

**Missionary Linguistics IV/ Lingüística Misionera IV.** Lexicography. Edited by Otto Zwartjes, Ramón Arzápalo Marín and Thomas C. Smith-Stark. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2009.

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*Missionary Linguistics IV/ Lingüística Misionera IV* puts together 12 selected papers about the lexicographical activity of the Catholic missionaries in Asia and in the Americas, up to the 19th century, the theme of the Fifth International Conference on Missionary Linguistics, co-organized by Otto Zwartjes and Ramon Arzápalo Marín in Merida, Yucatan, on March 2007. Zwartjes and Even Hovdhaugen, the organizers of the first conference of the kind (Oslo 2003), and also of the volume that resulted from it (HOVDHAUGEN; ZWARTJES, 2004), certainly did not imagine, at that moment, that such an ‘exotic’ subject would raise so much interest among scholars and, even less, I presume, that they were launching a series. Indeed, after Oslo, the conferences continued in São Paulo (2004), Hong Kong/Macau (2005), Valladolid (2006), Mérida (2007), and the next one is already scheduled to be held in 2010, in Tokyo. The volumes that resulted from the various conferences, as well, were published in a row: number II, dedicated to orthography and phonology (ZWARTJES; ALTMAN, 2005); number III, to morphology and syntax (ZWARTJES; JAMES; RIDRUEJO, 2007); and now, number IV, (ZWARTJES; ARZÁPALO; SMITH-STARK, 2009), to lexicography.

The present volume, although trying, as the previous ones, to bring together studies from various regions, puts 16th century New Spain (Mexico today) in relief. It could hardly be different. Not so much because the institution that sponsored the Fifth Conference was in Merida, what usually motivates local scholars to revisit their traditions, but mainly because it is more than acknowledged by the specialized literature that the New Spain missionaries were much more productive than their peers in the Portuguese colonies. The data presented by Wonderly and Nida (1963, p. 117) illustrates their

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productivity. Only for the 16th century, the authors claim to have registered 212 works done by missionaries: 30 about South American languages; 27 about languages in Central America, and 155 about Mexico. Classical Nahuatl, the language spoken by the Aztecs in Central Mexico and used as a lingua franca by the peoples of Mesoamerica, was the more studied language: the authors registered 92 works about it. Complementarily, McQuown (1976, p. 105) and Pottier (1983, p. 21) observe that, only between 1524 and 1572, Franciscans produced more than 80 works about Náhuatl — grammars, dictionaries, catechisms, breviaries — and Dominicans and Augustinians other 30, still only about Náhuatl. It is much more than was produced about the European national varieties within the same period. No wonder why scholars have been so attracted by this long standing documentation (cf. also ROCA, 1992).

Smith-Stark's study, which opens the book, does justice to this impressive production. The article provides a thorough analysis of the dictionaries produced in New Spain within the period 1492–1611, i.e., between the years in which Elio Antonio de Nebrija (1441/44–1522) published his *Lexicon*<sup>2</sup> and in which Sebastián de Covarrubias (1539–1613) published his *Tesoro*.<sup>3</sup> According to the author, within this period, at least 6 dictionaries of four different languages appeared — náhuatl, purépecha, zapoteco, mixteco — besides 17 other vocabularies that subsisted in manuscript form, or in glosses of dictionaries about other languages. In total, Smith-Stark analyzed 23 multilingual vocabularies treating 13 different languages spoken in New Spain territories: Náhuatl (5), Otomi (4), Yucatec Maya (4), Tarascan (3), Kaqchikel (2), Matlatzinca (1), Mixtec (1), Zapotec (1), Tzeltal (1), Tzotzil (1), K'ichee' (1), Tzutujil (1), and Poqomchi' (1). The study is preceded by a short, but very informative review of the Medieval European Lexicography that contextualizes it. One learns, for example, that nearly all the Mexican-based missionaries of the period were friars — 10 Franciscans and 5 Dominicans— and that their preferred strategy to mold new vocabularies was to take existing dictionaries as a start and then to add the corresponding expression in the language(s) they were describing. This does not mean that they did not count on native speakers' collaboration. On the contrary, Smith-Stark presents textual evidence that the friars used the

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2 NEBRISSENSI, Aelio Antonio. *Lexicon ex sermone latino in hispaniensem*. Salamanca 1492.

3 COVARRUBIAS OROZCO, Sebastián de. *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*. Madrid: Luis Sanchez, 1611.

native speakers as informants, aides, scribes, authors or evaluators. This sort of dialogic approach that presupposes that it is possible to catch the cultural and linguistic negotiation between the old and the new world that underlies the colonial texts, opens interesting possibilities of analysis, as demonstrated by various other authors of the present volume.

The manuscript known as the Calepino of Motul, whose authorship is attributed to Friar Antonio Ciudad Real (1551–1617), an impressive volume of nearly a thousand pages with 15 975 entries, is the object of Arzápalo's contribution. Focusing mainly the intercultural and the ideological specificities between Mayas and Spaniards, Arzápalo described the various tasks involved in his digitalized reedition of the manuscript. Applying computational technology to ancient texts may be a task that involves lots of technical difficulties, as pointed by Arzapalo. The various procedures employed by his team included the previous systematization and modernization of orthography and punctuation, trying to keep, at the same time, the characteristics of the colonial lexicon and syntax of the languages involved. The result was a 3 volume Maya-Spanish dictionary in which, besides the original compilation of Ciudad Real, the grammatical category of each entry can be read, as well as its sociolinguistic or pragmatic status; and a new section of Mayan flora and fauna, aiming at a larger audience. The appendix offers a sample of Arzápalo's edition of the Calepino.

Flores Farfán revisits the most remarkable work in 16th century Nahuatl lexicography, Friar Alonso de Molina's (c.1514–1585) *Vocabulario en lengua Castellana y Mexicana y Mexicana y Castellana* (Mexico: Juan Pablos, 1555; Mexico: Antonio de Spinosa, 1571.) from the viewpoint of the dialectal and sociolectal varieties incorporated by the dictionary — or neutralized by it — along the process of its constitution. Flores, who has mastered the language, shows that Molina, although following Nebrija's lexicographical model, succeeds in respecting the structure of Nahuatl. In parallel, Flores fosters a recurrent and polemic issue regarding the representativeness of the linguistic variety described in missionary literature: did it represent what was really spoken at the time, or was it 'created' by the missionaries for the purposes of evangelization? To Flores, in Molina's case, the answers to both questions seem to be positive.

Not only Nebrija, but also Molina seems to have exerted a significant influence on the missionaries who worked with other languages, as Hernandez'

article about the Spanish-Mayan vocabularies tries to show. Unlike the vocabularies about Nahuatl, or about the Tarascan language, which benefited from the printing press established in Mexico since 1539, the dictionaries about Mayan languages (tzeltal, maya yucateco, quiche, cakchiquel, tzutuhil, tzotzil) remained in manuscript form in the convents, which contributed for their dispersion or loss. According to the author, from the 15 dictionaries mentioned in ancient documents, only half survive today. Hernández' compilation does a great service organizing the dispersed information about these dictionaries and indicating their location.

Vocabularies and dictionaries are not the only source for the investigation of the lexicon. Máñez explores Bernardino de Sahagún's (c. 1500–1590) *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* in her study about the strategies employed by the Franciscan in interaction with Mexican culture. Perspectivism and analogical hermeneutics is her theoretical backdrop. Examining the various manuscripts, the author evaluates Sahagún's progressive knowledge of a different universe, especially in what refers to Mexican Gods. The author appends some beautiful reproductions.

Cristina Monzón, *habitué* of the Missionary Conferences, closes the New Spain section by analyzing three dictionaries of the Tarascan language produced in the second half of the 16th century: the *Vocabulario en lengua de Michuacan* (1559), of the Franciscan Friar Maturini Gilberti (c. 1498–1585), the *Dictionarito breve y compendioso en la lengua de Michuacan* (1574), of another Franciscan Friar, Juan Baptista de Lagunas (c. 1530–1604), and the Anonymous' 1991[16th century] *Diccionario Grande de la lengua de Michuacán*. Monzón advances two hypotheses concerning the conditions of production of these dictionaries: first, regarding their authorship, and second, regarding their form of organizing the entries by roots.

Her deep knowledge of Mexican languages, culture and colonial literature allows her to demonstrate successfully that the native speakers did play a role in the elaboration of Tarascan dictionaries, even when not explicitly acknowledged by their authors. Her arguments include the translation of specific words, the use of some graphemes, and what seems to have been a mechanical copy of Molina's addendum. According to Monzón, Friar Alonso de Molina was the one who first understood the morphological process in Mexican languages (root + 'servile syllable') and employed it in a small section of his 1555/ 1571 Nahuatl dictionary, contrasting with European tradition that

used the whole word as the unit of analysis. Monzón demonstrates the impact that this criterion for establishing morphological entries, i.e., by roots that expands the correspondent derived verbs or nouns, had in the development of Tarascan lexicography.

North and South America are represented by three studies. Lonsdale's study about a certain Father Chirouse's (1821–1892) manuscript vocabulary in Lushootseed, an endangered Salish language spoken in the region of Northwest USA and Southwest of Canada, explores the contrast between the graphemes used by Chirouse and his modern transcription with the help of computer technology. No doubt that lexicography can benefit a lot from modern computer resources, one may conjecture, however, up to which point they may add something to documents of this kind that an experienced researcher like Lonsdale did not know beforehand.

Alexander-Bakkerus analyses the Egerton manuscript (=Lengua de Maynas manuscript) of the beginning of 19th century. It contains a description of Quechua spoken in Maynas, province of Quito, Ecuador. This manuscript is contemporary to two vocabularies made by the Ecuadorian Jesuit historian, Father Juan de Velasco's (1727–1792), of which just one survives today. Comparing the texts meticulously, like a true detective of the past, Alexander-Bakkerus reconstructs the origins of both texts. Gonçalves and Murakawa examine a non-conventional lexicographic source, the travel narrative *Treaties of the Land and People of Brazil*, by the Jesuit Father Fernão Cardim (1540/1548?–1625). As a matter of fact, the missionaries' linguistic sources go farther than the traditional tripod dictionary-grammar-catechism. Linguistic information and language descriptions can be found in their voluminous epistles, notes, travel reports, and in their flora and fauna descriptions, as in Cardim's case. Using contemporary lexical theories as counterpoint, the authors pull off Cardim's descriptive strategies and manage to give coherence to dispersed data. Due to the scarce works about Brazilian Portuguese missionaries outside the restricted circles of Portuguese Philology, Gonçalves and Murakawa render a good service to missionary historiography, but it is a pity that the examples, which remained in Portuguese, remain inaccessible to English readers.

The last section of the book is dedicated to dictionaries about Asian languages: Ilocano, a Filipino language; Tamil, spoken in the region of southern India; and Hokkien, “the first Chinese variety to have split off from Old Chinese” (KLÖTER, p. 306).

Fernández' didactic presentation of the Ilocano works made by the Augustinian friars from the 16th up to the 19th century — not only vocabularies, but also grammars — fills some gaps in the literature of Spanish-Philippine historiography. The article, following the general theme of the volume, focuses on the *Calepino Ilocano o vocabulario de romance en iloco* (1797) of Friar Pedro de Vivar (1731–1771). It is interesting to observe, following Fernández' remarks, that various Spanish-Philippine dictionaries also use roots as headings, as in Tarascan lexicographic tradition, as showed by Monzón in this volume, partially inspired, by their turn, in the pioneer work of Alonso de Molina and Nebrija. Klöter (below, in this volume p. 325) reminds us that most of Spanish missionaries came to Asia from Mexico. This suggests that the missionaries-linguists *doublés* formed indeed a significant network that shared the methods of the craft.

James' study about the Tamil-Portuguese *Vocabulario Tamvlico* (1679) by Jesuit Antão de Proença (1625–c.1666) is presented in the context of an erudite, thorough and very informative research about primary and secondary sources of Tamil writings, much of it running parallel to the text, in the footnotes. James' discussion of the entries of the first page of the *Vocabulario* is a good illustration of the first missionaries' creativity in accommodating their — many times very sharp — observations of the forms and functions of the described language to the conventions of the time. As James states, the *Vocabulario* is much more than a Tamil lexicon, but a true treatise on Hinduism and Tamil culture.

Focused on the Chinese regional vernacular known as Hokkien, Klöter closes the volume by examining four 17th century manuscripts on the language. Klöter contrasts this documentation, produced by missionaries from various orders, with that one produced by China-based Jesuits. In fact, while these Jesuits focused on the literary and the court language, the others, based in Southeast Asia, were interested in describing the varieties spoken in overseas Chinese communities, mainly in Philippines. Observing the arrangement and the content of the entries of the dictionaries produced by these late ones, Klöter deduces their conceptualization of language.

In sum, the present volume offers us, above all, a good itinerary for colonial lexicographic analysis. It puts together precious information about authors (biodates, place of origin, religious order); locations; languages involved; the methodology employed; the number and style of the entries;

the criteria of organization (if by alphabetical order, parts of speech, word terminations, roots, meaning, communicative situations); the size of the nomenclature employed; the formal problems tackled —resolved, or still unsolved — by the missionaries; their accomplishments and their limitations.

Some may complain about an excess of footnotes, although most of them do add important details to the arguments developed in the texts. Focusing on single theme, the volume must be appreciated within the series to which it pertains. All together, the four volumes constitute an extensive and representative sample of the missionaries' descriptive work, from the 16th to the 19th century, in five continents.

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