my own: 'The Philosophy of Jobbins'.

Harold Palmer must have felt that his energies and abilities were being wasted in Hythe, where he had been helping his father as responsibly as he could, allowing himself, or being allowed only occasional flights of fancy via a witty and wise alter ego, Jobbins Z. Jobbins, rather, that is, than developing his very own Palmerian Philosophy or Vision! The above interview concludes in the following manner: 'And so I bade farewell to this learned man, this philosopher, poet and journalist; this author, scientist, and artist; this linguist, cosmopolitan and benefactor, and yet withal a simple kindly man'.<sup>8</sup> Uncannily, this was indeed to become, in most respects, a fitting epitaph for Palmer, but in order to gain these accolades in reality as opposed to imaginatively he would first have to leave Hythe behind, and start making his own way in the world . . . .<sup>9</sup>

## Notes

- 1 The information in this chapter derives from research based on primary and secondary sources which has previously been more fully reported in Smith 1998b. Detailed references to sources are therefore not provided here. Primary sources include letters and other documents in the personal files of Victoria Angela (PFVA), back issues of the *Hythe Reporter* (consulted in the Colindale Newspaper Library, London, and Folkestone Library), and documents in the Family Records Centre, London. Further information was provided by Ms. Denise Rayner of the

Hythe Civic Society. Our main secondary sources are Anderson 1969 and Kuroda 1985.

- 2 Advertisements in the *Hythe Reporter*, 13 February 1897.
- 3 Although the author is not named, subsequent articles in similar style which are attributed lead us to conclude that this article is unmistakably by Harold Palmer. In a disclaimer in the subsequent (13 March) issue, Edward Palmer indicates that the article had not been his own, and that he had given the writer (whose anonymity is still preserved) a free rein.
- 4 For example, 'A New and Original Christmas Pantomime in Three Acts, entitled: THE CORPORATION OF SPOOKLAND: Or the Victory of Harmony over the Demons of Discord . . . Dedicated to the Mayor and Corporation of Hythe without kind permission' (Supplement to the *Hythe Reporter*, 17 December 1898).
- 5 *Folkestone, Hythe, Sandgate and Cheriton Reporter*, 23 February 1899.
- 6 *Hythe Reporter*, 22 January 1898; 31 December 1898.
- 7 Issued as a supplement to the 21 September 1901 issue of the *Reporter*.
- 8 *Hythe Reporter*, 24 December 1898.
- 9 The title of one obituary of Palmer (Stier 1950) is: 'Harold E. Palmer, phonetician, entertainer, philosopher, scholar, teacher, traveller, author, friend'.



## Chapter 2 Verviers (1902–14)



### 1902–3

The date of Harold Palmer's departure for the Continent is unclear, although, as we have seen, he must have left Hythe some time after 21 September 1901. His arrival in Verviers, close to both the Dutch and German borders in the French-speaking part of Belgium, was dated by the municipal authorities as 6 February 1902.<sup>1</sup> Palmer took up employment at the *École Internationale de Langues Vivantes*, a small school at 33, rue du Collège, Verviers. Advertisements for the school show that it claimed allegiance to the Berlitz method, although it was not, apparently, itself a member of the growing Berlitz empire.<sup>2</sup> Thus, as Palmer himself later recalled, he 'received his first training as a teacher of English in a language-school run on Berlitz lines' (Palmer 1935c: 3). This training consisted partly in observation of lessons taught by another English teacher and partly in learning German from a different teacher, at the request of the Director of the school. The Berlitz method was, according to his daughter, 'a revelation to him, especially as he had hitherto been in complete ignorance of the Direct Method in any of its forms, and at once he became an enthusiastic admirer of it' (Anderson 1969: 136).

Palmer also appears to have spent a short period teaching at a different branch of the same school at 46, Stationstraat, in Maastricht, Holland.<sup>3</sup> In May 1902 the Verviers school appears to have folded as a result of a split between the two directors, and July 1903 advertisements in a local Verviers newspaper announce the start of English lessons to be given twice-weekly in Palmer's own rooms at 30, rue David.<sup>4</sup> Although Anderson (1969: 136) records that her father set up his own school in 1903, Palmer was himself to claim in May 1905 that his 'Institute' was

already three years old (see '1905–6' below). It is possible, then, that, following the closure of the school he had been working for, Palmer set up on his own, but initially on a peripatetic basis. Certainly, by 1905 he was well-known as a teacher at locales other than his own premises, including the 'Société L'Aide Mutuelle', the 'Société Polyglotte', the 'Syndicat des Voyageurs', and the 'Mutuelle', and was also known to be teaching privately for the 'best families of Verviers'.<sup>5</sup>

From the time, very early on in his teaching career, when he set out on his own, Palmer

was . . . free to use and develop whatever system of teaching he pleased. He explored the possibilities of one method after another, both as teacher and student. He would devise, adopt, modify or reject one plan after another as the result of further research and experience in connexion with many languages – living and artificial.

By this time, he had become fascinated by languages, all languages, his own and other people's, fascinated by the way they worked. He was naturally eager to teach what he learned and to learn as he taught. . . .

It was here that the Palmer method began to evolve.

(Anderson 1969: 136–7)

Aside from his experiences learning German (and, presumably, Dutch and French), Palmer may have attended classes in Oriental Studies as an auditor at the University of Liège during 1903–4.<sup>6</sup> In September 1903, he moved once again, to 7, pont du Chêne.<sup>7</sup>

## 1904

In February 1904, advertisements began to appear for classes using the so-called 'Palmer Method', at 7, pont du Chêne, and announcing also the

recent publication of the first instalment of Palmer 1904 (see below), which claims to employ that method.<sup>8</sup>

On 20 March he moved again, to 69, rue Spintay, and in April advertised both the start of German in addition to English lessons, and the appearance of the second instalment of Palmer 1904.<sup>9</sup> By September, the third and fourth instalments had appeared, and Palmer was advertising new German classes and the fact that four classes already existed for English.<sup>10</sup>

On 19 November he married a local woman eight years his junior, Elisabeth Purnode, and at the end of the month she joined him at rue Spintay.<sup>11</sup>

[1904.] *Méthode Palmer. La langue anglaise à l'usage des français. Conversation sans puérilité. Grammaire sans ennui.* [Issued in five instalments.] Brussels: Castaigne, 5 x 16 pp. [In Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1<sup>er</sup>, Brussels.]<sup>12</sup>

Already, by early 1904, Palmer was claiming to have developed his own 'Method'. His 1904 English learning materials take the form of a correspondence course, published in Brussels but printed by his father at The Hythe Reporter Ltd. On the inside back cover of the first instalment, Palmer informs users that answers to exercises will be corrected by him if they are sent to his pont du Chêne address. It is doubtful that the venture was entirely successful in commercial terms, since no more than five instalments appear to have been issued. Later, this work was doubled in size for publication in book form (1906b).

Each sixteen-page instalment contains a number of lessons. Their contents, including instructions to the teacher, draw obvious inspiration from the first Berlitz textbook, but with the noticeable differences that

French equivalents are given for words and sentences in English, and that phonetic transcriptions (apparently based on a system of Palmer's own devising) are given for new vocabulary. Also, exercises for translation (both from and into English) follow the presentation of new words and patterns. Palmer appears to have been planning at this time to bring out a similar course on French for English speakers, also in collaboration with his father.<sup>13</sup>

### 1905–6

On 28 April 1905 a daughter, Dorothée, was born, and on 20–21 May an advertisement appeared in the local newspaper giving Palmer's school (still in his rooms at rue Spintay) a name for the first time, the 'Institut des Langues Étrangères Palmer'. In the advertisement, Palmer claims that his Institute is already three years old, and stresses that the Method employed is modern but rational, and that lessons in English, German and Spanish are given by native speakers only.<sup>14</sup> By this time, then, Palmer appears to have been employing other teachers. On 18 December, a banquet was given in Palmer's honour by the Société Polyglotte de Verviers, a report of which in one of the local newspapers indicates not only the esteem in which he was held in the local community but also the fact that he was known to be 'always searching, always innovating, always improving his method'.<sup>15</sup>

Two lines of investigation apparently taken up around this time were to remain career-long concerns of Palmer: vocabulary limitation and phonetic transcription. With regard to the former, he recalled in 1936 that:

About 32 years ago I already had the idea that an economical approach to English might be made by first learning the words of most frequent occurrence, and I drew up and circulated among my pupils a list of what seemed to me to be the 100 English words of most frequent occurrence. . . .

I remember well that at the time I was in a state of revolt against the giving to pupils as a first vocabulary any haphazard assortment of words, as if taken at random out of a sack.

I noted at the time that the vocabulary taught in the first 20 lessons of the Berlitz method was particularly rational, especially for teaching purposes, and indeed this as one of my reasons for admiring that method – an admiration I still feel.

(Palmer 1936c: 14)

In the area of phonetics, Palmer was to describe his development during the period 1905–10 as follows:

About five years ago, I commenced using a phonetic transcription for teaching English to my pupils . . .

During a period of about three years I used phonetics more or less experimentally, the pupils working from manuscript sheets. I was therefore free to introduce any modification which I might consider useful or necessary. From time to time I did modify a few details and according to the results obtained, either rejected or permanently adopted the modification.

(Palmer 1910a: 102–3)

It is clear, then, that Palmer had by 1905 developed a research orientation to his teaching work which extended, also, to his own *study* of languages. A curriculum vitae written in the 1920s (Kuroda 1985: 81) indicates that he ‘conducted experiments and research into the phonetics of German, Spanish and Polish’ (our translation) between 1905 and 1913. This shows not only that by 1905 he had begun to study the latter two languages (in addition, as we shall see, to Esperanto) but also that he

may have conceived of his ‘Institute’ as having taken on a research dimension around this time.

On 27 April 1906 Palmer moved with his family and school to a new address in the central square of Verviers: 20, place Verte.<sup>16</sup> In a 19–20 May advertisement for the new school, it is described as the ‘Institut Palmer’, and classes are promised in Esperanto, as well as other languages. Palmer later recalled: ‘I once had a large class of Belgians to whom I taught Esperanto. Many were so encouraged by this fascinating study that they subsequently took up the study of English’ (Ichikawa 1961: 14).

1906a. *Cartes Palmer. Collection A. Verviers.* [Not seen.]<sup>17</sup>

1906b. *Méthode Palmer. La langue anglaise à l’usage des français.* Brussels: Castaigne, 160 pp. [In Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1<sup>er</sup>, Brussels.]

[1906c.] *Correspondance commerciale anglaise. De quoi la faire très rapidement et sans étude. Recueil des phrases, expressions, locutions, formules et mots les plus usités dans la correspondance anglaise. La disposition de son contenu permet, même à celui qui ne connaît pas l’anglais, d’écrire correctement une lettre dans cette langue et de se faire comprendre parfaitement.* [Verviers: Lacroix], 49 pp. [In Bibliothèque publique principale, Verviers.]<sup>18</sup>

According to Daniel Jones (1950a: 90), in the course of his general experimentation with language learning and teaching at his school in Verviers, Palmer invented, around 1905, ‘a system of phonetic transcription (with diacritic marks) which he used for some years’. (In fact, this transcription system, or a prototype of it, had already been used in Palmer 1904.) Jones (1950b: 4) further implies that Palmer used it (around 1905) in a ‘card index system for helping students to learn languages. Instructions and exercises were printed on one side of each

card, and keys were printed on the reverse side'. It is probable that Jones is referring here to the apparently non-extant *Cartes Palmer* (1906a, 1907a), and that these were, then, self-instructional materials.

In Palmer 1906b, the 1904 correspondence course instalments are brought together in book form. Whereas the 1904 pamphlets appear to stop at lesson thirty-six, this book additionally contains lessons thirty-seven to seventy-one.

Palmer 1906c consists not so much of learning materials as of an ordered collection of functional expressions for commercial correspondence, with interlinear translations into French. These materials were designed for ease of reference as and when the occasion arose. Verviers at the time had considerable commercial contacts with Britain, in particular in connection with its (at that time) thriving textiles industry, and, as Anderson (1969: 137) notes, most of Palmer's students were 'hard-headed adults, not the captive audience of the [elementary or secondary school] classroom'. With this 1906c publication, Palmer was clearly responding to a need for 'Business English' which had presented itself to him during his teaching of such students.

## 1907

In July 1907, according to Daniel Jones (1950b: 4), Palmer joined the International Phonetic Association (IPA), of which Jones himself had become Assistant Secretary in the same year (Gimson 1968: 4). Although Palmer had originally joined by addressing his application to Paul Passy, in the ensuing years he exchanged correspondence with Jones 'fairly frequently' (Jones 1950b: 4).<sup>19</sup> As we shall see, this correspondence was



to be partly public, involving a 1910–11 exchange of views in the pages of *Le maître phonétique*, the bulletin of the Association.

Prior to this, Palmer appears to have been devoting his energies to Esperanto, and was developing contacts in the Belgian Esperanto establishment, as his 1907c textbook publication was to show (Witteryck-Delplace was the principal publisher for Esperanto materials in Belgium). Two friends of Palmer's, Georges Bevernage and Édouard Mathieu are acknowledged in the preface to this work (1907c: 13), and Palmer was perhaps, then, referring to around this period when he later came to describe some of their joint activities as follows:

At the Société Polyglotte or at the Mutuelle we would preach reforms and carry glad tidings of phonetics, of ergonomics, or of semantics.

We would read Sweet, Jespersen, and Bréal, and comment on what we read, we would discuss the latest articles in *Le Maître Phonétique* and *Modern Language Teaching*.

(Palmer 1917b: 5)

Palmer's enthusiasm for Esperanto (which, as we have seen, he began to teach in 1906) may have first developed in the context of his active participation in the Société Polyglotte de Verviers, an association dedicated to internationalism, and the encouragement of internationalist attitudes through language learning.<sup>20</sup> By the beginning of 1906 he had been elected President of the Esperanto Section of the Société Polyglotte, had 'nearly completed' the prototype of 1907c and was intending to prepare a similar text for the use of English-speaking students. Presumably, this was never in fact published, although in public lectures on Esperanto which Palmer gave in Hythe on 13 September 1906, and 1 September 1907, he appears to have been attempting to prepare the

ground for such a venture. In August 1907, Palmer attended the Third Esperantist Congress in Cambridge, which he is said to have considered ‘the best of the three Esperantist congresses’. The implication here is that he had also attended the First and Second Congresses (in Boulogne, 1905, and Geneva, 1906, respectively).<sup>21</sup>

1907a. *Cartes Palmer. Collection B.* Verviers. [Not seen.]<sup>22</sup>

1907b. *The Palmer Method. Elementary French especially arranged for the use of adult pupils and students* Issued in instalments. Hythe, Kent: The Hythe Reporter. [Not seen.]<sup>23</sup>

1907c. *Méthode Palmer. Esperanto [sic] à l’usage des français.* Bruges: Witteryck-Delplace, 158 pp. [In Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1<sup>er</sup>, Brussels; Bibliothèque publique principale, Verviers.]

Although 1907c appears to have been published after (the first instalments of) 1907b, these two works were probably composed in reverse order, at least according to Palmer’s own later recollection:

In 1906 I drew up a learner’s vocabulary in Esperanto and embodied it in an Esperanto textbook for French students of that language [1907c], and followed it up with a similar French vocabulary embodied in a book for teaching French to English students [1907b] – both of them inspired by the Berlitz selection.

(Palmer 1936c: 15)

Palmer 1907c is of interest partly for the description it provides of the ‘Palmer Method’ at this stage in its development (pp. 4–9). Palmer begins by stating that a teacher or textbook must basically do two things: *renseigner* (inform) and *enseigner* (perhaps, ‘inculcate’ or ‘cause to learn’ would be accurate translations in this context). The latter being more

important (since a language can be acquired without explicit information but not without opportunities for use), practice activities need to be provided. These may take the form of translation exercises, but techniques deriving from ‘natural methods’ are, Palmer explains, generally recognized to be superior. He goes on to describe some of these techniques, namely ‘conventional conversation’ (which he claims to have named himself, and which is later featured also in 1921b and 1925c), ‘free conversation’ (in fact, a free-er version of conventional conversation) and ‘conversion’ (that is, a type of transformation drill). Palmer disagrees with proponents both of traditional (translation) methods and extreme versions of the ‘natural’ method, seeing no reason to deny the use of mother tongue resources for informational purposes (hence the prevalence of French explanations in the text itself) but emphasizing the importance of practice exercises which inculcate the ability to think in the target language.

Under the heading ‘En préparation’ in 1907c, two works (which appear not in fact to have been published) are listed: *Esperanto for the Use of English-speaking Students* (presumably, on analogy with 1907b, intended for publication under the auspices of the *Hythe Reporter*), and *Esperanto Demandaro* (translation: ‘A set of Esperanto questions’ [?]). As we shall see, Palmer’s interests seem to have shifted away from Esperanto in the ensuing years, and this may explain his probable non-completion of these works.

## 1908–10

In 1908, Palmer appears to have been busy consolidating his position in the centre of Verviers. No new moves or developments are advertised in local newspapers, and there were no further publications until 1910.

One reason for Palmer's failure to issue further (promised) publications for Esperanto may have been the schism which began to develop in January 1908 between the Esperanto movement (led by its founder, Zamenhof) and a Delegation (whose membership included Otto Jespersen) which had been set up with a view to the reform of this language (Forster 1982: 126–7). One of the leaders of the Esperanto movement in Belgium was Charles Lemaire, who was to become a close friend of Palmer's during his time in Verviers (Anderson 1969: 137). Lemaire became an advocate of the Delegation proposals, which led to the construction of a 'reformed Esperanto' known as 'Ilo' or 'Ido', and in 1909 issued his own textbook for the learning of this language (Lemaire 1909). As Jones (1950b: 7) recalled, Palmer came to consider Ido far superior to Esperanto, and it seems likely that this was a consequence of discussions with Lemaire, whose influence in other areas is acknowledged in the Preface to Palmer 1921a.<sup>24</sup> Although Palmer's interest in artificial auxiliary languages was never to leave him completely (see 1947a), and may, along with his own multilingualism, have underwritten a certain ambivalence with regard to the dominance of English in, for example, the Japanese context (as expressed in Palmer 1926s), his energies appear to have been devoted to natural languages from 1908 onwards (although 1913f and 1913g show that he maintained contacts in Ido and Esperantist circles, respectively).

The lack of publications until 1910 may also be explained with reference to the preface to 1917b (p. 6), where Palmer indicates that, following exhortations from his friend Édouard Mathieu ‘seriously to go to work with a view to laying the foundations on which the science of language-teaching might some day repose’, he had in fact started on ‘an organized series of researches’ in connection with his own teaching, eight or nine years previously (that is, around 1908–9). According to Palmer’s own account (1917b: 5–6), this new departure was related to a growing realization that his (and his friends’) search for ‘the one true standard and universal method’ was misguided, and that what was needed instead was a principled basis for (the selection of) methods, in other words a ‘science of linguistic pedagogy’. Many of the principles which were later incorporated into 1917b are reported by Palmer (1917b: 6) as having had their roots in (what might nowadays be termed) ‘action research’ which he carried out from this time onwards, with his own students at the Institute.

On 4 April 1909, the family and the school moved to a different central location, 2, rue Ortmans-Hauzeur, where they were to remain until the outbreak of the First World War. By now the school was being advertised variously as ‘Institut Palmer (de(s)) Langues Étrangères’ or ‘Institut Palmer des Langues’, or ‘Institut Palmer’. In June, an apparently new venture was announced: a summer school in Folkestone. An advertisement on 29 August shows that Palmer had ‘returned from England’, the school presumably having in fact been arranged.

In March 1910, an advertisement shows that an ‘English evening’ was to be held every Monday. Advertisements also show that Palmer was concentrating on the teaching of English and German, having dropped earlier Spanish and Esperanto lessons.<sup>25</sup>

Part of Palmer's experimentation at this time was connected with 'the replacing of the traditional orthography by . . . phonetic transcription', which is said to have 'produced . . . splendid results' (1917b: 6). His growing interest in this area was evidently linked to his membership of the IPA, and 1910 saw his first contribution to its bulletin, *Le maître phonétique*.<sup>26</sup>

1910a (July–Aug.). 'The transcription of English vowels'. *Le maître phonétique* 25/7–8: 102–7.

1910b? 'Les 23 particules verbales (Méthode Palmer, Sheet X2)'. [One of a series of sheets for the teaching of spoken English.] Verviers: privately printed. [Not seen.]<sup>27</sup>

In his 1910a article (itself written in phonetic script, as were all contributions to *Le maître phonétique* at this time), Palmer offers up his own transcription system for appraisal, wondering whether, for the purposes of materials design for French-speaking students, a system using French acute, 'grave' and circumflex accents might not most effectively represent the English vowels. This contribution drew a response from Daniel Jones under the same title as Palmer's article, in the subsequent issue of the journal (Jones 1910). Collins (1988: 111) analyses the exchange of views as follows:

Jones chooses not to criticise Palmer's transcription for the bewildering array of diacritics which he presents to the reader, but instead concentrates on his usual theme of the need for unity of transcription. . . . The intellectual stance of the two men is typical of them both. Palmer is innovative, inquisitive, and eager to test his ideas out on others; Jones is more cautious and pragmatic, and unwilling to upset the balance which has already been achieved.

A review of 1910b by Noël-Armfield (a colleague of Jones in the UCL Department of Phonetics) indicates that Palmer had been working on materials specifically for the teaching of *spoken* English (Noël-Armfield 1911). In itself, this seems to indicate the growing influence on Palmer's thinking of IPA priorities. Evidently, also, Palmer had been accompanying his letters to Jones with examples of work-in-progress. The title of the particular sheet reviewed by Noël-Armfield seems to prefigure Palmer's later, more intensive investigation of the peculiarities of the twenty-four 'anomalous finites' (see 1926c).

## 1911

Palmer's growing enthusiasm for phonetics did not diminish his interest in vocabulary. Several projects were started at around this time which, if they not been interrupted by the outbreak of war in 1914, would have, according to Palmer himself, resulted in published learning materials. For example, he recalls having, in 1911,

conceived the idea of an English vocabulary of some 500 words. This was to appear in card form, one card for each word and containing abundant illustrative sentences *none of which should include any word outside the selected list* [emphasis in original]. I worked at this for above three years. . . .

Had this work not been interrupted by the invasion of my town by the German troops . . . this vocabulary would certainly have developed into a definite beginners' vocabulary, with dictionary and texts written within its radius.

(Palmer 1936c:15)

Palmer was also to describe how, in the years 1912–14, he had been attempting to compile an English–French Learner's Dictionary but

suffered from having no quantitatively-limited vocabulary to serve as its basis (1934bb: 6). He may also have been considering the possibility of associating controlled vocabularies and simplified texts (1936g: 21).

1911a (Jan.–Feb.). ‘What is the English standard transcription?’. *Le maître phonétique* 26/1–2: 1–2.

1911b (Sept.–Oct.). ‘The Polish /l/’ (Letter to the Editor). *Le maître phonétique* 26/9–10: 149.

In 1911a, Palmer takes up some of the points Jones had made in his 1910 reply, and enquires in what respects, precisely, his transcription system might be considered to diverge from that of the IPA. This drew forth a further, lengthy response from Daniel Jones in the form of a second article on ‘The transcription of English vowels’, in the subsequent issue of the journal (Jones 1911).

In 1911b, Palmer thanks T. W. Benni for a discussion of Polish sounds which had appeared in a previous issue of the journal. It is clear, then, that the original questions about these sounds (posed anonymously in an earlier issue) had in fact been Palmer’s.<sup>28</sup> Thus, Polish is confirmed as one of the several languages Palmer studied in Verviers.

## 1912

In the summer of 1912, Palmer again visited Folkestone with a group of his younger students (Anderson 1969: 139). On the boat from Ostend to Dover, he met Daniel Jones for the first time. Jones, who was returning with his wife, Cyrille, from a lecture tour in Scandinavia and Germany (Collins 1988: 126), later recalled this accidental meeting as follows:



Seeing my name on a luggage label he came up to me and we had a memorable talk on phonetics. We struck up a friendship which it has been a privilege to me to enjoy ever since. I had corresponded with him for several years previously, and this meeting confirmed the opinion that I had already formed, namely, that he possessed outstanding talent for linguistic theory and pedagogy, and that he was an accomplished French scholar and a fine language teacher.

(Jones 1950a: 90)

1912. *Cours élémentaire de correspondance anglaise*. Verviers. [Not seen.]<sup>29</sup>

This work (of which no copies appear to remain) may have taken up where 1906c left off, although the title seems to indicate that it is a course book as opposed to a work of reference. Palmer's growing interest in the nature of spoken English evidently did not exclude an interest in his students' needs in the area of English letter-writing.

### 1913

Advertisements show that Palmer again repeated the summer school venture in 1913.<sup>30</sup> His chance meeting with Daniel Jones the previous year may have spurred him to contribute even more actively to *Le maître phonétique*, with several short pieces being published in 1913. The majority of these are simply 'specimens' of phonetic transcription, submission of which had been encouraged in a special supplement to the bulletin the previous year (IPA 1912: 19).

1913a. (March–April). 'Kentish dialect (Hythe)' (Specimen). *Le maître phonétique* 28/3–4: 56–7.

1913b. (May–June). ‘Articles en orthographe ordinaire’ (Letter to the Editor). *Le maître phonétique* 28/5–6: 77.

1913c. *Manuel d’anglais parlé. Méthode Palmer*. Verviers: Institut Palmer, 206 pp. [In Bibliothèque publique principale, Verviers.]<sup>31</sup>

1913d (Nov.–Dec.). ‘Phonetic letters on typewriters’. *Le maître phonétique* 28/11–12: 138.

1913e (Nov.–Dec.). Translated by G[eorges] Bevernage; transcribed by H.E.P. ‘Flemish dialect of Ghent’ (Specimen). *Le maître phonétique* 28/11–12: 139.

1913f (Nov.–Dec.). Translated by L[éon] Couturat; transcribed by H.E.P. ‘Ido’ (Specimen). *Le maître phonétique* 28/11–12: 139–40.

1913g (Nov.–Dec.). Translated by H. B. Mudie; transcribed by H.E.P. ‘Esperanto’ (Specimen). *Le maître phonétique* 28/11–12: 140–41.

1913b is a brief note supporting Daniel Jones’s previously expressed position that articles in traditional orthography should be permitted in the journal, while 1913d is also brief, simply providing useful information on how to obtain phonetic typewriters. Two specimens which do not appear in the above list (Benselin 1913 and Smedley 1913), both treating Wallon French of the Verviers region, were apparently submitted by Palmer but transcribed by acquaintances (whom he had, perhaps, interested in phonetics).

A notice of ‘Publications Received’ in the July–August issue of *Le maître phonétique* affirms that 1913c employs the alphabet of the IPA. This is true enough for consonants, but for vowel sounds Palmer retains many of the diacritics he had both described and used in 1910a and 1911a. This (1913c) work gives evidence of a much greater concern with

the unique nature of the spoken language (as is indicated by its title) than Palmer's previous textbook publications, as well as with the pedagogic use of phonetics. Thus, the book begins with fourteen pages explaining and exemplifying the English sound system, including consideration of assimilation and weak forms of vowels. Also, prefiguring 1916b, 1922a, 1922b and 1924b, the work contains example words and sentences in phonetic transcription (accompanied by French translation) but not in traditional English orthography. Practice is confined largely to translation exercises, the text being remarkable rather for the wealth of information it provides on the spoken language (it is a precursor, in this respect, of 1924b) than for its methodology. Nevertheless, innovative regular review sections contain a greater variety of exercise types. While printed by a local publisher, Léon Lacroix, 1913c is the first (and only) of Palmer's Verviers works to have appeared under the name of his own Institute.

## 1914

In 1914, the Folkestone summer school was again advertised in *Le maître phonétique*, by means of an 'open letter' directed to those who 'have had the misfortune to learn the English language on a faulty and inadequate basis; whose pronunciation, vocabulary and phraseology is of that class generally characterised as "Continental"'. The summer school had been set up with the aim in mind of 'breaking up the old vicious habits and of inculcating the new ones by means of modern methods on a strictly phonetic basis'.<sup>32</sup>

However, on 3 August, presumably before the summer school was due to begin, the German army invaded Belgium, and Verviers was one

of the first towns to be captured. Six weeks later Palmer, his wife and daughter escaped, leaving behind almost all of their possessions (some of which, at least, were recovered in 1919, according to Jones 1950b: 5). Palmer's daughter, Dorothée, recalled the escape as follows:

We remained undiscovered under German occupation for six weeks when Father was advised by his friends there to leave because British citizens were being arrested and deported to prison camps. At the time, the frontier into Holland was still open.

One morning, Father rushed home with the news that the frontier was being closed the next day – it was our last chance of escape! The three of us were bundled into an agricultural cart that was leaving immediately to fetch supplies from Holland for the last time. This necessitated abandoning all our possessions. When we arrived in England, we had literally only the things we stood up in – we were truly refugees!

(Anderson 1969: 139–40)

Having followed a semicircular route through Holland to Ostend (not yet captured by the Germans), the family reached safety in Folkestone, where Palmer's parents and sister were living (Anderson 1969: 140). The *Hythe Reporter* of 19 September indicates that they had arrived three days previously, and includes a brief report from Palmer himself:

The invasion came as a great surprise to us. There had been so many rumours of the coming of the Germans that at last we refused to believe anything.

On the morning of August 4th . . . there appeared with dramatic suddenness a patrol of Hussars in the Market Place . . .

Then followed six weeks of nightmare . . . in the end we got away; an opportunity occurred and we managed to slip through.

## Notes

- 1 Registre de Population de Verviers, années 1900–10. This chapter summarizes research undertaken mainly in Belgium which has not previously been reported. Full references to sources have therefore been provided. For access to local public records, we are grateful to M. Paul Bertholet, Librarian of the Société Verviétoise d'archéologie et d'histoire. Back issues of newspapers were consulted in the Bibliothèque publique principale de Verviers, and documents in PFVA provide additional information. Our main secondary sources are Bongers 1947, Anderson 1969 and Kuroda 1985.
- 2 Cf. Bongers 1947: 72; A flyer in PFVA confirms the name of the school, and the fact that it employed the Berlitz Method.
- 3 Details from a flyer advertising the Maastricht branch of the school in PFVA. The curriculum vitae transcribed by Kuroda (1985: 81) indicates that Palmer taught in Maastricht.
- 4 In one local newspaper, the *Union Libérale* (Verviers), an advertising 'war' (beginning in March) between the original school and a break-away school formed by one of the two directors came to an end in May. In that month the new school declared victory, stating that the parent school had closed. However, there were no further advertisements for the new school from the latter part of June onwards, which suggests that it had itself failed. It is not clear whether Palmer had stayed with the old or gone with the new school but he seems to have either gone to Maastricht at this time (to a surviving branch of the old school?) or found himself quickly out of a job. The first advertisements for lessons by Palmer that we have come across appear in the 14 July 1903 issue of the *Union Libérale*.
- 5 Report in *Le Jour* (Verviers), transcribed (without dating) in the original typescript of Anderson 1969 (in PFVA), but omitted from the published version.
- 6 The curriculum vitae in Kuroda 1985 indicates that Palmer attended classes in 'Oriental Studies' (our translation) from 1903 to 1904. However, according to the archivist of the University of Liège (personal communication, April 1998), Palmer was not registered as a student, or even 'élève libre' (auditor) during any of the years between 1901 to 1906. The only oriental languages offered during the period 1903–4 were Arabic, Persian and Chinese (*Programme des Cours. Année Académique 1903–1904*. Liège: Université de Liège, 1903).

- 7 Registre de population de Verviers, années 1900–10.
- 8 *Union Libérale*, 12 February 1904.
- 9 *Union Libérale*, 9–10 April 1904.
- 10 *Union Libérale*, 24–5 September 1904.
- 11 Registre de population de Verviers, années 1900–10.
- 12 Dated 1904 in *Bibliographie de Belgique* 1904: 497–8
- 13 A notice mentioning Palmer 1904 in the 5 November 1904 issue of the *Hythe Reporter* indicates that there were plans to issue a French version of this work by the following winter. This appears to have been published later, as Palmer 1907b.
- 14 *Union Libérale*, May 20–21 1905.
- 15 Undated (1905?) report in *Le Jour* (see note 5 above).
- 16 Registre de population de Verviers, années 1900–10.
- 17 All details according to Bongers (1947: 350), who appears to indicate that his own dating (based, presumably, on Palmer's own recollection) is uncertain. Not mentioned under 'Du même auteur' in Palmer 1907c, nor in *Bibliographie de Belgique* for any of the years Palmer was in Verviers. Presumably, then, self-published.
- 18 1906 is indicated as date of publication, and A. Lacroix et fils, Verviers as publisher under 'Du même auteur' on inside cover of Palmer 1907c.
- 19 Under the heading 'nouveaux membres' in *Le maître phonétique* 22/7–8 (July–August 1907): 77, Palmer is shown to have joined the IPA by contacting 'P. P.' (i.e., Paul Passy).
- 20 Undated (1905?) report in *Le Jour* (see note 5 above).
- 21 Articles and announcements in the *Hythe Reporter*, 27 January 1906; 22 September 1906; 24 August 1907.
- 22 The same considerations apply to 1907a as to 1906a. See note 17.
- 23 Referred to by Bongers (1947: 351) and under the heading 'Du même auteur' on the inside cover of Palmer 1907c. 'The Palmer Method' is

included in the title by Bongers but not in 1907c. For all other details (including date of publication and the fact that this was issued in instalments ('par fascicule')), we have used 1907c as a source, rather than Bongers.

- 24 Forster (1982: 130–1) notes that 'A number of Esperantists were converted to Ido: it has been estimated that 20–25% of the leaders of the Esperanto movement became Idists: in Belgium, where reformist influence was strong owing to Lemaire, the figure was more like one-third'.
- 25 Advertisements in 1910 issues of *Union Libérale*.
- 26 As Collins (1988: 441) notes, Palmer's enthusiasm for phonetics (at around this time) is indicated by the fact that he taught his daughter, Dorothée, how to read and write in phonetic notation, leaving her to pick up traditional spelling on her own (see Anderson 1969: 138–9).
- 27 Details from a review by Noël-Armfield (1911). Palmer refers to similar-sounding materials in his 1910a article, hence our 1910 dating here (Noël-Armfield 1911 does not indicate a date of publication).
- 28 Benni's answers to these questions had appeared in the form of an article entitled 'Polish Sounds', in the May–June issue of the journal (pp. 71–7), while the questions had themselves been posed in the January–February issue (pp. 3–4), in a section entitled 'Enseignement mutuel'.
- 29 Details reproduced from Bongers (1947: 350). This work is not mentioned in *Bibliographie de Belgique* for any of the years Palmer was in Verviers. Perhaps, then, it was self-published and had only a limited circulation.
- 30 For example, in the July–August 1913 issue of *Le maître phonétique*, which contains an advertisement in the form of 'An open letter to every member of the [IPA]'.
- 31 Printed by Léon Lacroix (indicated by Bongers (1947: 351) as publisher). A notice in the July–August 1913 issue of *Le maître phonétique* (p. 107) indicates that a review copy had been received, hence our chronological ordering here.
- 32 *Le maître phonétique*, March–April 1914: [page of advertisements preceding p. 23].





## Chapter 3 London (1915–22)



## 1915

Following his arrival in Folkestone, Palmer organized a language school there for other refugees from Belgium. However, according to his daughter's account (Anderson 1969: 140), he decided before long, presumably in the first half of 1915, to move to London, where he obtained an appointment as French master in a secondary school.<sup>1</sup>

Palmer must have been in contact with Daniel Jones following this move, for not only was he commissioned to write a pamphlet for the IPA (Palmer 1915), which may have first been discussed prior to the outbreak of war, but also he was invited by Jones to give three public lectures at University College London (UCL), starting in October, on methods of language teaching.<sup>2</sup> As Jones (1950b: 5) recalled, these 'attracted large audiences, mainly of school teachers', and were to launch Palmer's brief but very productive academic career.

1915. *What is Phonetics? An answer to this question in the form of 12 letters from a phonetician to a non-phonetic friend.* [London?]: International Phonetic Association, 60 pp. [In British Library.]

Partly through his earlier (in particular, 1910a and 1911a) contributions to *Le maître phonétique*, Palmer had already attracted Jones's attention, and his chance meeting with Jones in 1912 and subsequent contributions to the bulletin in 1913 had evidently enhanced Jones's appreciation of his abilities. These factors may have led to a commission to write the popularizing pamphlet for the IPA which was published in 1915, or Palmer may himself have proposed this for publication. In either case, it is clear that Palmer was far from being an 'unknown quantity' either to

Jones or to other phoneticians when he received the invitation to give lectures at UCL in autumn 1915.

## 1916

From the beginning of 1916, Palmer was invited to take over some practical phonetics and spoken English classes for foreign students, as a part-time teacher with (as yet) no official status, in the Department of Phonetics, UCL. He was also asked by Jones to give two further courses of lectures, this time not public but *within* the Department, in the second and third terms of the 1915–16 (academic) Session. It was only with effect from the beginning of the subsequent, 1916–17 Session that he officially became a part-time assistant in the Department, receiving a salary in that academic year of £45.

1916a (May). 'Some principles of language teaching'. *Modern Language Teaching* 12/3: 65–74.

1916b. *Colloquial English. Part 1. 100 Substitution Tables*. Cambridge: Heffer, xvi + 102 pp. [3rd ed. (1923) in *Selected Writings*, vol. 5; 1st ed. in British Library.]

1916c. H.E.P. and C[yrille] Motte. *Colloquial French. I. French Fluency Exercises*. Cambridge: Heffer, [iv] + 50 pp. [In British Library.]<sup>3</sup>

The three sections of 1916a, Palmer's first widely diffused statement on principles of language teaching, may correspond to the three public lectures given in the autumn of the previous year (Smith 1998a: 61). The 1916a article deals with (i) Vocabulary and its aspects, (ii) The 'vicious tendencies' of the student of language, and (iii) Synthetic construction

versus substitution. The latter (third) section outlines what Palmer terms the 'Substitution Method', which is given practical expression in his 1916b and 1916c textbook publications (1916c was authored jointly with Jones's wife, Cyrille Motte, who was, like Palmer, a part-time teacher in the UCL Department of Phonetics at the time). These two works are books of substitution tables allowing for multiple possibilities of combination, which are designed for the development of fluency in spoken English and French, respectively. Only phonetic symbols are used (being, in both cases, those of the IPA, with no innovative features). The substitution tables in each work are headed by instructions as to how many times the model sentence (and combinations derived from it) should be repeated within a prescribed number of seconds. No sequels were published for either work, although they seem to be promised.

Taken together, Palmer's 1916a–c publications provide evidence of an apparently new area of interest, that is, the teaching of grammar for production. Ideas relating to substitution tables (or structural 'paradigms') were to maintain their importance throughout his career, leading ultimately to the identification of the verb-patterns contained in his (1938h) *A Grammar of English Words* and Hornby et al.'s (1942) *Idiomatic and Syntactic Dictionary*. It might be the case that, as Tickoo (1986) suggests, he had recently been inspired by what – at this stage in the development of Palmer's thinking – appear to be the rather similar ideas of a neglected nineteenth pioneer, Thomas Prendergast (see, for example, Prendergast 1864); however, Prendergast's influence was not acknowledged by Palmer himself either at this time or later.

**1917**

During the 1916–17 Session, Palmer continued to teach phonetics and various types of spoken English class for foreign students, with the latter including courses on ‘The Theory of Colloquial English’ and ‘English orthoepy’ (that is, ‘The art of deducing a given pronunciation from a given orthographic form’ (1917b: 314)). Palmer also became more deeply involved in the research work of the Department, investigating the grammar of Tswana (an African language) on the basis of phonetic materials provided to him by Jones (Collins 1988: 230) and himself running a research class for investigation of the ‘mathematical theory of grammar’ (Collins 1988: 219). In apparently related work, Palmer gave public lectures during the 1916–17 Session on ‘The Ergonic Theory of Colloquial French’. His ‘mathematical’ and ‘ergonic’ theories of grammar appear to be extensions of his ‘Substitution Method’ (see Smith 1998a: 65), and were to find practical expression not only in the ‘French Ergonic Chart’ appended in 1917b but also in a cluster of works published in Japanese in 1928 (1928o–r)). Palmer appears at this time to have been focusing as much on French as on English. Thus, he was also working on a minimum vocabulary for French which he exhibited at UCL, entitling this ‘The French Microcosm’ (Palmer 1936c: 15). Finally, it was also, apparently, in 1917 that Palmer was first attracted by the subject of intonation (Jones 1950a: 91), and his interest in this area was to lead to his major 1922a and 1933h contributions.

1917a. *A First Course of English Phonetics. Including an explanation of the scope of the science of phonetics, the theory of sounds, a catalogue of English sounds and a number of articulation, pronunciation and transcription exercises.* Cambridge: Heffer, x + 89 pp. [Revised ed. (1922) in *Selected Writings*, vol. 7; 1st ed. in British Library.]<sup>4</sup>

1917b (July). *The Scientific Study and Teaching of Languages. A review of the factors and problems connected with the learning and teaching of modern languages with an analysis of the various methods which may be adopted in order to attain satisfactory results.* London: Harrap, 328 pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 1.]

Palmer 1917a takes up where 1915 left off, continuing to popularize the subject of phonetics for the benefit of those ignorant of this science. More specifically, however, 1917a is ‘intended primarily for foreign students of English’ (p. vii), and contains numerous exercises on English sounds and words. This work is evidently based on experience gained in the teaching of phonetics at UCL over the preceding year.

Palmer 1917b presents a distillation of Palmer’s ideas on language and language teaching, as these had developed out of his work in Verviers and had been refined during his two years in London. For the 1916–17 Session, Palmer had been timetabled, for the first time, to give a full year’s course of departmental lectures on ‘Methods of Language Teaching’, and it was presumably the stimulus of preparing this course of lectures which enabled him to complete 1917b by January 1917 (although the book was not published until July, this is the date of its Dedicatory Preface). The book prefigures applied linguistics as constituted in the latter half of the twentieth century in proposing the establishment of a new ‘science of language-study’ on the basis of insights from philologists, phonetics, grammarians, lexicologists,

modern pedagogy and psychologists, with these insights 'placed in such order and with such observance of proportion that the inevitable conclusions will suggest themselves' (p. 22). Palmer 1921a and 1924a were to take up the same theme, complementing the largely linguistic, though practical approach of 1917b with insights relating to the psychology of language learning.

### **1918–20**

For the 1917–18 Session, Palmer's salary as a part-time assistant had been raised to £50, and his lecture course on 'Methods of Language Teaching' expanded to deal not only with 'How to learn a Foreign Language', 'How to teach Languages in Schools' and 'How to teach English to Foreigners' but also 'The Nature of Language' and 'Constructive Grammar: An outline of the general theory as applied to all languages'. The latter two courses appear to have constituted a new departure not only for Palmer but also for the Department as a whole into the teaching of general linguistics.

For the subsequent 1918–19 Session, however, Palmer's salary was reduced drastically to £10, with the number of classes he was timetabled to teach also being cut (and his course on 'Methods of Language Teaching' being dropped entirely in favour of promised public lectures). On the other hand, it appears to have been during this (1918–19) Session that Palmer began giving originally unscheduled lectures on linguistics / methods of language study to students enrolled at the newly-established School of Oriental Studies (SOS), predecessor of the present SOAS.

In the summer term of 1919, Palmer returned to Verviers with his family, recovering some possessions and officially vacating the rooms in

rue Ortmans-Hauzeur on 2 May. After spending the summer in Ensival, which adjoins Verviers to the west, Palmer and his family left again for London on 9 September.<sup>5</sup> Palmer's wife, Elisabeth, was to return to Belgium in 1920 to give birth to a son, Tristram Edward Leonard.<sup>6</sup>

For the 1919-20 Session, Palmer was again employed as a part-time assistant at UCL, with a twenty-fold salary increase to £200 (and with a £30 per term supplement for his continuing work as an 'occasional lecturer' at SOS). While Palmer was no longer (with effect from the 1918-19 Session) required to give classes in English phonetics for foreign students at UCL, he was responsible almost single-handedly for the 'Complete Course in Spoken English' for foreign students which had now begun to be offered by the Department. Starting in the 1919-20 Session he gave lectures on 'The Grammar of Colloquial English' and offered practical classes in grammar and composition (and, from the beginning of the 1920-21 Session, conversation) for students following this course of study. Whereas his other lectures at UCL in the 1919-20 Session (on 'Methods of Learning Foreign Languages' and 'English Intonation') were again public rather than departmental, the status of his SOS 'linguistics' lectures was formalized and they were advertised in advance for the first time.

For the following (1920-21) Session Palmer was awarded full-time (assistant) status at UCL, although with no salary increase. Again, however, his UCL lectures (by now emphasizing the *study* as much as, if not more than the *teaching* of languages) were public rather than departmental. On the other hand, 'linguistics / methods of language study' (taught by Palmer alone) had by now become one of the three most popular subjects at SOS, behind only Phonetics and Arabic (Smith 1998a: 76-7).



## 1921

For the 1921-22 Session, during which he was to be invited to and in fact depart for Japan, Palmer was promoted to full-time lecturer status, and his salary was raised to £250 plus £30 per term for work at SOS (this work was advertised in the most explicit terms to date as consisting of ‘Lectures on “Linguistics” as applied to the learning of Oriental Languages’). Palmer’s lectures on ‘Theory of Language Study’ at UCL were reinstated in the form of two term-long departmental courses for this Session, being advertised as treating, respectively (i) ‘The Nature of Language’ and (ii) ‘How to Study a Foreign Language without a Teacher’. In the light of these apparent advancements, the question of why Palmer left for Japan early in 1922 is an interesting and important one. One consequence of his departure was, perhaps, the delay until 1957 of the (re-)establishment of applied linguistics in a British academic setting (this having been the year in which the School of Applied Linguistics was founded at the University of Edinburgh).

1921a (April). *The Principles of Language-Study*. London: Harrap, 186 pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 1.]

1921b. *The Oral Method of Teaching Languages. A monograph on conversational methods together with a full description and abundant examples of fifty appropriate forms of work*. Cambridge: Heffer, ix + 134 pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 1.]

Palmer 1921a complements 1917b, presenting a more ‘thought-through, distilled and authoritative’ (Howatt 1984: 237) overview of principles of language pedagogy than the earlier work. While discussion of language teaching takes up the latter two-thirds of the book, this is

preceded by an innovative discussion of the nature of language *learning*, evidently relating to ideas developed in the course of Palmer's engagement in what would nowadays be called 'learner training' for students at SOS. Whereas discussion of the 'nature of language' had been central in 1917b, this receives surprisingly little attention in 1921a. Absent also are the practical examples of course design and pedagogy which characterize the former work. However, in 1921b, a systematic exposition of techniques for teaching via oral means is presented. In this work the 'oral method' is contrasted with the 'direct method' (which allows exposure to and practice in the written language and which bans the use of the students' mother tongue in a dogmatic manner which Palmer had, as is evident in his Verviers textbooks, consistently rejected). Although 1921b presents techniques and procedures which are consistent with the learning theories presented in 1921a, the link is not made explicit. Only in Palmer's later work (in particular, 1924a) were the connections between principles (as represented by 1921a) and practice (as described in 1921b) to be fully clarified.

## 1922

In February 1922, Palmer left the University of London permanently, to take up a position created especially for him as 'linguistic adviser' to the Japanese Department (nowadays, Ministry) of Education. As Imura (1997: 28–40) describes in detail, he had received the invitation in autumn 1921 from a former Vice-Minister of Education, Sawayanagi Masataro, who had been visiting London in the course of a tour of inspection of European schools and universities. Sawayanagi, it seems, had himself been approached by Kinoshita Masao, a friend and

colleague of Palmer's at UCL (in the Department of Engineering) and SOS (Kinoshita was one of the first teachers of Japanese at that institution). Palmer and Kinoshita had collaborated at least since 1916 (when they had been working together on a Japanese Beginner's Vocabulary (Palmer 1936c: 15). Palmer's interest in the Japanese language thus went some way back (example sentences in Japanese are presented in 1916a and parts of 1917b), and Anderson (1969: 143) notes how he had been 'fascinated by all things connected with Japan' since childhood. Indeed, Palmer's own expressed desire to visit Japan may have motivated Kinoshita's approach to Sawayanagi, although Palmer himself originally appears to have been considering taking only a year's leave of absence in order to teach English or engage in a lecture tour.<sup>7</sup>

In fact, Palmer was persuaded by Sawayanagi to leave the UCL Department of Phonetics for a three-year spell as 'linguistic adviser' to the Japanese Department of Education, with a brief to develop reformed methods for the teaching of English in Japanese 'middle' (i.e. secondary) schools. Sawayanagi claims to have repeatedly stressed to Palmer that on arrival he should 'inquire first into the history of English teaching in Japan and secondly . . . inspect the prevailing methods and their results, in the hope of ultimately devising some new methods which would be suitable to Japan', advising also that he 'might spend the whole period of three years in his research' (Sawayanagi 1924: 5). A wealthy businessman, Matsukata Kojiro, who was in London at the time, agreed to underwrite the venture, recommending (according to Stier 1950: 14) that Palmer should 'avoid entangling alliances . . . with government officials, teachers, publishers, university academicians, and even businessmen'. The politically aware advice of both Sawayanagi and Matsukata may be seen, then, to have been consistent with, and to have

backed up Palmer's establishment of the independent Institute for Research in English Teaching, one year after his arrival in Japan. Indeed, the prospect not only of an exotic location, considerable responsibility and commensurate pay but also of the independence promised to him and the opportunity to engage in research with definite reformist potential may have been the deciding factors in persuading Palmer to take up the invitation extended to him.

1922a. *English Intonation with systematic exercises*. Cambridge: Heffer, xiv + 105 pp. [2nd ed. (1924) in *Selected Writings*, vol. 7; 1st ed. in British Library.]

1922b. *Everyday Sentences in Spoken English. In phonetic transcription with intonation marks (for the use of foreign students)*. Cambridge: Heffer, xiii + 62 pp. [2nd ed. (1923) in *Selected Writings*, vol. 3; 1st ed. in British Library.]

Along with 1921b and 1924b, these two works represent the fruits of Palmer's practical teaching work in the area of Spoken English in the Department of Phonetics, UCL. As we have seen, Palmer first became interested in intonation in 1917, and Jones (1950a: 91) indicates that 1922a, building on the work of H. Klinghardt and H. O. Coleman, 'extended very considerably our knowledge of this interesting branch of phonetics' (1933h may be seen to represent a further advance in pedagogical applications in this field). Intonation is highlighted also in 1922b, which consists of a compendium of conversational expressions for foreign learners of English, classified both situationally (in Part II) and – in Part III – according to what would nowadays be termed 'functions' and 'notions' (indeed, this was one of the works consulted by the Council of Europe team in the course of production of their 'unit-credit

scheme' in the 1970s (John Trim, personal communication). Palmer's (1926b) work for Japanese learners of English conversation was later to present a similar 'notional-functional' classification of 'word-groups' for memorization. In his introduction to 1922b, Palmer emphasizes that it is intended to 'provide [students] with a characteristic selection of those sentences which are likely to be of the greatest use . . . in the first stages of [their] study of Spoken English' (p. ix). Based on the view that many mistakes by foreign learners relate to imperfect use of 'idioms' as opposed to grammar, this work provides a preliminary justification for Palmer's later, much more detailed research into collocations.

## Notes

- 1 The school in question may have been Clapham Grammar School, whose principal, A. B. Winnifrith, was the son of the headmaster and had formerly been a teacher at Palmer's old school (Prospect House School, Hythe). Winnifrith is thanked in the Dedicatory Preface to 1917b for his 'timely help' (p. 8). Also, Dorothée Anderson's grand-daughter recalls her saying that the family lived at first in Balham (near Clapham) following the move to London (Victoria Angela, personal communication). They were later to move to 15, Guilford Street, near Russell Square (see letters quoted in Ichikawa 1961).
- 2 Details in this chapter relating to Palmer's work at UCL and the School of Oriental Studies (SOS) are mostly derived from UCL archival materials including Departmental reports, calendars and minutes of meetings which are referenced fully in Smith 1998a. Our main secondary sources are Jones (1950a, 1950b) and Collins 1988 .
- 3 Date of arrival in the British Museum (now Library): 9 August 1916.
- 4 Under the heading 'A Brief List of Important Phonetic Books' on the last page of 1917a, the publication year of 1917a itself is mistakenly entered as 1916. Hence our tentative chronological ordering of Palmer's two 1917 publications here.

- 5 Registre de population de Verviers, années 1910–20; Registre de population d'Ensival, années 1910–20.
- 6 Tristram's place of birth is given as Belgium and his full name recorded in the Air Force War Records of Deaths 1939–48, Family Records Centre, London.
- 7 11 September 1921 letter to Ichikawa Sanki (transcribed in Ichikawa 1961: 5–6).

## Chapter 4 Tokyo I (1922-7)



## 1922 (contd.)

Palmer's ship arrived in Kobe, Japan, on 27 March 1922 (Imura 1997: 43).<sup>1</sup> Later he was to publish excerpts from his diary of the journey in a textbook for Japanese middle school students (1932y: 41–66), and these show that he had travelled by train to Marseilles, then by ship via the Suez Canal, Colombo (Ceylon), Singapore and Hong Kong. After a week in Nagasaki, where he visited W. Rudolf F. Stier, a young American teacher who had previously corresponded with him on the need for reform in Japanese English education (as described in Stier 1950), Palmer travelled to Tokyo, and on 24 April he was officially appointed to the post of *eigokyoju komon* (Adviser on English Teaching Methods, or, as Palmer preferred to describe himself, 'Linguistic Adviser') at the Department of Education. Given his own office in the Department, he was left free to pursue his investigations, under the nominal supervision of a committee composed largely of academics (Imura 1997: 46). Apart from working on the final draft of 1924b (Imura 1997: 46–7), he began to engage in a number of school visits and lectures. His 'debut' series of twice-weekly lectures at Tokyo Imperial University on 'Modern Methods of Language Teaching' (May–June) attracted very large audiences of middle school teachers. These lectures were reported objectively and in some detail between July and October in the most widely-read magazine for English teachers in Japan at the time, *Eigo Seinen* (*The Rising Generation*) (Ozasa 1995a: 91–8). There were also well-attended lecture courses during the summer in Osaka (on 'Scientific Principles of the Study and Teaching of Foreign Languages' and 'How to Teach the Sounds of the English Language') and in Karuizawa (Ozasa 1995b: 252). In the autumn, Palmer mainly spoke at the Tokyo Higher Normal



School, the foremost teacher-training institution in Japan. Titles of his lecture series there (all reported in *Eigo Seinen*) included ‘Theory and Practice of Speaking Exercises’, ‘A Method for Teaching the First Year within a Vocabulary Limit of 500 Words’ and ‘Phonetic Methods and Listening Exercises’ (our translations from the Japanese titles provided in Ozasa 1995b: 252). Even though, at this early stage, he refrained from making specific proposals for reform, Palmer’s ideas and presentation style failed to meet with universal acclaim. There was resistance, for example, from Okakura Yoshisaburo, previously the ‘doyen’ of English teacher education (and English teaching reform) in Japan, and certain of his disciples (Imura 1997: 59–62 discusses Okakura and his relationship with Palmer in detail); there was opposition, also, from a more maverick reformer, Muko Gunji, who took the Department of Education to task in a public lecture in October for having invited Palmer to be its adviser (Imura 1997: 54–6).

In the same month Palmer was invited by the ‘Society for Promoting the Japanese System of Romanization’ to give a single lecture in Tokyo, which the Society was quick to publish in pamphlet form (1922c below). From 2 December Palmer began to teach occasionally (and experimentally) at a prestigious Girls’ School, Joshi Gakushuin (The Peeress’ School), continuing to do so until February 1927 (Ono 1988). It is likely to have been in the first instance for his teaching here that he developed the ‘sequential series’ of questions and answers which found their way into his 1923b and 1923c publications.

1922c (28 Dec.). Why I Became Converted to the Japanese System of Romanization. An address delivered at the annual meeting of the Nippon Rômazikwai, Oct. 21st 1922 at Meidikwaikwan. Tokyo: Nippon-no-Rômazi-Sya, [ii] + 11 pp. [In U.S. Library of Congress.]<sup>2</sup>

As we have already noted, Palmer's interest in Japanese predated the invitation to Japan by some years, while Romanization (according to phonetic principles) of languages written in non-Roman script was an area of ongoing research in Jones's Department of Phonetics (Collins 1988: 353). Palmer retained a special interest in the Romanization of Japanese throughout his years in Japan, as his impressive 1930n study was later to show. In 1922c, Palmer lends his support to the Japanese (as opposed to the Hepburnian) system of Romanization, on phonemic grounds, although in 1930b he was to adopt a less partisan position.

### 1923

The early months of 1923 saw Palmer travel further afield, for lectures in Kumamoto and Kagoshima in Kyushu (Ozasa 1995a: 113). There was also a talk on 10 February at the Osaka Municipal Public Hall under the auspices of Nitto Gramophone Records Ltd., which had secured his services for the recording of existing textbook materials. A transcript of this talk was published in June as 1923e. In March, Palmer's wife, daughter and three-year-old son arrived, and soon afterwards Dorothée started teaching at the Furuya English School for Girls in Osaka, where she was to try out many of the 'oral ostensive' ideas which later found their way into *English through Actions* (1925c), co-authored with her father. Palmer's wife also found employment late in 1923 as a part-time French teacher at the Peeress' School (Imura 1997: 258).

The first half of 1923 saw the establishment of the Institute for Research in English Teaching (IRET), which was to become the main focus for and conduit for diffusion of Palmer's work in Japan. The impetus for the establishment of the Institute did not come from within

the Department of Education (as Redman's (1966, 1967) accounts suggest) but from a small, largely foreign group of Palmer's supporters, including Stier (of the YMCA) and J. Victor Martin (of Aoyama Gakuin), perhaps at the instigation of Palmer himself. Their suggestions for collaborative research certainly met with Palmer's approval, and an informal 'Association for the Promotion of Research in English Teaching' was created at a meeting in his house on 19 February, in the first instance to meet what was described as an 'immediate need' for 'compilation, printing and distribution of various types of English Language Courses', in order to encourage existing reform efforts and to provide an impetus to 'research and experimental work' on the basis of their use (Anon. 1923: 2).

Although dominated initially by its original non-Japanese members, this small association was rapidly converted, at their own request, into a fully-fledged Japanese institution. Matsukata Kojiro, Palmer's 'sponsor', was quick to provide additional financial backing, and Sawayanagi Masataro, Palmer's principal 'mentor', equally prompt to gain Department of Education approval for the now-proposed independent 'Research Institute'. Sawayanagi also persuaded a number of prominent, reform-minded academics as well as a Department of Education representative to serve on a 'Board of Administration' which he agreed personally to chair. Later, the Minister of Education himself was prevailed upon to become the Institute's Honorary President (Imura 1997: 62–63, 76). Permission was also granted for the Institute to use Palmer's premises within the Department of Education, a factor which – in the long run – may be seen to have assured the prestige of its activities in the eyes of Japanese teachers, even though it was always to remain, by statute and in the tone of its activities, an independent, or, as Palmer

(1934r: 1) preferred to describe it, a 'semi-official' body.

At the end of May 1923 the Institute for Research in English Teaching (IRET) formally came into being. Palmer was appointed Director and approval was given to the setting-up of an administrative committee composed of the original founding members. Japanese office staff were appointed and the full-time services of Stier were secured from his employer, the YMCA, which also agreed to print the Institute's publications with no regard to profit. The first issue of the IRET *Bulletin*, announcing the establishment of the Institute and appealing for new members, appeared on 1 June 1923. The output of Palmer's writings, most of them published under IRET auspices but printed and distributed by Kaitakusha (the YMCA Press), was henceforth to increase dramatically.

There was a hiatus, however, when the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1 September put a temporary stop to all IRET activities (Palmer and his family were at a safe distance, on holiday in Karuizawa, but many Institute documents, including membership lists and all copies of 1923h, were destroyed in the ensuing fires). Stier was recalled by his employers to the USA, and from December a new, Japanese Executive Secretary (Omura Masura) was put in charge of Institute administration. Following the earthquake and Stier's departure, Palmer began to take more of a lead in IRET activities, and the needs of Japanese teachers began to be better addressed. Thus, in December, Palmer established several sub-committees composed mainly of Japanese members to investigate the aims and problems of English teaching in the middle school context (Imura 1997: 70).

Between May and October, Palmer had travelled extensively in Japan, giving lectures and consulting with teachers in Hokkaido, Kyoto, Fukuoka (in Kyushu), Kagawa and Tokushima (in Shikoku), and Hiroshima (Ozasa, 1995a: 114–5). The most important speaking engagement came on 10 December, when Palmer presented the results of his deliberations over the preceding year and a half, in the form of a lecture to a select group of prominent Japanese educationalists, under the title ‘The teaching of English in the light of a new theory of linguistics’ (the theory in question being that of de Saussure). The contents of this lecture were to be published early in the following year as 1924a.

1923a (April). By J. Spencer Kennard Jr. Edited by H.E.P. *Thinking in English. Ten lessons in mental alertness*. Tokyo: IRET. [2nd, enlarged ed. (1924) in British Library.]<sup>3</sup>

1923b (15 May). *The Sequential Series. First Book. Questions. Student Manual*. ‘The Palmer English Language Course. An experimental course designed specifically for the forming of right speech-habits’. Tokyo: IRET, xiv + 50 pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 3.]<sup>4</sup>

1923c (15 May). *The Sequential Series. First Book. Answers. Student Manual*. ‘The Palmer English Language Course. An experimental course designed specifically for the forming of right speech-habits’. Tokyo: IRET, xii + 50 pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 3.]

1923d (31 May–4 June). ‘Snap work’. [A series of articles in] *Osaka Mainichi* (English edition), 31 May–4 June. [Not seen.]<sup>5</sup>

1923e (15 June). *To the Japanese Students of English (Nihon no eigakusei ni)*. In English and Japanese (translated by Kamo Masakazu). Osaka: Bun’yûdô, i + 33 + 33 pp.<sup>6</sup>

1923f (16–21 June). ‘The clean stroke’. [A series of articles in] *Osaka Mainichi* (English edition), 16–21 June. [Not seen.]<sup>7</sup>

1923g (1 July). ‘The use of the sequential series in the teaching of conventional conversation’. *Bulletin* 1/3: 4–5.

1923h (due in July). *A Catalogue of the Weakenable Words of the English Language*. Tokyo: Sanseido. [Not seen.]<sup>8</sup>

1923i (15 Dec.). Editorial [untitled; on ‘the problem of a standard pronunciation of English’]. *Bulletin* 2: 6–8.

The IRET’s first (1923a–c) publications were books of questions and answers designed for rapid-fire oral work in the classroom (Palmer’s 1923d and 1923f newspaper articles – apparently aimed mainly at non-Japanese teachers – also emphasized the need for rapidity in remedial work so that students develop ‘right speech-habits’ with no time for mental translation). These books were later to be described as falling within an ‘oral contextual’ line of approach, involving conventional conversation-type procedures whereby questions are easily answerable from background knowledge and necessary language for the answer is provided in the question itself. They appear, then, to be better-suited to use by non-Japanese teachers than by Japanese teachers unsure of their own oral English abilities; indeed, as Palmer (1923g: 4) himself stressed, they were intended primarily to meet the demands of the foreign teachers (many of them associated with the YMCA chain of language schools) who had provided the IRET’s initial support-base.

At the same time, Palmer was keen to emphasize (for example, in his address to Japanese students transcribed in 1923e) that further research and practical experimentation would be needed before specific

methodological proposals could be made for the Japanese context: ‘exactly what the new methods are likely to be we do not yet know . . . we must enquire into all the problems . . . , we must experiment’ (Palmer 1923e: 23). As he emphasized in this lecture, Palmer clearly intended the IRET to be a genuine research institute, and not simply (*pace* Yamamoto 1978) a conduit for the diffusion of ideas from his already formulated ‘Oral Method’. This ‘experimental’ orientation is clear, also, in the subtitle of 1923b/c. Thus, although 1923a and 1923b/c were presented initially as self-contained ‘courses’ (with the latter even being termed ‘The Palmer English Language Course’ in its first edition), a description of these texts in the first issue of the *Bulletin* (1 June 1923), published soon afterwards, stresses that they should be conceived of rather as elements within just one possible ‘Line of Approach’, that termed the ‘Oral Contextual’ (p. 8).

Within the IRET, research groups had rapidly been established to develop materials not only for this and the ‘Oral Ostensive’ line of approach (Stier, then Martin were to contribute ideas in the latter area before this work was taken over by Palmer’s daughter), but also to investigate the ‘Problem of pronunciation divergencies among teachers of English in Japan’.<sup>9</sup>

Given Palmer’s own beliefs in the importance of pronunciation and the value of phonetics in language teaching, a major problem which had confronted the Institute in its first year was whether Received Pronunciation (RP) or an American standard should be the model in the Japanese context. A special issue of the *Bulletin* edited by Stier (number 2 of the ‘New Series’ established after the earthquake) was devoted to this problem, with Palmer presenting several ‘Possible Solutions’ (in 1923i) alongside views elicited from Daniel Jones and other, mostly non-

Japanese contributors. Palmer's later pronunciation dictionary with American variants (1926t) was one outcome of this early debate among non-Japanese teachers, and in the Preface to that work, Palmer recalls how on arriving in Japan 'and thereby coming into very close contact with the not inconsiderable American population here' he had been surprised that American teachers themselves tended to speak in RP and see this as 'Good Pronunciation'. For the 1926t dictionary he claims to have taken the initiative in proposing the column entitled 'American variants', despite protests from various American friends and correspondents.

## 1924

By the beginning of 1924, 186 Japanese, 272 non-Japanese and 37 oversea members had been registered as members of the Institute (Imura 1997: 76), and this total of 495 was set to rise to more than 700 by the time of the IRET's First Convention, in October of the same year (Anon. 1924: 3). In January, June and December, Palmer served as an examiner for English Teacher's License examinations, in Tokyo (apart from this work, very few 'official' duties appear to have been required of him by the Department of Education, throughout his stay in Japan). There were also lectures in Kyoto (at the end of January), Kobe and Nagano (in February), and Osaka (in April and May) (Ozasa 1995a: 115–16). On 1 April Palmer's office, and with it the IRET, was moved to a new location inside a temporary Department of Education building at Kanda-bashi (Imura 1997: 258).

A first IRET Convention was organized for 17–18 October at Seijo School (of which Sawayanagi was principal), and was attended by over



300 members and other participants (Imura 1997: 258). J. Victor Martin gave two demonstration lessons to students from Aoyama Gakuin Middle School, using materials from 1923a and (the prototype of) 1925c. Martin displayed ‘oral ostensive’ techniques including imperative drill and action chains which were later to be presented and explained in detail in the latter work (Ozasa 1995a: 40). In his address to the Convention (1924g), as in an earlier (1924e) editorial in the *Bulletin* (for which he had now taken on full editorial responsibility), Palmer emphasized the need for reform in English education, in general terms.

In December Palmer was given the prestigious task of tutoring the Emperor’s son, Prince Chichibu (brother of the future ‘Showa Emperor’, Hirohito), who was preparing for a study visit to England which was to include instruction in the UCL Department of Phonetics (Imura 1997: 82). Palmer carried out his duties in this area until May 1925, and was to report on the experience in 1925f.

1924a (20 March). *Memorandum on Problems of English Teaching in the Light of a New Theory*. Tokyo: IRET, 95 pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 2.]

1924b (July). *A Grammar of Spoken English on a strictly phonetic basis*. Cambridge: Heffer, xxxvi + 293 pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 5.]

1924c (8 July). Editorial [untitled; requesting feedback on 1924a]. *Bulletin* 5: 1.

1924d (20 July). *Systematic Exercises in English Sentence-Building. Stage 1*. ‘This forming part of the “Grammar and Structure Line of Approach” of the Standard English Course in preparation by the Institute’. Tokyo: IRET, vii + [75] pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 5.]

1924e (8 Aug.). ‘Reform in language teaching’ (Editorial). *Bulletin* 6: 1–2.

1924f (23 Sept.). 'Styles and "Babuism"' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 7: 1–2.

1924g (Oct.–Nov.). 'The Director's address' [to the the First Annual IRET Convention]. *Bulletin* 8: 3–4.

1924h (Oct.–Nov.). 'An appeal for precision in discussion'. *Bulletin* 8: 6–8.

1924i (Oct.–Nov.). 'Quotation from the Director's report to the Board of Administration, Sept. 26, 1924'. *Bulletin* 8: 9–10.

1924j (Dec.). 'The season's greetings!' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 9: 1.

1924k (Dec.). 'Conversation or composition?'. *Bulletin* 9: 1–2.

Since Palmer is already said to be 'Author of "A Grammar of Spoken English"' on the title page of 1922b, it is likely that his completion of this comprehensive and ground-breaking pedagogical grammar (for which he was later awarded a D.Litt. by Tokyo Imperial University), and its eventual publication as 1924b were long overdue. Although he had spent much of his first year in Japan on its revision, the book clearly relates mainly to his previous teaching of spoken English at UCL. Palmer was himself to recall its genesis as follows:

In [1917] I was working at an English structural vocabulary to be used a [*sic*] sort of sentence-building machine. I subsequently used this vocabulary as a basis for *A Grammar of Spoken English* that I started writing in 1919 or 1920.

(Palmer 1936c: 15)

Following his completion of 1924b and the 1924a *Memorandum*, Palmer was to embark on an ambitious programme of experimental materials-

writing, which resulted in an eclectic variety of 1924 and (especially) 1925 IRET publications. These materials were aimed at Japanese as much as non-Japanese teachers of English, and were designed to reflect in concrete form the ‘multiple lines of approach’ indicated as available in the *Memorandum*.

This (1924a) statement had, then, provided Palmer himself with clear justifications and directions for practical research and development in the Japanese context, presenting a ‘scientifically based’ model which emphasized the need to develop a number of ‘Speech habits’ for enhancement of the ability to ‘think in English’ (whether in the spoken or the written medium) but which at the same time, and within these limits, allowed for an eclectic range of possible teaching procedures (‘Forms of Work’), potentially encompassing ‘grammar and structure’ work (for production), reading and writing, as well as listening and speaking. It seems clear that, although the *Memorandum* has hitherto received little attention from western scholars, it constitutes an important development of Palmer’s previous, more widely appreciated thinking on the nature of the relationship between theory and practice. Thus, the ‘multiple line of approach’ conception which is simply sketched out in 1921a (pp. 161–9) is expounded more concretely in 1924a, being more firmly connected with a theory of second language acquisition which itself appears to represent a significant development of that contained in 1921a (in the 1924a *Memorandum* Palmer provides an original interpretation of de Saussure’s differentiation between *langue* and *parole*, which he latterly termed ‘Code’ and ‘Speech’, respectively, wedding to this a distinction based on contemporary speech psychology between ‘Primary’ and ‘Secondary’ Speech Circuits).

During his initial period in Japan, then, Palmer appears to have been working towards a 'scientifically based', and in this sense top-down conception which would nevertheless be flexible enough to allow for eclectic interpretation by individual teachers, in particular contexts. Directions for further research and development had now been clearly indicated with the *Memorandum's* characterization of different, theoretically justified 'lines of approach' for experimental materials design and teaching, and ultimately reform in the Japanese context.

With its early 1923a–c publications, the IRET had already made a start in the intended 'compilation, printing and distribution of various types of English Language Courses', in order to encourage existing reform efforts and to provide an impetus to 'research and experimental work' on the basis of their use (Anon. 1923: 2, already cited above). Now this work was to be accelerated, with a greater variety of possible lines of approach being deliberately and systematically catered for.

The first of the materials to be published on the basis of the directions indicated in 1924a was 1924d (a collection of substitution and analysis tables with exercises and suggestions for classroom procedure), this being related specifically to the 'Grammar and Structure Line of Approach'. As is indicated in the sub-title of this work, 1924d constitutes one part of what was by now being projected as a 'Standard Course of English composed specially for use in Japanese schools'. This was envisaged as a course which would be assembled by teachers themselves, in the light of local needs and with the aid of whichever IRET resources seemed most appropriate to them (Palmer and Palmer 1925c: 5, 8). The 'Standard Course' conception was therefore consistent not only with the *Memorandum's* emphasis on 'multiple lines of approach' but also with the IRET's originally formulated aim of

encouraging existing reform efforts by individual teachers, and providing an impetus to situated teacher-research.

## 1925

Lecture venues in 1925 included a seminar for English teachers in Fukui (12–15 June) and the ‘University Extension Summer School’ in Karuizawa, 10–14 August (Ozasa 1995a: 117). On the latter occasion there was also a staged (1925n, 1925s) discussion ‘on phonetics’ between Palmer, F. W. Brown (who had advised Palmer on recent developments in speech psychology), J. Victor Martin and Naganuma Naoe (a teacher of Japanese as a foreign language with excellent English abilities, whose services as a translator Palmer was increasingly to depend upon; Naganuma was also, in 1927, to purchase Kaitakusha from the YMCA and thus become the IRET’s publisher).

The central focus of reformist activity in this year, however, was the Second Convention of the IRET, held at Aoyama Kaikan in Tokyo, 19–21 November. Palmer’s original three-year period of employment was to have come to an end in March 1925, and – although it is clear that at some stage he decided (and was given approval) to continue with his work in Japan – his original intention had always been to present a report containing specific recommendations to the Department of Education at the end of this three-year period. However, as we have seen, his own and the Institute’s engagement with the specific, local needs of Japanese secondary school teachers had been somewhat late in starting, and it was not until the autumn of 1925 that, together, Palmer and the Institute appear to have been ready to present concrete recommendations, in response to a request for suggestions from the

Department of Education. Palmer evidently 'primed' the Convention somewhat, in particular with his 1925i editorial on the need for reform in entrance examinations and his own address to the Convention (1925u), and it seems clear that he drafted many of the proposals for debate himself; however, decisions appear to have been reached collectively and democratically, both at and after the Convention, with the voices of Japanese participants being fully heard and the Board of Administration playing an active role. The Convention ended up by proposing a somewhat radical (and, in the light of subsequent developments, unrealistic) four-point programme for structural reform (involving reduced class sizes, increased freedom in textbook selection, improved in-service teacher education and more effective utilization of native speaker teachers). There were also strong calls for university (and other 'higher school') entrance examinations to be reformed to involve 'plain English' (as referred to by Palmer in 1925t), and for oral/aural testing to be introduced in counterweight to translation tasks. A number of general recommendations related to the need for teaching aims to be revised to emphasize the ability to 'think in English' without recourse to translation and for proficiency in the spoken language to be highlighted as a goal. General ideas for teaching procedures were also offered, reflecting the views on second language acquisition expressed previously in Palmer's *Memorandum* (Ozasa 1995a: 70–75). Aside from the latter recommendations on methodology, none of these proposals would today be considered particularly controversial by the majority of Japanese teachers. With few exceptions, indeed, they continue to represent major goals of contemporary (Japanese) reformers associated with *Kaizenkyo* (the Association for Improvement in Foreign Language Education). In other words, they have still not been (comprehensively) implemented.

As a result of these ‘political’ deliberations, the IRET came to be seen – for a period of about three years (Ozasa 1995a: 69–89) – as a forum for the discussion of reform proposals which would go beyond the strictly methodological. In December, the Institute’s Board of Administration submitted its proposals to the Minister of Education, thus partially fulfilling Palmer’s mission as initially conceived.

1925a (Jan.). ‘Conversation’. English version of Essay 3 in the Introduction to 1925b. *Bulletin* 10: 2–5. [See Appendix.]

1925b (7 March). *Palmer eigokaiwa jotatsuho (Conversational English and How to Learn it)*. Translated by Omura Masura. Tokyo: Herarudoshu, ii + 140 + 10 pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 4.] [See Appendix.]

1925c (11 March). H.E.P. and Dorothée Palmer. *English through Actions*. ‘This forming part of the “Oral Ostensive Line of Approach” of the [S]tandard English [C]ourse in preparation by the Institute’. Tokyo: IRET, xxxii + 338 pp. [In 2nd ed. (1999) of *Selected Writings*, vol. 3. The 1st ed. (1995) of *Selected Writings*, vol. 3, contains a 1955 reprinted edition published by Kaitakusha.]

1925d (March). *A Standard English Reader for Beginners*. Tokyo: IRET. [Not seen.]<sup>10</sup>

1925e (20 May). *Concerning Pronunciation*. The Language Study Library, vol. 1. Tokyo: IRET, xiv + 150 pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 7.]<sup>11</sup>

1925f (24 May). ‘Prince Chichibu as a student of English’. *Osaka Mainichi* (English edition), 24 May. [Not seen.]<sup>12</sup>

1925g (25 June). *Systematic Exercises in English Sentence-Building. Stage II*. Tokyo: IRET, [75] pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 5.]

1925h (July). ‘Personal’ (Editorial). *Bulletin* 16: 1.

1925i (July). 'Concerning examinations' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 16: 1–3.

1925j (July?). *A Few Documents on English Phonetic Notation*. Tokyo: IRET. [Not seen.]<sup>13</sup>

1925k (10 Aug.). Compiled and designed by J. V. Martin and H.E.P. *English Phonetic Diagrams*. Tokyo: IRET, 8 pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 7.]

1925l (14 Aug.). *The Principles of English Phonetic Notation*. Tokyo: IRET, [111] pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 8.]

1925m (Aug.–Sept.). 'The biological basis of English teaching' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 17: 1.

1925n (Aug.–Sept.). H.E.P., F[rederick] W. Brown, J. V[ictor] Martin and N[aoe] Naganuma. "'But what *is* phonetics?'" [Part 1]. [Transcript of a 'staged discussion' held at the University Extension Summer School at Karuizawa, 10–12 August.] *Bulletin* 17: 5–9.

1925o (15 Sept.). *Graded Exercises in English Composition. Book I (Part I)*. 'Corresponding to The Standard English Readers: Book I (Part 1)'. Tokyo: IRET, xv + 64 pp. [In British Library.]<sup>14</sup>

1925p (18 Sept.). *Progressive Exercises in the English Phones*. 'This forming Section II of the "Systematic Pronunciation Exercises Series" of the "Pronunciation Line of Approach" in connection with the Standard Course in preparation by the Institute'. Tokyo: IRET, viii + 143 pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 8.]<sup>15</sup>

1925q (July–Sept.). "'Japanese English": "Tipperary"' (Specimen). *Le maître phonétique* 3rd series/3: 20–21.

1925r (Oct.). 'Composition versus translation' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 18: 1.



1925s (Oct.). H.E.P., F[rederick] W. Brown, J. V[ictor] Martin and N[aoe] Naganuma. “‘But what *is* phonetics?’” [Part 2, continued from 1925n]. *Bulletin* 18: 2–6.

1925t (Nov.–Dec.). Editorial [untitled; on the need for ‘Plain English’]. *Bulletin* 19: 1.

1925u (Nov.–Dec.). ‘The six chief reform principles’ [containing ‘the substance of Mr. Palmer’s address to the Member’s Convention, Nov. 17th 1925’]. *Bulletin* 19: 4.

1925v (Nov.–Dec.). ‘Free F[or]um’. [Transcript of Palmer’s answers to audience questions on the second day of the IRET Convention, 21 November.] *Bulletin* 19: 14–15.

1925w (Oct.–Dec.). ‘Unstressed /ɪ/’. *Le maître phonétique* 3rd series/3: 23–25.

Palmer’s output of publications increased dramatically in 1925, and was to increase still further in the following two years (reaching a peak in 1927). In rapid succession, manuals or learning materials corresponding to the following lines of approach were added in 1925 to the ‘Standard English Course’: Oral Ostensive (1925c, co-written with Dorothée Palmer), Reader (1925d), Grammar and Structure (1925g, a sequel to 1924d), Writing (Palmer 1925o) and Pronunciation (Palmer 1925p). An anonymous ‘Official Report for the Year 1924–1925’ in *Bulletin* 20 (pp. 7–8), probably written by Palmer himself, provides an overview of the year’s publications and indicates the way attention was beginning to be turned increasingly towards the ‘Reader’ Line of Approach.

Despite the concessions made to reading and writing in the above learning materials, there was still a major focus in other 1925 publications on providing teachers and students with background information relating to the spoken language, specifically conversation (1925a, 1925b) and pronunciation (1925e, 1925j–l, 1925n, 1925s).

## 1926

The IRET Convention's proposals for structural reform in 1925 and the following three years were largely ignored by the Department of Education, despite the publicly expressed support they gained from the increasing numbers of Japanese teachers associated with the Institute. This, doubtless, was a source of continuing frustration to Palmer himself (Palmer 1938d: 218), and between 1925 and 1928 it must have become apparent to him that his reforming efforts would have little effect unless targeted directly at teachers through the Institute, as opposed to via the Department's more labyrinthine channels.

Lectures given by Palmer in the first half of 1926 included a 23–5 January series on 'The techniques of English teaching' in Tokyo (summarized in 1926b), further lectures in Tokyo in March and a speaking engagement at the office of the *Osaka Mainichi* newspaper (Palmer appears to have entertained good relations with the staff of the English edition of this newspaper, which had published several short pieces written by him (for example, 1923d, 1923f and 1925f) and secured his cooperation in the revision of English publications including Futara and Sawada 1926). In March, Palmer also undertook a lecture tour of Korea and Manchuria (Ozasa 1995a: 118–9).

In the summer of 1926 Palmer and his family returned home for the first time since their arrival in Japan, leaving Tokyo on 5 June and travelling on the Trans-Siberian Express. While he was in England, Palmer submitted a short article (1926s) to the *Daily Mail* on what he saw at the time as the positive Japanese attitude towards England [*sic*] and the English language, whose dominance in Japan (at the expense of some more neutral alternative) he nevertheless seemed, to some extent, to regret.

On 8 September the family left Britain for the USA, where Palmer met Edward Sapir (as recorded in 1927b) and made the acquaintance of Ben D. Wood at Columbia University. Palmer was subsequently to incorporate Wood's ideas on objective testing into suggestions for reform of English examinations in the Japanese context. Thus, in November he presented a memorandum on the subject to a meeting of the IRET Board of Administration, the substance of which was later published as 1927s; he also composed and published examples of 'new type' objective examinations', with a view to encouraging reform in this area (see 1926y and 1927d).

Palmer and his family left from San Francisco on 28 September, and their arrival in Yokohama is dated 14 October by Imura (1997: 259). Soon after Palmer's return to Japan, on 20 October, there was another attack on him by Muko Gunji, this time in written form (Muko 1926; see also Imura 1997: 259). The Third IRET Convention was held from 21 to 23 October at Nihon Seinen Kaikan (the Japanese Youth Hall), and Palmer himself commented on this Convention in 1926w. In December, following the publication of his paper on the subject (1926x, itself an extension of work in 1924b: 264–70), Palmer gave a two-and-a-half hour

lecture at Tokyo Higher Normal School on the grammatical peculiarities of the 'Anomalous Finites' (Ozasa 1995: 118–9).

1926a (Jan.). Editorial [untitled; summing up three years of IRET work and looking to the future]. *Bulletin* 20: 1–2.

1926b (Jan.). 'The technique of English teaching'. ['Summary of six lectures by Mr. H. E. Palmer under the auspices of Tokyo-fu, Jan. 23, 24, 25, 1926'.] *Bulletin* 20: 3–6.

[1926c (Jan.).] *On What Day? 'Grammar and Semantics Supplement'* [to *Bulletin* 20; later issued as Institute Leaflet no. 1]. [Tokyo: IRET], 1p. [In IRLT 1985, vol. 7 (no. 1).]<sup>16</sup>

1926d (Feb.). Editorial [untitled; on what to and what not to 'mechanize']. *Bulletin* 21: 1.

1926e (Feb.). 'The "Reader System"'. *Bulletin* 21: 2–3.

[1926f (Feb.).] *The Theory of the English Article. 'Grammar and Semantics Supplement no. 2'* [to *Bulletin* 21; later issued as Institute Leaflet no. 2]. [Tokyo: IRET], 1p. [In IRLT 1985, vol. 7 (no. 2).]<sup>17</sup>

1926g (12 March). *Graded Exercises in English Composition. Book I (Part II)*. 'Corresponding to the [sic] Book I (Part II) of the Standard English Readers'. Tokyo: IRET, iv + [65–164] pp. [In British Library.]

1926h (22 March). *The Standard English Readers. Book I (Part I)*. 'This forming part of the "Reader System" of the Standard English Course in preparation by the Institute'. Tokyo: IRET, ix + 111 pp. [In British Library.]

1926i (25 March). *English Through Questions and Answers. Book I (Part I)*. 'Corresponding to Book I, Part I of the Readers'. Tokyo: IRET, 88 pp. [In British Library.]

1926j (28 March). *The Standard English Readers. Book I (Part I). Phonetic Edition*. Tokyo: IRET, ii + 119 pp. [In British Library, IRLT Library.]

1926k (30 March). *The Standard English Readers. Book I (Part II)*. ‘This forming part of the “Reader System” of the Standard English Course in preparation by the Institute’. Tokyo: IRET, ix + [112–287] pp. [In British Library.]

1926l (March). Editorial [untitled; on what is meant by ‘the scientific teaching of languages’]. *Bulletin* 22: 1.

1926m (5 April). *The Standard English Readers. Book II (Part I)*. ‘This forming part of the “Reader System” of the Standard English Course in preparation by the Institute’. Tokyo: IRET, 118 pp. [In British Library.]

1926n (April). Editorial [untitled; exhorting reform]. *Bulletin* 23: 1.

[1926o (April).] *The Right Word. A memorandum on the subject of word-values*. [Supplement to *Bulletin* 23; later issued as Institute Leaflet no. 3.] [Tokyo: IRET], 8 pp. [In IRLT 1985, vol. 7 (no. 3).]<sup>18</sup>

1926p (May). ‘A fundamental error in method’ (Editorial). *Bulletin* 24: 1–2.

1926q (June). “Language” and “Speech” (Editorial). *Bulletin* 25: 1–2.

[1926r (July?).] *The Noun Complex*. [Supplement to *Bulletin* 26?; later issued as Institute Leaflet no. 4, under the title *The Noun Complex with Diagram*.] [Tokyo: IRET], 4 pp. [In IRLT 1985, vol. 7 (no. 5).]<sup>19</sup>

1926s (29 July). ‘Our friends in the Far East: Japan’s love of England’. *Daily Mail*, 29 July.

1926t [Oct.]. H.E.P., J. Victor Martin and F[rancis] G[eorge] Blandford. *A Dictionary of English Pronunciation with American Variants (in phonetic transcription)*. Cambridge: Heffer, xlix + 436 pp. [In British Library, IRLT Library.]<sup>20</sup>

1926u (17 Oct.). *English Through Questions and Answers. Book II (Part I)*. Tokyo: IRET, 169 pp. [1930 ed. in IRLT Library.]<sup>21</sup>

1926v (20 Oct.). H.E.P. and J. V[ictor] Martin. *English Through Questions and Answers. Book I (Part II)*. 'Corresponding to Book I, Part II of the Readers'. Tokyo: IRET, 186 pp. [1930 ed. in IRLT Library.]<sup>22</sup>

1926w (Oct.–Nov.). Editorial [untitled; on the Third Annual IRET Convention]. *Bulletin* 28: 1.

[1926x (Oct.–Nov.?).] *The Theory of the 24 Anomalous Finites*. 'Supplement to *Bulletin*' [28?; later issued as Institute Leaflet no. 5]. [Tokyo: IRET], 7 pp. [Undated, corrected ed. in *Selected Writings*, vol. 6; 1st ed. in IRLT 1985, vol. 7 (no. 6).]<sup>23</sup>

[1926y (Dec.).] *New Type Objective Examination for Proficiency in Teaching English. Special Subject: The 24 Anomalous Finites. Based on the Theory of the Anomalous Finites as set forth in a special paper on the subject*. [Offered to members on demand in *Bulletin* 29; later issued as IRET leaflet no. 7.] Tokyo: IRET, 12 pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 6; also, in IRLT 1985, vol. 7 (no. 8).]<sup>24</sup>

1926z (Dec.). 'The additional burden argument' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 29: 1.

As the perceived needs of Japanese teachers increasingly began to be addressed, an important development seems to have occurred in Palmer's own thinking which was to contribute to a quite radical change of direction in IRET publication and research activities. Already in his report to the 1925 Convention (1925u), and, more specifically, in a

February 1926 article in the *Bulletin* (1926e), Palmer had indicated a shift away from the previous ‘Standard Course’ conception and towards a ‘Reader System’, whereby a textbook containing various passages for reading would form the core around which a variety of ‘Speech-habit’ building (including oral work and Direct Method writing) activities could be built, with the support of ‘satellite’ publications. This coincided with an increasing recognition on Palmer’s part that the primary overall goals of English teaching in the Japanese context were generally considered to be literacy-oriented, with ‘conversation’ being considered to be of only superficial value. These developments may be seen to have derived from Palmer’s growing understanding of the Japanese secondary school context, where the textbook (approved by the Department, now Ministry, of Education) still constitutes the focus of teaching in almost all subjects, and where the emphasis in first as well as second language education and, importantly, university entrance examinations involving these subjects has always tended to be on the written language. The shift in emphasis which was to occur in Palmer’s and the IRET’s pedagogical suggestions and publications away from their initial concentration on the spoken language did not mean that oral work ever lost its central place, however. On the contrary, Palmer was always keen to emphasise (in contrast with the ‘reading first’ approach propounded by Michael West and devotees of the increasingly dominant ‘Reading Method’ in the USA) that a basis of oral work constituted the only methodologically sound approach to the development of second language literacy skills. Indeed, as early as February 1926, Palmer discussed a technique which he later termed ‘oral introduction’ (involving initial oral presentation of Reader contents), and which was to become a cornerstone of the IRET approach, as increasingly

appropriated and adapted by Japanese teachers in the ensuing and, indeed, post-war years (Palmer 1926e: 3).

In 1926 and 1927, then, the IRET put into place its 'Reader System', issuing over this period ten volumes (for the five years of middle school) of 'Standard English Readers' authored by Palmer: 1926h, 1926k (both incorporating material from 1925d), 1926m, 1927e, 1927j, 1927w, and 1927ee–hh). All ten volumes were to be submitted for Department of Education approval, alongside textbooks of other publishers, by the end of March 1928, in time for the 1928–9 school year.<sup>25</sup> The first four books were accompanied by a variety of innovative supplementary materials to support teachers' engagement in oral work, including a version of the first volume in phonetic notation (1926j), books of questions and answers based on the contents of the texts (1926i, 1926u, 1926v, 1927aa) and records issued simultaneously by Nitto Gramophone Company. There were also complementary books of graded exercises in written composition intended to replace traditional Japanese to English translation exercises (1925o, 1926g, 1927g, 1927k; answer keys to these were later published as 1928e and 1930f).

## 1927

The end of January 1927 saw a lecture tour in Kyushu (Ozasa 1995a: 119–20), in the course of which Palmer may have first met A. S. Hornby, who had arrived in Japan to take up a college teaching post in Oita in 1924. On 22 February, Palmer's daughter Dorothée married a British businessman, Basil Anderson, in Tokyo (Imura, 1997: 259). February also saw the submission to the Minister of Education of the proposals which had been decided upon at the previous year's Third Annual Convention.



These were considerably more restricted in scope than those of the 1925 Convention, relating mainly to the need to begin the five-year middle school English course with oral work (Ozasa 1995a: 75).

May saw the publication of Fujimura Tsukuru's *Eigokahaishi no kyumu* (On the Urgent Need to Abolish English as a Subject in the Curriculum), which was to be the spark for increasingly strident, nationalistically motivated calls for the reduction or abolition of English teaching in middle schools over the coming years (Kawasumi 1979; Imura 1997: 108–12). Palmer responded soon afterwards with (1927x and 1927bb) editorials which diplomatically emphasized the need to focus on the quality, not the quantity of instruction in English, but from around this time onwards the IRET's efforts were to be undertaken against a background of increasing hostility to the teaching of English. On 28 May, Palmer spoke on English teaching methods at the Spring Convention of the English Teachers' Association in Tokyo Prefecture, while from 25 July to 3 August there were two series of lectures at the Karuizawa Summer School, on 'Reformed Teaching of English' and 'Teaching in the Middle Grade Schools' (Ozasa 1995a: 119–20). A Supplement to the *Bulletin* (1928j) later based on one of these lectures provides evidence (along with 1927i) of Palmer's new-found acceptance that an appropriate reformist rallying cry should be 'Let us teach [students] to read English extensively and to write it accurately' (p. 2), and that 'The nucleus of the Reform Programme is the "Reader"' (p. 5). These modifications to his original expectations on coming to Japan are combined, however, with a continuing attachment to the priority of oral procedures (based on the reading text and aiming at the development of effective 'Speech-Learning Habits', as clarified in 1927c).

From 13 to 18 October the IRET organized its own teacher-training course, for the first time (Palmer's lectures for this course are summarized in 1927dd), The course was held at Tokyo Higher Normal School to coincide with the Fourth IRET Convention, held at the same venue from 17 to 19 October (Anon. 1927: 4–5). On 24 December Sawayanagi Masataro, who – more than anyone else – had been responsible for bringing Palmer to Japan and guiding his activities, died, and Sakurai Joji took over as Chairman of the IRET Board of Administration (Imura 1997: 259).

1927a (Jan.). 'The meaning of meaning' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 30: 1.

1927b (Jan.). 'A linguistic superstition: A talk with Prof. Sapir'. *Bulletin* 30: 1–2.

[1927c (Jan.).] *The Five Speech-Learning Habits. A paper developing a portion of the more general theory set forth in "A Memorandum on Problems of English Teaching in the Light of a New Theory" issued in 1923 [sic]. [Supplement to Bulletin 30; later issued as Institute Leaflet no. 8.] [Tokyo: IRET], 34 pp. [In Selected Writings, vol. 2; also, in IRLT 1985, vol. 7 (no. 9).]*<sup>26</sup>

[1927d (Jan.).] *New Type Objective Examination for Proficiency in Teaching English. Special Subject: The Five Speech-learning Habits. [Offered to members on demand in Bulletin 30; later issued as Institute Leaflet no. 18.] Tokyo: IRET, 33 pp. [In Selected Writings, vol. 2.]*<sup>27</sup>

1927e (5 Feb.). *The Standard English Readers. Book II (Part II). 'This forming part of the "Reader System" of the Standard English Course in preparation by the Institute'. Tokyo: IRET, iv + [119–392] pp. [In British Library.]*

[1927f (Feb.?).] *The Five Speech-Learning Habits. A series of correspondence-lessons arranged in the form of a comprehensive questionnaire based on the paper having the above title.* [Institute Leaflet no. 9.] [Tokyo: IRET], 34 pp. [In IRLT 1985, vol. 7 (no. 10); also, in British Library.]<sup>28</sup>

1927g (20 March). *Graded Exercises in English Composition. Book II (Part I).* ‘Corresponding to the [*sic*] Book II (Part I) of the Standard English Readers’. Tokyo: IRET, 80 pp. [In British Library, IRLT Library.]

1927h (March). ‘Towards a standard pronunciation’ (Editorial). *Bulletin* 32: 1.

[1927i (March).] *The Reformed English Teaching in the Middle-grade Schools.* [Supplement to *Bulletin* 32; issued in April as Institute Leaflet no. 10.] [Tokyo: IRET], 17 pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 10; also, in IRLT 1985, vol. 7 (no. 11).]<sup>29</sup>

1927j (16 April). *The Standard English Readers. Book III (Part I).* ‘This forming part of the “Reader System” of the Standard English Course in preparation by the Institute’. Tokyo: IRET, iv + 176 pp. [In British Library, IRLT Library.]

1927k (21 April). *Graded Exercises in English Composition. Book II (Part II).* ‘Corresponding to Book II (Part II) of the Standard English Readers’. Tokyo: IRET, [81–200] pp. [In British Library, IRLT Library.]<sup>30</sup>

1927l (April). ‘Tawdry English’ (Editorial). *Bulletin* 33: 1–2.

1927m (April). ‘Towards simplicity in English phonetics’. *Bulletin* 33: 2.

[1927n (April).] *Synopsis of a Book Now in the Press, entitled “Classroom Procedures and Devices”.* [Institute Leaflet no. 11 (later withdrawn).] [Tokyo: IRET], 15 pp. [In British Library.]<sup>31</sup>

[1927o (April).] *A Glossary of Technical Terms used in connection with classroom procedures*. [Institute Leaflet no. 12.] [Tokyo: IRET], 29 pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 2.]<sup>32</sup>

1927p (May). 'We learn reading through speech' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 34: 1.

1927q (May?). *The Reader System*. [Institute Leaflet no. 14.] Tokyo: IRET. [Not seen.]<sup>33</sup>

[1927r (May?).] *Specimen of One Complete Unit in the "Reader System" designed by the Institute for Research in English Teaching*. [Institute Leaflet no. 15.] [Tokyo: IRET], [40] pp. [In IRLT 1985, vol. 7 (no. 12); also, in British Library.]<sup>34</sup>

[1927s (May).] *The New-Type Examinations. To what extent and in what form may these tests be used in Japan in connection with English examinations?* [Supplement to *Bulletin* 34; Institute Leaflet no. 16.] [Tokyo: IRET], 29 pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 10; also, in IRLT 1985, vol. 7 (no. 13).]<sup>35</sup>

1927t (June). 'The need for precise terms' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 35: 1–2.

1927u (20 July). *Classroom Procedures and Devices in connection with English teaching*. The Language Study Library, vol. 2. Tokyo: IRET, xi + 153 pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 2.]

1927v (23 July). *Some Specimens of English Phonetic Transcription (with intonation and key)*. Tokyo: IRET, 29 + 9 pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 8.]

1927w (26 Aug.). *The Standard English Readers. Book III (Part II)*. 'This forming part of the "Reader System" of the Standard English Course in preparation by the Institute'. Tokyo: IRET, v + [177–438] pp. [In British Library, IRLT Library.]

1927x (July–Aug.). 'Quantity or quality' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 36: 1.

[1927y (July–Aug.)] What to Do, and What Not to Do. Advice and suggestions to those who are about to adopt modern methods of teaching English. [Supplement to *Bulletin* 36; Institute Leaflet no. 17.] [Tokyo: IRET], 11 pp. [In IRLT 1985, vol. 7 (no. 14); also, in British Library.]<sup>36</sup>

1927z (Sept.). ‘What is the obstacle?’ (Editorial). *Bulletin* 37: 1.

1927aa (17 Oct.). *English Through Questions and Answers. Book II (Part II)*. Tokyo: IRET, 427 pp. [1931 ed. in IRLT Library.]<sup>37</sup>

1927bb (Oct.). ‘The burning question’ (Editorial). *Bulletin* 38: 1.

1927cc (Nov.–Dec.). ‘A strange reason’ (Editorial). *Bulletin* 39: 1–2.

1927dd (Nov.–Dec.). ‘Modern language teaching: A brief summary of the lectures given by Mr. Harold E. Palmer at the first training course in English-teaching held at Tokyo Higher Normal School from Oct. 13 to 17, 1927’. *Bulletin* 39: 2–3.

1927ee (15 Dec.). *The Standard English Readers. Book IV (Part I)*. ‘This forming part of the “Reader System” of the Standard English Course in preparation by the Institute’. Tokyo: IRET, 181 pp. [In British Library.]

1927ff (15 Dec.). *The Standard English Readers. Book IV (Part II)*. ‘This forming part of the “Reader System” of the Standard English Course in preparation by the Institute’. Tokyo: IRET, v + [182–516] pp. [In British Library.]

1927gg (15 Dec.). *The Standard English Readers. Book V (Part I)*. ‘This forming part of the “Reader System” of the Standard English Course in preparation by the Institute’. Tokyo: IRET, 160 pp. [In British Library.]

1927hh (15 Dec.). *The Standard English Readers. Book V (Part II)*. 'This forming part of the "Reader System" of the Standard English Course in preparation by the Institute'. Tokyo: IRET, iv + [161–389] pp. [In British Library.]

In this, Palmer's most productive year in terms of number of publications (there are thirty-four separate writings in the above list), most of his energies were directed at putting into place the 'Reader System' in time for the following school year. However, he also found time to elaborate part of his theory of second language acquisition (1927c), to provide further advice to teachers embarking on the use of 'reformed methods' (1927o, 1927p, 1927u, 1927y, 1927dd), to offer additional practical suggestions for the writing of examinations (1927d, 1927s), and, finally, to publicize both the 'Reader System' conception itself, and his acceptance of the aim of foreign language literacy, both of which he felt had not been fully appreciated by teachers resistant to reform who continued to associate him and the IRET only with pronunciation, 'conversation' and/or the Oral Method (1927i, 1927p–r, 1927z).

By the spring of 1927, Palmer had been in Japan for five years, and believed that significant progress had been made in clarifying appropriate (literacy-oriented) aims of English teaching in Japan, in identifying 'scientifically based' and (yet) apparently appropriate means to be used in order to attain these aims, and – through the establishment of the Institute – in replacing previous factionalism with a focused reform movement (Palmer 1927i: 3). (Indeed, in a later, retrospective account (Palmer 1933q), he was to emphasise the latter as having been *the* major achievement of the previous ten years.) Nevertheless,

misunderstandings – he felt – had plagued his own and the IRET’s efforts at every stage of the way (Palmer 1927i: 3), while the Department of Education had failed to heed successive IRET Convention proposals for top-down reform. Palmer’s (1927i) *The Reformed English Teaching in the Middle-grade Schools* represents, then, a definitive and authoritative-sounding restatement of principles which had been worked out over the five years he had been in Japan, with regard, it is clear, to Japanese colleagues’ opinions, and with a view not only to learning theory but – over the preceding two years, in particular – also to the (perceived) constraints of the existing education system; at the same time, it seems to sound a note of completion, complementing the successful establishment of the ‘Reader System’ by the end of the year.

### Notes

- 1 Details of Palmer’s activities in Japan in this and the following chapter are mostly based on Imura (1997) and Ozasa (1995a; 1995b), as indicated, although the *Bulletin of the Institute for Research in English Teaching* (IRLT 1985) has also been extensively consulted. Some of the narrative in these two chapters has previously appeared in Smith 1998c.
- 2 Photocopy (obtained through inter-library loan) consulted. The source of this photocopy is unknown, but it may have come from the U.S. Library of Congress, which has a copy of the book according to *National Union Catalog Pre-1956 Imprints*, vol. 438 (p. 38).
- 3 Bibliographical details on the final page of the first edition (consulted on a copy loaned by Imura Motomichi) indicate that this book was, or was intended to be published in April (a space is left blank where the day of publication would normally be filled in). However, according to *Bulletin* 1/1 (1 June 1923): 8, this work ‘appeared from the press’ along with 1923b and 1923c on 1 May. There were many subsequent revisions and impressions of this work, and later editions tend to be inaccurate with regard to the initial publication date.

- 4 In the 1925 reprinted edition of this work, 'The Palmer English Language Course' etc. (on the title page) is replaced with 'The Standard English Language Course. A course designed specifically for the forming of right speech-habits', while on the cover 'The Standard English Language Course. Oral contextual line of approach' is preferred. The same applies to 1923c.
- 5 Details from *Bulletin* 1/2 (1 July, 1923): 6, where the articles are briefly summarized.
- 6 Details from a copy owned by Imura Motomichi.
- 7 Details from *Bulletin* 1/2 (1 July, 1923): 6, where the articles are briefly summarized. A *Bulletin* supplement later appeared under the same title, and was perhaps based on these articles (Palmer 1928m).
- 8 Referred to in *Bulletin* 1/2 (1 July, 1923) as due to be published not later than 15 July, and to be sent free to all IRET members. However, all copies appear to have been destroyed in a fire resulting from the Great Kanto Earthquake on 1 September (*Bulletin* (New Series) 1 (15 Oct. 1923): 4), with none having in fact been sent out.
- 9 See *Bulletin* 1/2 (1 July 1923): 1.
- 10 Dated March here according to a preliminary announcement promising the book for this month in *Bulletin* 11 (Feb. 1925): 8, advertisements announcing its publication in *Bulletin* 12 (March 1925): 10; and a note describing the book in *Bulletin* 12 (March 1925): 7. Later, the book was split into two to form Book I (Parts I and II) of the Standard English Readers (1926h, 1926k).
- 11 Other volumes envisaged for the same series of teacher's handbooks at this stage were: *Concerning Phonetics*, *The Japanese Phonemic System*, *The Teaching of Speech*, *A Plea for Fluency*, *A Glossary of Phonetic Terminology*, *Linguistic Odds and Ends (Collection I.)*, *Advice to Students of English Conversation*, *Concerning Grammar*, *The Principles of Course-Designing*, *The Foreign Teacher's Handbook*, and *Concerning Translation* (1925e: x). In fact, though, only one more volume was to be published: 1927u.
- 12 Reproduced in abridged form as 'Modern method of language study restated'. *Bulletin* 15 (June 1925): 2-4. Details of the original version are derived from there.
- 13 Mentioned in *Bulletin* 16 (July 1925): 7 as being a 'small booklet' which



has been issued '[w]hile awaiting the publication of [1925l]'. The booklet is said to contain 'portions of the various sections of the larger book'.

- 14 It may seem surprising that this was published prior to the issue of Book I (Part I) of *The Standard English Readers* (1926h). However, 1926h was itself based on (the first half of) 1925d, which had been issued in March.
- 15 A note in *Bulletin* 12 (March 1925): 7 indicates that a draft of this work has been completed, and that by the time it is published 'Section I, called "The English Phones" will also be issued, so that we shall have, in the course of the next two or three months, new material dealing with the "Pronunciation Line of Approach"'. However, this 'Section I' does not appear to have in fact been published.
- 16 Dated following IRLT 1985, vol. 7: [iii].
- 17 Dated following IRLT 1985, vol. 7: [iii]. A note in *Bulletin* 22 (March 1926): 5 appears to confirm that 'Grammar and Semantics' Supplements had accompanied the previous two issues.
- 18 Dated according to *Bulletin* 23 (April 1926): 3.
- 19 Dated following IRLT 1985, vol. 7: [iii].
- 20 Published in October according to the Preface to the 3rd edition of 1922b.
- 21 In fact the 1930 edition in IRLT Library indicates the original publication date as 17 October 1925, but we assume that this should be 1926 on the basis of a reference to this work in an announcement of recent publications in *Bulletin* 28 (Oct.–Nov. 1926): 1 .
- 22 As with 1926u, the 1930 edition we have consulted indicates the original date of publication as 1925. We correct this to 1926 here on the basis of the Oct.–Nov. 1926 announcement of recent publications referred to in the preceding note.
- 23 Tentatively dated according to these considerations: (i) a different Supplement (1926r) seems to have accompanied the July *Bulletin*; (ii) Palmer was absent from Japan at the time of the Aug.–Sept. issue of the *Bulletin* (although this does not wholly discount its having been issued then); and (iii) this Supplement is likely at the latest to have accompanied the Oct.–Nov. issue, according to *Bulletin* 29 (Dec. 1926): 7, which announces the publication of a new-type examination paper (1926y) prepared on the basis of the theory of the anomalous finites, with which readers are assumed to be familiar.

- 24 Dated on the basis of the offer to members in *Bulletin* 29 (Dec. 1926).
- 25 This approval was granted on 31 March 1928 according to the bibliographical endpieces in several later editions of the Standard Readers in the IRLT Library.
- 26 Dated on the basis of a reference in *Bulletin* 30 (Jan. 1927): 3 .
- 27 Dated on the basis of the offer to members in *Bulletin* 30 (Jan. 1927).
- 28 First announced (as Institute Leaflet no. 9) in *Bulletin* 31 (Feb. 1927). Possibly, first appeared as a Supplement (along with 1927c) to *Bulletin* 30 (Jan. 1927), but not referred to there.
- 29 Dated according to information in *Bulletin* 33 (April 1927): 5.
- 30 The only subsequent addition to the series we have come across is *Graded Exercises in English Composition. Book III (Part I)*, written by E. K. Venables and published on 20 June 1930, according to a first edition in the IRLT Library.
- 31 Dated according to an announcement in *Bulletin* 33 (April 1927): 5.
- 32 Dated according to an announcement in *Bulletin* 33 (April 1927): 5.
- 33 Dated, and all other details according to a first advertisement in *Bulletin* 34 (May 1927): 6 . This publication may have constituted a reissue in pamphlet form of 1926e, which has the same title.
- 34 Dated according to first advertisement in *Bulletin* 34 (May 1927): 6.
- 35 Dated according to *Bulletin* 34 (May 1927): 5.
- 36 Dated according to *Bulletin* 36 (July–Aug. 1927): 5.
- 37 The 1931 edition referred to indicates 17 October as the date of initial publication, but the first edition may in fact have been issued earlier in 1927. It is promised 'in a month' in *Bulletin* 31 (Feb. 1927): 7, and shown to be for sale in an advertisement in *Bulletin* 32 (March, 1927): 8. The only subsequent addition to the series we have come across is *English through Questions and Answers. Book III (Part I)*, written by A. S. Hornby and published on 15 May 1929, according to a first edition in the IRLT Library.

## Chapter 5 Tokyo II (1928–36)



## 1928

In January, Palmer spoke at Doshisha University in Kyoto on 'The reformed teaching of English' and 'Intonation', then gave further lectures in the Kansai area. In February he spoke at the Tokyo Higher Normal School, and from 17 April to 21 June at meetings of a recently formed 'Association for the New Method of English Language Teaching' (Ozasa 1995a: 121). From 23 to 31 July there was also a series of talks on new methods of English teaching for middle schools (summarized in 1928l) at a seminar held – exceptionally – under the auspices of the Department of Education, at Tokyo School of Foreign Languages.

October saw the foundation of the Association of Foreign Teachers in Japan (Imura 1997: 259), in which both Palmer and H. Vere Redman were to play active roles. The Fifth IRET Convention was held from 11 to 13 October at the First Tokyo Prefectural Middle School.

From about this time onwards Japanese teachers associated with the IRET appear to have increasingly appropriated the ideas and materials with which they had been provided. The Convention itself became rapidly 'nationalized' after 1928, with most of the proceedings being carried out in Japanese from that year onwards (Sarvis 1928: 2). Demonstration lessons by Japanese teachers – as opposed to debates on structural reform or observation of demonstrations by foreign teachers – were by now becoming the focal point of Convention activity (Ozasa 1995a: 46–50).

As we have seen, a 'Reader System' ranging 'satellite' materials around a core textbook containing reading passages had begun to be offered to Japanese teachers by the end of 1927, but the appropriateness of this model in practice was yet to be determined. Over the next few

years, as feedback was received from teachers, it became clear that slight modifications were necessary, but the system remained in place fundamentally unchanged until the outbreak of the Pacific War. At the same time, an increasing number (although never a large number) of schools and teachers appear to have adopted IRET materials and procedures, further adapting them to local needs.

From 1927–8 onwards, then, two strands of IRET research and development appear to emerge: firstly, the further evolution up until the Pacific War of appropriate ‘reformed’ methodology through teacher-research by Japanese educators themselves (considered further under ‘1935’ below), and, secondly, a shift to a concern with learning ‘content’ in Palmer’s own increasingly linguistics-oriented research publications for the IRET up until his departure from Japan in 1936. Palmer was later to recall that the year 1927–8 saw ‘The realizing of the need for an objective survey of the English linguistic symbols’, which was to involve henceforth ‘research not only on the psychology of language-learning but also on many baffling problems of English lexicology’ (Palmer 1933y: 4; see also 1928s for a somewhat tongue-in-cheek account of his growing ‘obsession’ with lexicology).

Although Palmer might thus appear to have retired to some extent from the front line of reform in order to concentrate on background research of a more linguistic, code-focused nature, it is clear that this work – at least in its initial (1928–31) phase – was undertaken with a practical eye to the provision of more appropriate contents (in the first instance, lexical contents) for learning, in the Japanese middle school context. Official sanction had been given to this new line of research at the 1927 Convention, where a request was made by certain members for attention to be turned to the what (as well as the how) of middle school

English education, 'including . . . determining of the number and sort of words, phrases, standard sentences and grammar mechanisms'.<sup>1</sup>

Palmer later interpreted this request as having implied, more specifically, 'the compilation, first, of a limited English word-list and, secondly, of a selection of [collocations]', adding that 'It was further suggested that the Department of Education might ultimately adopt or recommend the resultant lists as corresponding to the vocabulary required of an entrant to the schools of higher grade' (1933p: 1).

From Palmer's own point of view, the experience of writing the 'Standard Readers' with the need for 'plain English' (as emphasized at the 1925 Convention) in mind may have encouraged him to tackle traditionalists on their own home ground, via a questioning of prevalent assumptions of what should be allowed to 'stand for' written English and, indeed, grammar. While his own Readers had been written in a plain, colloquial style, offering clear appended examples in illustration of major grammatical rules, other textbooks available at the time (and, even more importantly, university entrance examinations) tended to include many old-fashioned, literary, or esoteric words and constructions. Palmer's 'lexicological turn' (itself following on from his earlier shift towards a greater focus on the twin aims of reading and writing in English) was therefore to bear fruit – at the end of its first phase – in several concrete (1930–1) suggestions for word lists which were then immediately applied in the production of new materials for the middle school context. The nature of grammar was to be more quickly considered, in 1928o–r, although questions of structural and collocational grading were not explicitly addressed at this still early stage.

1928a (Jan.). 'Reflections concerning certain foreign teachers' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 40: 1–2.

1928b (Feb.). 'Analysis through analogy' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 41: 1–2.

[1928c (Feb.).] *English, Plain and Coloured*. Supplement to *Bulletin* 41. [Institute Leaflet no. 22.] Tokyo: IRET, 6 pp. [In IRLT 1985, vol. 7 (no. 18); also, in British Library.]

1928d. *English Pronunciation through Questions and Answers*. H.E.P. and F[rancis] G[eorge] Blandford. Cambridge: Heffer, xxi + 119 pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 8.]<sup>2</sup>

1928e (5 March). *Key to Graded Exercises in English Composition Book 1*. Tokyo: IRET, 30 pp. [In IRLT Library.]<sup>3</sup>

1928f (March). 'Technical terms' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 42: 1–2.

1928g (April–May). 'Kangen no teido' (Degree of severity or laxness governing behaviour) (Editorial). *Bulletin* 43: 1–2.

1928h (May–June). 'Needless mispronunciatio[ns]' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 44: 1–2.

1928i (June). 'Modern vulgar English' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 45: 1–3.

[1928j (June).] *The Teaching of English in Japan. The failure of prevailing methods; reform is necessary, but in what direction? A lecture by Harold E. Palmer, Linguistic Adviser to the Department of Education* [based on a lecture given in 1927 at Karuizawa Summer School]. Supplement to *Bulletin* 45. [Institute Leaflet no. 23.] Tokyo: IRET, 7 pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 10; also, in IRLT 1985, vol. 7 (no. 19).]<sup>4</sup>

1928k (July). "'He has just started learning English'" (Editorial). *Bulletin* 46: 1–2.

1928l (July). 'The reformed English teaching in the middle grade schools: Synopsis of lectures to be given at the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages, July 1928'. *Bulletin* 46: 3.

[1928m (July).] *The Clean Stroke*. Supplement to *Bulletin* 46. [Institute Leaflet no. 24.] Tokyo: IRET, 13 pp. [In IRLT 1985, vol. 7 (no. 20); also, in British Library.]<sup>5</sup>

1928n (Sept.). 'The opposition to spoken English' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 47: 1-2.

1928o (10 Oct.). *Kikoteki bumpo* (*Mechanism Grammar*). Translated by Naganuma Naoe. Tokyo: IRET, 105 pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 6.] [See Appendix.]<sup>6</sup>

1928p (10 Oct.). *Shoto eibun kosei renshusho* (*Elementary English Sentence Structure Practice Book*). Translated by Naganuma Naoe. Tokyo: IRET, 153 pp. [In IRLT Library.]

1928q (12 Oct.). *Kikoteki eibumpo kaisetsu* (*Explanation of English Mechanism Grammar*). Translated by Naganuma Naoe. Tokyo: IRET, 72 pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 6.] [See Appendix.]

1928r (Oct.?). *Jido eibun koseiki* (*Automatic English Sentence Builder*). Tokyo: IRET. [Not seen.]<sup>7</sup>

1928s (Dec.). 'Lexicology as a hobby' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 49: 1-2.

1928t (Dec.). 'Number fifty'. *Bulletin* 49: 1.

1928u (Dec.). 'Report on research work carried on by I.R.E.T. in 1927-8' [summary of a report given at the 5th Annual IRET Convention, 11-12 October, 1928]. *Bulletin* 49: 3-7.



The transitional year of 1928 saw several attempts to counter misunderstandings regarding the IRET approach as this had evolved, involving emphasis on the fact that traditional literacy-oriented goals were being adequately addressed (1928j, 1928l, 1928n). At the same time, and in parallel with his preliminary work on vocabulary limitation (see 1928c, 1928i, 1928s), Palmer turned his attention to a prevalent misunderstanding that the ‘reformed methods’ neglected grammar. In a cluster of publications (1928o–r) published in Japanese only (this linguistic choice is significant, for his intention was surely to reach the most resistant teachers in Japan), Palmer outlined his replacement, synthetic approach to the traditional parsing of sentences, terming this alternative ‘mechanism grammar’ (or, later, ‘pattern-grammar’). In a development of his earlier London work on ‘ergonics’ and substitution tables (see Howatt 1984: 236–9; Smith 1998a), and referring to materials already published for the ‘Grammar and Structure Line of Approach’ of the Standard Course (1924d, 1925g), Palmer attempted to show how construction-patterns can be taught as a basis for (spoken and written) production, accompanying theoretical explanation and sample exercises with a patented ‘Automatic Sentence Builder’ (see Tickoo 1986: 55 and our Appendix for further details). This approach was later returned to in 1932t and in collaborative research with Hornby (1934aa), joining up at that point with collocational considerations to lead ultimately to a classification of the most significant ‘sentence patterns’ for learners of English as a foreign language (this achievement being realized, in particular, in Hornby et al. 1942 and Hornby 1954).

## 1929

On 24 April Palmer spoke at Kanda Domei Kaikan on the practical application of the new method of teaching English, and in the same month conducted a demonstration lesson with first year (beginner) pupils of the Middle School attached to Tokyo Higher Normal School, using the five lessons of 1929f as experimental teaching material (Ozasa 1995a: 122). On June 25 a new Research Section for the teaching of pronunciation was established within the IRET, with a remit to focus on the production of gramophone records for this purpose (see 1929k). The Sixth IRET Convention was held from 24 to 26 October at Teikoku Kyoiku Kaikan (in Hitotsubashi) and at Tokyo Higher Normal School.

On a lighter note, the involvement of both Palmer and his daughter in amateur dramatic activities in Tokyo and Karuizawa was reflected in two 1929 publications. While Dorothée published an annotated phonetic edition – complete with tone-marks – of a comedy by H. H. Davies entitled *The Mollusc* (Dorothée Palmer 1929), Palmer co-wrote, directed and published a (1929s) revue in three acts, first performed in Karuizawa in 1928, then in Tokyo in 1929, which was designed to instruct as well as entertain with regard to the functions of the League of Nations, of which he was an ardent supporter.

1929a (Jan.). 'Our activities' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 50: 1–2.

1929b (Feb.). 'Superfluous activities'. *Bulletin* 51: 3.

1929c (Feb.). 'The first week of English'. *Bulletin* 51: 4–5.<sup>8</sup>

1929d (April). 'Development of our English course' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 53: 1–2.

[1929f (April).] *Eigo no dai-issu* (The First Week of English). Supplement to *Bulletin* 53. [Institute Leaflet no. 26.] [Tokyo: IRET], v + 27 pp. [In IRLT 1985, vol. 7 (no. 23); also, in British Library.]

1929g (28 April). *Eigo no rokushukan* (*The First Six Weeks of English*). Translated by Naganuma Naoe. [Institute Leaflet no. 27.] Tokyo: IRET, xi + 110 + iii pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 4.] [See Appendix.]<sup>9</sup>

1929h (May). 'A pessimist' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 54: 1.

1929i (May). 'What shall we call "a word"?' *Bulletin* 54: 1–2.

1929j (May). Letter from the Editor (to Darley Downs). *Bulletin* 54: 2.

1929k (June). 'The Educational Gramophone Record Section' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 55: 1.

1929l (June). 'Lexicological research' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 55: 1.

1929m (July). 'What is an idiom?' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 56: 1–2.

1929n (Aug.–Sept.). "'The oral approach" versus "conversation"' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 57: 1–2.

1929o (Aug.–Sept.). *The Solitary Reaper. A study in stylistic values*. Supplement to *Bulletin* 57. [Institute Leaflet no. 30.] Tokyo: IRET, 7 pp. [In IRLT 1985, vol. 7 (no. 25).]

1929p (Oct. 24). *The First Six Weeks of Reading*. Tokyo: IRET, 85 pp. [1931 edition in IRLT Library.]<sup>10</sup>

1929q (Dec.). 'Broad and narrow notation' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 59: 1–2.

1929r (Dec.). *Report on Research Activities during the year 1928–9*. [Supplement to *Bulletin* 59; Institute Leaflet no. 31.] Tokyo: IRET, 18 pp. [In IRLT 1985, vol. 7 (no. 27); also, in British Library.]<sup>11</sup>

1929s. H.E.P. and collaborators. *So This is Geneva! Three dramatic sketches illustrating opinions on, the spirit of, the workings of and providing discussions on the League of Nations*. Tokyo: Kaitakusha (for the League of Nations Association of Japan), [v] + 55 pp. [In University of Chicago Library.]<sup>12</sup>

Palmer's (1929d) editorial on the 'Development of our English course' indicates that, on the basis of feedback received from teachers, the 'Reader System' was considered by the spring of 1929 to be in need of refinement in particular through the provision of extra companion books. Specifically, it seemed that 'many teachers were doubtful as to how the Reader System should be used in the initial stages' (1929d: 1). Palmer therefore produced a detailed teaching plan for the 'First Six Weeks of English' (1929g) which indicates 'how best to bring the pupils to that point at which they learn to spell, read and write' (Palmer 1929d: 1). Later in the same year a set of short passages was produced for the 'First Six Weeks of Reading' (1929p). These build on previous oral work, introducing pupils gradually to the reading and writing of familiar words in unfamiliar Roman script.

In his 1929d editorial, Palmer additionally promised a 'set of Side Readers for supplementary rapid reading', but readers of this kind were not in fact to be produced until 1931 (after which they began to be issued in great quantities). Palmer is likely to have determined that lexicological research work was not yet far enough advanced for side readers to be confidently compiled, since the whole of the following year (until and beyond the October Convention) was spent in careful consideration of issues which he felt needed to be addressed before specific proposals could be made for vocabulary limitation (and text simplification) on the basis of frequency counts. Thus, the following articles and editorials

consistently raise questions of definition with regard to the nature of ‘words’ and ‘idioms’: 1929i, 1929l, 1929m, 1930b, 1930e, 1930i.

In his report to the Convention (1929r), although specific proposals for middle school vocabulary limitation were still not in sight, Palmer felt able to report that ‘exceptionally great’ progress had been made in the area of preliminary definition, expressing at the same time ‘a suspicion that those engaged in counting the occurrences of words and idioms [in the field of statistical lexicology] have not taken adequate precautions to ascertain exactly what it is that they are counting’ (p. 5). With this side-swipe at contemporary American statistical lexicologists including E. L. Thorndike, Palmer presents his own provisional classification scheme, and in the process casts further light on his conception of the two-way relationship between research work connected with ‘linguistic pedagogy’ and research in other linguistic sciences (thus he ventures to suggest that IRET research has already had something to say to those involved in such fields as phonetics, grammar, and statistical lexicology, as well as in the more practical area of language course designing).

## 1930

From 12 to 13 March Palmer spoke in Kobe and Osaka on ‘How to learn conversational English’ (this continuing interest was also reflected in a 1930a editorial). In the autumn he visited thirteen cities in the central and north-western parts of Japan to speak on ‘Modern classroom procedures and devices’, and in October he gave talks in Osaka (Ozasa 1995a: 123).

From 31 May Palmer took up employment as a part-time lecturer at Tokyo School of Foreign Languages, perhaps in order to supplement his

income, since funding from Matsukata Kojiro had dried up even before the collapse of the latter's business empire in 1927. Indeed, there is some doubt as to whether Palmer was ever paid directly by the Department of Education (as opposed to indirectly, for part-time teaching and teacher-training work at the Tokyo Higher Normal School), and it is clear that he never received royalties from IRET publications. The Institute itself was being operated on a shoe-string and Palmer frequently donated income from non-IRET publications and other sources to keep it afloat (Imura 1997: 134).

In November Palmer also accepted an invitation to supervise the English teaching programme at an experimental middle school for girls, Jiyu Gakuen. He was also to teach there, in 1931 and 1932 (Imura 1997: 259), and he gave demonstration lessons with pupils from the school at the 1931 and 1932 Conventions. Formerly, girls' school course-designing needs had been neglected (although a different middle school curriculum was in operation there from that in boys' schools). Starting with his 1930g and 1930j materials, however, Palmer now began to give this area more attention.

On 19 October Palmer gave a paper (published the following year as 1931d) on 'Some aspects of lexicology' at a meeting in Kyoto of the English Literary Society. The Seventh IRET Convention was held from 23 to 25 October at the Teikoku Kyoku Kaikan, Hitotsubashi, and it was at this Convention that Palmer published the first practical results of his careful lexicological research over the preceding two years, presenting the first version of his word list for middle schools, in the *Interim Report on Vocabulary Selection* (1930k). Later in the year he published, at his own expense, a scholarly analysis of *The Principles of Romanization*, which takes into account practical as well as phonemic considerations (1930n).

1930a (Jan.). 'The teaching of conversation' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 60: 1–2.

1930b (Feb.). 'Two sorts of units' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 61: 1–2.

1930c (Feb.). 'A new and interesting experiment'. *Bulletin* 61: 2.

1930d (April). 'Saito the idiomologist' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 63: 1.

1930e (May). 'A standard English vocabulary' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 64: 1–2.

1930f (5 May). *Key to Graded Exercises in English Composition. Book 2.* Tokyo: IRET, 36 pp. [In IRLT Library.]<sup>13</sup>

1930g (20 May). *The Standard English Readers for Girls. Book One.* Tokyo: IRET, 132 pp. [In IRLT Library.]<sup>14</sup>

1930h (June). 'Methods or disciplines?' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 65: 1–2.

1930i (Aug.–Sept.). 'Word counts and word selection' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 67: 1–2.

1930j (15 Sept.). *The Pupil's Manual to The Standard Readers for Girls. Book One.* Tokyo: IRET, 185pp. [In IRLT Library.]

1930k (22 Oct.). *Interim Report on Vocabulary Selection submitted to the Seventh Annual Conference of English Teachers under the auspices of the Institute for Research in English Teaching.* [Later, Institute Leaflet no. 33.] Tokyo: IRET, 122 pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 9.]<sup>15</sup>

1930l (Oct.–Nov.). 'The chief aim of the Institute' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 68: 1.

1930m (Oct.–Nov.). [Summary of the] 'Director's report' [to the Seventh Annual IRET Convention]. *Bulletin* 68: 4–5.

1930n (10 Dec.). *The Principles of Romanization with special reference to the Romanization of Japanese*. Tokyo: Maruzen, iv + 157 + iv pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 10.]

1930o (Dec.). “English as speech” (Editorial). *Bulletin* 69: 1–2.

The *Interim Report* (1930k) contains a subjectively drawn-up list of 3,000 ‘head-words’, indicating at once Palmer’s continuing suspicion of objective word counts and, more positively, the confidence he had gained over the preceding two years of careful preliminary research, which enabled him now to propose the following as a definition of an ‘Effective Unit’ for word-lists: ‘a given word together with a selection of its commonest derivatives and compounds’, that is, a ‘Head-Word’ together with its ‘Sub-Words’ (1930k: 6), with each head-word being deemed to include its inflected forms, if any, and all its semantic varieties, but with members of homonyms being counted as separate units (1930k: 7–8). Further clarifications are presented on pp. 9–17, and these are followed by the suggested list itself, ‘as selected provisionally and tentatively’ by Palmer and two Japanese colleagues, ‘with a view to submitting them . . . for criticism’ (p. 32).

In the same report, Palmer indicates research directions for the coming year: refinement of the submitted list by breaking it down into distinct numerically limited ‘radii’ (p. 5), and the drawing-up of a separate list of collocations (pp. 17–23). His final *Bulletin* editorial of the year (1930s) also readies IRET members for a forthcoming initiative (in materials design), the ‘English as Speech’ series. In this editorial, Palmer emphasizes (in response to persistent previous misunderstandings of his ‘Saussurean’ distinction between ‘Code’ and ‘Speech’) that:



The convenient term “English as Speech” does not mean “English as a Spoken Language,” still less does it mean “Conversational English.”

It means rather “English as possessed by one who forms his thoughts in English, who does not speak or write it by dint of mental translation from another language, or understand and read it by dint of mental translation into another language.”

Palmer (1930s: 1)

## 1931

March 1931 saw the publication of the first in the new ‘English as Speech’ series of teaching materials for the advanced stages of middle school and for use in higher schools (1931b), this and subsequent contributions to the series being based on a story simplified within the radius of 3,000 words which had been presented the previous year.

On 6 June, Palmer left Japan for an eight-month world tour which was to bring him into contact with other leading figures in the area of vocabulary limitation, which was becoming by this stage a topic of increasing international interest. First he visited Moscow (travelling there by Trans-Siberian express), and arrived in Berlin on 28 June. He then met both C. K. Ogden (whose list of 850 ‘Basic English’ words had been published in 1930) and Michael West in the UK, before departing for Geneva to attend the Second Congress of the International Philological Society, where he met Otto Jespersen and Albert Sècheyaye. Then Palmer crossed the Atlantic to the USA, where he had meetings with Sapir, Leonard Bloomfield and Algernon Coleman (the doyen of the ‘Reading Method’ in that country), as well as a number of statistical lexicologists (although not E. L. Thorndike, whom Palmer had especially wanted to meet) (Bongers 1947: 79–82).

During Palmer's absence, the Eighth IRET Convention was held at Tokyo Higher Normal School (15–16 October), and in December a proposal on English language teaching adopted by the Convention was presented to the Minister of Education (Ozasa 1995a: 124).

Palmer's lexicological research in the first half of 1931 had led towards the publication at this Convention (in the 1931r *Second Interim Report*) of five distinct radii for the five years of middle school. This achievement was founded both on attempts to evaluate the potential contribution of objective word-counts (1931h and 1931n) and on arguments closer to Palmer's heart in favour of additionally taking into account classroom requirements at the beginning level (1931p).

Since the publication of his first *Interim Report*, which had been criticized, in particular, for 'being insufficiently based on the findings of objective quantitative statistics' (1931r: 24), Palmer had been facing unaccustomed criticism from certain *non*-Japanese teachers in Japan, for not relating his enquiries into vocabulary limitation sufficiently to those being undertaken in the USA and the UK. This year, then, saw the start of continuing attempts to justify IRET work in relation to Basic English (see 1931i), as well as a partial acknowledgement of the potential contributions of statistical lexicology.

Palmer's 1931i editorial was itself written in response to an anonymous critic in the *Japan Chronicle* who had proposed that the IRET cooperate with the (Cambridge) Orthological Institute's Basic English experiments. Palmer contends, however (1931i: 1), that a prominent member of this Institute, I. A. Richards had informed him a few months previously that Basic English 'did not attempt to cater for school children, but only for the needs of scientists'. Correspondence on this matter was to resume in 1933, by which time Palmer's relations with the

founders and supporters of Basic English had worsened (see Palmer 1933s). During Palmer's absence from Japan in the second half of 1931 (when he actually met Ogden), the debate on Basic English continued in the pages of the *Bulletin*, and on his return Palmer was to find himself called upon increasingly to justify his own more pedagogically inspired approach in the face of criticisms from supporters and 'agents' of Ogden in Japan including William Empson, Philip Rossiter and Okakura Yoshisaburo. Basic English may have seemed from around this time, then, to threaten not only the credibility of Palmer's own suggestions for vocabulary limitation but the whole IRET programme for reform, insofar as this had come to be centred on the production of written materials.

A new line of research appears to have started in 1931 with a provisional attempt to collect and systematically classify collocations. The first report on this subject was presented at the 1931 Convention in the form of a mimeographed list (of which no copies appear to survive) based largely on Saito Hidesaburo's *Jukugo hon'i ei-wa chujiten* (English-Japanese idiomological dictionary, 1927 revised edition). This preliminary list was to be substantially revised and expanded over the following two years, culminating in the issue of the 1933p *Second Interim Report*.

1931a (Jan.). 'The new-type examination' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 70: 1–2.

1931b (18 March). Abridged and simplified by H.E.P. *The Adventure of the Three Students* (Conan Doyle). The 'English as Speech' Series, vol. 1. Tokyo: IRET, 133 pp. [In IRLT Library.]

1931c (March). 'Progress of our statistical lexicology' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 72: 1–2.

1931d (March). 'Some aspects of lexicology' [a paper read at the Kyoto meeting of the English Literary Society on 19 October, 1930.] *Bulletin* 72: 6–8.

1931e (April). 'New munitions' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 73: 1–2.

1931f (April). 'Lexicological research'. *Bulletin* 73: 2.

1931g (April). Review of *The Imperial Rescript on Education, translated into Chinese, English, French and German*, distributed by the Herald Press. *Bulletin* 73: 6.

1931h (April). *The First 500 English Words of Most Frequent Occurrence (based on objective quantitative statistics)*. Supplement to *Bulletin* 73. [Institute Leaflet no. 35.] Tokyo: IRET, 11 pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 9; also, in IRLT 1985, vol. 7 (no. 31).]

1931i (May). 'Basic English and vocabulary selection' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 74: 1–2.

1931j (May). Editorial note (in response to an immediately preceding article on 'The study of English as a means of culture' by T. Tezuka). *Bulletin* 74: 6–7.

1931k (30 June). Abridged and simplified by H.E.P. *Mrs. Thistleton's Princess (Anthony Hope)*. The 'English as Speech' Series, vol. 3. Tokyo: IRET, 165 pp. [In IRLT Library.]

1931l (April–June). 'Extra broad transcription' (Letter to the editor). *Le maître phonétique* 3rd Series/9: 27.<sup>16</sup>

1931m (June). 'Preparation – necessary and unnecessary' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 75: 1–3.

1931n (June). *The Second 500 English Words of Most Frequent Occurrence (based on objective quantitative statistics)*. Supplement to *Bulletin 75*. [Institute Leaflet no. 35.] Tokyo: IRET, 10 pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 9; also, in IRLT 1985, vol. 7 (no. 32).]

1931o (July). Extracts from a report on IRET activities ‘recently prepared [but] which has not yet been published’, in an anonymous article on ‘Research work in English teaching in Japan’. *Oversea Education* 2/4: 183–7 (extracts by H.E.P. on pp. 186–7).<sup>17</sup>

[1931p (July–Aug.).] *The First 600 English Words for a Classroom Vocabulary (based on objective quantitative statistics supplemented by classroom requirements)*. [Supplement to *Bulletin 76*; IRLT Leaflet no. 36.] [Tokyo: IRET], 10 pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 9].<sup>18</sup>

1931q (20 Sept.). *The Technique of Question-Answering*. Aids to ‘English as Speech’, vol. 1. Tokyo: IRET, 88 pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 4.]

1931r (16 Oct.). *Second Interim Report on Vocabulary Selection submitted to the Eighth Annual Conference of English Teachers under the auspices of the Institute for Research in English Teaching*. Tokyo: IRET, 168 pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 9.]

The previous year’s (1930k) inventory of 3,000 head-words already seemed to enable the writing of supplementary, graded reading materials for relatively advanced learners (who might be expected to have already been exposed to these words). Accordingly, a new ‘English as Speech’ series of materials was announced on p. 10 of *Bulletin 70* (January 1931), as follows: ‘each volume will constitute a complete unit (or “outfit”) suitable for use in the higher classes of Middle-Grade Schools or for the Higher-Grade Schools’. This series (beginning with Palmer’s 1931b and 1931k contributions) constituted an innovative

attempt to represent 'Reader System' principles in microcosm, with each volume being planned to consist of five distinct parts: (i) a simplified story, divided into sections; (ii) an 'explanatory introduction' (for use in oral introduction by the teacher); (iii) a set of 'Direct Method [writing] exercises' on the model of *Graded Exercises in English Composition* (1925o etc.); (iv) questions and answers for oral work on the basis of the text; and (v) a 'new-type examination' also based on the text. Production of the materials in this series may have been conceived as a means of encouraging teachers not yet using the 'Standard English Readers' to try out IRET procedures on a small-scale, experimental basis, as well as to meet a perceived demand for materials from higher school teachers.

Palmer's 1931q handbook for teachers was to be the only volume in a projected 'Aids to English as Speech' series, but the 'English as Speech' series itself finally comprised seventeen volumes, most of these being compiled by A. S. Hornby in 1931–2, but with the last appearing as late as 1938.<sup>19</sup> It is clear, then, that the series met with some success, perhaps more so in higher than in middle schools.

## 1932

On 7 January, towards the end of his 'world tour', Palmer gave a lecture (1932b) on 'The Oral and Direct methods as an initiation into reading' at a meeting of modern language teachers in Los Angeles City Schools. He finally returned to Japan, eight months after his original departure, on 26 February (Imura 1997: 260).

During his 1931–2 travels abroad, the meetings which appear to have most influenced Palmer's subsequent work were those with Algernon Coleman (the leading proponent of the 'Reading Method' in the USA), Michael West (a supporter, like Coleman, of the need to approach

reading *through* reading as opposed to oral work), Ogden (whose Basic English was to be increasingly perceived by both Palmer and West as a threat to their own more pedagogically influenced schemes for vocabulary control) and a number of American statistical lexicologists (with whom, again, both West and Palmer shared differences). These meetings (and an increasingly perceived domestic need – already mentioned above – to justify his own efforts in relation to statistical lexicology and Basic English) evidently contributed to the more internationally oriented, ‘universalist’ tenor of many of Palmer’s statements following his return to Japan in February 1932.

Just as important, perhaps, in establishing new international priorities in Palmer’s mind had been a rapid worsening in the domestic political situation during his eight months outside Japan. Following on from the outbreak of fighting in Manchuria in September 1931, and its subsequent occupation by the Japanese Army, Shanghai – where Palmer’s wife had been visiting their daughter – was bombarded by Japanese naval forces (Storry 1990: 186–91). Fortunately, both his daughter and his wife were safe, but Palmer had received a shock, and from this time onwards he may have been looking for ways to leave – or at least look beyond – Japan.

On 30 April he gave one of the first of his reports on his oversea tour, at Tokyo Higher Normal School, speaking on ‘Extensive reading for content’. In April he also announced the development of the ‘Simplified English Series’ (Ozasa 1995a: 125) and in June gave the first of his daily ‘Eigo News (Current Topics)’ broadcasts on JOAK, the national radio broadcasting station (Imura 1997: 260).

From 10 to 13 October, Palmer spoke on ‘The fundamentals of English teaching’ at a seminar for English teachers at Tokyo Shisei Kaikan

sponsored by the IRET, and from 14 to 15 October the Ninth IRET Convention was held, at Hibiya Kokaido, Tokyo. The following month saw the issue of a new series of 'Abridged Standard English Readers' for middle schools (1932v-z).

1932a (Jan.). 'Simplified texts'. *Bulletin* 80: 2-3.

1932b (Feb.). 'The Oral and Direct methods as an initiation into reading' [Extracts from a lecture to modern language teachers of Los Angeles city schools, 7 January, 1932]. *Bulletin* 81: 3-5.<sup>20</sup>

1932c (March). 'The process of language learning: in a nutshell'. (Editorial). *Bulletin* 82: 1.

1932d (March). 'Text-grading and linguistic symbols' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 82: 2.

1932e (March). 'Our word list' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 82: 2-3..

1932f (5 April). *The Gold-Bug* (otherwise 'The Gold Beetle'). The 'Simplified English' Series, vol. 1. Tokyo: IRET, 63 pp. [In IRLT Library.]<sup>21</sup>

1932g (April). 'Reading for amusement' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 83: 1-2.

1932h (April). "'Schemes" and "inspirations"'. *Bulletin* 83: 2.

1932i (April). 'The "Simplified English" series'. *Bulletin* 83: 3, 5.

1932j (April). *Memorandum Concerning the Grading and Simplifying of Literary Material*. Supplement to *Bulletin* 83. Tokyo: IRET. [1934 edition (with revised title) in *Selected Writings*, vol. 2.]<sup>22</sup>

1932k (May). "'Identification" and "fusion"' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 84: 1-3.



1932l. H.E.P. and H. Vere Redman. *This Language-Learning Business. A compilation containing a conversation, considerable correspondence, and still more considerable thought on questions of language and the learning thereof for the guidance of all those engaged in teaching or learning that unique subject in the curriculum a language.* London: Harrap, 218 pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 2.]<sup>23</sup>

1932m (8 June). *On Learning to Read Foreign Languages. A Memorandum.* Tokyo: IRET, 39 pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 2.]

1932n (June). 'The testing of the word lists' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 85: 1–2.

1932o (July). 'The "preliminary stage"'. *Bulletin* 86: 1.

1932p (July). 'An elementary reading vocabulary'. *Bulletin* 86: 4.

1932q (July). Review of *A Study of English Word-Values*, by Lawrence Faucett and Itsu Maki. *Bulletin* 86: 5.<sup>24</sup>

1932r (11 Sept.). Simplified by H.E.P. 'The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde' by R. L. Stevenson. The 'Simplified English' Series, vol. 2. Tokyo: IRET, x + 222 pp. [In IRLT Library.]

1932s (Aug.–Sept.). 'Our research on vocabulary limitation, its origin and development' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 87: 1–4.

1932t (Oct.). *SSSF Patterns*. Tokyo: IRET. [2nd (undated) edition in IRLT 1985, vol. 7 (no. 35); also, in British Library.]<sup>25</sup>

1932u (7 Nov.). Simplified by H.E.P. *Pandora and the Box (Adapted from the original version of Hawthorne)*. 'Simplified . . . within the vocabulary of 600 words now in preparation'. 'Simplified English for Side Reading' Series. Tokyo: IRET, 34 pp. [In IRLT Library.]<sup>26</sup>

1932v (16 Nov.?). *The Abridged Standard English Readers. Book One.* Tokyo: IRET, 132 pp. [1 March 1933 Dept. of Education approved version in IRLT Library.]<sup>27</sup>

1932w (16 Nov.). *The Abridged Standard English Readers. Book Two.* Tokyo: IRET, 132 pp. [In IRLT Library.]

1932x (16 Nov.). *The Abridged Standard English Readers. Book Three.* Tokyo: IRET, 165 pp. [1 March 1933 Dept. of Education approved version in IRLT Library.]

1932y (16 Nov.). *The Abridged Standard English Readers. Book Four.* Tokyo: IRET, 140 pp. [1 March 1933 Dept. of Education approved version in IRLT Library.]

1932z (16 Nov.). *The Abridged Standard English Readers. Book Five.* Tokyo: IRET, 164 pp. [In IRLT Library.]

1932aa (Oct.–Nov.). ‘The Convention Week’ (Editorial). *Bulletin* 88: 1–2.

1932bb (Oct.–Nov.). [Summary of the] ‘Director’s Report’ [to the Ninth Annual IRET Convention]. *Bulletin* 88: 4.

1932cc (Dec.). ‘A certain class of nouns’ (Editorial). *Bulletin* 89: 1–2.

Following his world tour, as we have already implied, there seems to have been a partial – though never absolute – severing of connections between the IRET’s lexicological research programme, led by Palmer, and needs in the Japanese middle school context. It is evident, for example, that from 1932 onwards Palmer became increasingly involved in debates of an international nature regarding text simplification (1932j), the acquisition of reading skills (1932m) and Basic English (1933s), culminating in his participation in the ‘Carnegie Conferences’ of 1934

and 1935, in New York and London, respectively. At the same time, ongoing lexicological research within the IRET may have begun to obey, as Cowie (forthcoming) has discerned, an autonomous, internal momentum of its own, following a path of perceived ‘universal’ relevance which was to lead out of early (1928–30) attempts carefully to define the nature of lexicological enquiry itself to the consideration of collocation and other aspects of phraseology (1931–3), and thence to questions of syntax (1934), without these moves necessarily following the dictates of specific needs within the local context.

Nevertheless, Palmer’s efforts were never to be entirely disengaged from a desire to support reform in Japanese middle school English education. Thus, in 1932 he turned his attentions to a need which had previously been identified (in 1929d) for supplementary extensive reading materials, stating that, on the basis of the radii identified in the *Second Interim Report*, ‘now, for the first time, it became possible to carry into execution the work that had been for so long deferred. It had bec[o]me possible to produce a text simplified within the limits of a definite radius’ (1932s: 2).

Two new series of side readers were initiated in this year: the ‘Simplified English’ Series (1932f, 1932r) for relatively advanced learners in middle schools and higher schools, and the ‘Simplified English for Side Reading’ Series (1932u) for more elementary levels. The first of these initiatives was explained in an article in April (1932i), while the latter was prefigured in an anonymous report in May stating that attempts were being made to design a 600-word ‘elementary reading vocabulary’ specifically for the rewriting of easy stories.<sup>28</sup>

However, as is made clear in a 1932n editorial on the ‘testing of the word lists’, story simplification was being carried out at this point not

simply in order to provide useful materials on the basis of pre-determined word lists but also as a form of research work in itself, in other words as a means of practical experimentation for ascertaining in what ways existing (1930–1) lists might need to be refined. It is significant also that the new 600-word ‘elementary reading vocabulary’ announced in the May report is explicitly compared in that report with West’s *New Method* and Ogden’s Basic English schemes. It is clear, then, that, while in 1932 the previously drawn-up 1930–1 word lists *were* being applied to the production of materials intended to be useful in themselves in the Japanese middle school context (including, importantly, abridged versions of the ‘Standard English Readers’ (1932v–z) and remaining volumes of the ‘Standard English Readers for Girls’ (1933t–w), these word lists were themselves expected to be modified in the light of ongoing practical experimentation, and it is clear that text simplification was being carried out also in a spirit of international rivalry.<sup>29</sup> Both a research and an international orientation are indicated also by Palmer’s willingness, at this stage, to engage in friendly competition with work commissioned from the principal supporters in Japan of Basic English (see notes 21 and 26).

On his eventual return to the UK in 1936, Palmer was able to purchase a property of some size, and it is likely to have been the royalties from publications *in* the UK such as 1932l (written jointly with H. Vere Redman) which enabled him to do so. The co-author of 1932l, H. Vere Redman, who had come to Japan in 1927 to teach at Tokyo University of Commerce (Imura 1997: 135), was twenty-four years younger than Palmer but they appear to have been good friends, partly perhaps as a consequence of a certain shared exuberance as well as common journalistic interests. The genesis and writing process of their joint 1932l

‘production’ is described entertainingly in Anderson 1969: 150–1.

### 1933

Until work began in earnest on the collection and analysis of collocations for the 1933p *Second Interim Report* on this subject, it seems that ‘background’ IRET research work had largely been carried out by Palmer alone. On 28 July 1933, perhaps partly with an eye to his eventual departure, partly, too, in recognition of the immense amount of work which still needed to be done, he instituted a Board of Research Associates, composed entirely of Japanese university and middle school teachers (see Palmer 1933o). A. S. Hornby also seems to have become very much involved in research on collocations in the same year, from his base in Kyushu.

On 30 July the IRET moved with the Department of Education to new premises (Imura 1997: 260) and from 16 to 18 October the 10th IRET Convention was held at Tokyo University of Commerce, Hitotsubashi, with demonstration lessons being given by a teacher of Fukushima Middle School. Immediately after the Convention, on 19 October, Palmer spoke at a different conference on ‘The foreign teacher and the teaching of spoken English’, emphasizing the value of using gramophone records in English teaching (Ozasa 1995a: 126). It was in this year, it seems, that Tristram, the Palmers’ son, returned to England to enter a boarding school (Imura 1997: 260).

1933a (Jan.). Simplified by H.E.P. *The Gorgon’s Head* (Adapted from the original version of Hawthorne). ‘Simplified English for Side Reading’ Series. Tokyo: IRET. [Not seen.]<sup>30</sup>

1933b (23 Jan.). H.E.P., E. K. Venables, and A. S. Hornby. *Direct Method Composition Exercises Book 2*. 'For use with The Standard English Readers for Girls Book 2'. Tokyo: IRET, 97 pp. [In IRLT Library.]<sup>31</sup>

1933c (Jan.). 'Aids to conversational skill' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 90: 1–3.

1933d (Feb.). 'Sentences worth memorizing' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 91: 1–2.

1933e (Feb.). 'A correction' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 91: 2.

1933f (March). 'Courtesy through conversation' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 92: 1.

1933g (March). 'The "English as Speech" series'. *Bulletin* 92: 1–3.

1933h (Jan.–March). 'A new classification of English tones'. *Eigo no kenkyu to kyoju (The Study and Teaching of English)*, Jan.–March, 1933. [Reissued as IRET Leaflet no. 40 (June? 1933); this version is in *Selected Writings*, vol. 8.]<sup>32</sup>

1933i (April). 'Examination reform' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 93: 1–2.

1933j (April). 'Our research on irregular collocations'. *Bulletin* 93: 2–3.

1933k (May). 'Constructive criticism' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 94: 1.

1933l (June). 'Our research on collocations'. *Bulletin* 95: 1–2.

1933m (18 July). Simplified by H.E.P. *The Three Golden Apples (Adapted from the original version of Hawthorne)*. Simplified . . . within the vocabulary of 600 words now in preparation. 'Simplified English for Side Reading' Series. Tokyo: IRET, 40 pp. [In IRLT Library.]

1933n (July). 'Quousque tandem' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 96: 1–3.

1933o (July). [Excerpts from the Director's address to the] 'I.R.E.T. Board of Research Associates Inaugural Meeting'. *Bulletin* 96: 9–10.

1933p (20 Aug.). *Second Interim Report on English Collocations . . . submitted to the Tenth Annual Conference of English Teachers under the auspices of the Institute for Research in English Teaching*. Tokyo: IRET. [3rd (1935) edition in *Selected Writings*, vol. 9.]<sup>33</sup>

1933q (Aug.–Sept.). ‘Ten years of team work’ (Editorial). *Bulletin* 97: 1–2.

1933r (Aug.–Sept.). ‘I.R.E.T. research on collocations’ [Continuation (from 1933o) of the Director’s address to the Inaugural Meeting of the Board of Research Associates, 28 July, 1933.] *Bulletin* 97: 2–3.

1933s (1 Oct.). Letter to the editor (regarding I. A. Richards’ attitude to the IRET scheme of vocabulary limitation). *Eigo Seinen (The Rising Generation)*, 1 Oct. 1933: 6.<sup>34</sup>

1933t (25 Oct.). H.E.P., E. K. Venables and A. S. Hornby. *The Standard English Readers for Girls. Book Two*. Tokyo: IRET, 146 pp. [21 Feb. 1934 Dept. of Education approved version in IRLT Library.]<sup>35</sup>

1933u (25 Oct.). H.E.P., E. K. Venables and A. S. Hornby. *The Standard English Readers for Girls. Book Three*. Tokyo: IRET, 123 pp. [21 Feb. 1934 Dept. of Education approved version in IRLT Library.]

1933v (25 Oct.). H.E.P., E. K. Venables and A. S. Hornby. *The Standard English Readers for Girls. Book Four*. Tokyo: IRET, 126 pp. [21 Feb. 1934 Dept. of Education approved version in IRLT Library.]

1933w (25 Oct.). H.E.P., E. K. Venables and A. S. Hornby. *The Standard English Readers for Girls. Book Five*. Tokyo: IRET, 122 pp. [In IRLT Library.]

1933x (Oct.–Nov.). ‘General principles and particular interpretations’ (Editorial). *Bulletin* 98: 1–2.

1933y (Oct.–Nov.). ‘Director’s report’ [to the Tenth Annual IRET Convention]. *Bulletin* 98: 4–5.

1933z (Oct.–Nov.). ‘A new limited vocabulary’ (Editorial). *Bulletin* 99: 1–4.

Following Palmer’s eight month period of absence abroad in 1931–2, there had been an increased involvement of non-Japanese as well as Japanese members in IRET research activities. A. S. Hornby and Edward Gauntlett had already contributed volumes to the ‘English as Speech’ series in 1931, and Hornby, in particular, was to contribute a number of further volumes in 1932. At the end of 1932 and in 1933 an intense debate on ‘Basic English’ blew up in the pages of the *Bulletin*, in the course of which Hornby contributed several spirited defences of Palmer’s approach, thus gaining a certain ‘presence’ on the IRET stage. In 1933, also, as Palmer later noted, Hornby had come to him with a ‘definite proposal’ for a 1,000 word vocabulary (later published as 1934c) for the simplification of relatively difficult texts (Palmer, 1936g: 21). In 1933–4, both Hornby and E. K. Venables were to be involved in the production with Palmer of remaining volumes in the ‘Standard English Readers for Girls’ series (1933t–w) and accompanying ‘Direct Method composition exercises’ (1933b, 1934i).

Until March 1934 Hornby continued to be based in Kyushu, but in involving him heavily in the ongoing research work on collocations (which Hornby was later to take over), Palmer appears to have identified him as someone with whom he would like to collaborate more closely in Tokyo and, perhaps, as a potential successor for the leadership of continuing research efforts.

The crowning achievement of 1933 was the long-promised report on English collocations, 1933p, which Hornby seems to have contributed



much to completing. As Rundell (1998: 318) notes, this work ‘fed directly into the design and content of Hornby’s [1942] dictionary, and a concern for describing and explaining phraseology has been one of the key features of the [monolingual learner’s dictionary] ever since’. As Rundell (*ibid.*) additionally remarks, citing Palmer 1933p in particular, current applied linguistic interest in ‘chunking’, that is, the tendency of speakers and writers to ‘store, retrieve and process language in pre-assembled multiword units’, has roots which can be traced back ‘not only to the Firthian academic tradition but also to the work done by Palmer and Hornby on collocations and other multiword expressions’. In this connection, Rundell cites Cowie’s (forthcoming) assessment that their research ‘revealed the prevalence of ready-made sequences in everyday speech and writing, and helped pave the way for the strong upsurge of interest in phraseology of the 1980s and 1990s’.

### 1934

January saw the (delayed) publication of the IRET’s Decennary *Commemorative Volume* (Naganuma 1934), which featured contributions from, among others, Bloomfield, West, and Sècheyay. On 12 May, Palmer spoke at the Tokyo YMCA on ‘Gramophone records from the point of view of the language learner’, and from 8–9 June attended the Conference of English Teachers in Fukushima Prefecture, in the company of Ishikawa Rinchiro (Ozasa 1995a: 127). In July he was to provide the foreword (1934q) to a description of the innovative curriculum at Fukushima Middle School which had been established according to IRET principles, and which was subsequently to be seen by Japanese teachers as one of the best examples of adaptation of Palmer’s

ideas to the Japanese middle school context.

On 28 September, Palmer left Japan for the USA to attend a conference sponsored primarily by the Carnegie Foundation on 'The Use of English as a World Language' and, in particular, problems of vocabulary limitation and text simplification, which was to be held from 15 to 20 October in New York (Anon. 1934: 18). Michael West appears to have taken the initiative in calling this conference, provoked partly by the challenge of Ogden's Basic English, and one consequence was the bringing-together of West and Palmer into a closer partnership (Howatt 1984: 336). The interest and expertise of both men with regard to text simplification and thence the 'contents' of instruction had originally developed within particular, non-European school contexts; indeed, despite their differences with regard to approaches to reading, it was perhaps ultimately their common appreciation of the demands of second language pedagogy 'in difficult circumstances' which united the two men in their rivalry both with Ogden and the 'word counters'. West had already been engaged to work in Canada (and was soon to be employed in London as a consultant and materials writer for Longmans, Green) on the back of his earlier research work in India. For Palmer himself, the Carnegie meetings were to become not only a showcase more fitting, perhaps, than that of the Annual IRET Conventions for his increasingly 'autonomous' research into collocations (Palmer 1933p) and construction-patterns (Palmer 1934aa) but also a platform for his finally leaving Japan: rather, that is, than a springboard for renewed activity specifically for that context.

These were to be consequences in the future, however. With him to the first Carnegie Conference Palmer took not only the 1933p report on collocations but also a prospectus for the Institute (1934r), hoping, it

seems, to gain funding for the under-financed IRET from an American foundation (this hope was not, apparently, realized). During his absence, the 11th IRET Convention was held (from 18 to 20 October) at Tokyo University of Literature and Science. On 17 November, Palmer departed from Vancouver (having travelled from New York via Toronto and Ohio – where he spent two weeks in committee with West and Lawrence Faucett), and arrived back in Japan on 1 December (Imura 1997: 260). In his review of the Carnegie Conference (1934ee), Palmer indicates that, along with West and Faucett, he had been delegated to present a report the following year, and that his own assignment was to be a ‘more detailed study of collocations’.

With effect from the beginning of April 1934, Palmer had arranged for A. S. Hornby to come to Tokyo to teach at two universities with faculty supportive of the IRET research and reform programme, as well as to take over the management of IRET research during his (projected) absences abroad. Already in January, Hornby and Palmer had issued the joint one-thousand word vocabulary list (1934c) – itself a development out of Palmer’s earlier 600-word ‘reading vocabulary’ (1932p) – which was to form the basis for numerous story adaptations both in Japan and in Britain over the coming years. Hornby had also been heavily involved in the research work leading up to the IRET reports on collocations and construction-patterns (1933p, 1934aa). Now Hornby (with his first wife) was to engage even more intensively in the collection and analysis of collocations for Palmer’s report the following year to the reconvened Carnegie Conference in London.

- 1934a (Jan.). 'The rôle of the Bulletin' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 100: 1–2.
- 1934b (Jan.). 'The first thousand words' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 100: 2.
- 1934c (Jan.). [A. S. Hornby and H.E.P.] 'The IRET standard English vocabulary: The 1000-word radius'. *Bulletin* 100: 8–9 [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 9.]<sup>36</sup>
- 1934d (Feb.). 'Principles and axioms' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 101: 1–4.
- 1934e (Feb.). 'Ten axioms governing the main principles to be observed in the teaching and learning of foreign languages'. *Bulletin* 101: 4–8.
- 1934f (March). 'The de Saussure doctrine' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 102: 1–7.
- 1934g (March). "'Because it is so'" (Editorial). *Bulletin* 102: 8.
- 1934h (April). 'Making things easy' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 103: 1–6.
- 1934i (25 May). H.E.P., E. K. Venables, and A. S. Hornby. *Direct Method Composition Exercises Book 1*. 'For use with The Standard English Readers for Girls Book 1'. Tokyo: IRET, 95 pp. [In IRLT Library.]
- 1934j (May). 'Don't you *hear* that it's wrong?' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 104: 1–6.
- 1934k (June). "'We will give good rules to you now'" (Editorial). *Bulletin* 105: 1–5.
- 1934l (June). 'What's wrong with -ian?' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 105: 5–6.
- 1934m (July). 'Examinations' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 106: 1.
- 1934n (July). 'I.R.E.T. ideals and the Teachers Licence Examination' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 106: 1–5.

1934o (July). 'Another problem for examiners' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 106: 5–6.

1934p (July). 'Why you failed to pass the skills test'. *Bulletin* 106: 7–9.

1934q (July). Foreword to Iso, Tetsuo and Shimizu Sadasuke. 1934. *The Fukushima Plan of Teaching English in Schools of Middle Grade*. Supplement to *Bulletin* 106. [Institute Leaflet no. 41.] Tokyo: IRET, i–iii. [In IRLT 1985, vol. 7 (no. 37).]

1934r (Sept.). *The Institute for Research in English Teaching. Its History and Work*. Tokyo: IRET, 22 + [vi] pp.<sup>37</sup>

1934s (Aug.–Sept.). 'V. L. and T. S.' [on vocabulary limitation and text simplification]. *Bulletin* 107: 1–5.

1934t (Aug.–Sept.). 'Lesson-One vocabularies'. *Bulletin* 107: 6–9.

1934u (Aug.–Sept.). Comments on a letter to the editor from A. Wicksteed, Moscow. *Bulletin* 107: 13–15.

1934v (Aug.–Sept.). 'A landmark in lexicography'. Review of *Harrap's Standard French and English Dictionary*, edited by J. E. Mansion. *Bulletin* 107: 20.

1934w (10 Oct.). H.E.P., E. K. Venables and A. S. Hornby. *Direct Method Composition Exercises (Junior Course) Book 1*. Tokyo: IRET, 95 pp. [In IRLT Library.]

1934x (10 Oct.). H.E.P., E. K. Venables and A. S. Hornby. *Direct Method Composition Exercises (Junior Course) Book 2*. Tokyo: IRET, 97 pp. [In IRLT Library.]

1934y. *Introduction to English Composition Book 1*. Tokyo: IRET. [Not seen.]<sup>38</sup>

1934z (10 Oct.). *Introduction to English Composition Book 2*. 'For use with The Abridged Standard Readers'. [In IRLT Library], 103 pp.

1934aa (Oct.). *Specimens of English Construction Patterns. These being "sentence patterns" based on the General Synoptic Chart Showing the Syntax of the English Sentence. Submitted . . . as a report to the Eleventh Annual Conference of the I.R.E.T.* [later issued as Institute Leaflet no. 42.] Tokyo: IRET, 36 pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 6.]

1934bb [Oct.]. *An Essay in Lexicology (in the form of specimen entries in some possible new type dictionary). Submitted . . . as a report to the Eleventh Annual Conference of the I.R.E.T.* [later issued as Institute Leaflet no. 43.] Tokyo: IRET, 46 pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 9.]<sup>39</sup>

1934cc (Oct.–Nov.). 'Director's report [to the Eleventh Annual IRET Convention] for the year 1933–34'. *Bulletin* 108: 17–24.

1934dd (Dec.). 'The emancipation of Cinderella' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 109: 1–7.

1934ee (Dec.). 'English as a world language'. *Bulletin* 109: 8.

1934ff (Dec.). Note in response to a letter from Frederick W. Brown. *Bulletin* 109: 13–14.

1934?gg. 'My memories' (in the column 'Good English'). *Hochi Shimbun* (Hochi Newspaper). [Reprinted in Takanashi et al. 1968: 402–3.]<sup>40</sup>

Palmer's (1934r) list of IRET 'Research achievements' (which itself accompanies description of other contributions, in the areas of 'Propaganda', 'Publications', and 'Teacher Training') mentions the following: Research on Speech Psychology, Phonetic Research, Research on Grammar, Research on Vocabulary Limitation and Texts [*sic*] Simplification, Research on Composition Exercises, Research on

Classroom Procedures, Research in Reader-Compiling, Research on Examining Procedures, Research on Higher School Problems, Research in Educational Gramophone Records. The inclusion of the last six or seven of these areas clearly reveals the extent to which Palmer had continued to place value on research being geared towards the solving of practical problems, even though his own research had tended over the last two years to become increasingly ‘autonomous’ (Cowie, forthcoming), in growing separation from local priorities.

This extent of this separation is indicated in the introduction to 1934aa, which recognizes that the ‘General Synoptic Chart’ contained within this report ‘will give the impression of something complicated and difficult’ (p. 3). Building on the Appendix to the previous year’s report on collocations (1933p: 187–8) and on 1932t, both of which had begun to show how construction-patterns might be classified for pedagogical purposes, 1934aa presents an innovative ‘master-key to construction patterns’. While it is hoped that this will ‘at least serve to indicate what will be the nature of [a] more complete scheme’ (p. 5), there is a clear recognition also that much work still needs to be done before patterns can be classified systematically for pedagogical purposes.

A similar impression that a mountain of work lies ahead before practical applications can be attempted is conveyed in Palmer’s 1934bb *An Essay on Lexicology*, which – like 1934aa – presents innovative suggestions, in this case for the possible design of a ‘Learner’s dictionary’ on the basis of ongoing lexicological research, but which at the same time indicates that ‘the material presented . . . is not, as it stands, a series of extracts from any dictionary in preparation or contemplation’ (p. 1). It is to the credit, then, of A. S. Hornby that the pedagogical applications predicted somewhat tantalizingly in these two

1934 publications were, finally, realized under IRET auspices in the form of the *Idiomatic and Syntactic English Dictionary* (Hornby et al. 1942).

### 1935

From 1 to 3 April Palmer spoke on 'The next move in Vocabulary Selection' at the 7th Annual Conference of the Association of Foreign Teachers. On 27 April he was invited by the Minister of Education to a farewell afternoon tea at his official residence in Nagata, Tokyo (Ozasa 1995a: 128–9). On 30 April he gave his final 'Current Topics' radio broadcast (Imura 1997: 260).

On 3 May Palmer left Kobe with his wife to attend the World Conference of Educators in London and (from 11 June) the reconvened Carnegie Conference, held at the recently established Institute of Education (Imura 1997: 260). On 26 July he gave a paper on 'the place of phonetics in Japan' at the Second International Congress of Phonetic Sciences, held at UCL, which was published later in the conference proceedings (Palmer 1936l). He also contributed to the programme of entertainments with a 'humorous song entitled "The Modern Phonetician"', reported but not included in the proceedings.<sup>41</sup>

During this visit to the U.K. Palmer was offered employment by Longmans, Green (probably due to West's mediation), which he accepted. In absentia (on 19 August) he was awarded a D.Litt. by Tokyo Imperial University, specifically for his (1924b) *A Grammar of Spoken English*, but with his 1922a and 1930n works also being evaluated by the awarding committee.



In August, Dorothée and her family left China for the U.K., where the Palmers' son, Tristram, had already been attending boarding school for two years (Imura 1997: 193, 261).

From 31 October to 2 November, the 12th Convention was held in Palmer's absence at Tokyo University of Literature and Science. Two demonstration lessons were given on 2 November by teachers of Shonan Middle School which were highly evaluated by participants. Palmer finally returned to Japan on 29 December (Imura 1997: 261).

1935a (Jan.). 'Concerning a certain category' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 110: 1–3.

1935b (Jan.). 'Objective counts reviewed' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 110: 3–6.

1935c (Feb.). "'Shin k[y]ôju hô" or modern methods of language teaching' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 111: 3–7.

1935d (Feb.). Review of *Seven Talks on England*, by John W. Palmer. *Bulletin* 111: 15–16.

1935e (22 March). H.E.P., E. K. Venables and A. S. Hornby. *Direct Method Composition Exercises (Senior Course) Book 1*. Tokyo: IRET, 97 pp. [In IRLT Library.]

1935f (22 March). H.E.P., E. K. Venables and A. S. Hornby. *Direct Method Composition Exercises (Senior Course) Book 2*. Tokyo: IRET, 70 pp. [In IRLT Library.]

1935g (22 March). H.E.P., E. K. Venables and A. S. Hornby. *Direct Method Composition Exercises (Senior Course) Book 3*. Tokyo: IRET, 77 pp. [In IRLT Library.]

1935h (March). 'Learning-effort versus yield' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 112: 2–9.

1935i (March). “‘What is standard English speech?’” (Editorial). *Bulletin* 112: 9–14.

1935j (April). ‘Allow me to define the word “Fish”’ (Editorial). *Bulletin* 113: 1–6.

1935k (May). ‘When is an adjective not an adjective?’ (Editorial). *Bulletin* 114: 1–6.

1935l (May). ‘Ten types of words and expressions that modify nouns.’ *Bulletin* 114: 6–10.

1935m (June). ‘From the learner’s end’ (Editorial). *Bulletin* 115: 1–4.

1935n (June). [Under pseudonym ‘Enquirer’.] ‘Adventures in Russian’ [Part 1]. *Bulletin* 115: 8–13.<sup>42</sup>

1935o (July). ‘Why any “code” at all?’ (Editorial). *Bulletin* 116: 1–6.<sup>43</sup>

1935p (July). [Under pseudonym ‘Enquirer’.] ‘Adventures in Russian’ [Part 2, continued from 1935n]. *Bulletin* 116: 11–14.

1935q (Oct.–Nov.). [Summary of the] ‘Director’s report’ [to the Twelfth Annual IRET Convention]. *Bulletin* 118: 11–12.

1935r (Dec.). [Under pseudonym ‘Enquirer’.] ‘Adventures in Russian’ [Part 3, continued from 1935p]. *Bulletin* 119: 8–12.

While Palmer was occupied on the ‘world stage’ afforded by the Carnegie Conferences, IRET materials and approaches were continuing to be adopted and adapted by Japanese teachers, as has been indicated by Ozasa (1995a, 1995b), who cites evidence in particular from reports (in the *Bulletin* and elsewhere) of demonstration lessons at the IRET’s Annual Convention. Ozasa (e.g. 1995a: 39–68) has shown how these

lessons clearly progressed from being taught by foreign teachers in the early IRET years to (almost always) being taught by Japanese middle school teachers from 1926 onwards, and how a variety of means of relating traditional Japanese ways of teaching to 'reformed methods' had been shown to have been attempted by different demonstrators. The most apparently successful and influential among these adaptations was the so-called 'Fukushima Plan', this being a curriculum developed along IRET lines at Fukushima Middle School (Ozasa, 1995a: 50–67). Lessons based on this curriculum were demonstrated at the Tenth Convention in 1933, attended by more than 600 participants (Imura 1997: 172), and the curriculum was subsequently published by the IRET (as Iso and Shimizu 1934, to which Palmer contributed his supportive 1934q Foreword). While the Fukushima Plan clearly shows a development from general learning principles as expounded by Palmer to specific (sometimes original) classroom procedures involving much 'rapid-fire' oral work, it places – at the same time – a greater emphasis not only on reading and writing but also on explicit grammar instruction and translation than Palmer himself had tended to recommend. Ozasa (1995a: 66) explains this with reference to the need to prepare students for university entrance examinations and describes the 'Fukushima Method' as therefore constituting 'an excellent adaptation of the Palmer Method in the Japanese context'. Imura (1997: 169–75) also recognizes the importance and subsequent influence of the Fukushima Plan, but complements his own description with analysis of a subsequent modification demonstrated at the Twelfth Convention in 1935 by teachers of Shonan Middle School, which was also highly evaluated by other Japanese teachers at the time. Imura (1997: 117) concurs with Ozasa in noting that if such modifications had not occurred the IRET's

influence would be unlikely still to be felt today. It was, then, more than anything else, the willingness actively to appropriate and adapt Palmer's ideas that was shown by Japanese teachers after his first five years in Japan which ensured that Sawayanagi's original intentions for the development of 'appropriate methodology' in the Japanese middle school context were, to a considerable extent, achieved.

### 1936

On 17 January Palmer gave a lecture on 'the history and present state of the movement towards vocabulary control' (1936c, 1936g) during a teacher training course at Tokyo University of Literature and Science. On the following day a party was held to celebrate the award of his doctorate (Imura 1997: 261).

At a 10 March meeting of the Board of Administration Palmer officially resigned as Director of the IRET (Imura 1997: 261), and on 21 March he broadcast a farewell radio message to Japanese students of English, the transcript of which was published later (see 1936j below).

Palmer left Tokyo on 25 March, to give lectures in Nagoya and in Wakayama Prefecture (Ozasa 1995a: 129). He also visited Kyoto and Osaka before departing for China on 1 April (Imura 1997: 261). Returning briefly to Kobe on 15 April (Imura 1997: 261), he and his wife then departed finally for England, reaching home via Malaya and Ceylon (Ozasa 1995a: 129).

At a meeting of the IRET Board of Directors on 10 April, Palmer had been appointed Honorary Adviser to the IRET. Following his resignation as Director he had been replaced by Ishikawa Rinchiro, who had been a loyal and influential ally of Palmer's throughout the years he had been

in Japan, with A. S. Hornby being appointed technical adviser to the IRET and chief editor of the *Bulletin* (the post of ‘Linguistic Adviser to the Department of Education’ appears not to have been filled, although the IRET retained its office inside the Department right up until the outbreak of the Pacific War).

In Hornby’s first editorial in the *Bulletin*, he both summarizes Palmer’s previous achievements and indicates his own objectives for forthcoming research (Hornby 1936). Defining his task as ‘the application of the work that has been done’, he prioritizes three areas: (i) decisions as to which collocations to include in a well-graded middle school course; (ii) an investigation of which construction patterns are of greatest utility and importance to beginners, co-ordination of this with work on new-type grammar, and presentation of the results for classroom use; and (iii) preparation of further handbooks for the use and guidance of teachers anxious to teach English ‘as Speech’ (Hornby 1936: 5). The first two of these aims rapidly became subsumed within work towards ‘new-type dictionaries’ (not mentioned at all in Hornby’s 1936 editorial), as opposed to reaching full fruition in syllabuses or classroom materials for the Japanese context, while the third objective was partially achieved, by means of numerous short articles in the *Bulletin* over the coming five years. It was perhaps to be only with his post-war work in the UK that Hornby ultimately succeeded in fully achieving the applications to classroom work envisaged in this programme.

1936a (Jan.). ‘The grapes are sour . . . ?’ (Editorial). *Bulletin* 120: 1–6.

1936b (Jan.). ‘English article-usage. Twelve rules together with various indications and exceptions for the rapid initiation of those to whom the subject is a mystery’ [Part 1]. *Bulletin* 120: 6–13. [1936 leaflet version consisting of Parts 1 and 2 in *Selected Writings*, vol. 6.]<sup>44</sup>

1936c (Jan.). 'The history and present state of the movement towards vocabulary control. (Lecture at the teacher training course held at the Bunrika Daigaku, Jan. 17, 1936)' [Part 1]. *Bulletin* 120: 14–17.

1936d (Feb.). 'The art of vocabulary lay-out' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 121: 1–8.

1936e (Feb.). 'English article-usage' [Part 2, continued from 1936b]. *Bulletin* 121: 8–14. [1936 leaflet version consisting of Parts 1 and 2 in *Selected Writings*, vol. 6.]

1936f (Feb.). 'Two methods of vocabulary lay-out'. *Bulletin* 121: 14–19.

1936g (Feb.). 'The history and present state of the movement towards vocabulary control. (Lecture at the teacher training course held at the Bunrika Daigaku, Jan. 17, 1936)' [Part 2, continued from 1936c]. *Bulletin* 121: 19–23.

1936h (March). 'Post scriptum' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 122: 1–2.

1936i (March). "'Esslessness'". *Bulletin* 122: 2–3.

1936j (21 March). 'Last words of advice to Japanese students of English'. [Reprinted in *Gogaku Kyoiku* 232 (May, 1956): 1–4.]<sup>45</sup>

1936k (April). H.E.P. and Sakurai Joji. 'Eigokyoju no mondai nado' (On problems of English teaching). Interview in Japanese by Sakurai Joji. *Fujin no Tomo*, April: 68–74.<sup>46</sup>

1936l. 'Some notes on the place of phonetics in Japan' in Daniel Jones and D. B. Fry (eds.). 1936. *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Phonetic Sciences held at University College, London, 22–26 July 1935*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 302–304. [In British Library.]

1936m. Lawrence W. Faucett, H.E.P., E. L. Thorndike and Michael P. West. *Interim Report on Vocabulary Selection for the Teaching of English as a Foreign Language*. London: King, viii + 506 pp. [In British Library.]

The main product of the 1934 and 1935 Carnegie Conferences was the so-called ‘Carnegie Report’ (1936m), whose word-list was later republished in a revised version as the *General Service List of English Words* (West 1953). Howatt (1984: 255–7) emphasizes the significance of both of these publications. Unfortunately, in the latter (1953) version the first four parts of 1936m are omitted (‘Introductory statement’ (Part I); ‘List of some subjects of research suggested in the proceedings of the conference’ (Part II); ‘Summary of the proceedings of the committee on vocabulary selection’ (Part III); and ‘Classification of the words included and excluded’ (Part IV)). Only a revised version of Part V, ‘The General Service List’ itself is included. As a consequence, the essentially collaborative nature of the Carnegie project, the research agenda it had inspired, and the principles underlying the final selection of words became somewhat obscured in West’s independent, later (1953) version.

## Notes

- 1 *Bulletin* 40 (Jan. 1928): 7.
- 2 Placed here chronologically because reviewed in *Bulletin* (March 1928) 42: 3–4 .
- 3 Simply an answer key. Cf. 1930f.
- 4 *Bulletin* 45 (June 1928): 7 indicates that ‘The contents are based upon a lecture delivered last year at Karuizawa before the members of the Summer School’.
- 5 Perhaps based on the 1923f series of articles with the same title in *Osaka Mainichi* (English edition).
- 6 1928o–q all tend subsequently to be described as ‘Companion Books to Automatic Sentence Builder’ (i.e. 1928r) in lists of Institute publications (e.g. in *Bulletin* 100: [17]).

- 7 Dated tentatively according to the month of issue of its 'Companion Books' (1928o–q). This is a 'machine' (made of cardboard) for sentence production rather than a written publication. Referred to in 1928o; also advertised in *Bulletin* 50 (Jan., 1929): 17 (under English as well as Japanese name).
- 8 Introduced as the 'English version of the introductory matter' to a forthcoming book in Japanese, *The First Week of English* (1929f).
- 9 The preface to this work is different from the introduction to 1929f, but the twenty-seven pages of that publication are incorporated unchanged. An English version was subsequently published, in 1934. See our Appendix.
- 10 This is designed to follow on from 1929g, as is indicated by a reference to its 'completing "The First Three Months of English"' in *Bulletin* 54 (May, 1929): 7.
- 11 Dated according to *Bulletin* 59 (Dec. 1929): 2.
- 12 Photocopy (obtained through inter-library loan) consulted. The source of this photocopy is unknown, but it may have come from the University of Chicago Library, which has a copy of the book according to *National Union Catalog Pre-1956 Imprints*, vol. 439: 38.
- 13 Cf. 1928e.
- 14 Books Two to Five were not produced until – probably – 1932 (see 1933t–w).
- 15 This report includes an appendix entitled a 'Synoptic Chart Showing the Various Functions and Uses of the Preposition AT', said to have been '[d]esigned by the Institute for Research in English Teaching, Department of Education, Tokyo, Japan, March, 1930'.
- 16 A response from Daniel Jones appears on the same page.
- 17 The full report was later published as 1934r.
- 18 Dated according to *Bulletin* 76 (July–Aug. 1931): 8.
- 19 Apart from Volumes 1 and 3 by Palmer (1931b and 1931k, respectively), the following were published in the series, all compiled by A. S. Hornby unless otherwise indicated: '*The Bullet-Proof Jacket*' and *Other Stories* (Vol. 2, 1931); *Comical Correspondence* (Vol. 4, 1931, by Edward Gauntlett);



*Curious Origins of Common Words and Expressions* (Vol. 5, 1931); *Paragraphs from 'Punch'* (Vol. 6, 1932); *'Shakespeare's "Twelfth Night": The Story of the Play'* by Mary Lamb (Vol. 7, 1932); *Helen Keller* (Vol. 8, 1932, adapted by H. C. Sarvis); *'The Truth about Pyecraft'* by H. G. Wells (Vol. 9, 1932); *'Two Chinese Sketches'* by Somerset Maugham (Vol. 10, 1932, adapted by Eric S. Bell); *'The Necklace'* by Guy de Maupassant (Vol. 11, 1933); *'The Face on the Wall'* by E. V. Lucas (Vol. 12, 1933); *'Shakespeare's "The Tempest": The Story of the Play'* by Mary Lamb (Vol. 13, 1934); *'Nickels and Dimes' and Other Stories* (Vol. 14, 1936); *'The Elephant's Revenge' and Other Stories* (Vol. 15, 1936; author/adaptor unknown); *'The Cauldron of Oil'* by Wilkie Collins (Vol. 16, 1936); and *Telling the Time* (Vol. 17, 1938). This list is based on that in Imura (1997: 183).

- 20 What is probably a longer version (not seen) appeared subsequently under the same title in *Modern Languages Forum* 17/2 (April 1932): 33–35, according to Coleman (1933: 99). The catalogue of the Bodleian Library (which does not have this issue) identifies this as a journal of the Modern Language Association of Southern California.
- 21 Reissued almost immediately, on 20 April, with a new title and sub-title: *The Gold Beetle. This being the simplified version by Harold E. Palmer of "The Goldbug" by Edgar Allan Poe.* [In IRLT Library.] This was complemented on 3 November in the same year by *The Gold Insect. The Story of "The Gold Bug" by Edgar Allar Poe put into BASIC ENGLISH by P.M. Rossiter, BA, and A.P. Rossiter, MA.* Tokyo: IRET. The latter volume was not included in the 'Simplified English' Series, but its publication by the IRET showed Palmer's willingness at this stage to engage in dialogue with supporters of Basic English.
- 22 1st ed. not seen. Title and dating are from *Bulletin* 83 (April 1932): 5.
- 23 Placed here because mentioned as a 'recent volume' in 1932m (p. 39).
- 24 Palmer's criticisms provoked a response from Maki in *Bulletin* 87 (Aug.–Sept. 1932): 7–8.
- 25 SSSF = 'Simple sentences containing a simple finite'. 1st ed. not seen. Our dating of the 1st ed. here is based on indications in the introduction to the 2nd ed. that the sheets were printed for use in experimental teaching by Palmer at Jiyu Gakuen, just prior to an IRET Convention (at which the sheets were also to be given out). The recent development of the notion of 'construction-patterns' is referred to in both 1932aa and 1932bb, while lessons at Jiyu Gakuen are referred to in 1932bb (a

- summary of Palmer's report to the Ninth Annual Convention (14–15 October), hence our October dating. In *Bulletin* 90 (Jan. 1933): 9, *SSSF Patterns* (i.e. the 2nd ed.) is already advertised as Institute leaflet no. 38. The Introduction states that it is a Supplement to the *Bulletin*. The 2nd (n.d.) ed., then, is a Supplement to *Bulletin* 89 or 90, and also Institute Leaflet no. 38. It was issued with the addition of a two page introduction entitled 'Some notes on construction-patterns'.
- 26 An invited 'rival' version in Basic English by William Empson appears beside extracts from 1932u in *Bulletin* 88 (Oct.–Nov. 1932): 6–8.
- 27 Dated tentatively according to an announcement in *Bulletin* 88 (Oct.–Nov. 1932): 5 that the whole set of five books has been issued, and by analogy with the date of issue of Books Two–Five. An advertisement in *Bulletin* 101 (Feb. 1934): [22] indicates that Department of Education approval for the set of five volumes was gained on 1 March, 1933.
- 28 *Bulletin* 84 (May 1932): 8.
- 29 Palmer's own contributions to the 'Simplified English' Series (1932f, 1932r) were complemented in ensuing years by 'Gulliver's Voyage to Lilliput' (Being Part I of 'Gulliver's Travels') by Jonathan Swift (Vol. 3, 1933, simplified by A. S. Hornby), 'The King of the Golden River', or, 'The Black Brothers' by John Ruskin (Vol. 4, 1935, A. S. Hornby), 'Treasure Island' by Robert Louis Stevenson (Vol. 5, 1935, D. Dunsford Palmer) and 'Kidnapped' by Robert Louis Stevenson (Vol. 6, 1936, A. S. Hornby). While only Palmer appears to have issued readers in the 'Simplified English for Side Reading' series (1932u, 1933a, 1933m), it is clear that both A. S. Hornby and E. K. Venables were involved in rewriting work for the 'Standard English Readers for Girls' series (1933t–w), and possibly – although no contribution is acknowledged – for the 'Abridged Standard English Readers' (1932v–z).
- 30 Details from *Bulletin* 90 (Jan. 1933): 5, where this is said to be a companion to 1932u.
- 31 Book 1 (1934i) was not published until 25 May, 1934.
- 32 1st ed. not seen (details from Imura 1997: 269). The reissue (published by the IRET as Institute Leaflet no. 40) is dated here on the basis of an announcement in *Bulletin* 95 (June 1933): 5.
- 33 1st ed. not seen. All details from 3rd ed., where the Second Report is described as a 'thoroughly revised and considerably updated edition' of a mimeographed (unpublished) 'tentative document containing the

classified English irregular collocations' which was distributed 'to members of the Board [of Administration] and others for suggestions and supplements' (in October 1931, according to *Bulletin* 78 (Sept.Oct., 1931): 9. In 1934cc (p. 20), Palmer notes that this mimeographed 'First Interim Report' consisted simply of the rough draft of a collection of collocations 'culled for the most part from Saito's *Idiomological Dictionary*'. As Bongers 1947: 222 notes, no copies of this 'First Report' appear to have survived.

- 34 Palmer refers to a letter from Richards to the editor of the *Japan Chronicle*, dated March 20 1933, which had been reproduced in *Eigo Seinen*, 1 September 1933: 374.
- 35 The bibliographical details in the edition consulted may be false. It seems more likely that this was published between April 1932 (the month following a *Bulletin* 82: 8 list of Institute publications which fails to mention this work) and December 1932 (the month before an indication in *Bulletin* 90: 5 that Books Two and Three had already been published, with Books Four and Five being 'in press'). The same considerations apply to 1933u.
- 36 Authorship is unstated. However, an introductory note contains the following acknowledgment: 'We are indebted to Mr. A. S. Hornby for initiating the present list and for his large share in the compiling and perfecting of it'.
- 37 Extracts appearing earlier, in 1931o (unchanged in 1934r), suggest that at least some of this history was written before 1934.
- 38 Book 2 (1934z) was published in October, hence our tentative placement here. A Book 1 is also advertised, for example in *Bulletin* 110 (Jan. 1935): [20.]
- 39 Dated October here on analogy with 1934aa. The dates of the Eleventh Annual IRET Conference were 18–20 Oct. 1934 (*Bulletin* 108 (Oct.–Nov. 1934): 6).
- 40 Original not seen. Dated 1934 by Takanashi et al., but references in the text to Palmer's meeting with Sawayanagi in London 'twelve years ago' and to current celebrations of the tenth anniversary of IRET suggest that it may have been written in 1933.
- 41 In Jones and Fry (1936: 318), the following is reported: '*Thursday, 25 July* . . . In the evening the Congress Dinner was held. . . . The speeches were followed by an informal entertainment given by

members of the Congress. The programme included . . . a humorous song entitled "The Modern Phonetician", written and sung by Dr Palmer'. A. P. R. Howatt owns a typescript of this unpublished work, whose full title is 'The modern phonetician: A fluency exercise – 30 lines in 15 seconds'.

- 42 Attributed to Palmer because frequent use is made of IRET terminology and references are made to the contents of the editorial in the same issue (1935m). More conclusively, the final (December) instalment refers to experiences of the teaching of English in a Belgian manufacturing town. The same considerations apply to 1935p and 1935r.
- 43 Although Palmer was absent from the country, this is presumed to be by him (also, perhaps, the letter in the same issue to which this is a response).
- 44 The leaflet reprint is dated according to *Bulletin* 125 (June–July 1936): 23. The same consideration applies to 1936e.
- 45 Transcript of a radio broadcast. Original place and date of publication are unknown.
- 46 Details from a copy made by Imura Motomichi. *Fujin no Tomo* was a magazine issued by Jiyu Gakuen, a school with which Palmer had maintained particularly strong links.

## Chapter 6 Felbridge (1936–49)



### 1936 (continued)

On returning to England, Palmer bought a house (named 'Cooper's Wood') with three acres of land in Felbridge, near East Grinstead in Sussex.<sup>1</sup> According to his daughter's account, he had admired the houses there during one of his cycling trips in his twenties (Anderson 1969: 136). He also took up new duties as a consultant and textbook author for Longmans, Green.

### 1937

As is reported in 1937b, Palmer set to work at Cooper's Wood to construct a Japanese-style garden combined with model railway which would represent the 'syntax plan of the English language'. Together the garden and the railway are termed a 'syntax-scape' in 1937b (see also Anderson 1969: 159). In February materials for the construction of a Japanese-style room were shipped to England as a token of appreciation from Japanese teachers of English, and in November Palmer sent photographs back to Japan to show that it had arrived and that he had installed it in the sunroom at Cooper's Wood (Imura 1997: 261). Following Palmer's death, this tearoom was donated to the British Museum, where it (presumably) remains in storage.

In April, Palmer met Sakurai Joji, the former chairman of the IRET Board of Administration, who was visiting London both to attend a conference and to receive an Honorary Fellowship at UCL (Imura 1997: 216). Palmer was to recall this meeting in a later (1939b) obituary of Sakurai. On 7 July war broke out between Japan and China. Letters written by Palmer to a former colleague, Mori Masatoshi, show the

extent to which he was distressed by Japanese actions in, as he saw it, provoking this war (Tanaka 1993).

1937a (March). H.E.P. and Michael West. 'Word frequency' (Discussion). *Modern Languages*, 18/3: 136–8.

1937b (May). 'A landscape, a railway and a book'. *Bulletin* 134: 14–16.

1937c (June). 'A question of intonation'. *Bulletin* 135: 12–16.

1937d. H.E.P. and A. S. Hornby. *Thousand-Word English. What it is and what can be done with it*. London: Harrap, 110 pp. [In British Library.]<sup>2</sup>

1937e (21 Aug.). 'Limiting the vocabulary'. *Times Educational Supplement*, 21 August.<sup>3</sup>

1937f (Oct.–Dec.). 'À propos des marques d'intonation'. *Le maître phonétique*, 3rd Series/15: 60.

1937g. Adapted and rewritten by H.E.P. 'within the thousand-word vocabulary'. *Four Stories from Shakespeare*. Thousand-word English Senior Series. Illustrated by T. H. Robinson. London: Harrap, 110 pp. [In British Library.]

1937h. Adapted and rewritten by H.E.P. 'within the thousand-word vocabulary'. *Three Tales from Hawthorne*. Thousand-word English Junior Series. Illustrated by T. H. Robinson. London: Harrap, 104 pp. [In British Library.]

1937i. Adapted and rewritten by H.E.P. 'within the thousand-word vocabulary'. *Aesop's Fables*. Thousand-word English Junior Series. London: Harrap, 107 pp. [In British Library.]

While Palmer was undoubtedly working in 1936–7 on several types of publication for Longmans, Green, this work was not to bear fruit until

1938. In the meantime, he had persuaded another publisher, Harrap, to embark on a series of simplified readers, the 'Thousand-word English' series, which he was to co-edit with A. S. Hornby. Palmer himself contributed 1937g, 1937h, 1937i and, later, 1939a, 1940a and 1940b to the series. Hornby was even more productive overall, sending a number of adaptations for the series from Tokyo.<sup>4</sup>

In 1937d (p. 7), Palmer and Hornby together explain the principles underlying *Thousand-word English*, which is evidently based on the IRET 1000-word list. Implicitly contrasting their scheme with Basic English, they emphasize that it

is not intended in any sense as a substitute for ordinary English for the purpose of international communication. It is simply one of several similar plans of providing foreign students of English with a first elementary vocabulary embodied in (a) a word-list and (b) interesting reading-matter composed almost entirely within the limits of that list.

In the foreword to each volume in the series (see, for example, 1937g: 7), the vocabulary is further defined as being based primarily on one thousand dictionary entries, with each caption-word entry including its inflected forms and derivatives, its compoundings and collocations and its chief extensions of meaning. What is claimed to be novel about *Thousand-word English* (and similar vocabularies) is that 'instead of more or less haphazard selections of words drawn up according to the subjective and more or less careless judgment of compilers, without testing or experiment, it is based on certain definite principles of selection, confirmed by experiment and long experience' (1937g: 7).



## 1938

On 17 March Palmer was invited to address the Luncheon Club of the Japan Society, London, on 'The English language in Japan'. His talk, which presents an optimistic view of the achievements of the IRET, was published as 1938d. Later in the same year, Palmer attended the Third International Congress of Phonetic Sciences in Ghent, Belgium, and was to lament (in both 1938g and 1944c) the exaggerated attention paid there to experimental phonetics at the expense of phonetic applications to the teaching of foreign languages.

1938a (Jan.). 'That will come in handy'. *Bulletin* 140: 6–10.

1938b (Feb.). 'The twofold nature of language and language study: a system and a mode of behaviour'. *Bulletin* 141: 5–7.

1938c (Jan.–March). 'The weak form of this'. *Le maître phonétique*, 3rd Series/16: 5.

1938d (April). 'The English language in Japan'. *The Empire Review* 447: 215–9.<sup>5</sup>

1938e (Sept.–Oct.). 'Denbun wa, jikken ni shikazu' (Investigation is worth a thousand traditional assertions). *Bulletin* 147: 7–10.

1938f (Oct.–Dec.). 'Daniel Defoe on foreigners' mispronunciations'. *Le maître phonétique* 3rd Series/16: 60.

1938g (Oct.–Dec.). 'Une lacune?' *Le maître phonétique* 3rd Series/16: 73.<sup>6</sup>

1938h. *A Grammar of English Words. One thousand English words and their pronunciation, together with information concerning the several meanings of each word, its inflections and derivatives, and the collocations and phrases into which it enters.* London: Longmans, Green, xvi + 300 pp. [In Selected Writings, vol. 10.]

1938i. *The New Method Grammar.* London: Longmans, Green, vii + 215 pp. [In Selected Writings, vol. 6.]

1938j. *How to Use the New Method Grammar. A Teacher's Handbook.* London: Longmans, Green, 31 pp. [In British Library.]

1938k. *English Practice Books. Book I. Elementary Oral Exercises.* New Method Series. Illustrated by Kerry Lee. London: Longmans, Green, 92 pp. [In British Library.]

1938l. *English Practice Books. Book II. Oral Exercises and Written Compositions.* New Method Series. Illustrated by Kerry Lee. London: Longmans, Green, v + 109 pp. [In British Library.]

1938m. *How to Use the New Method Practice Books. (A Teacher's Handbook). Book I.* London: Longmans, Green, 47 pp. [In British Library.]

1938n. *How to Use the New Method Practice Books. (A Teacher's Handbook). Book III.* London: Longmans, Green, 31 pp. [In British Library.]

1938o. Adapted and rewritten by H.E.P. *A Journey to the Centre of the Earth by Jules Verne.* Longmans' Simplified English Series. London: Longmans, Green, 159 pp. [In British Library.]

1938p. Adapted and rewritten by H.E.P. *Round the World in Eighty Days by Jules Verne.* Longmans' Simplified English Series. London: Longmans, Green. [Not seen.]<sup>7</sup>

1938q. Foreword to Perera, H. S.. *The Psychology of Learning and Teaching: A new contribution to the subject in the form of a three-phase theory*. London: Oxford University Press, ix–xii. [In British Library; IRLT Library.]

Palmer 1938h and 1938i constitute innovative attempts to relate previously unapplied IRET work on lexis and syntax to the needs of learners of English as a foreign language. 1938h evidently parallels the joint Thousand-word English project with Hornby (itself a development out of IRET work in Japan), but pays greater attention to IRET research findings on collocations. Special attention is paid also to construction-patterns (including verb-patterns), the distinction between countable and uncountable nouns and the peculiarities of the twenty-four ‘anomalous finites’ (see Cowie 1999 for a detailed assessment; also, Nakao 1998: 42–3).

In fact, as its title only partially indicates, 1938h represents Palmer’s own attempt at a new-type ‘learner’s dictionary’. In 1935 Michael West had brought out his *New Method English Dictionary*, co-authored with J. G. Endicott, and this is generally considered to be the first English-English dictionary specifically for learners of English as a foreign language. However, Palmer 1938h has been described as ‘remarkable for being concerned almost entirely with the learner’s productive needs’ (Rundell 1998: 317). It was thus a ‘seminal encoding dictionary [which] pointed the way forward by providing a systematic account of verb complementation’, an account which Hornby elaborated and refined in his own, more widely-known (1942) dictionary (Rundell *ibid.*).

West and Endicott’s (1935) dictionary was itself just one component within an ongoing Longmans, Green publishing project entitled ‘New Method’, this having been initiated in 1926 with the first of West’s ‘New

Method Readers' (Anon. 1973; Bond 1953: 118). Palmer's energies were integrated into this project, even though he had never shared West's 'reading first' emphasis. Just as 1938h emphasizes language production as much as, if not more than comprehension, his *New Method Grammar* (1938i) reflects IRET rather than existing 'New Method' priorities in emphasizing the teaching of grammar for production (cf. 1928o-r), while his *New Method Practice Books* and accompanying *Teacher's Handbooks* also make no concessions to a 'reading first' approach, providing instead exercises and ideas for oral and written sentence production.

Howatt (1984: 235) describes Palmer 1938i as 'a brave, but not entirely successful, attempt to teach grammar to younger learners through an analogy with railway networks'. With its 'direct-object stations', 'prepositional branch-lines', and so on, this work revolves around a simplified representation (in the 'Key Map' at the end of the book) of the 'General Synoptic Chart showing the syntax of the English sentence' which forms the basis for the identification of construction-patterns in Palmer 1934aa.<sup>8</sup> As such, 1938i has a not immediately obvious, serious connection both with the 'generative' substitution method and ergonomics of Palmer's London years (1916a-c, 1917b) and with the IRET work on verb-patterns for encoding purposes which was ultimately to find its most useful application in Hornby et al.'s (1942) *Learner's Dictionary*.

## 1939

With the outbreak of the Second World War in September, Palmer's son Tristram was called up, becoming a sergeant in the Royal Air Force. Palmer also turned his attention to the war effort, becoming an air raid warden (Anderson 1969: 160) and contributing a number of publications

which reflected an eclectic variety of interests (among them 1939f and 1939g, and, in subsequent years, 1940d–f, 1940g, and 1941).

1939a (25 May). Adapted and retold by H.E.P. 'within the Thousand-word Vocabulary'. *Selections from Fifty Famous Stories*. 'Thousand-word English Junior' Series. Tokyo: Kaitakusha, 66 pp. [In IRLT Library.]<sup>9</sup>

1939b (May). 'Dr. Joji Sakurai as I knew him'. *Bulletin* 154: 128–130.

1939c. *English Practice Books. Book III: More Advanced Oral Exercises and Written Compositions*. New Method Series. Illustrated by Kerry Lee. London: Longmans, Green, v + 75 pp. [In British Library.]

1939d. *How to Use the New Method Practice Books. (A Teacher's Handbook). Book II*. London: Longmans, Green, 31 pp. [In British Library.]

1939e. *Premier livre de français. Première partie*. London: Longmans, Green, 49 pp. [In British Library.]<sup>10</sup>

[1939f.] A chart designed by W. Rougier Chapman and H.E.P. *An Outline of A.R.P. Gases Used in Warfare: What they are and how to treat them*. Tunbridge Wells: Stace, 37.5 x 25 cm. [In British Library.]<sup>11</sup>

[1939g.] H.E.P. and W. Rougier Chapman. *First Aid Memory Chart. Designed for A.R.P. first aid workers & learners*. London: Rickinson (Chart Dept.), 87 x 57 cm. [In British Library.]

Prior to the outbreak of war, Palmer's interest in French had been revived, perhaps as a result of the long-standing involvement of Longmans, Green in textbook publishing in this area. As Bond (1953: 122) relates, Michael West had also shown an interest in the production of simplified French reading materials, from the late 1920s onwards. Bond (1953: 352) suggests that Palmer 1939e and the other books in the same Longmans, Green series (1940c and 1949d), as well as Palmer 1950

and, by analogy, 1952 and 1953 were produced primarily for use in the Belgian Congo.<sup>12</sup>

## 1940

A letter from Palmer to his daughter dated 23 January reveals that he was showing interest in a British Council post in Iraq, and that Longmans, Green were encouraging him to take it.<sup>13</sup> He believed, however, that his chances of being appointed were '50/50', revealing suspicions that his appointment was being blocked by Basic English supporters in high places. In this letter, Palmer indicates also that he had recently been offered the post of senior lectureship in Japanese at the School of Oriental Studies (which had relocated to Cambridge), but he had declined for the following reasons, not expressed in his official refusal: '1. I'm too busy; 2. Pay not good enough; 3. I don't know Japanese'.

At this time, other members of the Longmans, Green department were departing for posts in Egypt and West Africa, and Palmer notes that 'Major [H. E.] Harman' (who was to assist him with 1940g) would soon be in charge of the department. In preparation for a possible departure, Palmer appears to have been hard at work 'clearing up all the textbook work . . . Among other things the huge *Vocabulary Register* which records the first occurrence of every word in all the books' (presumably, Palmer refers here to bringing to an end the Harrap 'Thousand-word English' series: although the Register he mentions was never published, 1940a and 1940b were to be the last readers in the series).

1940a. Adapted and rewritten by H.E.P. 'within the thousand-word vocabulary'. *Boscobel. Part One: The Royal Oak* [by William Harrison Ainsworth]. Illustrated by J. Abbey. Thousand-word English Senior Series. London: Harrap, 110 pp. [In British Library.]

1940b. Adapted and rewritten by H.E.P. 'within the thousand-word vocabulary'. *Boscobel or The Royal Oak. Part Two: Further Adventures of Prince Charles* [by William Harrison Ainsworth]. Illustrated by J. Abbey. Thousand-word English Senior Series. London: Harrap, 126 pp. [In British Library.]

1940c. *Premier livre de français. Deuxième partie*. London: Longmans, Green, 64 pp. [In British Library.]<sup>14</sup>

1940d. *Speak and Understand French. A phrase-book containing over four hundred of the most useful questions, answers, greetings, comments and expressions, together with military terms and other material enabling British soldiers and others to speak and understand French. With pronunciation of all the sentences. Just What You Want to Say in French: Three Booklets for Beginners* [no. 1]. Cambridge: Heffer, 32 pp. [In British Library.]

1940e. *A French-English Conversation Dictionary. Just What You Want to Say in French: Three Booklets for Beginners* [no. 2]. Cambridge: Heffer, 32 pp. [In British Library.]

1940f. *A Beginner's English-French Dictionary. Just What You Want to Say in French: Three Booklets for Beginners* [no. 3]. Cambridge: Heffer, 16 pp. [In British Library.]

1940g. H.E.P., in association with H. A. Harman. *The Teaching of English to Soldiers*. London: Longmans, Green, 127 pp. [In Bodleian Library, Oxford.]

1940h. *The Teaching of Oral English*. London: Longmans, Green, 100 pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 4.]

Palmer's work on French continued with the production of a series of three pocket-sized booklets in anticipation of a British Expeditionary Force invasion of France (1940d–f). The series title ('Just What You Want to Say in French') and perhaps its 'concept' are borrowed from a booklet by his father (Edward Palmer 1914) which had served a similar military purpose in the First World War (see Smith 1998b: 18–19).

Palmer's 1940g work is similarly a contribution to the war effort with possible civilian applications. As this book's Preface (pp. 7–8) makes clear, it constitutes a response to inquiries made by units of the King's African Rifles and Royal West African Frontier Force for suitable books for teaching English to African soldiers, though 'with slight modifications to those paragraphs that suggest an African background, the book is eminently suitable for use in India', and Part I could serve as a handbook 'in Mission and other schools, or be utilized by teachers in primary schools in those countries where English is taught as a foreign language'. Being designed on the assumption that the instructor has little or no experience in the teaching of English as a foreign language (p. 9), the book provides very clear, untechnical explanations of Palmer's basic approach to the teaching of oral English. For example:

The various grammatical categories are replaced by 'language-situations'. Instead of talking about nouns, adjectives, verbs, etc., we talk about the naming and describing of objects and actions. (p. 9)

and:

There are three stages of learning:

1. *Receiving* knowledge.
2. *Fixing* it in the memory by repetition.
3. *Using* the knowledge by real practice. . . .



Now the *giving* and *fixing* of knowledge is the work of the Instructor in the ordinary course of the *lessons*. The using of the knowledge as a rule takes place not in the course of the lessons but in the ordinary course of the day's work.

So the Instructor's first and chief business is to give knowledge and fix it in the pupil's memory. He therefore

- (a) Makes statements (i.e. gives knowledge),
- (b) Asks questions (i.e. fixes knowledge by practice). (pp. 10–11)

The Presentation-Practice-Production lesson-plan model which has continued to inform initial ELT teacher training in Britain until the present day is clearly implicit in this advice to beginning teachers, with the last 'use' or 'real practice' phase being catered for (in Part II of 1940g) by means of a variety of suggestions for transferring instruction 'from the classroom to the field' and thus providing 'ample opportunities for understanding and using the spoken word in the form of fairly fluent speech': 'the meaning and simple description of objects, for instance, can be carried out at a fairly early stage on the parade ground, in the men's quarters, in the village or in the open country' (p. 101), while role play exercises can be based on sentry routine. At times, Palmer's suggestions for language-use activities strongly resemble a 'weak form' (Howatt 1984: 286–7) of communicative approach. Thus:

Up to a certain point in the course of teaching, the men have been given opportunities for saying things in English. What they have said has generally been prompted by questions or by a more or less artificially created situation. When the men have arrived at a state of sufficient proficiency, they must be given ample opportunities for saying things in English prompted only by actual and natural environments. You have to train them, in fact, in what is called 'Free Oral Composition'.

The question you have to put to yourself is: What can I do to make this man speak English to me for some minutes?

One effective means of doing so is to send a man on scout duty and subsequently to call upon him to report. This procedure, of

course, runs parallel to the ordinary course of military training. (p. 119)

Palmer's 1940h work for a more specialist, non-military teaching readership contains similar practical advice. This was to be his last major work on teaching procedures, although the *International Course* – his 'crowning achievement' as a textbook writer (Mackin 1965: v) – was still to come. Palmer did not leave for Iraq as he had, it seems, wanted, and there were to be no more publications for Longmans, Green until after the war.

## 1941–2

With the attack on Pearl Harbor, the Pacific War began, on 8 December 1941. Both Hornby and Redman were interned (the former in a German Catholic monastery in Tokyo, according to Imura 1997: 236). Responding to strong opposition to any teaching of the enemy's language, in February 1942 the IRET Board of Administration changed the name of the *Bulletin* to *Gogaku kyoiku* (Language Education), and in March the IRET itself metamorphosed into *Gogaku kyoiku kenkyujo* (literally, the 'Institute for Research in Language Education'). The Institute survived the war and retains the same Japanese name – often shortened to '*Goken*' – to this day (Imura 1997: 262; see also IRLT 1993, 1994).<sup>15</sup> On 20 April Kaitakusha succeeded, against all the odds, in publishing the *Idiomatic and Syntactic English Dictionary* (Japanese title: *Shin ei-ei dai-jiten* (New English–English Dictionary)), which had been compiled by A. S. Hornby with two IRET colleagues, E. V. Gatenby and H. Wakefield. This was later (in 1948) to be photographically reprinted by Oxford University Press and reissued as *A Learner's Dictionary of Current English* (see Cowie

1998; Smith 1998c). In the Preface to this important work, Hornby acknowledges Palmer's contributions as follows:

For many of the special features of this dictionary a great debt is owed to Dr. H. E. Palmer, first Director of the Institute for Research in English Teaching. The verb patterns would have been impossible without his work on sentence construction. As is noted elsewhere, the notes on the special features of the adverbial particles and anomalous finites are also based on his work. Without the foundation laid during the years 1923–36 by Dr. Palmer this volume could not have been prepared in its present form.

On or around 3 July 1942 Palmer's only son, Tristram, was killed in action over Eenrum, Holland, aged twenty-one.<sup>16</sup> As Anderson (1969: 160) reports, Palmer 'never really recovered from the shock and from then on his health deteriorated'. He suffered from severe insomnia and bouts of depression afterwards.

In August, Redman and Hornby were permitted to return to the UK under an exchange of nationals agreement, and they arrived back in October (Imura 1997: 238; see also Hornby [and Ruse] 1974).

[1941?]. *A Morse Memory Book*. London: Memory Charts, 31 pp. [In British Library.]<sup>17</sup>

1942a (April). 'Foreign language teaching: Past, present and future'. *Oversea Education*, 13/3: 323–33.<sup>18</sup>

1942b (July). 'Spelling reform' (Letter to the Editor). *The Journal of Education*, 74/876: 320, 322.

Palmer's only publication in 1941 was a small booklet for the learning of Morse Code which contains hints for memorization and ideas for

controlled practice, in the pocket-sized format employed previously in his (1940d–f) English-French phrase book and concise dictionaries.

At the end of 1942a there is a list of topics for future investigation which indicates that Palmer was even at this time hoping to engage in collaborative research of an ‘academic’ nature. A detailed (1942) plan for collaborative phraseological research also appears in Bongers 1947 (this is listed as Palmer 1947c below). In connection with these continuing ambitions, Reginald Close, who met Palmer during his 1944 visit to South America, reports as follows:

I remember Palmer telling me that he had tried to arouse interest in the foundation of an Institute for Research in . . . English Language Teaching in London and that he was disappointed by the lack of response from the people he met in London. However, the lack of response was probably due to the fact that the Second World War was either imminent or in progress. He was then appointed to Buenos Aires, where he hoped to find sponsors for an Institute like the one with which he had been associated in Tokyo. But again he was disappointed.

(written response to a letter from Tanaka Masamichi, cited in Imura 1997: 243–4; see also Tanaka 1991: 154).

### 1943

Despite his ill health, Palmer saw through the publication of the Italian and French versions of his innovative, multilingual *International English Course* in 1943. For the necessary translations of these and subsequent versions, the publishers and/or Palmer gained the collaboration of a number of teachers attached to the University of London.

In conjunction with this course, Palmer became series editor for a new reader series, the Evans ‘Plain English’ Library. However, this was to

consist simply of reissues of readers from the by now defunct Harrap ‘Thousand-Word English’ series, sometimes with slightly changed titles. Thus, 1937g was reissued in 1943 as *Four Tales from Shakespeare*, with Hornby’s (1937?) *Stories of Robin Hood* reappearing as *Stories from Robin Hood* in the same year.<sup>19</sup>

By this time, Hornby had left Britain to work for the British Council as a university teacher and teacher-trainer in Iran. He and Palmer remained in postal contact, with Hornby’s *Stories from Don Quixote* (1938) being reissued in the ‘Plain English’ Library as *Adventures of Don Quixote*, in 1944.<sup>20</sup>

1943a. *Corso internazionale di lingua inglese*. [Italian version of *The International English Course*]. Translated by J. B. Manighetti. London: Evans, x + 204 pp. [In British Library.]

1943b. *Cours international d’anglais*. [French version of *The International English Course*]. Translation reviewed and corrected by Émile Stéphan. London: Evans, xx + 210 pp. [In British Library.]

Writing now for a new publisher, Evans, Palmer returned to his roots in bilingual course book design (cf. his Verviers publications), showing clearly that he was not dogmatically attached to a monolingual methodology. The bilingual approach is justified, and the relationship with the accompanying readers is explained in ‘A Personal Note to the Reader’ at the beginning of each volume in the ‘Plain English’ Library):

Much time and infinite labour are saved for the student by the publication of *The International Course in English* in the mother tongue of the learner . . .

The instruction and practice given in *The International Course in English* are so effective that the student is able to proceed direct to extensive reading of texts written in plain but adequate English. The

Plain English Library may therefore be regarded as a valuable extension of the International Course.

Ultimately, separate editions of Palmer's *International English Course* were to appear for speakers of Dutch, Spanish, Polish and Czech, in addition to Italian and French, with further Greek, Norwegian, German, Russian and Arabic editions being planned at different times although none of the latter were in fact to be completed.<sup>21</sup>

## 1944

Palmer undertook a lecture tour in South America from May to June, visiting Buenos Aires, Montevideo and Rio de Janeiro at the invitation of the British Council (Ozasa 1995a: 131). There is some suggestion (see the letter from Reginald Close cited above) that he had not only been invited for lectures but 'appointed' to take up an advisory position in Buenos Aires. Close (ibid.) ascribes Palmer's failure to gain support for the establishment of an Institute in South America partly to his 'precarious state of health': 'In Buenos Aires I found him to be a sick man, worn out by his exertions and he needed some one to nurse him. He showed all the symptoms of having suffered a nervous breakdown'. Nevertheless, Palmer's lectures were a success, as Mackin (1990) recalls, and those in Rio de Janeiro from 30 May to 1 June were transcribed and published in the same year, as Palmer 1944c. Although there were plans for him to give further lectures, he was forced by ill health to return to England 'a very sick man' (Anderson 1969: 181).

1944a. *Internationale Cursus in de Engelsche Taal*. [Dutch version of *The International English Course*]. Translated by H[endrik] Koolhoven. London: Evans, 215 pp. [In British Library.]

1944b. *Curso Internacional de Inglés* [Spanish version of *The International English Course*]. Adapted and translated by J. V. Barragán. London: Evans, 223 pp. [In British Library.]

1944c. *Three Lectures . . . on 'The history of modern language teaching'; 'The place of the direct method in modern language teaching'; 'The place of phonetics in language teaching'*. Given at *Sociedade Brasileira de Cultura Inglesa* in 1944. Rio de Janeiro: *Sociedade Brasileira de Cultura Inglesa*, 69 pp. [In U. S. Library of Congress.]<sup>22</sup>

Palmer demonstrated clearly in his first (1944c) lecture that he saw himself as a reformer in the tradition of Viëtor (cf. also Palmer 1933n), Sweet and Jespersen. However, his impression at the end of his own career was:

that by the third decade of this century the reform impetus had spent itself, that its efforts had resulted neither in failure nor in any conclusive or universal success, but rather in a series of stalemates. Certain it is that in England today a generation of language teachers has arisen who know little or nothing about the history of their profession nor of the controversies by which it has been marked. In few teacher-training colleges, in few university departments, are prescribed the works of Sweet or Jespersen or of the linguistic authorities who succeeded them. (pp. 15–16)

## 1945–6

Following his return from Teheran at the end of the war, Hornby was appointed 'linguistic adviser' to the British Council. One of his first

actions was to suggest that a journal be started up, on the model of the IRET *Bulletin*:

When Dr. Palmer left Japan in 1936 I succeeded him as editor of the Institute's Bulletin. . . . Memories of those years in Japan gave me the idea of starting, if possible, a similar periodical in London. There were numerous periodicals concerned with language and language teaching, but none of them was concerned primarily with the teaching of English as a foreign or second language. The British Council was obviously the right organization to sponsor such a new periodical. So I approached Dr. A. E. Morgan, the then Controller of Education Division, and put my proposals to him. He welcomed them and told me to go ahead.

(Hornby 1966: 3)

Hornby was editor of the journal, entitled *English Language Teaching* (now *ELT Journal*) until 1950. Two of Palmer's *Bulletin* articles were reprinted, and Hornby's own, influential series of articles on 'Linguistic pedagogy' (1946–7) and 'The situational approach in language teaching' (1950) were both to bear the imprint of pre-war IRET work.

1945. *Miedzynarodowy Kurs Języka Angielskiego*. [Polish version of *The International Course*]. Translated by Maria Jezewska, in cooperation with Marii Corbridge. London: Evans, 231 pp. [In British Library.]

1946. *Mezinárodní kurs angličtiny*. [Czech version of *The International English Course*]. Adapted and translated by Milos Sova. London: Evans, xx + 212 pp. [In British Library.]

In 1944 or 1945 Palmer had reissued 1937i in the 'Plain English' Library, under the original title, *Aesop's Fables*. This was to be the last of only four in the series, even though its back cover promised 'Other volumes . . . when ready'.<sup>23</sup> The *International English Course* itself



appears to have still been going strong, despite the following comment by Mackin (1965: v) with regard specifically to 1944b:

immediately after the distribution of a few hundred copies it had to be withdrawn because of unforeseen contractual difficulties. This was a bitter disappointment not only to Palmer himself, but also to those few teachers who, having had the opportunity of studying the book, had appreciated its great value as a teaching instrument and had looked forward to using it in the classroom.

As we shall see, the course did run into problems, but these seem to have occurred later than Mackin suggests. In 1945 Evans issued a second edition of the (1943a) Italian version, and an advertisement in the (1946) Czech version indicates that, while previous plans for Russian and German adaptations had been dropped, Greek and Norwegian translations were still being projected. Arabic had been added to the planned list, and previously issued adaptations (including Spanish) were all still available (1946: 211). In addition, an *Evans English Conversation Dictionary* is promised for the languages treated:

Versions of this Dictionary, prepared by Dr. Palmer as a companion to and extension of the International English Course, will be published in learners' own languages as rapidly as possible. The French Version – *Le Dictionnaire Phraséologique* – will be ready in 1946. (p. 212)

No versions of this dictionary were ever in fact published, and no further adaptations of the *International English Course* were issued. It is probable, then, that 1946 saw the beginnings of the contractual difficulties referred to by Mackin (cited above). British ELT publishers failed to follow Palmer's and Evans' lead after 1946, and monolingual course books have dominated both the domestic and the export market ever since.

## 1947

In this year, a study of the vocabulary control movement appeared (Bongers 1947) which highlighted, in particular, Palmer's achievements and contained a previously unpublished memorandum (1947c below) on "formulas" such as conversational expressions, sayings, proverbs, quotations, and other similar collocations' (Bongers 1947: 224).

1947a. 'The approaches to artificial language'. Preface to Jacob, H. 1947. *A Planned Auxiliary Language*. London: Dobson, 9–16. [University of Edinburgh Library.]

1947b. Revised and edited by P. B. Ballard and H.E.P 'for the children of Britain and the British Empire'. *The Thorndike Junior Dictionary* by E[dward] L[ee] Thorndike. London: University of London Press, xxiii + 1033 pp. [In British Library.]

1947c. Excerpts from a previously unpublished July 1942 memorandum entitled "'Category Two" of English linguistic symbols; nature and extent of an enquiry now proposed', in Bongers 1947: 225–9.

In 1947b, the editors pay tribute to Thorndike's achievement in having compiled a dictionary (the *Thorndike Century Junior Dictionary* originally published in 1935, revised in 1942) expressly for children. They describe this as having been a 'piece of pioneering . . . It limits the vocabulary to the words most frequently heard, read, and used by children, and determines the scope of that vocabulary, not by guessing but by counting' (1947b: viii). In his final years, then, Palmer appears to have reconciled himself to the approach of the 'word counters', as represented by the foremost among them, E. L. Thorndike. At the same time, in his 1947a preface to a work on artificial international languages, he indicates

clearly that his work in the mid-1930s with Thorndike, West and Faucett for the Carnegie Conference on ‘English as a World Language’ had not diminished his enthusiasm for less hegemonic alternatives.

### 1948–9

In 1948 the first issue of the journal *Language Learning* was published at the University of Michigan, under the editorship of Charles C. Fries. This proclaimed a new, hierarchical relationship between linguists and language teachers and the birth of a new discipline, ‘applied linguistics’ (see Catford 1998). In October 1949, Palmer received news that Evans had decided to discontinue both the *International English Course* and the ‘Plain English’ Library under pressure from an early British advocate of ‘linguistics applied’, C. K. Ogden (whose books Evans also published).<sup>24</sup> The following month, Palmer succumbed to a heart attack, as his daughter reports:

Father collapsed suddenly on 16 November 1949 in his study, surrounded by his beloved books, where I know he would have wished to be. He once said to me: ‘I feel a bit lonely sometimes in my field of work’. He would have been overjoyed had he known that all his hard work and research continued to be of use in the English teaching world of today.

(Anderson 1969: 161)

Mackin (1964: vi–vii) provides further insight into Palmer’s doubts as to his legacy, in the following reminiscence and overall assessment:

Palmer once asked me if I had any idea for what aspect of his work he would be remembered. Was there, he wondered, any particular contribution he had made that would be specially

valued? It was not easy to answer his question. The suggestion that his writings on method constituted his most valuable work did not satisfy him, in view of his wider linguistic interests; but from the point of view of the language teacher, it is probably true. Palmer wondered, too, wherein lay his most original contribution within the general field of methodology. He himself was reluctant to put a name to his 'method', shying away from the term 'eclectic' . . . because of its unsatisfactory associations; but the term is often used now to refer to the kind of approach he advocated.

Palmer's doubts appear to have been confirmed by the fact that no obituary appeared in the *Times* or other national newspapers in Britain, a fact reported with some surprise by Tickoo (1968). Dying at the dawning of a 'new age' in English language teaching which he had, more than anyone else, heralded, Palmer's reputation suffered an immediate downturn in the west in comparison with that of Hornby and the rising stars of the American version of 'structural' oral approach.

1949a. [Michael West and H.E.P.]. *New English Course. Primer*. London: Longmans, Green, 64 pp. [In British Library.]<sup>25</sup>

1949b. Michael West and H.E.P.. *New English Course. Reader I*. Illustrated by 'Peacock'. London: Longmans, Green, 128 pp. [In British Library.]

1949c. Michael West and H.E.P.. *New English Course. Reader II*. Illustrated by 'Peacock'. London: Longmans, Green, 148 pp. [In British Library.]

1949d. *Troisième livre de français*. London: Longmans, Green, 55 pp. [In British Library.]<sup>26</sup>

The final years of Palmer's life had seen a return both to the Longmans, Green fold and to collaborative work with Michael West, who was to survive him by twenty-three years. Fittingly, also, among

Palmer's last publications were – aside from the *New English Course* (originally for the South African market, though later revised for the Gold Coast) – a textbook (1949d) and a series of readers (1950, 1952, 1953) for French, the language in relation to which Palmer had himself, fifty years previously, begun to derive so many of his unique and influential insights for (English as a) foreign language teaching.

### Posthumous publications

1950. Michael West and H.E.P. *Premier livre de lecture*. 'Cours de Français – Nouvelle Méthode'. Illustrated by 'Peacock'. London: Longmans, Green, 45 pp. [In British Library.]

1952. Michael West and H.E.P. *Deuxième livre de lecture*. 'Cours de Lecture – Nouvelle Méthode'. Illustrated by 'Peacock'. London: Longmans, Green, 94 pp. [In British Library.]

1953. Michael West and H.E.P. *Troisième livre de lecture*. 'Cours de Lecture – Nouvelle Méthode'. Illustrated by 'Peacock'. London: Longmans, Green, 89pp. [In British Library.]

### Notes

- 1 Our main secondary sources for biographical information on Palmer's final years are Anderson 1969, Imura 1997 and Tanaka 1991. We have also referred to primary sources, as indicated. Since most of the books listed in this chapter were published in the UK (where of course, unlike in Japan, only the year of publication is indicated), it has not usually been possible to order them according to month of publication, unlike in previous chapters.
- 2 Placed here chronologically because reviewed (anonymously) in *Oversea Education* 8/4 (July 1937). This review was reprinted in *Bulletin* 137 (Aug.–Sept. 1937): 14–15.
- 3 Published anonymously (under the byline, 'from a correspondent').

Bongers (1947) attributes this article to Palmer, but misdates it 28 August.

- 4 Namely, *Old Greek Stories* (1937), *The Adventures of Odysseus* (1937) and *Stories from Grimm* (1939) (all for the 'Junior Series'), and (for the 'Senior Series') *The Adventures of Deerslayer* (1937), *Stories of Robin Hood* (1937?), *More Stories of Robin Hood* (1938), *Stories of the Great Discoverers* (1938) and *Stories from Don Quixote* (1938).
- 5 Reprinted as 'The English Language in Japan. An address given at the Luncheon Club of the Japan Society, London, March 17th, 1938' in *Bulletin* 145 (June, 1938): 6–11.
- 6 Daniel Jones responds in the same issue.
- 7 Referred to (along with 1938o) in a review of recently published simplified readers by Wakefield (1938: 20), Hence our 1938 dating. These were to be Palmer's only contributions to the Longmans, Green Simplified English Series, although in a letter to his daughter of 23 January 1940 (see note 13 below) he indicates that he had recently been asked by Longmans, Green to simplify another Jules Verne story, *From the Earth to the Moon*.
- 8 It is interesting to note, in this connection, that A. S. Hornby's daughter recalls visiting Palmer at his home in Tokyo with her father (probably in 1934), and that the two men were engrossed in discussion of a model railway set up in one of Palmer's rooms (Phyllis Willis, personal communication). The connection, also, with Palmer's Felbridge 'syntax-scape' is clear, and has been indicated by Howatt (1984: 235).
- 9 An editorial note in *Bulletin* 147 (Sept.–Oct., 1938) indicates that 'Arrangements have been made for the [Harrap] "Thousand-Word English" texts to be reprinted in Japan by the Kaitakusha Publishing Co.'. Palmer 1939a may, then, have been originally published by (or intended for) Harrap, although there is no copy in the British Library and the title does not appear in the list of other works in the Harrap 'Thousand-word English' series in 1940a or 1940b. The cover of 1939a bears the same design as books in the Harrap series.
- 10 Cf. 1940c and 1949d. Bongers (1947: 351) implies that these volumes were accompanied by Teacher's Books, but there are no copies in

- the British or Bodleian Libraries (although there is a catalogue reference for a *Livre du maitre* [sic] in the latter library).
- 11 Both 1939f and 1939g are dated according to the British Library catalogue.
  - 12 A letter from Palmer to his daughter dated 23 January 1940 (see note 13 below) seems to confirm this suggestion, at least with regard to the *Premier livre de français* series: ‘Congo Course Book One Part Two [i.e. 1940c] manuscript returned from the Congo with full approval and most helpful suggestions and advice for the further work’.
  - 13 Harold E. Palmer to Dorothee Anderson, 23 January 1940, PFVA.
  - 14 Cf. 1939e and 1949d. Bond (1953: 352) refers to a *Deuxième livre [de français]* as having been published in 1940. It seems likely that he is referring to this [1940c] publication, since there is no *Deuxième livre* in the British Library.
  - 15 The Institute regained an English acronym after the war: ‘IRLT’, which stands for ‘Institute for Research in Language Teaching’. Its main focus reverted to English in the post-war years, but the IRLT has also retained, to a limited extent, its wartime connections with the teaching of Japanese as a second or foreign language. This field has itself been very much influenced by the pre-war work of Palmer, via his colleague and publisher Naganuma Naoe, and the latter’s post-war Tokyo School of the Japanese Language (see Hirataka 1992: 94).
  - 16 Air Force War Records of Deaths 1939–48, Family Records Centre, London.
  - 17 Dated according to the British Library catalogue.
  - 18 Issued in pamphlet form (22 July 1944) as *Foreign Language Teaching: Past, Present and Future*. Buenos Aires: Mitchell’s English Bookstore. [In University of Edinburgh Library, Special Collections.]
  - 19 Neither reissue is dated in the original, but on the back cover of both books, the French and Italian versions of the *International English Course* are described as ‘now ready’, while the Dutch version ‘will be published early in 1944’. Additionally, a ‘Personal Note to the

Reader' in *Four Tales from Shakespeare* (pp. 2–3) indicates that 'The Italian version [of the *International English Course*] has already appeared, the French version will be ready shortly'.

- 20 Undated in the original, but the back cover indicates that the Dutch, though not yet the Spanish version of the *International English Course* is already available. Both of these were published in 1944. A letter dated 13 October 1956 from A. S. Hornby to Dorothée Anderson (in PFVA) indicates that Palmer and Hornby exchanged letters while Hornby was in Teheran.
- 21 Details of planned editions appear on the back cover of readers in the 'Plain English' Library.
- 22 Details from a photocopy obtained by Ozasa Toshiaki.
- 23 The reissue is undated, but seems to have been published in either 1944 or 1945, following publication of 1944a and 1944b (which are indicated as already available in publicity on the back cover), and prior to publication of 1945, which is *not* yet indicated as available.
- 24 Letter from A. S. Hornby to Dorothée Anderson, 13 October 1956, in PFVA. Hornby discusses the fate of the Harrap 'Thousand-Word English' series, as follows: 'I have the idea that all the volumes in the 1000-Word English Series were to be included in [the] Plain English Library and that Harrap surrendered all rights to Evans Bros. You remember, of course, how Ogden's interference compelled Evans Bros. to abandon their plans for the International Course and the Plain English Library. Perhaps Harrap then considered that rights reverted to them'. In notes made with reference to this letter by Dorothée (also in PFVA) she writes: 'For various reasons (OGDEN) Evans Bros. were compelled to abandon their plans in regard to 'Plain English Library' and on 6 Oct. 1949 advised HEP that the copyright for this series (also International Course) reverted to H.E.P.'.
- 25 Companion to 1949b and 1949c, hence our attribution of authorship.
- 26 Cf. 1939e and 1940c.



## Appendix: Japanese works in *Selected Writings*

Four works in *The Selected Writings of Harold E. Palmer* (IRLT 1995/1999) are written in Japanese, and this Appendix is intended to aid the non-Japanese reader in making some sense of them.

The first work in this category is Palmer 1925b, *Palmer Eigokaiwa Jotatsuho (Conversational English and How to Learn it)*, in Volume 4 of *Selected Writings*. This was translated from Palmer's unpublished English version (by Omura Masura, then Executive Secretary of the IRET). Although the original English version has been lost, the third section of the Introduction was published in English in the January 1925 *Bulletin* (Palmer 1925a). Immediately preceding this in the same issue the contents of the whole work were listed, also in English. This (anonymous) summary is reproduced along with Palmer 1925a in A. below.

In Volume 6 are two interrelated works in Japanese (1928o and 1928q), in both of which Palmer explains his conception of 'New-type' or 'Mechanism' Grammar. These were translated by Naganuma Naoe from original English versions which have been lost. In B. below, we therefore provide some background and summarize the contents of these works.

Finally, reproduced in Volume 4 of *Selected Writings* is one of Palmer's best-known works (in Japan), *Eigo no Rokushukan (The First Six Weeks of English)* (Palmer 1929g). This work first appeared in a Japanese translation by Naganuma Naoe, but an English version was issued by the IRET in 1934, and this is reprinted in IRLT 1962 (pp. 385-472). The introduction to this version is reproduced in full in C. below.

## A. 1925b: *Palmer Eigokaiwa Jotatsuho (Conversational English and How to Learn it)*

Here are the contents of this work, as presented in the January 1925 issue of the *Bulletin* :

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### Part I.

Author's Introduction.

1. The Purpose of the Book.
2. Memorizing versus Constructing.
3. The Fundamental Guiding Principle to Students of English Conversation.
4. Two Aspects of Conversation : Productive and Receptive.
5. Pronunciation.
6. The Oral Method alone not effective for the teaching of Foreign Conversation.

### Part II.

Conversational English

[Chiefly from the Author's "Everyday Sentences of Spoken English."]

### Part III.

Foreign Conversational Behaviour.

1. Introduction (Main Tendencies and Helpful Precepts.)
2. Avoid Unnecessary Polite Formulas.
3. What to say to the Waiting Foreigner.
4. Avoid Pauses.
5. Avoid the extremes of "Enryo" ['reticence': R.C.S.] and "Buenryo." ['pushiness': R.C.S.]
- [6]. Avoid being more foreign than the Foreigner.

### APPENDIX

Some Typical Examples of the Wrong Way of Saying Things.  
Indexes.

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Next we reproduce Palmer 1925a in full:

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## CONVERSATION

### *The Fundamental Guiding Principle for the Student of Conversation.*

In most of our human activities it is generally possible to discover a fundamental guiding principle which if observed will bring our efforts to a focus and lead to a successful issue. So often we fail in our efforts or we expend them uneconomically or uselessly for want of some such principle. Those who set about doing a thing without first considering the nature of the thing they wish to do may be compared to those who set out on a journey without having decided where to go.

Of principles of guidance there may be a multitude, but too rarely do we seriously think out what is the most fundamental principle of all. Suppose a person who is learning to play the Japanese game of "go." We ask him: "What is the most important thing for you to do?" He may answer: "to capture the enemy's stones." Now it is indeed important to capture the enemy's stones, but it is not the fundamental principle. Or he may answer "to prevent a group of one's own stones from being killed by making two eyes, or to force a way out." This is certainly a guiding principle but not the fundamental one. When we have examined all the precepts that we can give to the beginner who is learning to play "go" we shall probably find no guiding principle more fundamental than [:]

*Act so as to enclose the greatest unoccupied area of the board, for that covers all activities, offensive, general or local.*

What for instance should be the fundamental guiding principle for the picture painter? To produce artistic pictures? No, this is too vague. To make a faithful portrait of nature? No, this cannot be it. I suggest:

*To choose the right colours in the most appropriate medium (this means watercolours, oil-colour, chalk, etc.) and to stick them on the right sort of surface (paper, cloth, wood, silk, etc.) in the right places with the right movement with the most appropriate tool.*

What is the most fundamental guiding principle of the merchant? To sell the best goods? To please one's customers? To be honest? These are all admirable principles but not the most fundamental. I suggest:

*To buy in the cheapest market and to sell in the dearest.*

What should be the most fundamental principle of the traveller? This is more complicated, for many factors are to be taken into consideration. I suggest:

*To decide exactly what is his destination, and to go there by the shortest, quickest, cheapest, most pleasant (or otherwise most desirable) route by the most appropriate means of transit.*

What is the most fundamental principle of medical science? To cure people? To give people the right remedy? To make the right diagnosis? No, these are all good principles but they are not sufficiently fundamental. I suggest:

*To fight against disease by preventing it if possible, and if not, by curing it.*

What is the guiding principle of warfare? To kill the enemy? To capture territory? No, these are effective even if cruel military principles, but they are not fundamental. To win the war? This is too vague. I suggest:

*To render the enemy powerless with the least delay and with the greatest economy of effort and the lives of one's own fighters.*

One more example. What is the fundamental guiding principle of the farmer? To earn as much money as possible? No, this is too vague and incomplete. To grow as much food as possible? No, this also is too vague and incomplete. I suggest:

*To find out what kinds and qualities of food stuffs are most required, and to produce the greatest quantity of them with the least expenditure of time, work and expense.*

Reader, please excuse this digression, but I wish to make you think very seriously of the value of having a fundamental guiding principle. I wish you to realize how necessary it is to consider above all the main point and to pay little attention to things which are not fundamental. No one can be satisfied in doing a thing uneconomically when the same thing (or a better thing) can be done economically. It is to no one's interest to do a thing with wasted effort when the same thing (or a better thing) can be done without wasted effort.

I am going to suggest the most fundamental guiding principle to those who are anxious to become proficient in foreign conversation. Without such a principle (as I happen to know by personal experience as a teacher and as a student) we may spend years where weeks would suffice. What should this principle be? To learn as many words as possible? No, many Japanese students have learnt far more English words than are necessary for conversation in English, and yet are unable to converse in English. To learn as many rules of grammar as possible? No, for a similar reason. To have a good pronunciation? This is very important, but it is not fundamental; many people pronounce

imperfectly, but can converse very well. To become expert in rapid mental translation? No, on the contrary, this will not help you at all in conversing in a foreign language, it will rather hinder you. To speak distinctly? No, this is not at all necessary; many students pronounce the foreign language too distinctly.

What is, then, the most fundamental guiding principle? It is this :

*Memorize perfectly the largest number of common and useful word-groups!*

That is the best and most valuable piece of advice that I can give to those who wish to learn how to use conversational English. Let me urge you to understand and to realize this principle, and why it is the most fundamental. Meditate over it, reflect upon it, bear it always in mind, for the full realizing of this principle will be more precious to you than many months of conversation-lessons with a teacher, or many months of vocabulary learning. If you think you are likely to lose sight of this principle, write it out in bold characters and hang it on the wall of your study-room.

Let us examine this principle more closely. "*Memorize perfectly.*" To do this you must repeat and repeat so many times and on so many different occasions that you can say the English word automatically, without thinking, or while you are thinking of something else. If you have perfectly memorized a piece of foreign speech-material you can say it just as easily as if it were a piece of Japanese speech material, and if anyone says it to you, you can understand him just as easily as if he were speaking Japanese. "Memorizing" means "mechanizing" plus "semanticizing." Mechanizing is the physical part. If you have mechanized a piece of speech material you can say it smoothly from beginning to end without hesitating or thinking. But mechanizing of the piece of speech material is not enough; you must also be conscious of the meaning of the piece of speech material that you are mechanizing. You can mechanize a meaningless sentence, or you can mechanize a sentence of which you do not know the meaning, and the mechanizing is generally the most difficult part of your memorizing work. But you must also associate with its meaning the speech-material that you are repeating. It is better to begin by semanticizing it integrally : associate it as a whole with its meaning as a whole, do not pay too much attention to the individual words or syllables of which it is composed; that is generally better done later.

The word *perfectly* is included in the statement of the fundamental guiding principle. We may easily deceive ourselves in the degree of our memorizing. We may imagine that we have memorized something perfectly, but may find a few weeks (or a few days or even hours) [later] that we can no longer produce it, even with effort. We must distinguish

between “short-distance memory” and “long-distance memory.” When pupils cram for a few days before an examination it is generally sufficient for them to remember things for a few days only; they may forget them directly the examination is past. This sort of cramming work is of no use whatever for the [student] of conversation. He should not say to himself “Shall I remember this expression next week” but rather “Shall I remember this expression next year, or in 3 years’ time.” How often have I not imagined myself to have memorized a Japanese sentence so thoroughly as to be beyond the danger of ever forgetting it—and how often have I discovered a few weeks later that the sentence has seemingly entirely escaped from my memory.

The moral is *repetition*; daily repetition, after which two-daily or three-daily repetition, and after that weekly or monthly repetition. Never be certain that you have perfectly memorized a piece of speech-material until you find after a lapse of weeks or months that you still retain it. Memorizing along is not enough, your memorizing must be *perfect*.

We now come to the next point, viz. *word-groups*. A word-group means a succession of words as occurring in ordinary speech (spoken or written). ‘Book, pencil, pen, paper’ is not a word-group, nor is ‘go, come, take, read.’ But ‘in two or three days’ time’ is a word-group as are also ‘come and sit down,’ ‘I’m rather busy just now,’ or ‘when you have time.’ Memorizing a number of separate words is quite a different thing from memorizing a number of words joined together in a group. Let me give you an example. Suppose that I, an Englishman, wish to memorize that useful Japanese word-group ‘Go tsugô no ii toki ni’ [‘When it’s convenient for you’: R.C.S.]. If I merely memorize each of the six words separately, (saying to myself *go* means honourable, *tsugô* means *convenience*, *no* is a gen[i]tive particle like our English *of*, *ii* is one way of saying *good*, *toki* is one way of saying *time*, *ni* is one of those grammatical particles which makes an adverbial clause) I shall be quite unable to use the word-group; I shall be unable to produce it either fluently or correctly. I shall be unable to think of its meaning, I shall be unable to recognize it when I hear it. I might probably say :

O . . . . . tsugô . . . . . ii . . . . . no . . . . . toki . . . . . wa or Go . . . . .  
 .. tsugô ga . . . . . yoku . . . . . no . . . . . jikan . . . . . ni or something  
 else equally absurd and incomprehensible. But if I repeat several times a day the succession, beginning,

Gotsugô. Gotsugô. Gotsugôno. Gotsugôno. Gotsugônoii.

Gotsugônoii. Iitokini. Iitokini. Gotsugônoiiitokini.

Gotsugônoiiitokini . . . . ., I shall succeed in mechanizing the word-group as a whole, able to say it at any time and to recognize it when said

rapidly to me at any time. In the meantime I shall have to think the thought : *when convenient to you or at any time when it suits you or when you find it convenient.* "Think the thought" I say, for thinking the thought is quite different from saying to myself the English words. When repeating 'Go tsugô no ii toki ni,' I must really imagine the circumstances in which it may be used; I must imagine myself wanting something and asking somebody to bring it to me, but (not wanting it immediately) informing the person that he may consider his own convenience. As soon as possible I should link up this new word-group to others already memorized, and say for instance :

Go tsugô no ii toki ni, koppu wo futatsu motte kite kudasai ['When it's convenient for you, could you bring me two glasses?: R.C.S.].

Thus my Japanese conversational ability will have been improved by one word-group of distinct utility. Further, this word-group will be the nucleus from which I may subsequently develop such speech-material as Go tsugô no warui, go tsugô no yokereba, go tsugô no warukereba, watakushi wa tsugô ga yô ga gozaimasu, etc. ['It's inconvenient for you', 'if it's convenient for you', 'if it's inconvenient for you', 'It's convenient for me', etc.: R.C.S.].

This Japanese expression is a *common* one. that is the next point. *Common* word-groups, not *uncommon* ones. *The only thing for you to do* is a common English word-group; *the sole thing which should be the object of your activities* is not a common English word-group, it is an uncommon one. *Naught else have I done for the past decade* is very uncommon, archaic and pretentious, one which is likely to evoke derision, and not admiration, from a native English-speaking person. The common equivalent would be *I haven't done anything else for the last ten years.*

But there is still another important word in our fundamental guiding principle, the word "useful." A word-group may be common but comparatively useless. The number of word-groups that the foreign student of conversation might well memorize is enormous, they might easily run into tens of thousands. For the sake of economy we must therefore limit them as far as possible, and the most rational way of limiting them is to exclude all but the most useful ones. Each word-group included in our list of common conversational expressions should be calculated to be of real effective service to the student; it should be of real conversational utility; an expression without which the speaker would be at a loss. I repeat : *Memorize perfectly the largest number of common and useful word-groups.* In other terms : progress in conversation is proportionate to the number of common and useful word-groups perfectly memorized by the student. If he has mechanized only 50 English word-groups he will not be very proficient in English

conversation; if he has mechanized 500, he will be far more than ten times more proficient, for the rate of increase is cumulative. I refrain from specifying any ideal number, for there is no limit to conversational proficiency. I say only : the more the better. If the whole of the speech-material contained in this book has been perfectly mechanized; the material, plus the possible intercombinations and the vocabulary already possessed by the student, he should be more than usually proficient in conversational English.

Memorizing is the key to success in all linguistic work but more especially in connection with the learning of foreign conversation. Let me remind you that I am speaking of oral memorizing, (memorizing by dint of mouth and ear sensations) and not of graphic memorizing (memorizing by dint of eye and hand sensations). The oral memorizing of conversational expressions is a dull and tedious business. I say this from the bitterness of my own experience, for personally I am not good at oral memorizing; I do it with exceptional difficulty, and would always prefer graphic memorizing (which comes to me much more easily), but I know that whatever proficiency I have attained in Japanese conversation is due to the patient repetition of Japanese word-groups. Directly I stop my work of repeating new word-groups or repeating anew the old ones I find a decrease in my power of conversing in Japanese. Oral memorizing is not attractive, but it is the only road. Many of the forms of work that I have designed and developed in the Institute Standard Language Course are intended to make oral memorizing more interesting and less tedious. Often and often I am tempted to follow other and more attractive roads to proficiency in Japanese conversation, but nothing can take the place of patient memorizing. No amount of sentence-constructing ingenuity can replace the patient daily repeating and reviewing of foreign word-groups. This is the one thing that assures fluency and automatic correctness. When once the ear and mouth sensations have become accustomed to the right succession of words all other successions give an impression of wrongness.

One of the saddest things I experience in the realm of linguistic pedagogy is to see (as I so often see) Japanese students patiently and laboriously memorizing worthless and wrong English sentences. I sometimes see and hear them repeating English word-groups that are unknown to the English-speaking peoples. They might be spending the same time and effort in memorizing real English sentences and word-groups, real formulas, real and useful English sentence-types and idioms. Sometimes I am also a victim; I have sometimes memorized Japanese sentences out of books imagining them to be the sort of sentences that Japanese people used, and then later, I have had to



unlearn them and replace them by the real ones. One of my objects in writing the present book is to save Japanese students from the same thankless and effort-wasting task.

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## **B. 1928o: *Kikoteki bumpo* (Mechanism Grammar) and 1928q: *Kikoteki eibumpo kaisetsu* (Explanation of English Mechanism Grammar)**

Since both of these publications tend to be described as ‘Companion Books’ to the *Automatic [English] Sentence Builder* (that is, 1928r) in lists of Institute publications (for example, in *Bulletin* 100: [17]), we shall begin by attempting to describe this device (which we have not ourselves seen).

The first mention of a sentence-producing machine appears to have come in *Bulletin* 38 (Oct. 1927), where it is reported that at the 17–19 October IRET Convention

a device was exhibited and explained, the purpose of which is to show in the most objective way the mechanism of the English sentence. By means of various folders and flaps various characteristic types of sentences are built up. The device demonstrates to what extent grammar is a series of mechanisms obeying laws as constant and as arbitrary as are those involved in the working of a machine. (p. 2)

The anonymous reporter goes on to mention that this device will shortly be made available ‘for the use of students by producing it in pocket form’. Following its eventual issue in October 1928, this pocket version was given ‘Japanese Letters Patent’, on January 18 1930 (*Bulletin* 67: 6). It is described (at second hand, according to a description given by A. S.

Hornby in 1968) by Tickoo (1986: 55) as ‘a cardboard cut-out with numerous folding parts which could be turned to produce new types of sentences’.

Although, on the basis of these descriptions, the *Sentence Builder* remains difficult to visualize, it seems clear that it must have been a kind of armless ‘one-armed bandit’, with words rather than pictures of fruit (and so on) appearing in cut-out windows. Evidently, though, the device was not literally mechanical, being made of cardboard and operated manually.

At a teacher-training course held immediately prior to the 1927 Convention (where a prototype of the ‘Sentence Builder’ was to be displayed), Palmer had devoted some time to discussion of what he was already at this stage terming ‘Mechanism Grammar’. A synopsis of his remarks was subsequently printed, as follows:

Grammar for the foreigner means directions for the use of the language he is using. No foreign student of language can hope to master the language without getting well acquainted with the elementary grammar mechanisms of the language he is studying.

Explanations of Conversion Tables, Analysis Tables, Substitution Tables (simple, compound and complex) and the Sentence-building Device were given. These . . . showed that Mechanism Grammar, although not traditional grammar, is a means of teaching grammar in the most simple way.

Palmer (1927dd: 3)

In a later description, Palmer summarized IRET research on grammar to date as follows:

We have urged that all grammatical explanations that do not help to overcome difficulties have no place in the classroom or the textbook; on the other hand we have elaborated a technique of

grammar [teaching?] so that the maximum of information may be given with the minimum of explanation. We have termed this aspect of grammar “Pattern Grammar,” and have shown that this is to a large extent the natural development of the substitution table and similar synoptic devices.

(Palmer 1934r: 9)

Here Palmer presented a list of publications which had embodied these principles and ideas, primary among these publications being:

*The Automatic Sentence Builder* [1928r], a synoptic device by which the chief features of English sentence-structure may be seen and handled concretely.

*Kikoteki Eibumpo Kaisetsu* [1928q], the detailed explanation (in Japanese) of the above device.

*Eibun Kosei Renshu Sho*, [1928p], a series of progressive exercises in sentence-building based on the above device.

In the same list, Palmer indicates that he considered both *Systematic Exercises in Sentence-Building*, Stages I and II (1924d and 1925g, respectively) and *Graded Exercises in English Composition* (1925o etc.) to have been progenitors of the above three publications.

It is clear, then, that Palmer believed in retrospect that his 1928o–r publications combined the best of the early ‘Grammar and Structure’ and ‘Writing’ Lines of Approach of the ‘Standard English Course’, embodying principles of grammar for production as opposed to analysis which had been implicit in both of these previous strands of work.

Palmer does not mention *Kikoteki bumpo (Mechanism Grammar)* (1928o) in his 1934r list, perhaps because it is primarily a theoretical work whereas 1928p–r were all intended for practical use. The Introduction (p. [i]) to 1928o indicates that its aim is to suggest why the *Sentence Builder* might be useful, but with a focus, more particularly, on explaining the conception of grammar which had justified the construction of this

device. Palmer 1928o, then, is divided into two parts: Part I (pp. 1–78) on the ‘Theory of Mechanism Grammar’ and a much shorter Part II (pp. 79–85) on the ‘Methodology of Mechanism Grammar’ (that is, the application of this conception in language teaching). The book ends with an Appendix (pp. 86–105) containing several quotations, the majority of them in English, which provide some ‘weight of authority’ to the approach suggested in the body of the work.

More detailed contents of the nine sections in Part I of this work are as follows: 1. Various definitions of grammar (pp. 1–6); 2. The failings of traditional grammar (pp. 7–12); 3. How language is ‘used’ (pp. 12–21); 4. The mother tongue as a ‘mechanism’ (pp. 21–9); 5. Mechanism Grammar (pp. 29–39); 6. Implications of Mechanism Grammar (for language learning) (pp. 39–50); 7. How substitution tables can be used (pp. 51–61); 8. Ergonics (pp. 61–71); and 9. The Automatic English Sentence Builder (pp. 71–78). Showing that different dictionaries and scholars have defined ‘grammar’ in different ways (1), Palmer goes on to emphasize that traditional conceptions of English grammar, based on categories derived from the study of Latin, have been found to be wanting in the teaching of English as a mother tongue, and have been criticized by descriptive linguists including Jespersen, Sayce and Bloomfield (2). For learners of English as a foreign language, a further step needs to be taken, since what they require are not only accurate descriptions but also indications of how they can come to *use* the target language; in other words, if an analogy is made between English and a machine, they need to learn how to use, apply and control the machine to produce sentences, and learn also how to avoid using it mistakenly (3). Emphasizing that this kind of ‘mastery of the machine’ is an ability possessed by native speakers which needs to be specially acquired by foreign language

learners (4), Palmer goes on (in section 5) to propose that what he terms 'mechanism grammar' represents an appropriate conception of grammar for foreign language instruction, implying as it does that ways need to be found to show learners how the target language can be used and not simply analysed. At this stage he also suggests certain 'sub-mechanisms' which might need to be particularly emphasized, including those of negation (pp. 32–3), interrogation (p. 34) and emphasis (pp. 34–5). The following section (6) provides useful pedagogical insights into different ways in which the 'mechanism' of a language might be revealed synoptically to students, including consideration of Word tables (p. 40), Conjugation tables (p. 41), Analysis tables (pp. 41–3), Conversion tables (pp. 44–6) and Substitution tables (pp. 46–50). Next (in section 7), a special emphasis is placed on different (compound and complex) types of Substitution table, since it is these which form the basis of the *Sentence Builder*. Following a rather technical discussion of 'Ergonics' (8), details are provided about this device in the last section of Part I (9). According to these explanations, the *Sentence Builder* consists of a number of different substitution tables compounded into one device (in other words, when folded in different ways, different types of substitution table appear, and in this sense, the *Sentence Builder* can be termed a kind of 'super substitution table'). Examples of the types of sentence pattern included appear in English on pp. 72, 74 and 75.

Explanations are not given in this work of how the *Sentence Builder* can actually be used in teaching or learning, beyond hints that teachers can replace words included within the package by marking in their own selections. Instead, Part II concentrates on providing indications as to how the 'First steps towards English grammar' (pp. 81–85) can be taken, that is, how a minimum necessary knowledge about grammar can be

provided to beginning students, on the basis of explicit contrasts with Japanese sentence structure. This Part ends with only very general suggestions (p. 85) as to how, on the basis of this knowledge, the teacher can proceed to presentation of more complex grammar. Here it is emphasized that the teacher should not just make students memorize rules, but should teach inductively, providing plenty of examples, in order to lead them to a productive mastery of the mechanism of grammar. The very last paragraph (p. 85) introduces the reader to 1928q, which is said to provide explanations of the different types of sentence pattern contained in the *English Sentence Builder* and to 1928p, which provides practice activities.

Whereas considerations in 1928o are not necessarily tied either to English or to the *English Sentence Builder* itself (examples of substitution tables are presented, for example, for Japanese (pp. 48–9, 53, 56) and German (p. 56) as well as English), 1928q presents explanations of particular points of English grammar relating specifically to the patterns generated by the *Sentence Builder* as supplied. Again, however, guidelines are not provided as to how this device might be used for pedagogical purposes. Rather, the book constitutes a kind of ‘glossary’, being an explanation of basic characteristics and functions of the different types of verb form (not sentence pattern) contained within the ‘software’ of the *Sentence Builder*. The contents of this (1928q) work are, then, as follows:

Part I (pp. 2–27):

Non-anomalous finites (pp. 2–8), including present tense and preterite forms, followed by translations into Japanese of the lexis used in examples (pp. 4–8).

Non-finites (pp. 8–27), including affirmative (pp. 10–12), interrogative (pp. 12–15) and emphatic (pp. 15–17) infinitive constructions; past participles (pp. 23–6) and present participles (pp. 26–7).

Part II (pp. 27–67):

The ‘24 anomalous finites’ (pp. 27–67), as listed (mostly) under English word headings.

Part III of the book (pp. 68–72) provides an English-Japanese glossary of grammatical terminology, indicating at the same time (by means of numbering in Chinese characters) which ‘sections’ of the *Sentence Builder* best address the different aspects mentioned.

The book as a whole, then, appears to function as a kind of bridge between the traditional, analytical approaches to grammar with which teachers (and learners) are likely to be familiar (as well-represented in the list of grammatical terminology in Part III) and the more productive, ‘mechanism’ type of approach represented by the *Sentence Builder* itself and its accompanying exercises (1928p).

In conclusion, then, Palmer’s 1928o and 1928q works in Japanese appear to have been intended to persuade ‘traditionally minded’ teachers to accept a new conception of grammar relating to his belief that foreign languages should be taught ‘as Speech’ (that is, as a form of behaviour) rather than (only) ‘as Code’. The fact that guidelines appear to be lacking with regard to actual of the *Sentence Builder* by teachers or students seems to suggest that this device, too, was promoted as much for its persuasive power in effectively ‘representing’ an alternative conception of grammar as for its inherent pedagogical usefulness.

## C. 1929g: *Eigo no Rokushukan (The First Six Weeks of English)*

Below we present the whole of the English version of the introduction to 1929g, as reproduced in IRLT 1962: 385–391.

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### THE FIRST SIX WEEKS OF ENGLISH

#### How Shall We Start?

We are in charge of a class of pupils who have just entered a school of Middle Grade, and our work is to give them their first lessons in English. We have been instructed to teach them according to the modern plan, in other terms, to teach them with the maximum of efficiency : to economize our and their precious time, by utilizing it in the best possible manner. We are to adopt all procedures that make for speed and sound progress and to avoid all those that make for delay, waste and ineffectiveness. We are to prove again, as has been proved so often, that a foreign language may be taught or acquired with relative ease and success even in conditions as unfavourable as are said to be those in Japan.

The pupils (assumed to be utterly ignorant of English) are now making their first start on the more or less long journey that lies before them. They are starting from the zero point – they may finish by an acquaintance with English comparable to that possessed by the cultured Englishman or American. Their ultimate success however will depend largely upon the sort of start that they are given. Guided in the right direction by a teacher who possesses common-sense notions of English-teaching, using the methods which have been so painstakingly designed for them and the material which has been so carefully selected for them, the beginners may start with the confidence of reaching their destination easily and successfully.

How shall we start them on their journey? Shall we first teach them their A. B. C.? Or shall we give them an outline of elementary English grammar and the art of English sentence-building? Or shall we treat them more or less as parents treat the one-year old English child who, like our pupils, is just starting to learn English? Shall we begin with



systematic pronunciation exercises? Shall we teach English “as a code” or “as speech”?

Before giving any conclusive answer, let us consider what is our chief immediate aim. Let us assume that this is to cause our pupils, in the minimum of time and with the maximum of interest, to become able to read English extensively, easily and naturally, and to become able to compose English with fair accuracy. With this twofold ability they may proceed further in any direction that circumstances may dictate: they may specialize in spoken or conversational English, business English, the English of technology and science, or they may aspire to the higher realms of letters and English scholarship. Whatever their ultimate aim may be, it is our business now to teach them to read simple English with understanding and to compose it with fair accuracy.

Research in the psychology of learning, and more especially speech-psychology, shows us that the shortest and easiest way (most probably the only way) to approach the reading and writing of a language is through that language “as speech.” One who has successfully mastered any language has invariably done so by the formation and exercise of certain linguistic skills, such as the skill of catenizing, etc.

We shall therefore use those procedures and devices which are known by experience to form and develop those skills with the maximum of ease and interest in the minimum of time. In the earlier stages these procedures will be largely oral. Let us note however that these oral procedures have little or nothing in common with the teaching of conversational English; the lessons will not be lessons in conversation, still less lessons in colloquial English. The style of English we shall use will be neither colloquial nor the more or less archaic language of poetry: it will be that sort of English that is common to all styles and usages.

The acquiring of those skills that enable one to “think in the language” is by no means difficult provided that the language is approached “as *speech*” (i.e. a mode of communication) and not considered as a number of words, forms, rules, etc. to be treated as “learning items.” Analogically we may say that it is easy to learn to ride a bicycle provided that we [do not?] consider and use the bicycle as a bunch of dead mechanisms. At later stages our pupil will become acquainted with the mechanisms of English, and will do specific exercises on the structure of English sentences—but such work would be most inappropriate as an initiation into the use of English as a medium for communication.

And what of pronunciation? Is a perfect or nearly perfect pronunciation on the part of our pupils or their teacher one of the requisites of English as speech? Not necessarily. One may speak the

language with an almost unintelligible pronunciation and yet be able to “think” in it. But for many reasons we shall encourage our student to gain a pronunciation approximating so far as possible to that used by native speakers. The first reason is that, when the pupil is a beginner, it is almost as easy to give him right pronunciation habits as it is to give him wrong ones, and from the educational as well as the common-sense point of view it is hardly permissible to do second or third-rate work when first-rate work is within our reach. The second reason is that if a fair pronunciation is not obtained within the first few months it will be obtained later only by dint of an immense amount of corrective work. In their future career, the power to pronounce intelligibly and to understand English when pronounced by natives may be of vital importance to our students, and so they must not be given cause to complain in years to come that they were allowed to form bad habits in these respects. One of these days they may attend the lectures of some foreign professor of science or literature specially called to Japan for the benefit of our pupils. If on account of their lack of training in pronunciation, they fail to understand what that lecturer is saying; so far as those students are concerned, the foreign lecturer has been called in vain. Again, many consider today that a barbarous pronunciation is a mark of the uncultured—and we would have our pupils merit the respect rather than scorn of those who will hear them.

Many would start the English course by a series of systematic exercises in ear-training and articulation—and indeed this is a procedure we should be reluctant to condemn. It seems nevertheless that systematic pronunciation exercises should not form part of the very earliest lessons. Similarly systematic exercises in sentence-building—a most valuable form of work—should not figure in the lessons that serve our pupils as an introduction to the English language.

The reason for such exclusion is this : English should be presented to our pupils from the very outset as nothing other than a means of communication. Let them at the very start realize that a foreign language is, in its essence, not a collection of rules, formulas and symbols, but something as natural and as simple as their mother tongue. Let this impression of English be their first, and therefore let us do nothing that may cloud or distort this impression.

For this same reason—but in a far greater degree—let us avoid any references to the A. B. C. or to spelling. Although we are setting out to teach our pupils to read and to write, they must, in the first instance, look upon the foreign language as a means of oral expression. For in the very earliest stage it is impossible to *read* an utterly foreign language of which we know no word. As well might we be called upon to eat when

there is no food or to swim where there is no water. *Reading*, we must remember, is a process by which certain written signs suggest the words for which they stand and the meanings that are associated with the words. The so-called “reading” that is nothing other than transforming written signs into unmeaning groups of sounds cannot be called reading in the ordinary connotation of the term, but a process of mock-reading that is either mere phonating or, worse, deciphering. And we are setting out to teach our pupils, let us remember, not to phonate nor to decipher, but to *read* and to *compose*.

Nor in the early stages shall we teach them or cause them or allow them to translate. Among the various things that give young pupils wrong ideas concerning the nature of the foreign language are translation exercises. Many young students, if asked their impression of what a foreign language is, would be tempted to answer “It is something that you translate from or into.” To make clear the meaning of a new foreign word or expression we may, when necessary, make use of our pupils’ mother tongue. If, for instance they have not already guessed that the word *corner* is equally *sumi* or *kado*, *wood* and *tree* may be both equivalent to his native [*ki*], we may tell them, for such sort of explanations are not translation, as we usually understand the term.

Nor shall we go to the other extreme and set our 12-year-old pupils to memorizing nursery rhymes and jingles appropriate to the child of three.

Having excluded this, that and the other possible but inexpedient approaches to the language, let us consider in positive terms how we are going to give the first few lessons. We have to do various things, let us remember, that will cause our pupils to observe with their ears, to imitate with their vocal organs, to repeat certain successions of sounds and words, to associate them with their meaning, and to produce more or less correctly their own successions of words in order to convey meanings to us.

We must adopt procedures that will give our pupils abundant opportunities for listening, with a view to subsequent imitation. We must cause them to *receive* in order that they may subsequently *give*. They must listen to us with understanding, and forget that it is a foreign language they are listening to. To save them from the unnatural and vicious habit of translating mentally what they hear or what they are going to say, we must call upon them to make immediate reactions to certain stimuli, we must ask them questions in such a way that they may utilize part of the question in their answer (thereby keeping their minds running uninterruptedly along the English groove). We must issue commands in English requiring an immediate performance.

For these purposes what sort of speech-material shall we use? In the early stages there is only one suitable material, viz. words of the highest frequency and sentence-forming utility combined in sentences with words standing for objects, actions etc. which can be actually demonstrated in the most concrete way. For we must proceed from the concrete to the abstract. We shall therefore make an extensive use of such nouns as *book, box, desk, or door*, of such adjectives as *white, red, large, or small*, of such prepositions as *in, on, or under*.

To this sort of material we have given the name of *ostensive*, that is, the sort of speech-material that can be taught by ostensive demonstration (as opposed to the sort of material that can be taught only by means of context or translation). But it will not do to suppose that all and any sort of *ostensive* material may be used indiscriminately. Let us note first that the quantity of ostensive material is far greater than many of us suppose. A reference to "*English Through Actions*" will show that one might, if time permitted, devote a whole year to methods based on ostensive work. but in order to obtain the most effective results in the minimum of time, it is necessary to exercise a strict censorship over teaching material, lest one be unduly tempted to follow up too far any interesting line of approach.

We have referred elsewhere to the "minimum nucleus," i.e. the total number of words, forms, grammar-mechanisms etc. that it is essential for our pupil to be acquainted with by the end of the first year. Modest as this minimum nucleus is, we shall be unable to teach it all in the course of the first year if we devote too much time to this or that branch or aspect of it. If for instance, we are tempted to teach a number of nouns or adjectives or verbs in excess of those specified in the minimum nucleus, other matter will inevitably be crowded out. If our enthusiasm for pronunciation tempts us to devote too many hours to pronunciation exercises, it will be at the expense of vocabulary or exercises in sentence-building. The more time we spend on the study of—let us say—the noun the less we shall have for the study of—let us say—verbs. For a bushel basket will not contain more than a bushel. We must therefore be prepared at any moment to go just so far in a given direction, but no farther, for all excesses have to be paid for in some form or other. The right time and the right amount of time must be found for all that it is necessary for us to teach.

The following plan seems a suitable one. Let us start with five lessons to serve as a very first introduction to English. The material for these lessons may consist of some 25 nouns (chiefly names of the common objects usually present in the classroom), about a dozen verbs and the same number of prepositions (lending themselves to ostensive

treatment), personal and possessive pronouns of the first and second persons singular, the cardinal numbers from 1 to 10, together with *what, who, whose, where*, and possibly *which, this, that, it, a, the, yes, no, not, and, or*, and a few others.

This vocabulary, together with the grammar-mechanisms and construction-patterns appropriate to it, will serve as a very first initiation. This material, limited as it is, will result in five lessons of such a nature as to present English attractively to a class of raw beginners, who will see it not as a difficult and unfamiliar studial subject but as a new medium of communicating thoughts

This elementary material will be possessed by our students after the first five lessons chiefly in the form of "recognition-knowledge"; they will understand what the teacher says but will be less able to answer questions or otherwise possess the material "productively." They have gained a footing in the language but they will have to "consolidate their position."

During these five lessons the question of pronunciation has received no specific attention on the part of the teacher. It is now time to introduce systematic pronunciation exercises, and from the sixth lesson onwards these will form part of each lesson-period. At the sixth lesson, the teacher, using the chart specially designed to this effect, will teach a number of new nouns serving as models to illustrate English sounds.

From now until the 30th Lesson (deemed to conclude the first six weeks of English) the commonest and most useful sentence-building words and grammar-mechanisms will be introduced by the teacher in the order and manner set forth in the following pages. The procedure will be intensive. It will be of such a nature as to simulate in the highest degree the speech-learning capacities of the pupils.

With this vocabulary of some 450 words well drilled and possessed by them as to speech, the pupils are now ready to learn to read, spell and write. We then allot a further period of six weeks during which time a portion of each lesson-period is devoted to the oral recapitulation of the material, and the other portion to reading this same material in the form of easy texts and to writing it from dictation and other writing exercises.

At the end of the first three months, then, our pupils will have received a very thorough grounding in the fundamental English vocabulary, and will be fully prepared for the work which will be expected of them during the subsequent months and years.

*The Technique of the Ostensive Method*

The purpose of the Ostensive Method is to provide the pupil in the earliest stages of his study with an immense number of opportunities for understanding what he hears said in the foreign language, for composing sentences in the language readily and accurately without the process of mental translation. From the point of view of economy, interest and efficacy, no other method for beginners can compare with this. In the course of one lesson period, our beginners hear with immediate understanding some hundreds of statements, commands and questions, and are able to give correct answers to the questions without recourse to any form of translation or rules of grammar. And while an ever-increasing vocabulary and the fundamental grammar-mechanisms are thus being assimilated, the pupils are being trained in the right language learning skills and habits.

Needless to say, however, the best results cannot be obtained unless the teacher has some familiarity with the technique of the method. He should, for instance, realize the importance—even the necessity, at times, of presenting new material in the form, so to speak of successive “waves.” A lesson, for instance, provides a group of new words and some unfamiliar construction. A teacher inexperienced in the right technique might call upon his pupils immediately to answer the questions containing these new words and forms—and be disappointed at the slowness and incorrectness of the answers. The more experienced teacher would first use the new material in the form of statements accompanied by the necessary actions or gestures (readers of *Robinson Crusoe* will remember that this was the procedure used by the hero of the story when giving lessons by the direct method—to Man Friday). And even then the experienced teacher would not start questioning his pupils; he would first ask the questions—and *answer them himself*, thus setting a model for his pupils to imitate. Then and then only would he question the pupils—and even then only in their simplest and easiest form. Then in a subsequent “wave” he would put the questions in a less easy form. As a final phase he would ask the questions in any haphazard order mixed in with other material previously learnt.

It would of course be easy for us to write out here in full each lesson exactly as it should be given by a skilful teacher to a class of rather dull pupils. Indeed this is what we have done for most of the lessons of this sort contained in *English Through Actions*. In that book we see for instance the group of new material:

This is red.      This is blue.  
This is black.    This is white.  
This is green.    This is yellow.

that is to say six new words contained in a familiar construction-pattern. As developed in *English Through Actions* (allowing for the occasional use of "etc.") these six sentences result in 250 pairs of questions and answers which occupy three quarto pages of the book.

In the present book we will content ourselves by occasionally writing out a lesson in a more or less developed form, and for the others giving the material in the form of "successive waves" and to make a very liberal interpretation of the sign "&c."

For all other information concerning the technique of Ostensive Teaching in the early stages we would refer our reader to the above-mentioned book *English Through Actions*.

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*Note: Since full bibliographical details of works by Harold E. Palmer are provided in Chapters Two to Six, only details of works by other authors are presented here.*

*Abbreviations: For 'Bulletin', 'IRLT' and 'IRET', see p. 19. Additionally here, 'Gogaku kyoiku' = 'Gogaku kyoiku (The Bulletin of the Institute for Research in Language Teaching)'; IPA = 'International Phonetic Association'.*

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