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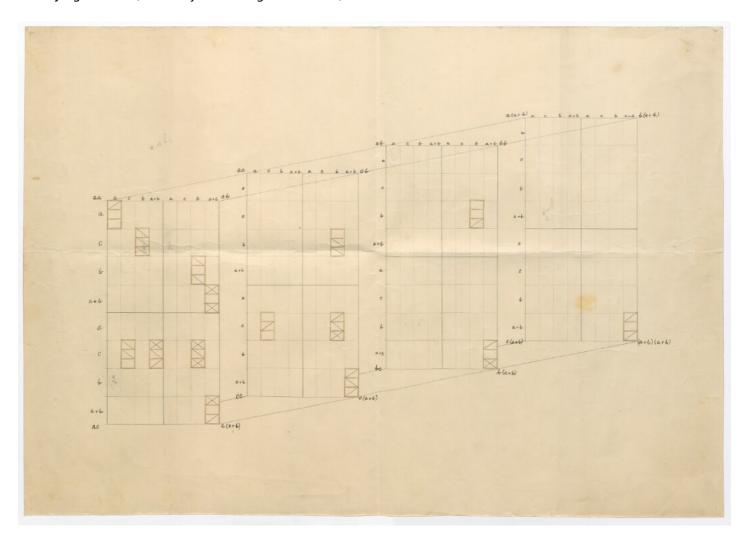
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SPRWCH

29th October 1929

I have taken "Speech" as the subject for my talk tonight, partly because it is the one thing I know a little about, and partly because, as we all speak several thousand words every day, I thought you might find it worth your while to consider for a moment what speech is.

The activity of speech can be downiently divided into three parts. (1) The speaker produces sounds. (2) the sounds proceed through the air. (3) the sounds are received by the

Before we go further into the nature of speech I would sek you to consider for a moment the important fact that there can be no speech without a hearer. You will see what I mean if we take as an example a similar because which is easier to observe. If you have passed the Castle in the morning you will have seen, no doubt, a soldier on the wall waving sings in the air. Now if there was not a soldier on the other side who could see him, his wavings would not be signals in the real sense of the ford. If you had no receiving sets this wireless programme would not exist. There would be electric waves floating about in the air, but they would not mean anything to anybody. And so also there is no speech without a hearer. Hormally, of course the hearer is supplied automatically in so far as you yourself can always hear what you say. But suppose a deaf and dumb person who has learnt to speak

started talking with nobody listening, or suppose you started a gramophone and then left it in a sound proof room. That would not be speech. It would be only potential speech, vibrations in the air which would be converted into speech if a hearer came within earphot.

I will go exen further than that: Words that you do not underetend, words of a foreign language that you do not know ere not, from a psychological point of view, speech to (2)

you. You know that they are speech to somebody, to the people who know that language, just as you know that the soldier on the wall is waving signals to somebody, and just as you know when you walk through the streets of an evening that there are waves in the air which to the people listening in are a broadcasting programme, although to you, at present, it all means nothing.

It would appear, then, that speech is a string of sounds by which we manage to suggest meaning. I deliberately say "suggest, not convey, because as we have seen our speech does well contain meaning. If I say "beer" it means something only to the people who have learnt to associate a certain idea with that particular group of sounds, who possess, so to speak, the code in which I am speaking. The waving of the soldier on the wall of the Casile means nothing to you, but the dome mean something to the soldier on the other side because he knows the code; they are signale capable of suggesting meaning. And so with all other kinds of symbols. A piece of shorthand is to the uninitiated nothing more than a jumble of scribblings whereas to those who have learnt to read it, it may mean a lot. You cannot understand a Chinese inscription until you have learnt what ideas to associate with the various symbols.

And so, also, with speech. If I say "gl " to you it means nothing whereas in a Dane it calls forth much the same associations as you get from the word "elect". In other words, "beer" and gl carry no meaning in them but they suggest a meaning which can be picked up only by those who know the language.

Human speech, then is a signal system or a set of signal systems which we have invented and developed to communicate with other humans, to suggest ideas and emotions to them, just as other members of the animal kingdom have their very (3)

much oruder systems of suggesting their and or ideas to their fellows. Side by side with this we have developed other systems such as writing and gestures which come outside the scope of my subject tonight.

We see this system working in its simplest form if we watch a small child. The first cries of an infant when it is hungry or in pain are gener probably just reflexes without any thought of obtaining anything as a result. But later on, as the child grows bigger, it realizes, that when it cries, people appear and administer to itspeeds, and it begins to employ this means wilfully to get attention whon it is bored and wants company, thereby taking a mean advantage of the soft heart of its mother. Some mothers are sensible enough to stop this practice by ignoring the howling, which then very soon stops. But others, as some or you will know to your cost, allow their children to bully them and become humble slaves of the little tyrant in the oracle.

At the came time the child comes into the babbling stage. It discovers that it can make armsing sounds with its tongue and lips and proceeds to do so, much to the delight of the enthusiastic mother, who at once proclaims her child se a future Demostheres and is very annoyed at your stupidity when you can't understand what Baby is saying. This bebbling is very useful as it trains the muscular feeling in the vocal m organs in the came way as the muscular feeling in hands and feet is developed when baby plays with his toes. This gives the child more control over its movements, and at the same time it begins to coordinate things so that it can be taught to clap its hands and show how big it is on request, which proves beyond cynical doubt that we have a future Mapoleon or Shakesveere beforus.

And now the child begins to imitate the sounds of its mother. It says runmay and daddy and then menny and all the (4)

other things as it increases its field of observation and needs more expressions. At first its speech is clummy and fumbling and the child tries to imitate the exact sounds of its mother but does not always hit the nail on the head; with practice it gets more distinct, just as we fumble with the unaccustomed sounds of a foreign language when we are in the first stage of learning and later on produce them correctly withour being conscious of any effort.

The process of learning, in the child, is quite simple. It picks out, from the speech of the people about it, certain groups of sounds, which it can reproduce by wriggling its tonguelin certain ways, and which always recurr in connection with certain objects. Murmy is that nice person who gives it food and plays with it. Daddy is that man who sometimes pricks when he kieses it. Door is that differently coloured force of wall which disappears just before people come in. And so on and so forth, the child learns to coordinate signals with ideas, and all through life it goes on learning new signals as it encounters new ideas.

Sometimes the reverse process takes place and the child invents words for itself either because it does not know the already accepted term or because its own word pleases it more. These inventions fall under three headings (1) Shortnings or other distortions of already existing words. (2) onomatopoetica (3) original inventions. Under the first heading come such distortions as biccy for biscuit. I have heard farill for flower, lizzape for Elizabeth, but any mother will furnish m you with scores of examples. Only too pleased to. The second lot are the childs imitation of the sounds produced by the objects it wants to denote, such as wow-wow for a deg, and z puff-puff for a train. Under the third heading come such expressions as to go by-by, s as I heart a little boy you suce when his mother gave him bull an aspirine to put him to steep, fairy bugg 2 opposing for anything true flies which very littly comes from Afrikaan 12px21, to throw up. (5)

Other distortions occur when the child substitutes sounds which it finds easier to pronounce for the correct ones. In this way we get fur for thumb, foke for smoke, weady for ready and things of that sort. Or they get the sounds mixed up as in ickle for little, Very often fond parents and others drum it into the children that this is char-ming, to such an extent that the kids dont want to give it up but talk bebytelk for years and years, much to the disgust of strangers who do not remember the time when the big overfed girl was a little bowlegged darling with dimples in her knees.

We have seen, then, what the primary functions of language are and along what lines the young human proceeds to learn to speak it. The next great problem to be solved is where did it all come from? How did it originate? What was the first language like? Those questions I do not propose to tackle tonight. It is in the nature of things that we do not and cannot know anything of the origin of language and any attempt on our part to solve the problem must therefore necessarily be pure hypothesis, for although the development of language an historic times gives us a certain clue as to what may have happened, so many different influences are at work at the formation of a finguage that it is impossible to come to any definite conclusions as to the nature of the first language. There are about as many theories about the there are people who have tackled the question, if not more.

But we are on firmer k ground if we inquire a little into the ways in which the different languages overcome the difficulties. Do they tackle the same problems in the same way? Do they express identical things in identical x terms? Which brings us on to a further question: Do the people of one nation ever want to express the same ideas as the people of another? Do they entertain the same ideas at all?

People who know only one language often think that translation is a very easy thing to do. You have only got to put the English equivalent, word for word instead of the (6)

French or German or whatever it is. They think that for every word in English there is a corresponding word, a word of the same meaning in each of all the other languages of the earth. V ✓ Anyone who has ever tried to translate anything from one language to another will know how hopeless it is to get exactly the m same shade of meaning in another language. And that is not surprising if we reflect that even in the speaking of one language the same words call forth different associations. If you say "sunset" to a man from the West Coast of Ireland the will think of the sun dipping into the sea; a man from the east will see before his inner eye the sun sinking behind the hills; another might remember the red sky through the trees of a forest or the glow on a window or a thousand different things according to the sunsets which have impressed themselves $\boldsymbol{\pi}$ most vividly on our memory. A cow, to the London child, is a vague sortofs animal with horns, believed to be living in the country. In the country boy the word cow brings up a host of associations, memories of his intimate life with the cows on the farm; to the butcher it is a pump of meat to be divided into so many parts, to the vet an animal given to catching such and such diseases and so on. In addition to what the word $\underline{\text{means}}$ the idea it actually stands for , it $\underline{\text{means}}$ calls forward in the speaker and the hearer a hest of associations which do not always coincide. The speaker chooses his word from several synonyms bacause of these associations. On the careful selection of just the right associations rests the successof with writing and speaking. Furthermore language changes from one day to another. I am not thinking of the m change in usage from "thou" to "you" or from "forsooth" to "by George" but of the change in meaning of the words which have remskited the same. Think of the difference only in a very

(7) short time. If an old lady & of 70 had said to you two months ago " I am going up the mountain to-morrow" you would have been amazed, for how could so old a person climb the mountsin? Now you would smile and say "oh yes, how nice for you". For obviously the old dear is going my up on the cableway. Ten years ago "I am going to France " meant the War; now it means nightclubs, Art, Music, whatever you go to France for. "I saw a woman in the street this morning" wat a difference in meaning a hundred years ago and now; the street is different, the woman is different, and our cutlook on both is different. And it works the other way too. Can you really understand, when you read Shakespeare or even Dickens, what was in the writers mind? Can you really imagine yourself in Samuel Pepys's shoes, living in a world where not only there were no motorcars and no matches and no long trousers, but Whe whole outlook, all experience, upbringing , knowledge, emotion, even, was so completely different from what we have today. Can you say that you understand their language completely? No! In other words , the language we spoke yesterday is not the language we speak today, and tomorrow we shall speak yet another. We What we call a language, then, really consists of many languages separated by time or space, the speakers of which only partially understand each other. And if we reflect fail to grasp what we are trying to say, we find that when

Max What we call a language, then, really consists of many languages separated by time or space, the speakers of which only partially understand each other. And if we reflect on how often the people of our own set, our best friends fail to grasp what we are trying to say, we find that when it comes to expressing our innermest thoughts, nobody really completely understands our language. Nobody has exactly the same set of experiences as I, therefore nobody gets exactly the same associations as I, and therefore nobody speaks exactly as I do, and therefore nobody understands exactly what I meant day words to suggest. Or to use outwood metafor, nobody has exactly the code in which I am speaking.

