

planations" of Kajiga 1975. Some, however, are works of high scientific standing in which the phonological and grammatical information is precise and accurate, the analysis of the semantic connotations of the terms, thorough and adequately illustrated by concrete examples, and the coverage of the vocabulary extensive and properly documented. Particularly worth mentioning are, in this respect, the dictionaries produced by the Royal Museum for Central Africa in Tervuren, Belgium, e.g., van Avermaet 1954 (kiLuba), Lekens 1955 (Ngbandi), Hulstaert 1957 (lo-Mongo), Rood 1958 (liNgombe), Maes 1959 (Ngbaka), Rodegem 1970 (kiRundi), etc.

In the former British territories, the regional Literature Bureaus sponsored the publication of translating dictionaries of the main vernaculars, mainly for educational purposes, but some of them are excellent tools for the study of the vocabulary and its meaning in context, though the linguist will miss the tones in such languages as Shona (Hannan 1974) or Nyanja (Scott/Hetherwick 1957). The latter is actually a slightly updated reprint of a 1929 work which contains a lot of ethnographic information which one misses in the more recent Portuguese Nyanja dictionary (1963) where new loanwords from English and Portuguese are also listed. Lexicographical work had an early start in southern Africa, where Colenso's Zulu dictionary (1861) opened a tradition which culminated in the excellent Zulu dictionary of Doke and Vilikazi (1948), after being illustrated in 1905 by the remarkable work of A. T. Bryant. This dictionary arranged about 22,000 Zulu lexical entries according to (verbal) stems and derivations, gave hints about pronunciation and intonation (albeit not always very accurately), and listed idiomatic expressions, proverbs and *hlonipha* forms of respect. Although older dictionaries are available for a number of West African languages, the work done under the sponsorship of the *Institut Français d'Afrique Noire* in colonial times and by the institutions that have replaced it after the French territories gained their independence, is more limited than in the Bantu area (Barreateau 1978). For some major languages there are, however, dictionaries produced by experienced linguists, e.g. Westermann 1954 (Ewe), Berry 1960 (Twi-Fante-Ashanti), Innes 1967 (Grebo), Calame-Griaule 1968 (Dogon), Williamson 1972 (Igbo), Bouquiaux 1978 (Sango), etc. See also Murphy/Goff 1969.

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273. Lexicography of the Khoisan Languages

1. Preliminaries
2. Classification of Languages
3. Development of Study of Khoisan Languages
4. Exploration of Their Grammar: Nama
5. Lexical Studies
6. Selected Bibliography

1. Preliminaries

1.1. This unusual family of languages presents a lexicography with almost none of the features that occupy the modern technical field. Rather, it affords a special focus on difficulties and experience

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in bringing a challenging area of study into the range of formal linguistic analysis and accomplishment. Khoisan lexicography is as yet poorly distinguished from demography, genetic classification, dialectology, phonology, morphosyntax, cultural semantics, ethnography, folklore, text collection and recording, field philology, manuscript paleography, bibliography, and librarian's data processing. Our study is still in its infancy while the data retreat perilously from view; for an impassioned and reasoned statement of this urgency see Traill 1974.

1.2. This impoverished lexicography can be credited to a number of factors: in particular, the late start of Khoisan studies, forbidding phonology whose mastery is essential to the identification of lexemes, and the long and informed study needed to disengage Khoisan from Bantu. Satisfactory coverage of varieties had to await the discernment of genetic classification, in the early period especially by Tindall and W. H. I. Bleek, later in the recognition during the 1920s of the placement of Bushman, and in the modern period by the attachment of Sandawe and Hadza. Thus the disclosure of Khoisan has been unlike that of e.g. many indigenous North American families.

The work of missionaries has been a great asset, but their primary aim at practical results leads to much traditional and simplifying analysis: Technically trained analysis has been slow and understaffed; this aspect of inadequacy has been particularly noticeable with these difficult and unfamiliar phonologies.

Such conditions have shaped the whole lexicography of Khoisan; with few real dictionaries, it is largely an account of the collection of improved word lists, heavily a story of the philology and search to identify the proper objects of study, the progress of salvage, the refining of inventories of social units. Much of the early 20th century literature was occupied with sorting out tribes, names and their spellings, and speech differences.

1.3. Two important confusions have impeded, though not defeated, the correct and principled genetic identification of Khoisan: the reliance on a single phonetic and phonological characteristic and the intrusion of a typological trait of morphological category as a guiding criterion. So, while click consonants turn out to be highly characteristic of the family, they are not intrinsically diagnostic any more than is retroflexion of Dravidian. Likewise, German, Icelandic, and Gothic show rich gender systems which agree also in detail, while English, Afrikaans, and Danish show varying degrees of absence of this category.

2. Classification of Languages

The taxonomy of the members of this linguistic family is important in assessing the number of ob-

jects of lexicographic study to be reckoned with and the degree of success in attaining relevant goals.

2.1. The Khoisan (<Europeanized Nama *khoi* + -sa-n, credited to L. Schultze) languages, numbering between a dozen and two dozen languages and varieties centering on the Kalahari (less than 50 000 Bushmen, or San) and Namibia (nearly 100 000 Hottentots, Bergdama, and Bushmen speaking Nama), are found in discontinuous groups, enclaves and relics (on the ethnography and identification see basically Schapera 1930) in South Africa, Namibia with southern Angola, Botswana and Zambia, with outliers in Tanzania (Sandawe [Dempwolff 1916] and Hadza, or Haisa [D. F. Bleek 1931a, 1931b]). For a full listing see D. F. Bleek 1929, 1956, Westphal 1971, Köhler 1971, 1974, Snyman 1974, Traill 1973.

2.2. The internal subgrouping of the southern African languages is agreed to comprise a compact and populous Central group, a Northern group of three dialects, and a divergent Southern group with three major clusters; these groups are superficially dissimilar, as is Sandawe, which has been dubiously claimed as a Central language, and more notably so the distant Hadza. Bushman has also been divided into A, B, C, and D groups, of which A matches D. F. Bleek's Northern (including !K(h)ung), thus validating D. F. Bleek's 1929 trichotomy into Northern, Central, and Southern. The Tshu-Khwe (Khoe) San, of which the largest language is Nharo, or Naro(n), belong with Hottentot to the Central group. On these relations see for detailed discussion which space here will not permit D. F. Bleek 1929, Maingard 1963, Köhler 1961, 1971, Stanley 1968, Baucom 1970, Tanaka 1978, Barnard 1985, Traill 1985 (p. 5-7). From among the Southern group, sadly, Traill 1974 (p. 41-43) documents the presence of the last /Pauni speaker, and Traill 1985 reports that for three or four Southern languages only a couple of speakers survived; therefore the solitary remnant Southern language was !Xóö, with ca. 2000 speakers in southwest Botswana and eastern Namibia.

A relation between Hottentot and Sandawe was recognized in 1910 by Trombetti, but obviously on unsatisfactory data (s. Fleming 1986, Elderkin 1982).

3. Development of Study of Khoisan Languages

Through a review of classificatory results we have tried to discern how many and which languages are representative of the family, but we cannot avoid a glance at the history of the field. Leibnitz 1717 was aware of these languages and includes Cape Hottentot data from before 1679, published in 1691 and reprinted by W. H. I. Bleek in 1858 (1869). But serious documentation for Hottentot begins only with Wallmann 1854 and especially Tindall 1857.

The first modern scholar to enter this field was W. H. I. Bleek, with a German doctorate (W. H. I. Bleek 1851), whose *Comparative Grammar* (1862-9) was a landmark, inspired by the advances of the day and by such figures as Max Müller and the new Comparative Philology; thus he wrote (p. vii) that Comparative Philology and Ethnology were superior in certainty to that of the historical record, and that up to twelve years previously the field had been groping. Bleek's goal was to classify the African languages south of the Equator: as his basis he chose "Kafir" and Hottentot (cf. W. H. I. Bleek 1857), since (p. 1) Bushman was still too little known, while Hottentot was known in 3 to 4 dialects, and Nama best through missionary literature. Bleek goes on to mention (p. 3) a manuscript grammar of Bushman by the Rev. C. F. Wuras (cf. W. H. I. Bleek 1869) in Sir George Grey's Library (see Mendelsohn 1910) and (p. 4) a manuscript dictionary of !Kora (cf. Wuras 1920); he observes that for Eastern Hottentot scanty vocabularies were all that one had. Bleek's enlightened scholarship praised the literary

dance, the supposed difficulty in mastering the language, and on early manuscripts and learners: opposite p. 168 are shown 10 numerals from 1626 to 1725 in Old Cape dialects, from 1773 to 1797 in Eastern dialects, from 1801 to 1812 in Kora, from 1812 to 1814 in Nama, from 1835 in Griqua, and then the modern Nama, Kora, and Griqua forms; the higher numerals then follow.

4.1. The most noticeable and unavoidable fact of Khoisan is the set of click consonants in every language. Often cited on this subject but long out of date is Stopa 1935; the classic work however remains Beach 1938. Simply to consult the literature and lexicography, to master the alphabetization of these characteristically frequent stop sounds with double articulation, rarefaction, and egressive velar release, one must learn to recognize 3 to 5 elements and their notation (cf. Fig. 273.1). The

Customary	Ingressive	IPA	Nguni romanization
○	bilabial (affricate)	no symbol	
/	dental affricate	1	c
≠	alveolar non-affricate	f	
//	lateral affricate	b	x
!	(alveo-)palatal non-affricate	ç	q

Fig. 273.1: Frequent stop sounds

capacity and refinement of Hottentot, sought (W. H. I. Bleek 1875) to preserve aboriginal literature, expressed (W. H. I. Bleek 1873b) humane aims in using convicts in 1870 as sources to expand the traveller Dr. H. Lichtenstein's short vocabularies and sparse sentences that then constituted the total corpus of Bushman data, and observed (W. H. I. Bleek 1873a) that philology could have refuted the error alleging that the Bushmen were Hottentots robbed of their cattle by Boers.

As a measure of the sparseness of accumulated studies we may note that Mendelsohn 1910 furnishes us mostly with Nama, and that Doke's 1933 Bushman listing came to 2 pages. A more updated picture is given by Westphal 1971.

4. Exploration of Their Grammar: Nama

Although our proper subject is lexicography, to understand the field we must take brief account of grammatical study. It is striking how this field has been dominated by work on Nama. A rich and varied collection of information is found in Nienaber 1963 on early contacts, the word Hottentot, the history of theories on its origin, the Hottentot

customary notation goes back to W. H. I. Bleek. Clicks in Khoisan are notable in occurring only initially almost only in major form-class roots. The bilabial is found only in the Southern group.

4.2. These phonologies display distinctive word tones, and until very recently the tones have been inadequately recognized, analyzed and notated. The role of nasality (also in syllables) is important and can be intricate. Features of glottalization, pharyngealization, aspiration, and velar spirant release are important and result in conflicting faulty orthographies. The best phonological studies are Beach 1938 (for Nama and Korana/Griqua), von Essen (but defective in part) 1957, 1962, 1966, Doke 1925, Snyman 1975 (for the Northern group), Traill 1985 (from the Southern group) on !Xóö, and Ladefoged/Traill 1984.

4.3. The only language whose grammar has been repeatedly and diligently studied is Nama. Hagman 1977 observes that between

1855 and 1905 six Nama grammars had appeared, although all are now surpassed; there is no need to name all of them, just as we pass over some vocabulary and meritorious text collections. The earliest grammar of real merit was Tindall 1857: after that we have a serious analysis by a first-class linguist in Dempwolff 1934—5. Then we must wait until Rust 1965, which, expanding on J. Olpp and H. Vedder, is the culmination of German missionary South West African didactic traditional Latin-based grammar; this practical work, with exercises, based on deep firsthand knowledge immediately became the best and fullest handbook, but unfortunately ignores Beach, who must always be consulted. Hagman 1977 followed, with a brief but interesting modern grammar with new syntactic perspectives. More recently we have the handbook of Köhler 1981 and the introduction by Böhm 1985. Recent studies on separate grammatical topics can be traced in the standard bibliographies.

Although C. Meinhof's *Lehrbuch* (Berlin: Reimer 1909) is superseded, the 3rd part on Wortbildungslehre is still useful and, because of the resources in word formation which characterize the Central group, is relevant to lexicography.

4.4. Outside of Nama, serviceable grammatical literature is sparse. The Northern group is represented by Snyman 1970. From the Southern group we have D. F. Bleek 1928—30 and Meriggi 1928/9 for /xam and Maingard 1937 for ≠Khomani. For Sandawe there is only the sketch in Dempwolff 1916.

5. Lexical Studies

We now comment chronologically on the work devoted separately to lexical documentation, without segregating the genetic groupings; for references see sect. 6.1. All works are overtly or implicitly bilingual. Wallmann 1854 is now a brief pioneering collection of historical interest only.

Tindall 1857 was an important landmark in the documentation of Khoisan (cf. sect. 4.3.). Declaring that the Hottentot language had been neglected, Tindall distinguished 4 dialects: Hottentot Proper, Coranna, Namaqua, and Bushman; the last was said to have numerous brogues, mutually intelligible and not, but similar in grammatical structure. This intelligent work demonstrates

that in Khoisan studies lexicography was not yet a discernable field. W. H. I. Bleek 1858 is a philological document directed at the earliest documentation of Khoisan linguistic history. W. H. I. Bleek 1875 documents for us the true beginnings of Bushman lexicography.

Olpp (1888) was a serious scholar, but still a precursor of sustained lexicography: cf. his other work. Kroenlein 1889 brings us suddenly to the heart of Khoisan lexicography. Though the size of this dictionary is modest, Hagman 1977 is still able to declare it the best. Note also that this corresponds to the leading position in Khoisan scholarship that Nama (or German-trained scholars?) has taken. That Kroenlein was not new to such high-quality work is shown by the fact that W. H. I. Bleek refers in 'Reynard the Fox in South Africa: or, Hottentot Fables and Tales' (London: Trübner 1864, xxxi + 94 p.) to Rev. G. Kroenlein and a 65-page manuscript including 24 fables and songs, proverbs, riddles, etc. from Namaqua and Bushman.

Schils 1894 took its place beside a grammar of 1891, but these seem to have had little impact on the field.

Dempwolff 1916 contains a very brief glossary, yet it is our only solid source for Sandawe; it illustrates Dempwolff's imperturbable enterprise. One must recall that Dempwolff was a founder of exact modern comparativism in the huge Austronesian family.

Wandres 1918—19 and 1925—26 deserve our gratitude but contribute nothing essentially new to the scholarship which we have seen unfolding.

Wuras 1920 is really a modest contribution; considering the close relationship of Korana to Nama we should like to know much more about Korana. Indeed, Maingard 1962 has given us welcome material on this language lying just west of Kimberley, and Beach 1938 is invaluable on the phonetics of Korana. Yet it seems ironical that Wuras' Korana Catechism has been presented and discussed at least by Vedder in 1927, by Maingard (Bantu Studies 5, 1931, 111—65) and by F. Hestermann in 1954—55 without our yet having an updated lexical register. Here the passage of time has not been well exploited.

D. F. Bleek 1929 is a very valuable piece of work, but is aimed at the problem of comparison and not at that of descriptive or analytic lexicography.

D. F. Bleek 1937 belongs to the ethnographic genre that we have already seen in Dempwolff 1916. D. F. Bleek 1928—30, and Maingard 1937. It also belongs now to the category of salvage documentation in view of what we have reported above in sect. 2.2. from Traill 1974. We must therefore be grateful for what we have of this precious Southern relic. — D. F. Bleek 1956 is a major foundation stone for the basic lexicography of this family of moribund remnant languages and rapidly absorbed cultures. — Rust 1969: While we must accord Kroenlein his proper place in the scholarship of this field (see above), we must also recognize Rust 1969 as one of the central lexicographic accomplishments and tools of this field, and Rust himself as one of the immortals of Khoisan studies (cf. sect. 4.3. above). Rust 1960 completes the work at this stage by providing a matching bilingual dictionary in the other direction. It is significant that these tasks have been accomplished for the important Nama language. — Snyman 1975 provides the first major lexicographic work for a variety of !K(h)ung. The dictionary portion of this book contains 166 pages, each with two columns of typewriter size type and ca. ten entries per column, i.e. a total of ca. 3300 head-words each carrying a gloss a few words in length. This work should be considered alongside that author's grammar of 1970 (cf. sect. 4.4.).

Tanaka 1978 results from 24 months of anthropological fieldwork. The work comprises a simple listing of lexemes broken into sub-lists as shown; the two dialects are mutually intelligible. It is very valuable to have this ample documentation of etyma from another variety of the Central group, to be placed alongside Nama. Barnard 1985 supplies representation from one more variety of the Central group with 6000 speakers in Ghanzi, Botswana. This volume is a careful piece of work. — W. G. H. Haacke is in charge of a group at work on a new Nama dictionary.

5.2. We now comment on the listings in sect. 6.2. D. F. Bleek 1924, Marshall 1957, 1962, Fabian 1965, and Gruber 1973 may be placed alongside Tanaka 1978, as may also Wandres 1927. D. F. Bleek 1936 should be associated with D. F. Bleek 1928—30 (cf. sect. 4.4.). Seven items have taken us into the sphere of toponyms and geography. Nama no longer dominates these recent special studies.

5.3. Up to the present it seems that the main aims of Khoisan lexicography have concentrated on practical and especially missionary needs, ethnography, and basic vocabulary for linguistic comparison. The most damaging gaps at present are in the Southern and Tanzanian groups.

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Bleek, D. F. 1929 = Dorothea Frances Bleek: Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages (University of Cape Town Publications of the School of African Life and Language). Cambridge 1929 [assembles eleven languages].

Bleek, D. F. 1937 = Dorothea Frances Bleek: Grammatical Notes and Texts in the /Pauni Language: /Pauni Vocabulary. In: Bushmen of the Southern Kalahari. Ed. by John David Rheinalt Jones and C. M. Doke. Johannesburg 1937 [p. 195—200; 201—220; = Bantu Studies 11.3, 253—258; 259—278; cf. Traill 1974].

Bleek, D. F. 1956 = Dorothea Frances Bleek: A Bushman Dictionary (American Oriental Series 41). New Haven 1956 [10 + 773 p.: reproduction of the typescript; a compilation of all extant material except Hottentot].

Bleek, W. H. I. 1858 = Wilhelm Heinrich Immanuel Bleek: The Hottentot Language. In: The Cape Monthly Magazine 3. 1858, 34—41, 116—119 [containing a translation from Juncker's Life of Ludolf, and the Collectanea Etymologica of Leibnitz 1717, with Hottentot vocabulary in four languages from Cape Hottentot of before 1679, published in 1691, as well as examples of prayers rendered in Hottentot; cf. O. M. Spier 1963. First Hottentot Vocabulary, Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library 18, 27—33].

Bleek, W. H. I. 1875 = Wilhelm Heinrich Immanuel Bleek: A Brief Account of Bushman Folklore and other Texts... by W. H. I. Bleek, Ph. D. Curator of the Grey Library. Foreign Member of the R. Bavarian Academy of Sciences & c. Second Report... both Houses of Parliament of the Cape of Good Hope... London 1875 [21 p.: This account argues for the preservation of aboriginal literature, referring to the work of Kroenlein and Rath for Hottentot and Damara; up to then 7200 half-pages in 84 volumes of Bushman literature had been collected. Mendelssohn (1910) summarizes: "In the course of the translation of the Bushman texts a Bushman-English dictionary had been compiled, which at the time of writing contained 11,000 en-

tries. from which, as well as the author's older dictionary, an index, or Bushman-English dictionary, comprising 10,000 entries, had been formed." Cf. D. F. Bleek 1956j.

Dempwolff 1916 = Otto Dempwolff: Die Sandawe. s. I. 1916 [the grammatical section includes a glossary].

Kroenlein 1889 = Johann Georg Kroenlein (Kronlein in Rust 1969, SAB 3, 1979; Kronlein in Mendelssohn): Wortschatz der Khoi-khoen (Namaqua-Hottentotten). Berlin 1889 (dated 1899 in Mendelssohn 1910 and Hagman 1977) [vi + 350 p.; Additional information about this in Rust 1969].

Olpp 1888 = Johannes Olpp: Nama-deutsches Wörterbuch. Elberfeld (1888) [iii + 3 – 118 p.; not in Mendelssohn, but in SAB 1979; Olpp also wrote a grammar 1917, which was translated into Afrikaans 1964].

Rust 1960 = F. Rust: Deutsch-Nama Wörterbuch. Windhoek 1960.

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XXXI. Lexikographie der Einzelsprachen XV: Die Indianersprachen Amerikas während der Kolonialzeit Lexicography of Individual Languages XV: The Languages of the American Indians in the Colonial Period Lexicographie des langues particulières XV: Les langues amérindiennes pendant la période coloniale

274. Nahuatl Lexicography

1. Background
2. Molina's Dictionaries
3. Works Derived From Molina
4. The Practical Phrase Book of Pedro de Arenas
5. Works Recognizing Vowel Length and Glottal Stop
6. New Collections
7. Selected Bibliography

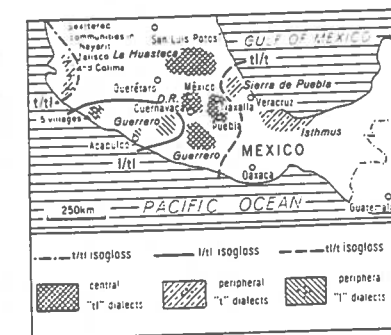
1. Background

Nahuatl is the major indigenous language of central Mexico. In addition to a rich oral tradition, it has a vast written literature of poems, theatricals, history, ethnography, and notarial documentation written down during the Spanish colonial period. Today it is spoken by a million people in communities in the Huasteca, the Sierra de Puebla, on the Veracruz coast, in the Federal District, and in the states of Puebla, Tlaxcala, Morelos, Guerrero, Michoacan, and Mexico. There are also a few speakers in the western states of Nayarit, Jalisco, and Colima. There are two major dialect groups, the central and the peripheral. The central dialects are characterized by a laterally released consonant written *tl*, while in the peripheral group the lateral release has been lost, yielding simple *t* except in a western area where it is the stop articulation that has been lost, yielding *l* (see map). Pipil, a related language, is spoken further to the south and east as far as Central America. Prior to European intrusion into the area, Aztec economic and political expansion spread Nahuatl throughout Mesoamerica. Upon arrival, Catholic missionary friars began compiling dictionaries of the indigenous languages of the area, using Antonio de Nebrija's Spanish/Latin dictionary, probably the 1516 edi-

tion, as an elicitation list. In the Edward E. Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library in Chicago there is a notebook containing Nebrija's dictionary copied out by hand with blank lines left after each entry. Nahuatl glosses have been written in red using some of the conventions used by Alonso de Molina but also employing a diacritic to mark stressed syllables, a convention not seen again until Macazaga Ordoño 1979, since Nahuatl stress is predictable.

2. Molina's Dictionaries

Alonso de Molina was brought to Mexico as a child in the years immediately following the European conquest and grew up bilingual in



Map 274.1: Location of Nahuatl-speaking communities in the 20th century