

The Speaking Self: Discontinuous Lexica, Multilingualism, and Linguistic Competence¹

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Abstract: The grammars of native speakers are discontinuous, by which is meant the principle of language competence according to which no two persons have exactly the same grammar of the language they share as native speakers. To a very large extent, what is discontinuous is their vocabularies, their command of the lexical stock of the language. No matter how similar phonetically or grammatically is the speech of members of a relatively homogeneous speech community, there are always differences in style and discourse between individuals. These may be a function of education and family history as well as of idiosyncrasy (personality). One particularly interesting differentia specifica is the use of foreign words and phrases in one's native speech (including writing). Presented is some material on the role multilingualism plays in characterizing the English-language competence of native or near-native speakers. Along with examples from belles lettres, an illustrative case study is furnished of the author's own nuclear family (parents, five children, governess), in which several European and Asian languages flesh out a picture of habitual multilingualism.

"My language is the sum total of myself."
- Charles Sanders Peirce²

Prolegomena

- A. language is like a piece of music or a poem--i. e., a made (aesthetic = *L formosus*) object, a WORK that unfolds in time (unlike an art work which is static), always dynamic, while remaining changeable and stable simultaneously;
- B. linguistic competence can only transpire in performance, and in ensembles of performances, and is not a work;
- C. the ECOLOGY of language is constituted by DISCOURSE rather than structural relations;
- D. the lexica (vocabularies) of speakers are discontinuous: no two speakers of a language have the same lexicon despite considerable overlap;
- E. multilingualism (unlike diglossia, pidgins, or code switching) introduces a new dimension in the discontinuity of lexica;
- F. linguistic theory is immanent in the concerted--i. e., syntagmatic--data [= performance] of language in its VARIETY, not merely in its paradigmatic structure;
- G. hence the goal of theory is **THE RATIONALIZED EXPLICATION OF LINGUISTIC VARIETY.**

In coming to an encompassingly stereoscopic view of language--both ontologically and experientially--the above seven points are to be juxtaposed to the following two sets of three each:³

¹ Earlier versions of this paper were presented as public lectures at Cornell and Columbia Universities.

² The motto comes from one of Peirce's most famous papers (1868; rpt. Peirce 1992). I am grateful to Vincent Colapietro for alerting me to the importance of this apothegm for a semiotic understanding of the fundamental role that language plays in the constitution of selfhood. See Short (1992) for a penetrating review of Colapietro's important book (1989).

A. LEVELS OF PATTERNING IN LANGUAGE

- I. system (everything functional that is productive in the language, including usage that exists *in potentia*)
- II. norms (usage that is historically realized and codified in the given language community)
- III. type (the specific Bauplan or underlying design of a language)

B. MODES OF BEING OF LANGUAGE

- I. grammar (language as TECHNIQUE [*dúnamis*])
- II. speech (language as ACTIVITY [*enérgeia*])
- III. text (language as PRODUCT [*érgon*])

These three modes of being are in reverse hierarchical relation depending on the point of view of the specific participant in the speech act, speaker or hearer. The speaker starts with the grammar that is then immanent in speech and manifested as text; the hearer, correspondingly, starts with the text and reconstructs the grammar via the speech as intermediary:

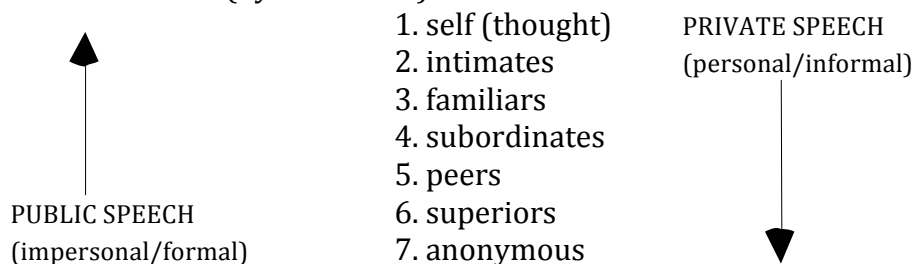
<u>Speaker's point of view</u>	<u>Hearer's point of view</u>
I GRAMMAR	I TEXT
II SPEECH	II SPEECH
III TEXT	III GRAMMAR

The utterance takes place in a communicative context defined by the speaker's orientation and the latter's associated function:

C. COMMUNICATIVE CONTEXT (from the speaker's point of view)

<u>Orientation</u>	<u>Function</u>
CONTACT	phatic
CONTENT	referential
CODE	metalinguistic
ADDRESSEE	conative
ADDRESSER	emotive
MESSAGE	poetic

D. TYPOLOGY OF CONTEXT (by addressee)



³ Here and in some of the following, my analysis reproduces that of Andersen 1991. The Roman numerals preceding each member of the tripartition correspond to the Firsts, Seconds, and Thirds of Peirce's categoriology as applied to language structure (cf. Shapiro 2002).

E. EPISTEMIC REPERTOIRE (LINGUISTIC COMPETENCE)

I. PHONOLOGY/PHONETICS

monolingual

A. "native" (unaccented/authentic) sounds ("one's own" speech)

B. "non-native" sounds (speech of "others")

1. allolects

a) regional (incl. other countries)

b) social

c) ethnic

2. foreign speech



multilingual

II. LEXIS, INCL. DERIVATION

fixed

A. semantics (vocabulary)

1. native (differentiated by size and depth)

2. foreign (use of foreign words and locutions)

B. doxastics (beliefs, presuppositions)

1. proverbs

2. quotations (incl. literary references)

C. ludics (wordplay)

1. paronomasia (puns, tropes, neologisms/nonce words)

2. jokes, anecdotes, stories

3. citations of others' utterances



free

III. SYNTAX, INCL. INFLECTION

simple

A. simple (declarative) sentences

B. complex sentences (modes, subordinate/embedded constructions)



complex

C. linked discourse

IV. STYLISTICS (appropriateness, incl. pragmatic and aesthetic)

fixed

A. normative

1. social

a) sex

b) age (infant/adolescent/young adult/adult/elder)

c) status/rank (superior/equal/inferior, compatriot/foreigner)

2. contextual (adequacy of linguistic expression to context, including "cultural baggage")

B. axiological (judgments of value/worth)

1. aesthetic (incl. phonostylistics and speech production)

2. evaluative (approval)



free

V. PARALINGUISTICS

A. speaking

1. [visible] gestures (hand and body movements, smiles, etc.)

2. [audible] noises (intakes of breath, laughs, snorts, etc.)

3. fillers/disfluencies/hesitation phenomena [other than 1. & 2.] ("y'know," "get it," etc.)

B. listening [in addition to A. 1. & 2.]

1. silence

2. phatic phenomena ("mm," "haa," "ehh," etc.)

It is a truism of linguistics that the grammars of native speakers are DISCONTINUOUS, by which is meant the principle of language competence which encompasses the idea that no two speakers have exactly the same grammar of the language they share as native speakers. To a very large extent, precisely what is discontinuous is their VOCABULARIES, their command of the lexical stock of the language. They may also have a differential knowledge of syntax, but since syntax is the technique by which words are combined into phrases, sentences, and discourses, the focus is properly on the lexicon, hence the discontinuities between speakers' grammars come down to the knowledge of words.

Within one adult speaker's grammar or knowledge of their native language, a profile of competence can be characterized variously by reference to such parameters as active vs. passive knowledge, knowledge of specialized (technical) vocabulary, acquaintance with foreign languages, etymological knowledge (i.e., knowledge of word origins, including historically earlier stages of the native language), dialectal material, and literary texts in the round, including but not limited to poetry and folkloric data (nursery rhymes, riddles, etc.) This may be taken as an exhaustive inventory of the diverse sources that constitute the lexical stock of a given individual's idiolect.

To perhaps a greater extent than other idiolectal features, a speaker's vocabulary is never completely fixed or static. Even beyond childhood and adolescence, when the greatest accretions to one's lexical knowledge occur, there is always the possibility of adding to one's knowledge of vocabulary. This comes about naturally through contact with different linguistic milieux, geographical as well as social, and with written texts whose complete comprehension may demand looking in dictionaries and thereby acquiring new vocabulary items—a process that goes on ceaselessly as long as one remains open to new texts, fresh milieux, and heretofore unassimilated knowledge.

No matter how similar phonetically or grammatically the speech is of members of a relatively homogeneous speech community, there are always differences in style and discourse between individuals. These may be a function of education and family history as well as of idiosyncrasy (personality). One particularly interesting differentia specifica is the use of foreign words and phrases in one's native speech (including writing). In contemporary English, the traditionally most likely items of this sort to turn up are from Latin and French, followed in no particular order of frequency by Greek, German, and Italian. This kind of intrusion of foreign locutions may be conditioned by the speaker's profession. Thus college professors of French quite often pepper their native English with French words, even where perfectly good English equivalents would do. Perhaps this is a kind of linguistic badge that is flashed to parade not only their special knowledge but their solidarity with their profession and the country whose language and literature they profess. In some cases, of course, the foreign locution may in fact supply a particular stylistic flavor that the native equivalent may lack.

A good illustration of the employment of foreign words and phrases, including literary citations, inserted in an otherwise perfectly English oral discourse can be found in that masterpiece of narrative, Arthur Conan Doyle's novel *The Sign of Four*. Here are three such cases that issue from the mouth of Sherlock Holmes, in the latter two of which

Holmes's is actually a slightly inaccurate version ("Sherlock Holmes Gives a Demonstration," *The Sign of Four*, ch. 6, in Doyle 2006: 278, 280, 282):

1. [Latin] "Quite so. They are in a state of extreme contraction, far exceeding the usual *rigor mortis*. Coupled with this distortion of the face, this Hippocratic smile, or '*risus sardonicus*,' as the old writers called it, what conclusion would it suggest to your mind?"

2. [French] "He can find something," remarked Holmes, shrugging his shoulders. "He has occasional glimmerings of reason. *Il n'y a pas des sots si incommodes que ceux qui ont de l'esprit!*"⁴

3. [German] "And I," said Holmes, "shall see what I can learn from Mrs. Bernstone, and from the Indian servant, who, Mr. Thaddeus tells me, sleeps in the next garret. Then I shall study the great Jones's methods and listen to his not too delicate sarcasms. '*Wir sind gewohnt das die Menschen verhöhnen was sie nicht verstehen.*' Goethe is always pithy."⁵

The question of "flavor" is conjugate with another essentially emotive value of language, viz. what may be called the "semantic aureole" of a word (to borrow a phrase coined by Russian metricists for the study of verse forms). Each individual's life experience includes certain language items that have a particular, singular, emotional resonance that is of idiosyncratic derivation. Here is an anecdote to illustrate this phenomenon.

While boarding an airplane for a recent flight from Cleveland to Los Angeles, painted on the fuselage I noticed the words "Continental Airlines. The airline that flies to more international destinations than any other U. S. airline." That made me think of the drink called the continental, which I had ordered at a restaurant in Vermont just days before, which segued into Fred Astaire and the song he sings called "The Continental" in the movie "Flying Down to Rio," which I saw on television many years ago. For some reason this then triggered a skein of memories associated with the international word *continental* that occurs in all European languages, including Russian, particularly as designations of certain buildings, like hotels.

More precisely, a true story came bobbing up from the backwater of my memory, which had been recounted to me many years ago by my father about his cousin, a certain "Diadia Misha" (Russian for 'Uncle Misha'), who ended up in Paris after the Russian Revolution, became an arms dealer there between the World Wars, and lived to be a centenarian. Uncle Misha was living in Kiev when the Revolution broke out and was arrested as a bourgeois—therefore, considered an enemy of the people—by the Communists when they seized control of the city, and was brought before a people's tribunal to be tried. The penalty of death by firing squad in such cases was not out of the question, and it hovered over our poor Uncle Misha. However, after questioning him, the president of the tribunal suddenly announced that he was free to go. Uncle Misha's relief

⁴ Correct version: *Il n'y a point de sots si incommodes que ceux qui ont de l'esprit*. François de la Rochefoucauld, *Maximes*, no. 451. English translation: 'There are no fools so troublesome as those who have some wit'.

⁵ Correct version: *Wir sind gewohnt, daß die Menschen verhöhnen / Was sie nicht verstehn*, (which continues) *Daß sie vor dem Guten und Schönen, / Das ihnen oft beschwerlich ist, murren; / Will es der Hund, wie sie, beknurren?* Bayard Taylor's English translation (Goethe 1963: 113): 'Of course we know that men despise/what they don't comprehend;/the Good and Beautiful they vilipend,/finding it oft a burdensome measure./Is the dog, like men, snarling displeasure?'

and incredulity knew no bounds, of course. Then the president came over to him and, stretching out his hand, said (in Russian), “Ia iz Kontinentalia” ('I'm from the Continental'). At first Uncle Misha was completely flummoxed. But then he recognized the president as a waiter from the restaurant at the Hotel Continental in Kiev, where he had eaten many times, and whom he had been in the habit of tipping generously. These munificent gratuities now turned out to be Uncle Misha's salvation.

Such are the peripeteia that define the course of one's life. Readers will understand why the word *continental* should have a special associative aura in my lexicon--and that of no other person outside my family.

Apropos of which, here are two discourse specimens illustrative of the speaking selves of three other members of this family:⁶

1. Telephone conversation of January 25, 2010 between Jacob and Michael Shapiro (reproduced from memory: Jacob--at home in Los Angeles; Michael--laying over at the Cleveland Airport before flying back to Los Angeles)

M: “Moshi-moshi” [Japanese phatic opening phrase of all telephone conversations; rough translation: 'hello, there']

J: “Aa, moshi-moshi, Mikaeru-kun desu ka?” ['Hello, there. Is that friend Michael?']

M: “Sayoo de gozaimasu.” [in faux humble style: 'It is so (Sir).']

J: “I've been tracking you. Did your plane leave Albany on time?”

M: “Actually, it left five minutes early.”

J: “What time is your flight from Cleveland?”

M: “Four fifty-five.”

J: “I'm still planning on meeting you.”

M: “That's good. Thanks.”

J: “Incidentally [endlessly repeated declarative sentence opener in Jacob's English idiolect, evidently derived from the much more frequent Japanese conversational equivalent *tokoro de*], you shouldn't drive a car after taking medicine. *Lekarstvo menia usypilo* ['The medicine made me sleepy/put me to sleep', referring to an episode a few days earlier when Jacob took Robitussin for a cold and drove his much-coveted '83 Chrysler Imperial into a metal stanchion], *i ia tolknul zheleznyi stolb* ['and I knocked into an iron post']. *Usypilo*--that's correct, isn't it?”

M: “What did you say?”

J: “*Usypilo*. Is that the right verb?” [Jacob always apprehensive about his Russian not being grammatically correct.]

M: “Yes, it is.”

J: “I learned it from Papa. You see, I can still remember my Russian, even though I don't speak it with anyone any more.” [A stock tag in Jacob's discourse whenever he utters something even slightly out of the ordinary in Russian.]

M:[to himself] “*Grechnevaia kasha sama sebja khvalit*.” [literally: 'The groats (buckwheat) porridge is praising itself', meaning something like 'He's blowing his own horn.']

⁶ A detailed longitudinal profile of the family is contained in Appendix A below.

M: "Yah, yah. You always say that."

J: "Anyway, have a good flight."

M: "Thanks, see you at the airport."⁷

2. Thought as dialogue (cf. Plato's idea that thought is a silent speech of the soul with [phases of] itself; excerpted from Constantine Shapiro 2008: 128-130):

ТРЕТИЙ ДИАЛОГ МЕЖДУ К. И. Ш. И СКЕПТИКОМ
(Об объективации)

СКЕПТИК: Наше Вам-с.

К Ш.: Мое почтение.

СКЕПТИК: Вот мы опять встретились.

К. Ш.: Да. У меня как раз появилась новая идея.

СКЕПТИК: Какая же?

К. Ш.: А вот видите ли, я говорил о реальности, о сознании, о феноменах как содержании сознания и об осмыслении этих феноменов. Сегодня я хотел бы что-то прибавить, а именно: что такое объективация. Объективация, видите ли, мой друг, это хитроумная штука. Это, видите ли, тот же мир, который мы воспринимаем, но который мы воспринимаем не только как реальный, но как объективный.

СКЕПТИК: Как так?

К. Ш.: Если бы мир был только реальный, то наше сознание не могло бы его воспринимать. Но поскольку реальное модифицирует наше сознание, это сознание проецирует его как объективный мир в пространстве и времени.

СКЕПТИК: Ловко. Значит, окружающий нас мир не только реальный, но объективный.

К Ш.: Так точно. Объективное есть то, что связывает реальное с нашим сознанием. Без объективного не могло бы быть познания.

СКЕПТИК: Мне нравятся Ваши рассуждения.

К Ш.: Не напоминает ли Вам то, что я говорю, гуссерлевские Ноэзис и Ноэма?

СКЕПТИК: Пожалуй. Но я Гуссерля мало знаю.

К Ш.: Объективное освобождает нас от обязанности думать о реальном. Мы можем опираться на очевидности. Мы освобождаемся от сомнений Декарта, от *Ding an sich*, от Канта, от скобок Гуссерля. Все укладывается в гармонические рамки, благодаря трансцендентальному пространству и трансцендентальному времени. Пусть наука

⁷ For those with a knowledge of Japanese, here are some of Jacob's favorite *kotowaza* 'Japanese proverbs/sayings' (with rough translations):

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>setchin-mushi mo tokorobiiki</i>
雪隠虫も所臍負 | 'even the dung beetle loves its own bailiwick' |
| 2. <i>saru mo ki kara ochiru</i>
猿も木から落ちる | 'even the monkey falls from a tree' |
| 3. <i>saru no shiri-warai</i>
猿の知り笑い | 'a monkey laughing at another's rear end
[='the pot calling the kettle black'] |
| 4. <i>sumebe miyako</i>
住めば都 | 'wherever I live is the capital' |
| 5. <i>akka wa ryooka o kuchiku suru</i>
悪貨は良貨を駆逐する | 'bad money drives out good' |

ломает себе голову, размышляя о космосе. Пусть химия и физика копаются в своих сферах. В конце концов, то, что они находят, есть нечто, ценность которого они сами определяют.

СКЕПТИК: Остановитесь на минуту. Вы забыли про Беркли, который утверждал, что материи нет.

К. Ш.: Он был бы очень рад узнать, что материя существует постольку, поскольку мы ее воспринимаем.

СКЕПТИК: Ага, понимаю. Все зиждется на трансцендентальном сознании, на трансцендентальном пространстве, трансцендентальном времени и очевидностях.

К. Ш.: Вы, наконец, поняли. Феноменология успокаивает нервы. *"J'aime les nuages qui passent là-bas, les merveilleux nuages"*, как сказал Бодлер.

СКЕПТИК: Вы опять впадаете в романтизм. Вы неисправимы.

К. Ш.: Что поделаешь, таким уродился.

СКЕПТИК: К тому же, Вы музыкант. *Нас мало избранных, счастливых праздных...* Но не буду Вас укорять... Как сказал император Мейджи: *О, если бы моя душа была широка, как небо.*⁸

A contemporary American example shows that even speakers with apparently little or no foreign language competence can come up with foreign turns of phrase when appropriate:

"I wanted a platform to be visible as a person who is different, as a representative of several varieties of differences. This is the most effective way for me to carry a message saying, 'Yes you can.' I took a look at these shoulders in the mirror and they're pretty big. They can carry a lot of *Sturm und Drang* on them." (Margalit Fox, "Zelda Rubinstein, 76, 'Poltergeist' Actress," *The New York Times*, National Edition, January 29, 2010, p. B10 [italics added], cit. interview with Z. R. in *The Hartford Courant*, October 27, 2000)

Such competence writ large is represented in the epistemic repertoire of specialists in a field where recondite vocabulary can reach truly mind-boggling heights, as in the following example of vocabulary taken from a book of Dante criticism by the most versatile and accomplished American Italianist of the twentieth century, Marianne Shapiro (who married into the Shapiro family):

"30. Words They Didn't Teach Me At P. S. 187

Synderesis, insolubilia, nonspeech, reductionist, dehierarchize, ostension, specular, prescinded, palindromic, ecphrases, modistic, iconodule, spiration, psalmodists, noetic, antepurgatory, neoplatonistic, theodicy, divinization, paronomastic, Christianizable, biothanates, synaesthetic, propitiatory, relativization, telos, topoi, serpenthood, semination, adequation, hermeneutically, Provençalistic, postlapsarian, liminal." (Michael Shapiro 2006: 73; all items drawn from Marianne Shapiro 1998)

⁸ Even those who cannot read Russian will notice the insertion of some French material (a quote from a Baudelaire poem). But the author stopped short of citing a line from a poem by the Emperor Meiji in the original Japanese (English translation: 'Oh, if my soul were as wide as the sky.'). Too esoteric for a Russian reader?

As this last example shows, written as well as oral utterances are manifestations of the speaking self. They enact what it means for the self to be constituted by language in just the sense Peirce asserted.

APPENDIX A: LINGUISTIC PROFILE OF A NUCLEAR FAMILY

A. Father: Constantine Shapiro (Константин Исаакович Шапиро)

Born Saratov (Russia), 1896. Mother tongue, Russian. Native speaker of standard Russian, no accent. Lived in Saratov and Moscow through university years. One semester of polytechnic, one semester of commercial college in St. Petersburg; three years at Law Faculty, Moscow University. Learned French, German, and English from tutors (governesses) in childhood and adolescence. Latin study in gymnasium (high school), where English was also compulsory (extremely rare for the Russia of that era). Brief service in Russian Cavalry (incl. university ROTC). Emigrated to Germany, there continued university (Freiburg i./B.) and music studies (Leipzig), learned to read Greek. Total of six years in Germany, incl. musical activities. Moved to Paris and Tel Aviv, then to Japan. Learned to read and speak Hebrew in Palestine, then Japanese in Yokohama and Tokyo. Taught music in Japanese at a conservatory. After the war taught cello students in Japanese and English (U. S. Occupation) and conducted orchestras and choruses. Frequent use of French and German with other émigrés in Japan. Immigrated to USA in 1952. Habitual language, Russian (at home), English (socially and professionally), remainder of life (d. 1992).

LANGUAGES: **Russian** (native speaker), **French** (native fluency), **German** (native fluency), **English** (native fluency), **Latin** (reading knowledge), **Greek** (reading knowledge), **Hebrew** (reading knowledge), **Japanese** (good working knowledge).

READING: belles lettres (drama, fiction, poetry) in European languages throughout life; philosophy in Greek (pre-Socratics), Russian (intuitivists), German (phenomenology), and French (phenomenology) as a young man and into middle age; psychiatric literature (Freud) in German as a young man; musicological literature (German, French, English) from middle age on; Bible (Hebrew, Greek, Latin, English, Russian) throughout life; American history in English in fifties and sixties; Buddhist texts and Japanese history in Japanese during residence in Japan (1928-1952).

B. Mother: Lydia Ita Shapiro (Лидия Абрамовна Шапиро, ур. Чернецкая)

Born Odessa (Ukraine), 1905. Mother tongue, Russian. Native speaker of standard Russian, no accent. Taken to Harbin (China) as an infant and graduated there from Russian-language gymnasium (high school). Learned English, French and German from tutors (governesses) and in school in childhood and adolescence. Brief sojourn at 16 in USA (Berkeley, Calif., and Queens, N. Y.), then moved to Berlin for piano study at conservatory. Four years in Berlin, married there to Constantine Shapiro. Moved to Paris, Tel Aviv, then briefly back to Harbin before settling in Yokohama, then Tokyo during war. Learned to read, write, and speak Hebrew in Palestine, then Japanese. Frequent use of French and German with other émigrés in Japan. Taught piano in Japanese and English to students of several nationalities. Immigrated to the USA. Learned through self-schooling to speak Spanish in Los Angeles. Habitual language at home, Russian; English, socially and professionally (d. 1983).

LANGUAGES: **Russian** (native speaker), **French** (native fluency), **German** (native fluency), **English** (native fluency), **Hebrew** (speaking and reading knowledge), **Japanese** (native fluency), **Spanish** (speaking and reading knowledge).

READING: belles lettres (drama, fiction, poetry), history, and biography in European languages throughout life; musicological literature (German, French, English) from conservatory years on.

C. Five Sons: Joseph, Ariel, Jacob, Isaac, Michael

1. Joseph (Иосиф Константинович)

Born Tel Aviv, 1926 (twin). Mother tongue, Russian. Taken as infant first to Harbin, then to Yokohama. Learned English and French in British and American schools in Yokohama and Tokyo. Graduate of St. Joseph's College (taught by Marianist brothers) in Yokohama. Learned to speak Japanese from playmates and to read and write Japanese at Waseda International School (Waseda Kokusai Gakuin [for returning expats]) in Tokyo during war years. Some school Latin in adolescence. Left Japan for Harbin during war (1944). Learned some spoken Chinese. Immigrated to USSR in 1948, married Russian woman (2 children), graduated from teachers college, taught English and Japanese in special schools, became a technical translator (mostly chemistry and physics in Russian, English, French, Japanese) for the rest of his life. Traveled to and resided in Israel and USA at different times after fall of USSR. Returned to Russia in 1998 (d. 2002, Vladivostok). . Habitual languages, Russian and English.

LANGUAGES: **Russian** (native speaker), **English** (native fluency), **French** (speaking and reading knowledge), **Japanese** (native fluency), **Chinese** (some speaking and reading knowledge).

READING: belles lettres (drama, fiction, poetry), history, and biography in Russian and English throughout life; scientific literature in Russian, English, French, Japanese.

2. Ariel (Ариель Константинович)

Born Tel Aviv, 1926 (twin). Mother tongue, Russian. Taken as an infant first to Harbin, then to Yokohama. Learned English and French in British and American schools in Yokohama and Tokyo; some school Latin. Graduate of St. Joseph's College in Yokohama. Learned spoken Japanese in situ, subsequently lost it (no formal study save minimal afterschool instruction at Waseda Kokusai Gakuin). Left Japan for Harbin during war (1944); some spoken Chinese. Repatriated to Israel in 1948, learned Hebrew in an ulpan, joined Israeli Air Force, served five years as airplane mechanic, then administrative post. Worked as travel agent in Jerusalem after military service. Immigrated to USA, lived and worked continuously as travel agent in Calif. Married an Israeli in USA; no children (d. 2008). Habitual language, English.

LANGUAGES: **Russian** (native speaker), **English** (native fluency), **French** (fluent), **Hebrew** (native fluency).

READING: belles lettres (drama, fiction, poetry), history, and biography in Russian through adolescence and in English throughout life.

3. Jacob (Яков Константинович)

Born Harbin, 1928. Mother tongue, Russian. Moved to Japan at age 3, then back to China at age 5, and finally Yokohama at age 8. British and American schools in Yokohama and Tokyo, Waseda International School in Tokyo during war years. Some school Latin and Spanish. Graduate of Tokyo American School in Japan. Two years' post-war Spanish study in Sophia Univ., Tokyo (classes taught by Jesuits from Spain). Political Economy (= Law)

graduate of Gakushûin Daigaku [Peers' University], Tokyo. Business career in Japan and USA, incl. extensive use of Japanese at all levels over many years. Appearances on Japanese TV as memory expert. Regular Spanish use during 3-year residence in Puerto Rico. Married a Japanese (3 children). Retired, living in Los Angeles. Habitual languages: English, Japanese, Spanish.

LANGUAGES: **Russian** (native speaker), **English** (native fluency), **Japanese** (native fluency, incl. complete command of written language), **Spanish** (good working knowledge).

READING: belles lettres (drama, fiction, poetry), history, and biography in Russian through adolescence and in English throughout life; history and political science texts, also daily newspapers, in Japanese throughout adulthood.

4. Isaac (Исаак Константинович)

Born Tokyo, 1931. Mother tongue, Russian. British and American schools in Yokohama and Tokyo. Japanese from playmates and at Waseda International School during war years. Study of Latin and French in school. Moved to Honolulu (Hawaii), 1946. Graduate of Punahou School (Honolulu), Columbia College, Columbia Law School. Married American lawyer (3 children). Post-graduate study (law) at Sorbonne in Paris. Occasional teaching, Soviet law, Columbia. Two-year residence in Japan as practicing attorney, US law firm; extensive use of Japanese, incl. written texts. Self-study, German, in connection with legal work requiring visits to Germany. Head, international dept., major US law firm, incl. many years' part-time residence in Paris. Involvement with Japan Society, NYC. Retired, living in NYC. Habitual languages: English, French, Russian, Japanese.

LANGUAGES: **Russian** (native speaker), **English** (native fluency), **Japanese** (native fluency), **French** (native fluency), **German** (working knowledge).

READING: belles lettres (drama, fiction, poetry), history, and biography in Russian through adolescence and in English and French throughout life; legal texts in English, Russian, French, German in adulthood.

5. Michael (Михаил Константинович)

Born Yokohama, 1939. Mother tongue, Russian. Japanese with playmates, then English at American School in Japan (1946-52). Immigrated US, 1952. Remainder of formal schooling in US (1952-1962), incl. study of German (high school, college), 4 yrs; French (one semester in college). Post-doctoral year, Tokyo University, 1965-66, incl. intermediate certificate from Japanese language school and extensive daily use of spoken and written Japanese. Some Latin and Greek through self-study. Some exposure to Provençal and Italian through scholarly collaboration with wife of 36 years (mother tongue, Hungarian; native fluency in English, French, Italian; good working knowledge of Latin, German; some Russian and Greek); one child. Four decades of university teaching in US. Retired, living in Vermont. Habitual languages: English, Japanese, Russian.

LANGUAGES: **Russian** (native speaker), **English** (native fluency), **Japanese** (native fluency), **German** (reading knowledge), **French** (reading knowledge).

READING: belles lettres (drama, fiction, poetry), history, and biography in Russian, English, German from adolescence on; scholarly materials in Russian, English, German, French from college years on; some Japanese scholarly texts, 1965-80.

D. Governess: Rebecca Vaisman (Ревекка Ильинична Вайсман, ур. Лакштанова)⁹ Born, Kremenchug (Russia [now Ukraine]), 1891. Mother tongue, Russian. Some Ukrainian in childhood years. Total deafness (ear drums destroyed) from scarlet fever at age three, learned to read lips from mother (speech therapist), relearned spoken Russian (fluent, some speech defects). Graduated from high school in Kremenchug. Qualified as dental technician in Evpatoriya (Russia [now Ukraine]). Left Russia for Harbin (Manchuria, China) during Revolution, moved to Tel-Aviv (Palestine, now Israel) in 1920s. Married and divorced (no children). Joined Shapiro family as baby nurse in December 1926. Lived in Harbin, Yokohama, Tokyo, and Los Angeles. Author of considerable body of lapidary poetry in Russian over entire lifetime. Died, Los Angeles, 1969.

LANGUAGES: **Russian** (native speaker), **Ukrainian** (rudimentary), **Chinese** (pidgin, smattering), **Hebrew** (smattering), **Japanese** (smattering), **English** (smattering).

READING: belles lettres, history, biography, and daily newspapers in Russian throughout lifetime.

APPENDIX B: INTELLECTUAL PROFILE OF SHERLOCK HOLMES (as drawn up by Dr. Watson in “The Science of Deduction,” *A Study in Scarlet*, ch. 2, in Doyle 2006: 32, 34-35.)¹⁰

He was not studying medicine. He had himself, in reply to a question, confirmed Stamford's opinion upon that point. Neither did he appear to have pursued any course of reading which might fit him for a degree in science or any other recognized portal which would give him an entrance into the learned world. Yet his zeal for certain studies was remarkable, and within eccentric limits his knowledge was so extraordinarily ample and minute that his observations have fairly astounded me. Surely no man would work so hard or attain such precise information unless he had some definite end in view. Desultory readers are seldom remarkable for the exactness of their learning. No man burdens his mind with small matters unless he has some very good reason for doing so.

His ignorance was as remarkable as his knowledge. Of contemporary literature, philosophy and politics he appeared to know next to nothing. Upon my quoting Thomas Carlyle, he inquired in the naivest way who he might be and what he had done. My surprise reached a climax, however, when I found incidentally that he was ignorant of the Copernican Theory and of the composition of the Solar System. That any civilized human being in this nineteenth century should not be aware that the earth travelled round the sun appeared to be to me such an extraordinary fact that I could hardly realize it.

“You appear to be astonished,” he said, smiling at my expression of surprise. “Now that I do know it I shall do my best to forget it.”

“To forget it!” “You see,” he explained, “I consider that a man's brain originally is like a little empty attic, and you have to stock it with such furniture as you choose. A fool takes in all the lumber of every sort that he comes across, so that the knowledge which might be useful to him gets crowded out, or at best is jumbled up with a lot of other things so that he has a difficulty in laying his hands upon it. Now the skilful workman is very careful indeed

⁹ She lived continuously with the Shapiros for forty-three years (1926-1969), through war and famine, and was loved like a second mother by us brothers.

¹⁰ Howard Hibbett points out to me (p. c.) that Watson's assessment of Holmes' knowledge of literature as “nil” is at variance with the examples cited above where he quotes Goethe and Rochefoucauld.

as to what he takes into his brain-attic. He will have nothing but the tools which may help him in doing his work, but of these he has a large assortment, and all in the most perfect order. It is a mistake to think that that little room has elastic walls and can distend to any extent. Depend upon it there comes a time when for every addition of knowledge you forget something that you knew before. It is of the highest importance, therefore, not to have useless facts elbowing out the useful ones."

"But the Solar System!" I protested.

"What the deuce is it to me?" he interrupted impatiently; "you say that we go round the sun. If we went round the moon it would not make a pennyworth of difference to me or to my work."

I was on the point of asking him what that work might be, but something in his manner showed me that the question would be an unwelcome one. I pondered over our short conversation, however, and endeavoured to draw my deductions from it. He said that he would acquire no knowledge which did not bear upon his object. Therefore all the knowledge which he possessed was such as would be useful to him. I enumerated in my own mind all the various points upon which he had shown me that he was exceptionally well-informed. I even took a pencil and jotted them down. I could not help smiling at the document when I had completed it. It ran in this way:

SHERLOCK HOLMES -- HIS LIMITS

1. Knowledge of Literature.--Nil.
2. " Philosophy.---Nil.
3. " Astronomy.--Nil.
4. " Politics.--Feeble.
5. " Botany.--Variable. Well up in belladonna, opium, and poisons generally. Knows nothing of practical gardening.
6. " Geology.--Practical, but limited. Tells at a glance different soils from each other. After walks has shown me splashes upon his trousers, and told me by their colour and consistence in what part of London he had received them.
7. " Chemistry.--Profound.
8. " Anatomy.--Accurate, but unsystematic.
9. " Sensational Literature.--Immense. He appears to know every detail of every horror perpetrated in the century.
10. Plays the violin well.
11. Is an expert singlestick player, boxer, and swordsman.
12. Has a good practical knowledge of British law.

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