

NEIL SMITH

SMITH, Neilson Voyne, FBA 1999; Professor of Linguistics, University College, London, since 1981; *b.* 1939; *m.* 1966 Saraswati Keskar; *Education:* Tavistock Grammar School; Cheltenham Grammar School; Trinity College, Cambridge, BA 1961, MA 1964; University College, London, PhD 1964; *Career:* Lecturer in West African Languages, SOAS, 1964–70; Lecturer in Linguistics and West African Languages, SOAS, 1970–2; Reader in Linguistics, University College, London, 1972–81 (Head of Linguistics Section since 1972, Head of Department of Phonetics and Linguistics, 1983–90, Vice-Dean, Faculty of Arts, 1992–4, Postgraduate Tutor, Faculty of Arts, 1994–6; Member of Council 1987–93); Member Linguistics Panel, SSRC (Vice-Chairman 1977–8), ESRC (Vice-Chairman, Education and Human Development Committee); President: Linguistics Association of Great Britain 1980–6, Association of Heads and Professors of Linguistics 1993–4; Hon. Member Linguistic Society of America 1999; Senator, University of London 1989–93. *Major Publications:* *An Outline Grammar of Nupe* 1967; *The Acquisition of Phonology* 1973; *Modern Linguistics: The Results of Chomsky's Revolution* 1979 (with Deirdre Wilson); *The Twitter Machine: Reflections on Language* 1989; *The Mind of a Savant: Language Learning and Modularity* 1995 (with Ianthi Tsimpli); *Chomsky: Ideas and Ideals* 1999.

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Nearing my final year as an undergraduate at Cambridge, I found myself selecting five optional subjects (out of some 77) to take for Part II of the Modern and Medieval Languages Tripos. I had selected the history of the French language, the history of the German language, German literature before 1500, Vulgar Latin and Romance philology, and was about to put down German literature in the twentieth century, when a close friend¹ asked if I knew what 'linguistics' was. After we had agreed that neither of us had the slightest idea, he then persuaded me to join him in adding it as our final option. I was sad to give up Bergengruen, Böll and Brecht, but I reasoned that I could always read these authors by myself, whereas linguistics was likely to be less amenable to dilettante study. So in October 1960 we enrolled on John Trim's course on 'The Principles of Linguistics', and I have been hooked ever since.

The bulk of the course consisted of phoneme theory, with a healthy admixture of morphemes and even a smattering of syntax in the form of immediate constituent analysis. Banal by today's standards, but Trim was an

inspiring teacher and I was soon converted from my desire to be a medievalist to a desire to understand everything about the phoneme. In fact, my understanding even of that was minimal. I still remember with stark clarity at the end of the first term being given a passage and told to transcribe it both phonetically and phonemically. I had no idea what that meant. Similarly, I remember endlessly searching in my dictionary for some insight which would enable me to distinguish 'syntax' and 'semantics', but again to no avail. These memories have made me (try to be) tolerant of students today who have problems with a much more rebarbative jargon.

The year passed. We were entertained by some of the subject's luminaries – André Martinet, whose *Economie des changements phonétiques* had already captivated me, and Louis Hjelmslev, whose *Prolegomena to a Theory of Language* struck me (to the limited extent that I understood it) as offering the science I had often regretted abandoning for languages. We took finals. I got a distinctly mediocre 2.1, and was told unofficially that my worst paper had been linguistics, for which I got close to a third class mark. So I applied for jobs. Fortunately, none of librarianship, schoolteaching or the British Council would touch me and, *faute de mieux*, I started a PhD at UCL under the joint supervision of Dennis Fry and Gordon Arnold. I had no grant, but with fees at £42 a year and plenty of opportunities even then for teaching English as a foreign language, I survived.

At Cambridge I had been a contemporary of Dick Hudson, still my colleague 40 years on. He was starting a PhD at SOAS at the same time, and had been offered the opportunity to do fieldwork on the Beja of the Sudan. It seemed a wonderful idea, so thinking that if he could do it, I could do it, I planned to go up the Amazon and find my own unwritten language to study. I was advised that Nigeria was more likely to leave me alive at the end of my trip and I began to read about the area. I soon came across Siegfried Nadel's classic anthropology text *A Black Byzantium* about the Nupe. Nadel remarked that it was sad that no good grammar of Nupe existed: an invitation I couldn't resist. With some help from David Arnott and Evan Rowlands of SOAS, I was soon prepared, and in the summer of 1962 I hitchhiked to Bida in Northern Nigeria (from Istanbul to Khartoum in the company of Dick).²

A year's fieldwork is wonderful training for any linguist. Being confronted with a complex tone language, whose syntax was unlike anything I had ever heard of, was chastening, exhilarating, illuminating, educative and fun. It was also intermittently very lonely and extremely hard work, but it set me up with stories to dine out on for life, and it also brought a PhD. When I returned to UCL after my fieldwork, the place had changed: Michael Halliday had arrived from Edinburgh and was offering elegant descriptive solutions to large numbers of problems I had been struggling with in my mud hut. My thesis transmogrified into a standard scale and category grammar of Nupe.³ Better still, my new-found expertise as an Africanist

seemed to have qualified me to become a Lecturer in West African Languages at SOAS. In 1964 appointing a new Lecturer was somewhat easier than indenting for a new carpet is now. There were 27 of us in the Department of Africa that year. The department now (2000) has about one-third that number of staff.

SOAS was strange. My colleagues were mostly a delight, but relations between the Linguistics Department⁴ and the Africa Department were strained, and those between the Linguistics Department and the sister Department at UCL where I had come from were icy. It was 'not convenient' for me to use the library of the Linguistics Department or attend seminars there, and some of the students were warned not to talk to me 'in case they got confused'. Fortunately, I made two life-long friends and colleagues: Gilbert Ansre, the first black lecturer in the Africa Department, who taught me Ewe (see Smith 1968), and Yamuna Kachru,⁵ Lecturer in Hindi and a talented generative grammarian. After I had graduated, John Trim had confided that the future was generative. Now I began to understand why, as Yamuna won all the syntactic arguments we had, and made me feel inadequate about my own grasp of theory. To learn a little about the new paradigm and to escape the suffocation of the rivalries at SOAS, I applied for a Harkness Fellowship and went to MIT and UCLA for a couple of years.

MIT was a revelation. There was huge enthusiasm, appallingly hard work, and remarkable talent. I found myself again a neophyte, but being a post-doctoral 'Visitor' I was spared the ignominy of having to turn in term papers proving my inadequacy. The worst embarrassment was discovering that the nice man I'd tried to explain 'generative grammar' to at a welcoming reception was Paul Kiparsky. I had gone to MIT because of Chomsky, but when I arrived, he was away. Fortunately, Morris Halle took me under his wing, and in due course I became a phonologist. The riches on offer were remarkable: courses by Roman Jakobson⁶ on language and poetics, by J. R. (Haj) Ross and George Lakoff on English syntax and generative semantics, by Kiparsky on Indo-European and the structure of German, Jerrold Katz on the philosophy of language, Jerry Fodor on perception, Halle on phonology, Hugh Matthews on universal grammar (especially Hidatsa), Frits Staal on Sanskrit and the Paninian tradition. And after the first semester, Chomsky.

When I arrived, the place was buzzing with the ideas of generative semantics, and the demise of Chomsky's 'standard theory'⁷ was widely assumed to be imminent. Chomsky's response was electrifying. In the spring semester of 1967 he delivered the lectures which became 'Remarks on nominalization' (Chomsky 1970). In fact these lectures were directed primarily against Bob Lees's *Grammar of English Nominalizations*,⁸ but could be – and were – interpreted as a systematic attack on generative semantics. Chomsky's arguments were illuminating; at once critical, penetrating and

innovative (X-bar theory first saw the light of day in these lectures), and ultimately set the scene for much of the linguistic theorizing of the next decade. Linguistics was not the only area in which I was being educated. While mounting an attack on 'transformationalism', Chomsky was devoting the major part of his time and energy to combating the Vietnam war: with endless teach-ins, meetings, demonstrations, lectures and conversations. From being a political innocent I became convinced that in this area too, Chomsky was more usually right than wrong.⁹

After 15 months at MIT, during which my first son (Amahl) was born,¹⁰ we drove to UCLA for the last six months of the Fellowship.¹¹ The attraction of UCLA, apart from the Californian climate, was that it was the home of Vicki Fromkin and Paul Schachter, neither of whom I had met but whose work (Schachter & Fromkin 1968) on Akan (a language related to Nupe) I already knew. Moreover, I was familiar with Schachter's (1961) doctoral dissertation on Pangasinan: one of the earliest descriptive transformational grammars, and it was clear that I would be able to benefit hugely from working with him. It turned out that I did minimal work on Akan (or West African languages in general) but quite a lot on English. The department at UCLA was preoccupied with work on what turned into *The Major Syntactic Structures of English*,¹² a curious amalgamation of Fillmore's (1968) case grammar and Chomsky's 'nominalizations' framework. My contribution was negligible, but the experience of working on a detailed descriptive (but theoretically informed) grammar was an instructive complement to the addictive theory of MIT.

I returned to the UK and to SOAS to resume my post as Lecturer in West African Languages. I lectured at both SOAS and UCL, the latter at the invitation of Randolph Quirk and Michael Halliday, who already gave courses on 'An Introduction to Linguistic Studies' and 'English Structure and Usage' in the English Department. The political atmosphere was also gradually improving, and in 1970 my appointment was changed to include Linguistics in its title, and to give me an official foot in the Department of Phonetics and Linguistics – an unthinkable eventuality only a few years previously. I resumed work on West African languages, but my heart was really in linguistics, and my major research had begun to centre on language acquisition. Accordingly, when I was given the chance to return to UCL to be Head of the Linguistics Section of the recently¹³ amalgamated Department of Phonetics and Linguistics (under the leadership of A. C. Gimson), I went back enthusiastically to (some of) my roots.

UCL held several attractions: it would enable me to concentrate on the subject I loved most, it would provide me with the chance to build up a department with the kind of theoretical orientation I was now committed to, and it already contained two outstanding linguists, Deirdre Wilson, another significant influence on my intellectual development, and Dick Hudson. I have been in the Department, and Head of Linguistics, ever since.

When I joined the Department in October 1972, there were only three of us in the Linguistics Section, and there was no single honours degree in linguistics: just combined honours degrees involving linguistics and any one of English, French, German, anthropology or philosophy, set up by my predecessor Halliday.¹⁴ There was also a two-year postgraduate Diploma in Linguistics, and a sprinkling of research students. At this time all degrees were taught under the aegis of the Federal University, so we were able to take advantage of the linguists at SOAS and, to a lesser extent, at Birkbeck. None the less, there were three clear priorities: to increase the number of staff, to institute both a new MA and a single honours BA in Linguistics, and to attract enough students to justify the first two. The economic situation of the time (OPEC was becoming militant) meant that the only way to achieve the first two was to start by increasing student numbers.

The first new degree to be set up was the MA in Linguistics, with its first intake in 1973; the first new appointment, which gave the Section sufficient strength to make new programmes feasible, was Geoffrey Pullum, who joined in 1975 and stayed until 1981. Before this, it was not uncommon for people to be appointed because they were good clubbable types, or as a 'favour' to colleagues and friends; and there was a desire to pick someone who wouldn't 'rock the boat', in the words of A. C. Gimson. Fortunately Geoff's appointment – and all subsequent ones – were carried out in democratic fashion, with the overwhelming criterion being to get the best person. Democracy means that my role was only partial, but the ethos of the Department and the continued emphasis on theoretical excellence is something I have tried to foster.

With Pullum in post we now worked seriously on instituting the single honours Degree in Linguistics, and it started in 1977 with an intake of eight students. This development gave us some independence from the other departments with which we collaborated on combined honours degrees. This was just as well, because one of our most popular degrees, English and Linguistics, was unfortunately discontinued, with the last intake in 1976. Since then, the relative importance of the combined and single honours degrees has shifted systematically in favour of the latter. French and Linguistics followed English and Linguistics into limbo in 1983, and although we instituted combined honours degrees with Dutch (from 1985) and Italian (from 1986), the numbers of students never justified the organizational resources to make them viable. Even the introduction in 1990 of a joint Degree in Linguistics with Cognitive Science – an amalgam of linguistics, psychology and computer science – never attracted enough students to be successful. Now, all the joint degrees (except Italian and Linguistics) have been discontinued.

Fortunately, the single honours degree has flourished, and we currently have an intake of about 30 students per year. More importantly, the emphasis of the department, of UCL and of the elite research universities

generally, is tending towards postgraduate programmes, and the MA has similarly expanded dramatically in the last few years. For a long time we had only a handful of MA students each year, but we now have up to 25 students per year. The success of this part of the programme, with its spin-off of providing a steady stream of first class research students, has led us to inaugurate (from 2002) two new advanced MAs with possible specialization in syntax or phonology. We hope to add a third degree with specialization in pragmatics soon.

Programmes of this kind can only be successful if they are attractive to the national and international linguistic community. UCL's linguistics is renowned¹⁵ because we have staff who can attract students of the highest quality from around the world. After Pullum's resignation to go to the USA, we have been fortunate in being able to appoint a series of outstanding linguists from around the world: Michael Brody (from 1982), Robyn Carston (from 1985), John Harris (from 1986), Hans van de Koot (from 1989), Rita Manzini (from 1990 until 1998), Ad Neeleman (from 1998) and Moira Yip (from 2001). Linguistics is beautifully international: these people come from Hungary, New Zealand, Ireland, the Netherland, Italy and even England (via the USA). Until Ad joined us, we had been able to select each new appointment from a different country.

Core teaching in the Department has been systematically imbued by a desire for theoretical excellence. This has been manifest in three areas: generative syntax (where that includes word grammar, GPSG – which I used to teach), relevance-theoretic pragmatics, government phonology, and theory based language acquisition.

My perception of the field is that it has intermittently been bedevilled by woolly-mindedness and an eclecticism bordering on the amateurish. The best antidote to such sloppiness is rigorous theory. I have a passionate commitment to developing the best theory possible, in large part because I want to be pampered in a way that Joos thought no child should be.¹⁶ The best explanations I have come across have systematically been the fruit of Chomsky's work. Every time I think I am in a position to understand what is going on, he has pushed the explanation one step further back. I have tried to couch my own work in the framework he has provided and build a department in which the construction of explanatory theories – and teaching them to each new generation – is central.

This has meant concentration on Chomskian theory simply because I think that that has been the most insightful. But Chomsky and his followers have no monopoly. My PhD thesis was 'Hallidayan' – a scale and category grammar of Nupe; my concentration on Chomskian syntax was replaced by GPSG (see e.g. Gazdar et al. 1985) for a couple of years (I taught it to all undergraduates and MA students for two years) until I became convinced that its concentration on descriptive rigour was bought at the cost of a lack of explanatory insight. In the department, we have always had the benefit of

the maverick Dick Hudson and his word grammar (see e.g. Hudson 1990); and we currently have flexible syntax (see e.g. Neeleman & Weerman 1999), but the hard core has been 'Chomskian' syntax, as taught by Brody (e.g. Brody 1995), Manzini (see e.g. Manzini 1992), Neeleman and van de Koot (see e.g. Neeleman & van de Koot 1999) and myself. Similarly, my early commitment to phoneme theory was replaced by immersion in generative phonology: it just explained better what I could see going on. In the department this has resulted indirectly in the development of two offshoots of generative phonology – government phonology as taught by John Harris (see e.g. Harris 1994), and optimality theory as taught by Moira Yip (see e.g. Yip in press).

Apart from generative syntax, the area for which the Linguistics Section of the Department is most renowned is pragmatics. Deirdre Wilson (in collaboration with Dan Sperber) has developed relevance theory (see e.g. Sperber & Wilson 1995) to a point where it is the default choice for pragmatics and has made UCL the world centre for the subject. As in many areas my contribution has been mainly that of facilitator, helping to create an ambience in which the theory and its adherents could flourish.

One can influence the field directly by one's research; slightly less directly through one's students, especially if one can help them to get jobs; and indirectly by the influence one can exert 'administratively'. This last includes developing the ethos of a department (especially in choosing whom to hire); influencing the theoretical direction to be taken by a journal; affecting the distribution of money by being on the relevant board of research councils or charities (or even acting as a reliable referee for them or for publishers); moulding national organizations such as the LAGB or AHPL; and inaugurating series like *UCL Working Papers in Linguistics*. There is a further form of influence that is even less tangible than the others: popularization, either writing for the general public, or appearing on radio and television. In none of these areas is it easy to identify the effects of oneself as opposed to that of one's colleagues. Making an appointment is no longer the gift of an autocratic Head – at best one has some power of veto; setting up a new degree programme involves the collaboration of one's colleagues; even influencing a journal or a publisher requires the acquiescence of an editorial board and the readiness of the public to buy the books and journals that result. I have been on the board of Cambridge Studies in Linguistics for over 20 years; I have been one of the editors of *Lingua* since 1986; and I am a founder editor of *Mind & Language*. At various times I have been on the editorial board of *Linguistics*, the *Journal of Linguistics and Phonology (Yearbook)*, but I often don't know where and to what extent I've made a difference. I have been blessed with collaborators who have inspired me and pushed me: they have made academic life a joy.¹⁷ What I'm proudest of is my students, especially those whom I have guided as first or second supervisor to a PhD, and many of whom are now themselves academics.¹⁸

My own research has not been 'seminal' in the way that that of some of my colleagues has been. My work on African languages has been mostly useful as a tool for exposing generations of students to the task of analysing and formalizing data from a typologically unfamiliar tone language (Nupe), though when I look back at my field notes I am mildly surprised to see not only how many problems I came up against, but how many future solutions I dimly came up with. I think my best work was done on the acquisition of phonology, still widely cited a generation after I wrote it, and – with Ianthi Tsimpli – on the polyglot *savant*, Christopher. In each case, it is significant that the basis for insight was a huge mass of new data.

In teaching and in popularization, I have had two aims: on the one hand to explain and justify theory, and on the other hand to integrate the various parts of a discipline which is rapidly becoming overly specialized. In the 1960s it was reasonably easy to have 'read everything'. At the end of the first course I gave on generative grammar in 1964, one student asked me what to look at next, but my reading list already contained everything published. Those were the days. The expansion is wonderful, but it is now increasingly difficult to make connections between syntax, semantics, pragmatics and phonology, and decide, for instance, on the correct apportionment of responsibility among these components for the intonation of focused constituents. I am still exploring these interface areas in my ongoing work with Annabel Cormack.

There have been other influences that should not be passed over in silence. At Tavistock Grammar School, where I studied from 1950 to 1955, the major influence on me was Leonard Priestley (whose work on dislocation in French¹⁹ is still of interest). He used to discuss astronomy in the French lessons, which so captivated me that I chose French in the sixth form, and started German, which he also taught, at the same time. My third subject was Latin. For family reasons, we moved to Gloucestershire and I attended Cheltenham Grammar School, where, for reasons that remain obscure, I was told that I should apply for Trinity to read 'Modern and Medieval Languages'. I got in the second time round, after three and a half years in the sixth form. Before going up to university I worked for six months on a farm, where I learnt a huge amount – from how to inoculate sheep to how to get the best out of people.

Neither of my parents went to university. My father²⁰ ran away from school when he was 13, and my mother²¹ was forbidden to go to university when she decided to marry him. She was an infant teacher, and taught me at home for long periods, especially during the Second World War, when it was not possible to go to school. She was convinced that anyone with a BA must have some of the attributes of Einstein, and both my parents were imbued with a love of learning that made them do everything in their power to give me the opportunities they had not had. My father was creative in ways I am not, building fireplaces, taking out patents on a variety of toys and tools,

starting his own companies and going bankrupt through a mixture of incompetence and soft-heartedness. It was a wonderful ambience for my sister²² and me to grow up in.

Throughout my career I have been extremely fortunate to be a round peg in a round hole. Teaching, research and administration have all fascinated me, and have all extended me. I hope I have put back as much as I have taken out. I have tried to do something which will not stop my family and friends from respecting me.

NOTES

- 1 David Nice.
- 2 The Central Research Fund of the University of London had given me my air fare, but it seemed more interesting to go overland. The journey took two months.
- 3 (Smith 1964). Various chapters of this thesis were published as articles (Smith 1967a; 1967b; 1969). For the background theory, see Halliday (1961).
- 4 Actually the Department of Phonetics and Linguistics. The abbreviation reflects my own specialization and no disrespect to phonetics.
- 5 Née Keskar. She also obligingly let me marry her sister, Saras, on 2 July 1966.
- 6 Jakobson was at Harvard, but courses at both institutions were open to members of each.
- 7 As represented by his (1965).
- 8 Lees (1960). This was the first MIT PhD in Linguistics.
- 9 For some discussion of the relation between Chomsky's political and academic ideas, see Smith (1999).
- 10 On 4 June 1967. He later acquired phonology (Smith 1973) and, later still, became my co-author (Smith with Smith 1988). My second son, Ivan, was born in England on 13 July, 1973. He has been my mathematical and scientific advisor since shortly thereafter.
- 11 We arrived in LA on 31 December 1967, just in time for a party where I met many of the LA linguists.
- 12 Stockwell, Schachter & Partee (1973).
- 13 The amalgamation took place in 1970 after the resignation of Halliday.
- 14 These degrees enrolled their first students in 1969. One of the first cohort was Jane Grimshaw, reading anthropology and linguistics.
- 15 We have consistently received a top (5) rating in the research assessment exercises imposed by government.
- 16 'Children want explanations, and there is a child in each of us; descriptivism makes a virtue of not pampering that child' (Joos 1957: 96).
- 17 They are: Brenda Clarke, *Annabel Cormack, Chris Frith, Gary Morgan, John Morton, Neil O'Connor, Jamal Ouhalla, Amahl Smith, *Ianthi Tsimpli, *Deirdre Wilson and Bencie Woll. Those marked with an asterisk are the three with whom I have had the most prolonged and fruitful academic association.
- 18 I acted as first supervisor for the following students:
 Abangma, S., 1992. *Empty Categories in Denya*.
 Anderman, G., 1978. *Aspects of Complementation and its Implication for a Theory of Subordination: A Generative Study of Comparative Germanic Syntax with Special Reference to Swedish*.
 Barton, D., 1976. *The Role of Perception in the Acquisition of Phonology*.
 Betts, A., 1990. *German Impersonal Passives*.
 Brody, M., 1984. *Conditions and NP-types*.
 Bull, B., 1991. *The Non-Linear Phonological Structure of Moroccan Colloquial Arabic*.
 Chan, B., 1999. *Aspects of the Syntax, Production and Pragmatics of Code-Switching – With Special Reference to Cantonese English*.

- Chiat, S., 1978. *The Analysis of Children's Pronouns: An Investigation into the Prerequisites for Linguistic Knowledge*.
- Cormack, A., 1989. *The Syntax and Semantics of Definitions*.
- Curcó, C., 1997. *The Pragmatics of Humorous Interpretations: A Relevance-Theoretic Approach*.
- Davies, L., 2001. *The Nature of Specific Language Impairment: Optionality and Principle Conflict*.
- Dodd, B., 1975. *The Acquisition of Phonological Skills in Normal, Severely Subnormal and Deaf Children*.
- Ejele, P., 1986. *Transitivity, Tense and Aspect in Esan (Ishan)*.
- Evans, B., 1999. *A Non-Coercing Account of Event Structure in Pular*.
- Froud, K., 2001. *Agrammatism and the Minimalist Program: Evidence for the Morphology Interface from a Case of Acquired Language Pathology*.
- Giejgo, J., 1981. *Movement Rules in Polish Syntax*.
- Grimberg, M-L., 1997. *Against Rigidity: An Investigation of Semantics and Pragmatics of Indexicality*.
- Haacke, W., 1993. *The Tonology of Khoekhoe (Nama/Damara)*.
- Kang, H.-K., 2000. *Aspects of the Acquisition of Quantification: Experimental Studies of English and Korean Children*.
- Klavans, J., 1980. *Some Problems in a Theory of Clitics*.
- Kumar, B. S., 1972. *Some Aspects of Sanskrit Syntax*. [SOAS]
- Mapanje, J., 1983. *On the Interpretation of Aspect and Tense in Chiyao, Chichewa and English*.
- McBrearty, J., 1980. *Initial Mutation in Modern Irish and its Implications for Phonological Theory*.
- Morris, R., 1984. *Aspect, Case and Thematic Structure in English*.
- Mtenje, A., 1986. *Issues in the Non-Linear Phonology of Chichewa*.
- Osawa, F., 2000. *The Rise of Functional Categories: Syntactic Parallels between First Language Acquisition and Historical Change*.
- Ouhalla, J., 1988. *The Syntax of Head Movement: A Study of Berber*.
- Öztekin, H., 1987. *Clausal Complementation in Turkish*.
- Paterson, S., 1983. *Voice and Transitivity*.
- Pullum, G. K., 1976. *Rule Interaction and the Organization of a Grammar*.
- Roberts, J., 1986. *Amele Grammar*.
- Tsimpli, I.-M., 1992. *Functional Categories and Maturation: The Prefunctional Stage of Language Acquisition*.
- Wilder, C., 1987. *The Syntax of German Infinitives*.
- Zegarac, V., 1991. *Tense, Aspect and Relevance*.

I acted as second supervisor to the following students among many others:

- Agouraki, Y., 1993. *Spec-Head Licensing: The Scope of the Theory*.
- Ansre, G., 1966. *The Grammatical Units of Ewe*. [SOAS]
- Benkaddour, A., 1982. *Nonlinear Analysis of some Aspects of the Phonology and Nonconcatenative Morphology of Arabic*. [SOAS]
- Bhattacharya, T., 1999. *The Structure of the Bangla DP*.
- Blass, R., 1988. *Discourse Connectivity and Constraints on Relevance in Sissala*.
- Boadi, L., 1966. *The Syntax of the Twi Verb*. [SOAS]
- Derbyshire, D., 1979. *Hixkaryana Syntax*.
- Hiranburana, S., 1971. *The Role of Accent in Thai Grammar*. [SOAS]
- Mittwoch, A., 1971. *Optional and Obligatory Verbal Complements in English*. [SOAS]
- Nwachukwu, P., 1975. *Noun Phrase Sentential Complementation in Igbo*. [SOAS]
- Papafragou, A., 1998. *Modality and the Semantics-Pragmatics Interface*.
- Wise, H., 1970. *Syntax of the Verb Phrase of Colloquial Egyptian Arabic: A Transformational Study*. [SOAS]
- Xydopoulos, G., 1996. *Tense, Aspect and Adverbials in Modern Greek*.
- 19 Priestley (1956).
- 20 Voyne Smith – born 10 June 1910; died 18 January 1991.
- 21 Lilian Freda Smith (née Rose) – born 3 May 1913; died 6 August 1973.
- 22 Angela Dawn Cooper (née Smith) – born 15 October 1936.

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