Studies in the History of the Language Sciences 114

Missionary Linguistics IV
Lingüística misionera IV
Lexicography

EDITED BY
Otto Zwartjes
Ramón Arzápalo Marín
Thomas C. Smith-Stark

JOHN BENJAMINS PUBLISHING COMPANY

MISSIONARY LINGUISTICS IV / LINGÜÍSTICA MISIONERA IV

AMSTERDAM STUDIES IN THE THEORY AND HISTORY OF LINGUISTIC SCIENCE

General Editor
E.F.K. KOERNER
Zentrum für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft,
Typologie und Universalienforschung
Schützenstrasse 18, D-10117 Berlin

Series III – STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE LANGUAGE SCIENCES

Advisory Editorial Board

Cristina Altman (São Paulo); Lia Formigari (Rome)
Gerda Haßler (Potsdam); John E. Joseph (Edinburgh)
Barbara Kaltz (Aix-en-Provence); Douglas A. Kibbee (Urbana, Ill.)
Hans-Josef Niederehe (Trier); Emilio Ridruejo (Valladolid)
Otto Zwartjes (Amsterdam)

Volume 114

Otto Zwartjes, Ramón Arzápalo Marín and Thomas C. Smith-Stark (eds.)

Missionary Linguistics IV / Lingüística misionera IV
Lexicography
Selected papers from the Fifth International Conference on Missionary Linguistics, Mérida, Yucatán, 14-17 March 2007

MISSIONARY LINGUISTICS IV / LINGÜÍSTICA MISIONERA IV

LEXICOGRAPHY

SELECTED PAPERS FROM
THE FIFTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
ON MISSIONARY LINGUISTICS, MÉRIDA, YUCATÁN,
14–17 MARCH 2007

edited by

OTTO ZWARTJES
University of Amsterdam

RAMÓN ARZÁPALO MARÍN
Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México

THOMAS C. SMITH-STARK
El Colegio de México

JOHN BENJAMINS PUBLISHING COMPANY
AMSTERDAM/PHILADELPHIA



The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences — Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48–1984.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

International Conference on Missionary Linguistics (4th : 2007 : Mérida, Mexico)
Missionary linguistics IV = Lingüística misionera IV : lexicography : selected papers from the fifth International Conference on Missionary Linguistics, Mérida, Yucatán, 14-17 March 2007 / edited by Otto Zwartjes, Ramón Arzápalo Marín, Thomas C. Smith-Stark.
p. cm. -- (Amsterdam studies in the theory and history of linguistic science. Series III, Studies in the history of the language sciences, ISSN 0304-0720; v. 114)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
1. Language and languages--Study and teaching--History--Congresses. 2. Lexicography--Congresses. 3. Grammar, Comparative and general--Morphology--Study and teaching--History--Congresses. 4. Grammar, Comparative and general--Syntax--Study and teaching--History--Congresses. 5. Missions--Linguistic work--Congresses. I. Zwartjes, Otto. II. Arzápalo Marín, Ramón III. Smith-Stark, Thomas Cedric, 1948- IV. Title. V. Title: Lingüística misionera IV.
P53.I527 2007
413.028--dc22 2009007780
ISBN 978 90 272 4605 9 (HB; alk. paper)
ISBN 978 90 272 9039 7 (EB)

© 2009 – John Benjamins B.V.
No part of this book may be reproduced in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm, or any other means, without written permission from the publisher.

John Benjamins Publishing Company • P.O. Box 36224 • 1020 ME Amsterdam • The Netherlands
John Benjamins North America • P.O. Box 27519 • Philadelphia, PA 19118-0519 • USA

CONTENTS / ÍNDICE

Foreword & Acknowledgements 1

Part I. ***New Spain / Nueva España***
Thomas C. Smith-Stark (Mexico): Lexicography in New Spain (1492–1611) 3

Ramón Arzápalo Marín (México): Las aportaciones del *Calepino de Motul* y su tránsito por la lexicografía computacional 83

José Antonio Flores Farfán (Mexico): Aspects of the Lexicographer's Vocation in Alonso de Molina's *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana y mexicana y castellana* (1555/1571) 107

Esther Hernández (Madrid): Los vocabularios hispano-mayas del siglo XVI. 129

Pilar Máynez (México): El proyecto lexicográfico de Bernardino de Sahagún en el proceso de comprensión de los dioses mexicas. . . 151

Cristina Monzón (Zamora, Mexico): The Tarascan Lexicographic Tradition in the Sixteenth Century. 165

Part II. ***North & South America / Norteamérica y América del Sur***
Deryle Lonsdale (Provo, Utah): Updating and Analyzing Father Chirouse's (1821–1892) Lushootseed Word List 197

Astrid Alexander-Bakkerus (Amsterdam): The Vocabulary of the *Lengua de Maynas,* MS. Egerton 2881 of the British Library 211

Maria Filomena Gonçalves (Évora) & Clotilde de Almeida Azevedo Murakawa (São Paulo): Lexicografía implícita en textos del Padre Jesuita Fernão Cardim (c.1548–1625) 233

Part III. ***Asia***
Rebeca Fernández Rodríguez (Valladolid): El *Calepino Ilocano* (c.1797) del P. Vivar: Innovaciones lexicográficas y política traductora 249
Gregory James (Hong Kong): Aspects of the Structure of Entries in the Earliest Missionary Dictionary of Tamil. 273
Henning Klöter (Taiwan): The Earliest Hokkien Dictionaries 303
Addresses of contributors / Direcciones de los autores 331
Index of biographical names / Índice de nombres biográficos 333
Index of subjects & terms / Índice de tópicos y términos lingüísticos . 337

FOREWORD & ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The present volume offers selected papers read at the Fifth International Conference on Missionary Linguistics, co-organized by Ramón Arzápalo Marín and Otto Zwartjes in Mérida, Yucatán (14th–17th March, 2007). It is the fourth in the series of such compilations. The first, edited with Even Hovdhaugen (Oslo), had a general content; the second, published with Cristina Altman (São Paulo) was devoted to Orthography and Phonology; the third, co-edited with Gregory James (Hong Kong) and Emilio Ridruejo (Valladolid), concentrated on Morphology and Syntax; and this volume has Lexicography as its main research theme.

The topic of Missionary Linguistics, as many have stressed, has been neglected in the field of the History of Linguistics: the contributions of these conferences is now of principal interest to many historiographers of linguistics, typologists and descriptive linguists. The monumental lexicographical studies by missionaries have never been studied on a global scale and in this volume we try to present some of the best papers of the Mérida conference related to this research area. A selection of papers on subjects other than lexicography will be published in a separate volume.

Colonial descriptive sources have, until quite recently, been largely ignored and many works remain unpublished or survive in only a handful of copies. One of the main objectives of this conference was to bring together scholars studying lexicographical works of missionaries worldwide, with particular attention on the following topics: the lexicographical production of missionaries in general; the influence of European sources, such as Ambrogio Calepino (c.1435–1511) and Antonio de Nebrija (1441/44?–1522); translation theories (explicit or implicit); the methodologies of the missionaries and their attitudes toward non-Western cultures; trans- and interculturality; semantics; morphological analysis and grammatical information in entries; organizational principles, such as styles and structure of the entries; citation forms, the use of examples; the relations between words and the world, etc.

The book opens with a highly informative study of lexicography in New Spain, covering 23 vocabularies treating 13 languages, followed by articles covering Náhuatl, Maya, Tarasco (Pur'épecha) in New Spain, as well as

Lushootseed, Equatorian Quechua, Tupinambá, Ilocan, Tamil and Southern Mĭn Chinese dialects.

The organization of the conference in Mérida was made possible thanks to several institutions in Mexico City and the authorities of the State of Yucatán. We should like to acknowledge help and support of Dra. Mari Carmen Serra Puche (former Director, *Coordinación de Humanidades* of the *Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México*), Patricio Patrón Laviada (ex-Governor, State of Yucatán), Dr. Mario Humberto Ruz (Director, *Centro Peninsular en Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales,* UNAM), Dr. Carlos Serrano Sánchez (Director, *Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas*, UNAM) and Ing. Manuel Fuentes Alcocer (former Mayor of the city of Mérida, Yucatán). The generous collaboration of Dra. Pilar Máynez and Dra. Cristina Monzón as members of the scientific board of the conference deserves particular mention.

We should like to acknowledge the help and support of the *Institutt for Litteratur, Områdestudier og europeiske Språk* (ILOS) of the University of Oslo, in particular Per Winther and Kari Fonnes; the Norwegian Research Council (*Norges Forskningsråd*, NFR); the Amsterdam Center for Language and Comunication (ACLC) of the University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands Institute of Advanced Study in the Humanities and Social Sciences (NIAS) at Wassenaar, an institute of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW) and the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO).

We should also like to thank especially the general editor of the series in which this volume appears and the professional assistance of the editorial staff of John Benjamins, in particular Anke de Looper.

Otto Zwartjes, Ramón Arzápalo Marin, Thomas C. Smith-Stark
November 2008

REFERENCES

Zwartjes, Otto & Even Hovdhaugen, eds. 2004. *Missionary Linguistics [I] / Lingüística misionera [I]. Selected Papers from the First International Conference on Missionary Linguistics, Oslo, 13–16 March 2003*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Zwartjes, Otto & Cristina Altman, eds. 2005. *Missionary Linguistics II / Lingüística misionera II. Orthography and Phonology. Selected Papers from the Second International Conference on Missionary Linguistics, São Paulo, 10–13 March 2004*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Zwartjes, Otto, Gregory James & Emilio Ridruejo, eds. 2007. *Missionary Linguistics III / Lingüística misionera III. Morphology and Syntax. Selected papers from the Third and Fourth International Conferences on Missionary Linguistics, Hong Kong / Macau 2005, Valladolid 2006*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

LEXICOGRAPHY IN NEW SPAIN (1492–1611)

THOMAS C. SMITH-STARK
The College of Mexico

RESUMEN

El periodo de 1492, año en que Antonio de Nebrija publicó su primer diccionario latín-español, a 1611, cuando Sebastián de Covarrubias y Orozco (1539–1613) publicó el primer diccionario monolingüe del español, fue de importancia extraordinaria para la lexicografía hispánica, no sólo por el trabajo producido sobre el léxico del español sino también por lo realizado por los españoles sobre otras lenguas. En el caso de la Nueva España en particular, se publicaron por lo menos seis diccionarios de cuatro lenguas distintas – náhuatl, purépecha, zapoteco, mixteco – y se elaboraron por lo menos otros 17 diccionarios que sobreviven en forma manuscrita o como glosas agregadas a diccionarios de otras lenguas ya publicados, no sólo en las lenguas ya mencionadas sino también en otomí, matlatzinca, maya, tzotzil, tzeltal, y pocomchí. En este trabajo examino las características de esta producción. Los autores en general son religiosos regulares (franciscanos, dominicos y un jesuita) pero también hubo un posible laico. La mayoría es de origen español, pero también hubo dos mexicanos y un francés. Predominan los diccionarios bilingües – algunos en un sólo sentido, otros en dos sentidos –, pero también hubo cuatro trilingües, todos a partir del español. Las características lexicográficas varían: predomina el estilo lexicográfico creado por Antonio de Nebrija (1441/1444?–1522), pero también se siente la influencia de Ambrosio Calepino (c.1435–1511). El principio de ordenamiento con frecuencia es alfabético o alfabético por familias de palabras, pero también hay casos de ordenamiento por partes de la oración, por terminaciones, por la semántica y por situaciones comunicativas. Cuando la nomenclatura está en lengua indígena, se encuentran varias estrategias para escoger la forma de las entradas: el uso de raíces, temas sin prefijos flexivos obligatorios, y palabras completas, entre otras. Para la construcción de la nomenclatura en español, la influencia de Nebrija es importante pero los autores también innovan y hacen una contribución importante a la primera documentación conocida de palabras y acepciones del español.

1. *Introduction*[1]

The Spanish Golden Age was a special moment in human history, a qualitative growth spurt with all the difficulties of adolescence, but at the same time with an explosion of new ideas and an overabundance of creativity. Linguistics was not immune to its influence for, as Lope Blanch (1990b:7) has so well observed, "la actividad filológica española del Siglo de Oro ha sido relativamente la más importante, la más vigorosa y la más original de toda la historia lingüística hispánica" ["Spanish philological activity during the Golden Age has been relatively speaking the most important, the most vigorous and the most original of the entire history of Hispanic linguistics" (this and all other translations of Spanish texts are my own)]. An important part of this activity was devoted to the description of the languages encountered as a consequence of Spanish territorial expansion, many of them in the Americas. Indeed, one could take this period as marking the birth of descriptive linguistics more than two centuries before William Jones' (1746–1794) famous Third Anniversary Discourse in 1786, often seen as the symbolic beginning of modern linguistics (cf. Cannon 1990).

Although many linguists have criticized colonial descriptive work for describing Indian languages in terms of a Latin model and for being descriptively inadequate, such criticism is based on an important methodological error, judging the achievements of the sixteenth century linguists against current standards rather than in terms of the historical, cultural and scientific context in which they were produced. Contrary to such opinions, I would like to suggest that at least some of the work done more than four centuries ago reveals a depth of knowledge, a delicacy of analysis, a breadth of understanding, and a systematicity of thought which remain valid today and which might even be considered superior to modern work in some cases.

The importance of the colonial grammars and dictionaries is not based solely on their contributions to descriptive linguistics or to the knowledge of some language in particular. They also contributed directly and decisively to the development of theoretical linguistics. For example, their discoveries were taken into account by Hervás y Panduro (1777–1792) and by Adelung and

---

[1] The original version of this paper, "Apuntes sobre la lexicografía novohispana", was presented during the meeting of Jornadas Lingüísticas on March 17, 1992 at the 'Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México'. I am grateful for the comments I received at that time, especially those from Karen Dakin and Doris Bartholomew. In 1995 I did some further work on the paper with the idea of publishing it, but again set it aside due to health problems. In the preparation of this latest version, I have been aided in many ways by my research assistants Nadiezdha Torres and Uliana Cruz, to whom I am grateful.

Vater (1806–1817) and, either via such authors or directly, reached the international scientific community. In this way they contributed to the formulation of the notion of genetic relationship among languages and influenced the thinking of Peter S. Du Ponceau (1760–1844), Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835) and others who initiated linguistic typology at the beginning of the 19th century and established the bases of linguistic relativity.

Despite their importance for the history of linguistics, colonial descriptive sources have until quite recently been largely ignored. Many vocabularies and grammatical treatises remain unpublished or survive in only a handful of copies generally found only in specialized research libraries of restricted access or in private collections. Fortunately, modern editions, re-editions and facsimile reproductions are remedying this situation, making the materials necessary for an in depth study and evaluation of colonial linguistics more readily available.

In addition to the difficult access to many of these materials, studies dedicated to the description of languages considered to be "exotic" from a Eurocentric perspective have often been ignored by occidental linguists.[2] For example, the renowned hispanist Samuel Gili Gaya (1892–1976), in his extremely useful, but sadly incomplete,[3] *Tesoro lexicográfico* (1947), brings together the Spanish-based entries of 68 diccionaries published between 1492 and 1726. However, he excludes

> … los numerosos vocabularios españoles en lenguas indígenas americanas, que los misioneros compusieron. Los que hemos podido examinar contienen escaso léxico español y nada añaden a los diccionarios europeos, especialmente a Nebrija, que los misioneros tomaban como guía para componer los suyos escogiendo las palabras de significado asequible a la mentalidad indígena. Por otra parte, el aprovechamiento adecuado de tales vocabularios hubiera necesitado estudios previos, ajenos a nuestra competencia. (Gili Gaya 1947:viii)
>
> [… the numerous Spanish vocabularies in American Indian languages which the mission-aries composed. Those which we have been able to examine contain sparse Spanish lexical material and add nothing to European dictionaries, especially Nebrija's, that the missionaries took as a guide for composing their own, choosing words with meanings accessible to the Indian mentality. In addition, the adequate utilization of such vocabularies would have required preparatory studies beyond our area of expertise.]

[2] Bárbara Cifuentes (personal communication) believes that the ignoring of colonial language studies is a quite modern phenomenon, appearing only in the 20th century.

[3] Esther Hernández tells me that the publication of a new and completed version of Gili Gaya's *Tesoro* by Nieto Jiménez (cf. 2007[1992]) is immanent.

Such an exclusion, though, is not justified since a dependence on Nebrija's work is not limited to the missionaries in the Americas. Gili Gaya himself notes that the bilingual dictionaries between Spanish and other European languages also used Nebrija as their guide, although he gives the impression that whereas the dictionaries based on European languages enriched Nebrija's work, those done by the missionaries impoverished it:

> Estos primeros diccionarios bilingües se apoyan igualmente en el de Nebrija, en el cual sustituyen las palabras latinas por sus equivalencias italianas, inglesas o francesas; sus autores añaden por su cuenta un número mayor o menor de vocablos castellanos. Nebrija, reducido y adaptado a las necesidades de la catequesis y de la vida práctica, es también la base de los vocabularios compuestos por los misioneros en lenguas indígenas de América y de las islas del Pacífico. (Gili Gaya 1974:x)
>
> [These first bilingual dictionaries were likewise based on Nebrija's, substituting the expressions in Italian, English or French for the corresponding Latin words; their authors add a greater or lesser number of Spanish words on their own initiative. Nebrija, reduced and adapted to the practical needs of catechesis and day-to-day life, is also the basis of the vocabularies composed by the missionaries in the indigenous languages of the Americas and the Pacific Islands.]

Elsewhere I have shown that, quite to the contrary of what Gili Gaya claims, the missionary dictionaries made significant contributions to Spanish lexicography (Smith-Stark 2002, "Aportación"), a point which will also be touched upon below in §4.4.1.

The blindness or ignorance of linguists interested in European languages to the linguistic work done on American Indian languages is also well represented by the following commentary made by Rossi (1964:372) in reference to the *Vocabulario de las dos lenguas toscana y castellana* which Cristóbal de las Casas (fl.1570; d.1576) published in Seville in 1570: "tiene, como es sabido, la característica de ser también el segundo vocabulario español en sentido absoluto, después del de Nebrija" [it has, as is known, the characteristic of also being the second Spanish vocabulary in an absolute sense, after that of Nebrija]. Even if it were true that de las Casas' Italian-Spanish dictionary was the first vocabulary to unite Spanish with another contemporary Indo-European language, it was preceded by the Hieronymite friar Pedro de Alcalá's (fl. 1491–1505) Spanish-Arabic dictionary published in Spain in 1505 as well as by the Franciscan friar Alonso de Molina's (1514–1585) Spanish-Nahuatl dictionary published in Mexico in 1555. Though some have considered Alcalá's dictionary to be but a translation of Nebrija,[4] substituting Arabic for

[4] Gili Gaya (1947:xvii) says that Alcalá "Sigue el orden del diccionario de Nebrija, cuyas palabras traduce al árabe, con muy pocas añadiduras y supresiones" [follows the order of Nebrija's dictionary, whose words he translates into Arabic, with very few additions or suppressions].

Latin, such is not entirely the case for Alcalá and even less so for Molina. Alcalá himself recognizes that he used Nebrija as a model:

> ¶ Yo. R[euerendissimo]. S[eñor]. determinando | me de tomar el trabajo presente. con la ayuda p[ri]ncipal me[n]= | te de nuestro señor [&] conla instrucion delos onrradosy sa | bios alfaquis que a vuestra. R[euerendissima]. s[eñoria]. medio para antender en | esta obra enseñados enlas lenguas assi arauiga como la= | dina: acorde escojer vna delas copilaciones que ay de vo= | cablos para la trasladar en arauigo. Y entre otras parecio | me a comodada a nuestro castellano. aquella que hizo el | honrrado [&] prudente varon maestro antonio de lebrixa. | ala qual yo añadi algunos nonbres y verbos. [&] otras par | tes dela oracion que me ocurrieron. [&] dexe algunas delas | que alli estaua[n]. que carecian de traslacio[n] arauiga. [&] si la tie | nen no assi vsitada. [&] por esso no assi inteligible." ("Prologo", section a, ff. ii v - iii r: In: *Nuevo tesoro lexicográfico de la lengua española*, Real Academia Española 2001).
>
> [I, most revered lord, deciding to accept the present task, with the aid primarily of our Lord and with the instruction of the honored and wise ulema which your revered lordship provided me with to understand this work, knowledgeable of both the Arabic and Ladino tongues, agreed to select one of the existing compilations of words to translate into Arabic, and among which the one done by the honored and prudent gentleman master Antonio de Nebrija seemed to me to accord well with our Spanish, to which I added some nouns and verbs and other parts of speech that occurred to me and eliminated some of those which were to be found there but which lacked an Arabic translation or, if one existed, not one so commonly used and so not very intelligible.]

However, even a cursory comparison shows that Alcalá does not follow the order of entries in Nebrija, as claimed by Gili Gaya, since he orders words according to parts of speech within each letter of the alphabet. Neither does he repeat Nebrija's phrasing exactly, as claimed by Laughlin, but rather he generally simplifies it.

Even among those who have worked directly with the missionaries' linguistic production, we find frequent errors which reflect how little is actually known with certainty about their work. For example, Laughlin (1988, vol. 1:10), in his impressive edition of a colonial Tzotzil vocabulary, says that, with the sole exceptions of Domingo de Vico's (died in 1555) Kaqchikel-K'ichee' dictionary and Francisco Ximenez' K'ichee'-Kaqchikel-Tz'utujil dictionary, there were no plurilingual dictionaries produced in the Americas. The existence of a Spanish-Latin-Nahuatl vocabulary in the Newberry Library (Clayton 1989, Téllez 2004) and René Acuña's (1990) publication of the *Vocabulario trilingüe español-náhuatl-otomí* by Alonso Urbano (1529–1608)

Laughlin (1988, vol. 1:9) observes that Alcalá "repeats exactly the wording of Nebrija", but that his dictionary is organized into sections according to the parts of speech. Each of these authors needs to be corrected in some measure.

in 1605 show that such a claim is incorrect. Another example of how uncertain the information given by specialists can be is the observation made by Frances Karttunen (1988), and repeated by Benjamin Warren (1991), that Gilberti's (1498–1585) Spanish-Tarascan dictionary (1559) was based on Nebrija, when in fact it is a translation of Molina (1555) which replaces the Nahuatl equivalences with Tarascan. Any debt which Gilberti owes to Nebrija was acquired via Molina. The little we actually know about colonial linguistic work is also reflected by the fact that the introductory studies which sometimes accompany re-editions or facsimiles typically concentrate on the details of the author's life and the vicissitudes of the manuscript's history, with relatively little to offer about the linguistic knowledge and practices of the author, the scientific and intellectual context as reflected in his work, or the possible significance of the work within the history of linguistics. At the same time, the linguistic experts in the modern languages, who are precisely those in the best position to make a scientific assessment of the linguistic capabilities and achievements of the author, have difficulty relating to such documents due to the philological problems asso-ciated with their interpretation.

For all these reasons, I believe that the linguistic practices of the missionaries deserve more serious study. In this paper, I would like to make some observations about the lexicographic work of the colonial period and draw attention to some of its characteristics which have attracted my attention.[5] I have been inspired, above all, by Laughlin's (1988, vol. 1:1-77) fine introductory study to a colonial Tzotzil dictionary, where he makes various important observations about lexicography in New Spain.

2. *The lexicographic context*

The primary products of Medieval European lexicography were extensive Latin vocabularies, generally compiled by Italians.[6] The best known of these were the *Elementarium doctrine rudimentum* by the Lombard Papias, written in 1053,[7] the *Magnae derivationes* of the Pisan Hugutio, who died in 1212,[8]

[5] This study of lexicography, together with those I have done on grammar (2000) and phonology (2005), represent my attempt to provide an overall evaluation of the development of descriptive linguistics in the early colonial period in New Spain.

[6] The information provided here about Medieval lexicography, and the corresponding bibliography, are based on Sandys (1921, vol. 1:666-667), Castro (1936), Bursill-Hall (1975), Niederehe (1984) and Vineis (1994:184-185).

[7] The *Elementarium* was in part a compilation of earlier works, in particular of the *Liber glossarum Ansileubi* which dates from the end of the 8th century. It was quite successful, being cited as an authority until the end of the 14th century. It was first printed by B. Mombricius in 1476 and there are several reeditions, the last appearing in 1966. Violetta de

and the *Catholicon* by the Genovese Joannes Balbi (1286).[9] Appartently these diccionaries are encyclopaedic in nature, with entries which are small texts which summarize Medieval knowledge about each subject.

Spanish lexicography was established on these foundations at the end of the 15th century.[10] In 1490, Alfonso Fernández de Palencia's (1423–1492) impressive *Universal vocabulario* was published, each page with two columns: a monolingual Latin dictionary in the first column, apparently based to a large extent on Papias,[11] and in the other, the same entries in Latin, but with a

---

Angelis is preparing a critical edition of which three volumes have appeared, corresponding to the letter A (de Angelis 1977–1980). Due to the popularity of this work, Papias' name became synonymous with any kind of lexicon, but his influence declined with the rise of Humanism. See Cremascoli 1969, cited by Vineis (1994:253), on his life.

[8] Hugutio's lexicon was based on earlier works, such as that by Papias, and was quite influential. There are more than 200 manuscript copies, though it was never published. Currently, Giancarlo Schizzerotto is preparing a critical edition. Vineis (1994:253-254) considers that it could be the first true dictionary in the modern sense of the word. On Hugutio's life, see Cremascoli 1968 (cited in Vineis 1994:254).

[9] Hugutio's influence on the *Catholicon* is easily discerned. This work was first published in 1460 and at least 24 editions appeared between the publication of the *princeps* edition and that of Lyons in 1520. There is no critical edition, but this dictionary was reprinted in 1971.

[10] There are still many questions surrounding this history. For example, both Castro (1936:x) and Gili Gaya (1967, vol. 1:6) mention another dictionary, the *Comprehensorium*, published in Valencia in 1475 (cf. Shaw 1997). In addition, Gili Gaya (*op. cit.*, p. 5) gives the impression that there is a long tradition of Spanish lexicography when he says that Alfonso de Palencia "Sabía muy bien que los vocabularios latinos que en copias manuscritas se usaban en la enseñanza contenían generalmente la traducción de los vocablos al romance ... La novedad que Palencia se atribuye con justicia no consistía, pues, en *declarar* el latín por palabras castellanas – cosa que se venía haciendo desde dos siglos antes por lo menos –, sino en respetar las grafías y formas clásicas y en interpretarlas con una competencia insólita en los empobrecidos vocabu-larios que manejaban en su tiempo los estudiantes de latín." [Knew very well that the Latin vocabularies which were used in manuscript copies for teaching generally contained the translation of the Romance ... The novelty which Palencia correctly claimed for himself did not consist, then, in *declaring* the Latin with Spanish words – something which had been being done for at least two centuries –, but rather in respecting the classical orthography and forms and in interpreting them with a competence rarely found in the impoverished Latin vocabularies which the students of his day were using.]

[11] Castro (1936:x) says of Palencia that it is "muy basado en Papias y todavía con carácter muy medieval" [very much based on Papias and of a still quite Medieval nature]. Niederehe (1984) goes even farther and concludes that it is a rather faithful version of the *Elementarium* and that Alfonso de Palencia should be considered a translator, not a lexicographer. Both of these authors disagree with Gili Gaya (1967, vol. 1:6), who recognizes that "Palencia debió mucho a Papias" [Palencia owed much to Papias] but notes that "no se limita como sus predecesores a yuxtaponer las equivalencias castellanas a las palabras latinas dispuestas en serie alfabética,

Spanish translation of the Latin text. The entry, or rather, the three entries for *canis* (“dog”), which follow, will give an idea of the nature of this work.

> Canis a Joue datus custos europe vt fabulatur. | Allij orionis canem dixerunt qui quu[m] studiosus | venandi fuerit cane[m] inter astra locari fecit. D. d[e] | astrum canis habet in lingua stellam vnam que | epsa canis quoq[ue] dicitur. In capite alteram que | propter fla[m]me candore[m] sirion dicitur.
>
> Canis diole iupiter por guarda de europa segu[n]d | las fablas: otros dixero[n] ser el can de arion el q[ua]l | sie[n]do muy estudioso de caça fizo q[ue] se colocase el | can entre las estrellas: el q[ua]l astro tiene enla le[n]gua | vna estrella q[ue] se no[m]bra can [&] otra en la cabeça q[ue] | se dize sirion por el bla[n]co resplandor dela flama.
>
> Canis a greco dici videatur apud illos enim cy= | nos dicitur licet quidam a canore latratus dictu[m] | velint declinatur hic [&] hec canis. Canicula est di | minutiuu[m] canis. A cane caninus canina caninu[m]. | Catulus paruus canis qui magis diminute di= | citur catellus: [&] aucta diminutio[n]e dicitur catellu | lus: [&] catilio catilionis est gluto aut gulosus si= | cut catulus qui escam deglutit voraciter [&] aui= | dissime.
>
> Canis pareçe ser dicho del griego dize[n] le ellos cynos avn q[ue] algunos q[ui]eren q[ue]se diga del son del la | <d>rido declina se hic [&] hec canis. Canicula es di= | minutiuo de can: [&] de can vien[en] canin[us]. na. nu[m]. Ca | tulus es pequeño can [&] mas diminutiua me[n]te se | dize catellus [&] añadida otro diminuçio[n] se dize da | tellulus perresnillo. Et catilio catilio[n] es golo | so [&] tragon asi co[m]molos cachorros q[ue] golosame[n]= | te &] co[n] gra[n]d cobdiçia traga[n] lo q[ue] les da[n] a comer.
>
> Canis grece cynis vnde cynicorum idest caninoru[m] | secta dicitur. Canis terrenu[m] animal: [&] piscis ma= | rinus: [&] celeste sydus equinoce: [&] canicula stella | vicina tauro hec in mensibus estiuis est in medio | celi: [&] dum sol ad eam ascendit duplicatur calor: | [&] corpora languescunt. Caniculares igitur dies | sunt in quibus hec eadem corporibus humanis | augetur molestia a tertio idus Junij vsq[ue] idus | septembris: [&] per totam illam tempestatem recu | santur purgationes medicinales.
>
> Canis. en griego cynis do[n]de se dize la secta delos | cynicos q[ue] es delos caninos. Canis es a[n]i[m]al terre= | no: [&] pexe marino: [&] çelestial estrella equiuocame[n] | te. Et la estrella canicula es vezina a ta<u>ro: y en= | los meses del estio esta enel

---

sino que las acompaña a menudo de explicaciones literarias, gramaticales, mitológicas e históricas, a veces extensas, que le dan cierto carácter incipiente de diccionario enciclopédico de humanidades grecolatinas. ... Palencia continúa, enriquece y depura la lexicografía de la Edad Media, a la vez que la supera ampliamente con su cultura humanística.” [he does not limit himself, as did his predecessors, to juxtapose the Spanish equivalences of the Latin words ordered alphabetically, but rather he frequently adds literary, grammatical, mythological and historical explanations, at times quite extensive, which give his work the air of an incipient encyclopaedic dictionary of Greco-Latin humanities. ... Palencia is a continuation of Medieval lexicography, which he enriches and corrects, while at the same time surpassing it with his Humanistic culture.] Obviously, someone is mistaken; I suspect that it is Gili Gaya who really doesn’t seem to know what he is talking about.

> medio del çielo [&] co= | mo el sol sube a ella dobla se el calor [&] los cuer= | pos enferman: por ende son dichos dias canicu= | lares aq[ue]llos en q[ue] se acresçie[n]ta enoio alos cuerpos | humanos desidelos .xiij. dias de iulio fasta los | treze andados de setie[m]bre Et por toda aq[ue]lla tem | porada se desechan las purgas mediçinales.[12]

As can be appreciated in this example, there is a certain disorder in the presentation of the information, which combines data about the corresponding word in Greek, possible etymologies, grammatical properties, meanings, derived forms, mythological associations, and popular beliefs. It can also be seen that it is not really a bilingual dictionary, but rather a monolingual Latin dictionary with a translation of the Latin texts into Spanish. For example, it is not even mentioned in this entry that the normal Spanish word for dog is *perro*.

In 1502, the Ambrosio Calepino (1440–1510)[13] published a new monolingual Latin dictionary which marked the end of the Medieval dictionaries and initiated the modern age of Latin lexicography. Calepino pursued the Humanistic goal of eliminating the corruptions which were rife in Medieval Latin and reestablishing a Classical norm. The organization of his entries is much more systematic than Medieval dictionaries like that of Palencia. In addition, he cites examples taken from Classical authors which authorize the information given about the words and their meanings. As an example of the nature of his work, consider his entry for *canis* ("perro"), which is as follows.[14]

---

[12] *Canis* Jupiter assigned the dog as guardian of Europe according to fable. Others said that the dog was Orion's, who, being well-versed in hunting, had him placed among the stars, said constellation having a star upon the tongue named *canis* and another upon the head that is called Sirius due to the white splendor of its flame. *Canis* seems to be taken from Greek, who call it *cynos* although some think that it comes from the sound of barking. It is declined as *hic* and *hec canis*. *Canicula* is the diminutive of *canis*. And from *canis* comes *caninus. na. num*. *Catulus* is a small dog and as more of a diminutive one can say *catellus*, and adding yet another diminutive, one says *catellulus*, little tiny pup. And *catilio catilion* is gluttonous and voracious, like pups that gobble down what they are given to eat gluttonously and with great greed. *Canis*. in Greek *cynis*, where one says the sect of the *cynics*, which is to say of the canines. *Canis* is a land animal and a fish of the sea and a star in the sky, ambiguously. And the star called *canicula* is a neighbor of Taurus. And in the summer months it is in the middle of the sky and since the sun rises to it, there is twice as much heat and bodies become ill. Therefore the days during which the anger of human bodies increases, from the 13th of July to the 13th of September, are called dog days. And during that time, medicinal purges are discarded.

[13] Calepino was born in Bergamo, Italy, in 1440 and, after living in Milan, Mantone, Cremona, and Brescia, died in his home town, probably in 1510. He studied Greek with Constantino Lascaris, devoted himself to Classical studies and philology, and spent 30 years preparing his dictionary (Labarre 1975).

[14] I would like to express my thanks to the authorities of the Instituto de Investigaciones Filológicas at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México for allowing me to consult their

Canis, com. 3. *cane*, *klb*, Germ. *ein hund*, Gall. *chien*, ou *chienne*, Hisp. *can*, *perro*, *kyo:n*, animal latrabile, a *kyo:n*, *canis*, idest, a genit. *kynòs*, quod a *kyo:*, *diligo*, quia domini amans est. Vitare cane pejus, & angue, proverb. est apud *Horat. lib.* 1. *epist.* 17, v. 30. *Curt.* l. 7 c. 4. Canem timidum vehementius latrare, quam mordere. ¶ Plura sunt canum genera, ut venatici, pecuarii, villatici, &c. V. *Plin.* l. 8 c. 40. &c. ¶ Hujus nominis usus creber in conviciis, cum sordidum, impurum hominem, vel maledicum notamus. *Terent. Eun.* r. 7. 33. Diminuam ego caput tuum hodie, nisi abis. Gn. Ain vero, canis? ¶ Canes etiam apellantur accusatores, & delatores: quin & maledici, & obtrectatores. *Cic. Verr.* 3. c. 11. Quid? ista cohors quorum hominum est? Volusii haruspicis, & Cornelii medici, & horum canum, quos tribunal meum vides lambere. *Horat. Epod.* 6. Quid immerentes hospites vexas, canis? Hecubam quoque appellatam canem a Græcis, quod omnibus mala ingereret, quos aspiciebat, auctor est *Plaut. Menæch*. 5. 1. 16. ¶ Canis etiam dicitur jactus quidam talorum ludentibus valde damnosus. *Propert.* t. 4. el. 8. v. 46. Me quoque per talos Venerem quærente secundos, semper damnosi subsiluere canes. V. Canicula. ¶ Item vinculi ferrei genus, *Plaut. Casin.* 2. 6. 37. Tu ut quidem hodie canem & furcam feras. Ubi *Turneb*. Canem ferre, inquit, idem est ac vinctum esse. Al. tamen legunt *camum*. V. Taubman. ¶ Est præterea Canis sidus cæleste, & quidem duplex, major, & minor. Major decem & octo stellis constans dicitur fuisse (ut fabulæ referunt) miræ velocitatis, cui fatis concessum fuerat, ut nullam non feram superaret. Cephalus hoc cane Thebas profectus est, ubi fama erat, vulpem esse eodem fatorum munere donatum: quorum certamen, ne alterius fata irrita redderet, dicitur Jupiter, cane in coelum translato, diremisse. Hic etiam Sirius dicitur, a *seíro:*, seu *seiraíno:*, *sicco*, *arefacio*, quia post ejus sideris ortum, maximi in terris calores esse solent. *Virg. Georg.* 1. v. 218. Averso cedens canis occidit astro. ¶ Canis minor etiam Canicula dicitur, de qua alii alia fabulantur. V. mythol. Hac etiam oriente maximi æstus sunt. ¶ Denique Canis piscis est marinus. *Plin.* l. 9. c. 35. ¶ Veteres in singulari *Canes* etiam dixerunt pro *Canis*. *Lucil.* l. 1. v. 23. & *Enn. in fragm.* Adde *Plaut. Trinum*. 1. 2. 133.

[Canis. 3rd declension, ablative *cane*, [Hebrew] *klb,* German, *ein hund*, French *chien* or *chienne*, Spanish *can*, *perro*. [Greek] *kyo:n*, animal that barks, from *kyo:n* "dog", that is, from the genitive *kyonòs*, which is from *kyo:* "I cherish", because it was beloved of the Lord. *Be more wary of a dog than of a snake,* says the proverb according to Horace, book 1, *Epistulae*, 17, verse 30. Curtius, [*Historiae Alexander Magni*] book 7, chapter 4, *A fearful dog barks more than it bites.* ¶ There are different breeds of dog, such as those for hunting, those on the farm, those for herding, and others; see Pliny, [*Naturalis historia*] book 8, chapter 40 *ss.* ¶ During a conversation we usually use this name to designate someone despicable, harmful or ill-spoken; such is the case in Terrence, *Eunuchus*, act 4, 7, 33 [verse 802], Chremes: *I will split your skull today, if you don't move away.* Gnatho: *Really, dog?* ¶ Accusers and stool pigeons are also called dogs, even those who are critics and defamers, as in Cicero, *Verrem [actio secunda]*, 3, chapter 11 [paragraph 28], *Why? Of what manner of men is*

---

copy of this dictionary. I have not yet been able to consult Calepino's original edition in order to verify the extent to which the entry as it appears in this 1726 edition is an accurate reflection of Calepino's lexicography.

this band composed? Of the haruspex Volusius, of the doctor Cornelius, and also of those dogs who you see licking my tribunal. Horace, *Epodos*, 6, *Why do you attack those innocent guests, dog?* [¶] Hecuba was called "bitch" by the Greeks, because she showered calamities upon everyone she saw, according to Plautus, *Manaechmi*, act 5, 1, 16 [verse 715]. ¶ He who has the vice of gambling with dice is also called "dog". In Propertius, book 4, *Elegiae*, 8, verse 46. *To me, tempted by the pleasure of Venus and then, by those harmful dogs to gamble.* See, *Canicula*. ¶ Also, [it is said of] a kind of iron chain. Plautus *Casina,* act 2, 6, 37 [verse 388]. *You, who today carry, inevitably, the dog and the yoke.* Where *Turnebe* interprets to carry the *canem* "dog", that is, to be tied, others read, however, *camum* "muzzle". See Taubman. ¶ Dog is also a heavenly constellation, in fact, two, Canis major and Canis minor. Canis major is composed of 18 stars; it is said that he was (as is mentioned in myth) of astounding velocity and that the Fates had it that no wild beast should ever manage to beat him. Cephalus delivered this dog to Thebes, right there where the famous fox was to be found that, as a gift of the gods, could never be trapped; it is said that Jupiter sent the dog to the heavens in order to prolong the match. Here it is also said of Sirius, from *seíro:* "I drain dry", or else *seiraíno:* "I parch", because after it, the stars align and there is usually the most intense heat upon the land. Virgil, *Georgica*, 1, verse 218. *And ceding, the Dog hides before the opposing star*. ¶ Canis minor is also called *canicula*, little dog, as is related elsewhere. See the mythology. These are also the months of most intense heat in the East. ¶ Finally, *Canis* is a fish of the sea. Pliny, [*Naturalis historia*] book 9, chapter 35. ¶ The ancients also preferred to say *Canes* in the singular instead of *Canis*. Lucilius, [*Satires*] book 1, verse 23 and Ennius *in fragmenta,* also Plautus *Trinummus* 1, 2, 133.][15]

In this way, Calepino's dictionary, though still decidedly Medieval in its etymologies, established a new lexicographic standard for Latin and became the original model, perhaps, for dictionaries of authorities in general.[16] It became a standard reference work "that was used in all of Europe during a pair

[15] My thanks to Heréndira Téllez for providing me with a Spanish translation of the Latin text from which I have made this English translation and for helping me identify many of the references mentioned in the entry.

[16] By *dictionary of authorities* (*diccionario de autoridades* in Spanish) I mean a dictionary which cites actual examples of usage, usually taken from respected authors, to authorize the information given about the meanings and uses of words. Heréndira Téllez has pointed out to me that a possible antecedent to the dictionary of authorities might have been the anonymous 10th century Byzantine Greek encyclopedic reference work known as the *Suda* or *Suidas*, a name which seems to come from a Latin loanword in Greek meaning 'fortress'. This collection of more than 30,000 alphabetized entries contains explanations of names of people, places, institutions, difficult words and grammatical forms, as well as proverbs and quotations from learned authors (Finkel *et al.* 2007). It was first published in 1499 in Milan by Calcondilas and a Latin translation by Wolj appeared in Basle in 1564 (*Enciclopedia vniversal ilvstrada evropeo-americana*, vol. 58:575).

of centuries" (Gili Gaya 1947:x).[17] According to Labarre (1975), 211 editions of this dictionary were published between 1502 and 1779 and in 1786 (Terreros y Pando, vol. 1) Calepino's name first appears registered as a common noun in a Spanish dictionary. Thereafter it appears in many other Spanish dictionaries as a generic term for *dictionary* or *Latin dictionary* (cf. Real Academia Española 2001). Calepino's name appears much earlier as the source of the obsolete English term *calepin*, documented in the *Oxford English Dictionary* from 1568 to 1662 meaning a dictionary, a polyglot dictionary, a book of reference or a book where one keeps one's notes.

The original Calepino was a monolingual Latin dictionary, but with Greek equivalences noted in some cases (Lope Blanch 1990c:116). Nonetheless, after the author's death in 1510, his editors started adding equivalences in other languages, to such an extent that it became the most famous of multilingual dictionaries.[18] In 1545 an edition was published in Venice which gives equivalences of the Latin not only in Greek but also Italian; an edition with Italian and Spanish appeared in Lyons in 1559; and in 1590 an edition was published in Basle with eleven languages, the greatest number which would ever be included in the 211 editions of the dictionary which appeared from 1502 to 1779: Latin, Hebrew, Flemish, Greek, Spanish, French, Polish, Italian, Hungarian, German and English (Labarre 1975). The 1726 edition which I have been able to consult includes the equivalent of the Latin entry in five other languages: Hebrew, German, French, Spanish and Greek. It is this property which earned the Calepino fame as a polyglot dictionary, though it is clear that it continued to be primarily a monolingual Latin dictionary.[19]

Also typical of the Middle Ages were glossaries which gathered together difficult words found in certain texts and explained them. These probably originated as interlinear and marginal notations like those of any student who

---

[17] It was superceded by the *Totius latinitatis lexicon* published posthumously by Jacopo Facciolati and Egidio Forcellini in 1771, for which it was also the inspiration and foundation (see the entries for these authors in the *Wikipedia* and the OED entry for *calepin*).

[18] It is not the first polyglot dictionary as Gili Gaya claims (1947:x). Lope Blanch (1990c:113) mentions another anonymous dictionary which appeared in 1513 with five languages: Latin, Italian, French, Spanish and German (Anon. 1513). With respect to this dictionary, which was reedited various times, he says that "Fue éste el primer diccionario plurilingüe que tuvo amplia difusión en varios países de Europa, aunque no en España" [This was the first plurilingual dictionary which was widely distributed in Europe, though not in Spain].

[19] There is an important exception. Kishimoto (2005:216-217) has noted that the trilingual Latin-Portuguese-Japanese version of the Calepino, published in Japan in 1595, has definitions of the Latin entries written in both Portuguese and in Japanese, thus converting the monolingual Calepino into a true trilingual dictionary.

reads a text and doesn't understand everything. Later, such difficult words, together with the explanatory notes, were gathered into lists, sometimes ordered alphabetically, sometimes ordered by semantic groups or grammatically. Some of these glossaries, like those compiled by Georgius Goetz (1849–1932) in his *Corpus glossariorum latinorum* (Leipzig 1888–1923; cited by Castro 1936:vii) explain and clarify Latin terms using Latin itself. But for less advanced students, or in later times when the knowledge of Latin was not so firmly established, bilingual glossaries were produced, generally practical, unpolished, careless lists full of errors. In the case of Spain, we have the Toledo, El Palacio and El Escorial glossaries as examples, so masterfully studied by Américo Castro (1936).

In 1492, Elio Antonio de Nebrija revolutionized Spanish lexicography with his *Lexicon ex sermone latino in hispaniensem*, a work which might be considered a systematization and extension of the model of bilingual Medieval glossaries. It is a bilingual Latin-Spanish vocabulary. It differs from the traditional Medieval monolingual Latin dictionaries in two important ways: first, it pursues the Humanistic goal, shared with Calepino, of purging Latin of Medieval corruptions and returning to the purity of Classical authors (Castro 1936:vii-viii);[20] second, instead of long discursive entries, it gives simple and precise equivalences of the Latin words in Spanish. Compare, for example, the following entry for *canis* in Nebrija, with that of Palencia and of Calepino above.

> Canis. is. por el can o perro
> [Canis. {can}is. for the hound or dog]

Nebrija's dictionary has been characterized as scientific, functional and modern in contrast to the anecdotal, wordy and antiquated style of the Middle Ages (Colón y Soberanas 1979:xxx), although today it might seem too austere, a vocabulary rather than a dictionary.[21] Shortly thereafter, probably in 1495, Nebrija complemented his *Lexicon* with his *Dictionarium ex hispaniensi in latinum sermonem*, a Spanish-Latin vocabulary. The entries share the same sparse form as the Latin-Spanish vocabulary, as can be appreciated in the following example, the entry for *perro* ("dog").

> Perro o perra. canis canis
> [(male) dog or female dog. canis canis]

---

[20] According to Gili Gaya (1967, vol. 1:5), Alfonso de Palencia also intended to include only the best Latin in his dictionary, but I can't find where Palencia says this.

[21] In terms of the distinction made by Bartholomew and Schoenhals (1983:17-20), it would be a glossary rather than a dictionary.

Nebrija continued his lexicographic work during the rest of his life; he published a second revised edition of his two dictionaries in 1512 and a third one in 1520.[22] In all, a total of 25 printings of these two dictionaries appeared before the author's death in 1522 (12 Latin-Spanish, 13 Spanish-Latin; Esparza Torres & Niederehe 1999:298-299). Apparently, the general style of the entries remained constant, as can be appreciated in the following example of the entry for *canis* taken from a reprinting of the second 1516 edition.

Perro o perra. canis canis.

Later, no longer under the control of the original author, another 49 editions and reprintings appeared during the 16th century and until 1611, 24 of the Latin-Spanish dictionary and 25 of the Spanish-Latin one.

Nebrija's pair of vocabularies dominated Spanish lexicography and that of the Romance languages in general for more than a century. The Latin head words of the *Lexicon* were used to produce other bilingual and multilingual dictionaries; the Spanish was replaced by Catalan in 1507 (Busa 1987[1507]), by French in 1511 (Nebrissensis 1511), and an inverse Sicilian-Latin dictionary appeared in 1519 (Scobar 1519),[23] to name but a few examples (Colón y Soberanas 1979, Lope Blanch 1990c). In the same way, the head words of the *Dictionarium* formed the basis of the first bilingual dictionaries which give the equivalences of Spanish in other contemporary languages. Such is the case with Alcalá's Spanish-Arabic vocabulary (1505; cf. Gili Gaya 1947:xvii), de las Casas' Spanish-Italian vocabulary (1570; cf. Gili Gaya 1947:x, xix; and Lope Blanch 1990c), Percivale's Spanish-English vocabulary (1599; cf. Gili Gaya 1947:x, xxii-xxiii), and Palet's Spanish-French vocabulary (1604; cf. Gili Gaya 1947:x), each one the first printed bilingual vocabulary matching Spanish with the other languages mentioned.

Nebrija's nearly total domination of Spanish lexicography finally ended with the publication, in 1611, of the first monolingual Spanish dictionary, the *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* [treasure of the Castilian language] by Sebastián de Covarrubias. In Gili Gaya's opinion (1947:x, xix) the latter is the most important Spanish dictionary, due to both its originality and its size, until the

[22] Curiously, and as an example of how difficult it is to untangle the bibliographic information about this period, MacDonald (1973) edited a 1516 version of the *Dictionarium* thinking that it was the original printing of the second edition. He was also unaware that two printings of the second edition and one of the first one appeared in 1516. Gili Gaya (1947) does not even mention a second edition overseen by Nebrija and neither of these authors was aware of Nebrija's third edition published in 1520.

[23] Christophorus Scobar (1520) produced a Latin-Sicilian-Spanish vocabulary the following year.

appearance of the *Diccionario de autoridades* [dictionary of authorities], the first dictionary published by the Royal Academy of the Spanish Language, which appeared in 6 volumes from 1726 to 1739. In contrast to Nebrija's stark, unadorned style, Covarrubias produced an encyclopaedic etymological dictionary more like the Medieval Latin dictionaries. Compare his entry for *perro* "dog" (fol. 585v) with those of his predecessors.

> PERRO, animal conocido y familiar, simbolo de fidelidad y de reconocimiento a los mendrugos de pa[n] que le echa su amo. Desta materia ay libros enteros escritos con casos muy particulares. La etimologia del perro declararemos por vna pregunta q[ue] se suele hazer en las aldeas. Porque el perro qua[n]do se quiere echar da bueltas a la redonda? Respondese por via de passatiempo que anda a buscar la cabecera. El perro es de naturaleza muy seca, y para echarse recogido no puede doblar el espinazo de golpe: y assi a cada buelta que da, dobla vn poco hasta que a su parecer està para poder se echar recogido, y por esta su calidad ignea, se llamò perro de πυρ, πυρος, ignis. Ay muchas diferencias de perros: vnos perritos que llaman de falda, que crian las señoras, dichos antiguamente Meliteos, porque se trahian de Malta. Otros que son para la caça, y otros para la guarda de la persona. Los perros del ganado, que son de tanta importa[n]cia a los pastores, y otros muchos generos de perros. Prouerbios: A perro viejo, nunca tus, tus. Por dinero baila el perro. Perro ladrador, nunca bue[n] caçador. El perro con rabia a su amo muerde. El perro del hortelano, que ni come las berças, ni las dexa comer a otro. El perro del herrero q[ue] duerme a las martilladas, y despierta a las dentelladas. A otro perro con esse huesso. Ni padre, ni madre, ni perro que le ladre. Perrillo de muchas bodas. Los perros de Zurita. Este es vn refran comu[n], y dizen auer nacido de que vn Alcaide de Zurita tenia vnos perros muy brauos que estaua[n] de dia atados, y soltandolos a la noche, no hallando a quien morder, se mordian vnos a otros.

> [DOG, a known and familiar animal, symbol of fidelity and of gratitude for the scraps of bread thrown to him by his owner. On this subject there are complete books written with particular cases. We will explain the etymology of *perro* with a question that is customarily asked in the villages. Why does the dog walk in circles when he wants to lie down? The answer is, as a kind of passtime, that he is looking for the head of the bed. The dog is by nature very dry, and in order to curl up and lie down he cannot bend his backbone once and for all: and so, for each turn, he bends it a bit until he feels that he can lie down curled up, and due to this igneous quality of his, he was called *perro*, from Greek *pyr*, *pyros* "fire". There are many different kinds of dogs: some little ones known as lap dogs, which ladies raise, called in olden times *Meliteos*, because they were brought from Malta. Others are for hunting, and others are for guarding one's person. Dogs for herding, which are so important for shepherds, and many other types of dogs. Proverbs: To an old dog, never "here, boy". The dog dances for money. A dog that barks, not a good hunter. A rabid dog, his master bites. The farmer's dog neither eats the cabbage nor lets others do so. The smithy's dog that sleeps through the hammer blows, but awakens with teeth snapping. To another dog with that bone. Neither father, nor mother, nor a dog that barks at him. A lap dog at many weddings. The dogs of Zurita. This is a common refrain, and they say that it

> comes from the fact that a warden from Zurita had some very fierce dogs that were tied up during the day, and that, being let loose at night and not finding anyone to bite, they would turn on each other.]

Although more modern and better organized than Palencia's entry cited above, this one shares Palencia's discursive, anecdotal style and his interest in the origin of words –in this case worthy of the most outlandish of Medieval etymologies–. In addition, Covarrubias adds a well-honed literary style, a fine sense of humour, and a clear interest in compiling traditional proverbs, sayings and refrains. Clearly, what some see as defects, others see as merits: Gili Gaya does not consider Covarrubias' dictionary as anecdotical nor prolix as do Colón and Soberanas (1979:xxx), but rather says that

> A la preocupación etimológica y semántica añade Covarrubias una curiosidad múltiple que le lleva a escribir lo que hoy llamaríamos un diccionario enciclopédico: folklore, erudición clásica, historia, geografía, medicina, todo le interesa por igual, y huyendo de la sequedad habitual en libros de su clase, redacta los artículos no como un catálogo de voces, sino con la verbosidad y animación del hombre que tiene de la ciencia una visión amplia, risueña, de la mejor solera humanística. (1947:xi)
>
> [To his concern for etymology and semantics, Covarrubias adds a wide-ranging curiosity which leads him to write what would today be called an encyclopaedic dictionary: folklore, Classical erudition, history, geography, medicine, everything interested him in like manner, and fleeing from the accustomed dryness of books in its class, he wrote entries not as a catalogue of words, but rather with the animated eloquence of a man with a broad, joyous view of science in the finest Humanistic tradition.]

That which is precise and scientific has become dry and stilted, whereas that which is wordy and anecdotal is now Humanist curiosity!

With Covarrubias I conclude my review of the lexicographic context in which the dictionaries of Indian languages in New Spain were produced.[24] It should now be apparent why I have limited my study to the period from 1492 to 1611; they are years dominated by the figure of Nebrija in the domain of Spanish lexicography, and during which Calepino was the major reference for Latin and polyglot dictionaries. Let us now turn our attention to the dictionaries produced in the languages of New Spain during this period.

[24] For more details about Spanish lexicography, and linguistics in general, during the Spanish Golden Age, see Lope Blanch's excellent study (1990b).

3. *Lexicographic production in New Spain (1492–1611)*

For the purposes of this paper, I will limit myself to discussing those lexicographic works produced on languages spoken in the territory which corresponds to modern Mexico, extended to the south to include all of Mesoamerica. Chronologically I will deal with the period from the publication of Nebrija's *Lexicon* in 1492 until 1611, the year when Covarrubias' *Tesoro* was published, although in fact the first works which survive are probably from the decade of the 1540's. This was a period of immense importance not only for Spanish lexicography, as we have just seen, but also one of intense lexicographic activity in New Spain, for which we have a generous and varied corpus of 23 vocabularies treating 13 languages.

Within these geographic and temporal limits, six dictionaries were published, all bilingual. The *Vocabulario en la lengua castellana y mexicana* by Alonso de Molina appeared in 1555, and his *Vocabulario en lengua mexicana y castellana*, together with a second corrected and expanded edition of his Spanish-Nahuatl vocabulary, appeared in 1571. There followed, in chronological order, the *Vocabulario en lengua de Mechuacan* by Maturino Gilberti in 1559, the *Dictionarito breve y compendioso en la le[n]gua de Michuacan* o *Copia verborum* by Juan Baptista Bravo de Lagunas (died in 1604) in 1574, the *Vocabulario en lengua çapoteca* by Juan de Córdova (1501–1595) in 1578, the *Vocabulario en lengua misteca* by Francisco de Alvarado (died in 1603) in 1593, and the *Vocabulario manual de las lenguas castellana, y mexicana* by Pedro de Arenas (fl. 1611) in 1611.

In addition, there are another thirteen vocabularies that have survived in manuscript form, in some cases edited at a much later date. These include two Nahuatl vocabularies: an anonymous one (Anon. 1545[?]) in the Newberry Library in Chicago and one probably by Andrés de Olmos (1491–1571) in c.1547; an anonymous Tarascan vocabulary edited by Warren (1991); four Yucatec Maya vocabularies: a dictionary attributed to Alonso de (la) Solana (1580; there are two manuscript copies, one in the John Carter Brown Library, the other in the Hispanic Society of America; cf. Bolles 2003), the *Diccionario de San Francisco* (Anon., 16th century[?] [= Solana?]; cf. Michelon 1976, Bolles 2003), the *Bocabulario de mayathan por su abecedario* (Nájera [?] by 1582 [?]; cf. Mengin 1972, Heath de Zapata 1978, Acuña *et al.* 1993, Bolles 2003), and Ciudad Real's *Calepino* (end of the 16th century[?]; cf. Acuña 1984, Arzápalo *et al.* 1995, Bolles 2003);[25] a Tzeltal vocabulary (Ara by 1572; cf. Ruz 1986); a Tzotzil vocabulary (end of the 16th century or beginning of

[25] There are also references to a *Diccionario de la lengua maya* by Luis de Villalpando (1571), but I have not been able to confirm its existence.

the 17th; cf. Laughlin & Haviland 1988); the *Maremagno pocomchí* (Zúñiga beginning of the 17th century); two Kaqchikel vocabularies: the *Vocabulario de la lengua cakchiquel con advertencia de los vocablos de las lenguas quiche y tzutuhil* by Domingo de Vico (by 1555; there is a copy in the French National Library) and the *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y [guate]malteca que se llama cak chequel chi* by Juan Alonso (c.1570, cf. Acuña 1983 and E. Hernández 2007); and an Otomi vocabulary by Alonso Urbano (1605; cf. Acuña 1990).

A third group of documents is formed by four copies of printed bilingual dictionaries which have glosses in a third language added as handwritten notes in the margens and other blank spaces. These include a copy of Molina (1555) with Otomi glosses added, another with Matlatzinca glosses added by Andrés de Castro in 1557 (cf. Bartholomew 1992), a copy of Molina (1571) with Otomi glosses added to the Spanish-Nahuatl half in 1587, and a copy of Gilberti (1559) with glosses added in the Otomi spoken in Michoacan. The complete census of these 23 documents – six of them printed, thirteen manuscripts and four in the form of marginal glosses – is as follows:

a. *Printed documents*

1. Alonso de Molina (1555, 1571)
2. Maturino Gilberti (1559): [Spanish-Tarascan, Tarascan-Spanish]
3. Iuan Baptista de Lagunas (1574): [Tarascan-Spanish]
4. Iuan de Cordoua (1578): [Spanish-Zapotec]
5. Francisco de Aluarado (1593): [Spanish-Mixtec]
6. Pedro de Arenas (1611): [Spanish-Nahuatl, Nahuatl-Spanish]

b. *Manuscripts (some copied, published or reproduced in facsimile at a later date)*

1. Anonymous (?1545): [Spanish-Latin-Nahuatl]
2. Andrés de Olmos (?) (c.1547): [Spanish-Nahuatl, Nahuatl-Spanish]
3. Domingo de Vico, (by 1555): [Kaqchikel-K'ichee'-Tz'utujil-Spanish][26]
4. [Alonso, Juan] (c.1570): [Spanish-Kaqchikel]
5. Domingo de Ara, by (1572): [Tzeltal-Spanish, Spanish-Tzeltal]
6. Alonso de (la) Solana (1580): [*Diccionario de Motul II*] [Spanish-Maya]
7. Alonso de (la) Solana (?), (?1580): [*Diccionario de San Francisco*] [Spanish Maya, Maya-Spanish]
8. Gaspar González de Nájera (?), (by 1582): [Spanish-Maya]
9. Antonio de Ciudad Real (?) (end of the 16th century): [Yucatec-Spanish]
10. Anonymous (end of the 16th century ?) [Spanish-Tarascan, Tarascan-Spanish]
11. Anonymous (end of the 16th or beginning of the 17th century): [Spanish-Tzotzil]

[26] My thanks to E. Hernández who reminded me that I had forgotten to include this manuscript in an earlier version of the paper.

12. Alonso Urbano [?], (1605): [Spanish-Nahuatl-Otomi]
13. Dionisio de Zúñiga Marroquín (?), (c.1608): [Spanish-Poqomchi', Poqomchi'-Spanish, Latin-Poqomchi']

c. *Printed editions of bilingual dictionaries with glosses in a third language added by hand*

1. Andrés de Castro (1557): [Spanish-Nahuatl-Matlatzinca]
2. Anonymous (post 1555): [Spanish-Nahuatl-Otomi]
3. Anonymous (1587): [Spanish-Nahuatl-Otomi?]
4. Anonymous (post 1559): [Spanish-Tarascan-Otomi?]

There are probably other works that could be included in this list, but of which I am unaware. It is also possible that some of the works listed are in fact from later than 1611, since the actual date of several of the manuscripts and marginal glosses is uncertain. One of the most difficult problems in the study of the lexicography of this period is that of having a clear idea of what was actually produced since the bibliography on the subject tends to be incomplete, confusing and full of errors and inconsistencies. For example, McQuown (1967) mentions a *Vocabulario mexicano* (236 pp.) dated 1598. However, this manuscript, of which the original is in Tulane's Latin American Library and a copy is in the Newberry Library in Chicago, seems to be in reality a 1778 work by Francisco de Araoz.[27] The vocabularies in this census are the only ones which I know about whose purpose was primarily lexicographic. However, these are by no means the only sources which present lexicographic information in an explicit way. For example, at the end of Antonio del Rincón's *Arte mexicana* (1595), a vocabulary of those words which were used in his text, but without accompanying glosses. It is also common to find lists of vocabulary in grammars. For example Gilberti (1558, ff. 104r-108r) includes a list of kinship terms, Córdova (1578), lists of body parts, daynames and num-bers; and Antonio de los Reyes, a list of toponyms (Reyes 1593).[28]

The above vocabularies are by no means the only ones produced. Information exists about many other such works which have not survived the ravages of time, neglect and vandalism. For example, García Icazbalceta (1954[1886]:xxx) mentions an Otomi vocabulary by Sebastian Ribero and a grammar, vocabulary and Christian doctrine for Popoluca by Francisco Toral as possible publications in 16th century Mexico; Mendieta *et al.* (1947[1585]: 180) attribute Totonac and Huastec vocabularies to Andrés de Olmos; Zúñiga's Poqomchi' dictionary was apparently based on an earlier one by Francisco de

[27] Cf. the on-line catalogue of the Newberry library (www .newberry .org)..

[28] Religious texts, such as Nágera Yanguas (1637), can also contain lists of vocabulary, but I have not noticed examples of this type for the period under study.

Viana, possibly written between 1556 and 1574 (cf. Carmack 1973:120-121); all presently lost. For the present study I have only taken into account works which still exist in some form and whose lexicographic characteristics can be studied directly. The 23 works in the census provide data about 13 languages: Nahuatl (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 largest number of documents, 5, include Nahuatl, followed by 4 each for Otomi and Yucatec Maya, 3 for Tarascan, 2 for Kaqchikel, and one each for the eight remaining languages.

The following list provides information about the birth and death dates of the 16 known or suspected authors,[29] their places of origin and the religious orders to which they belonged.[30]

AUTHOR	DATES	PLACE OF ORIGEN	ORDER
Olmos	c.1491–1571	Oña (near Burgos), Spain	Franciscan
Castro	c.1500–1577	Burgos, Spain	Franciscan
Córdova	c.1501–1595	Toledo (?) /Cordoba (?), Spain	Dominican
Gilberti	c.1507–1585	Tolouse, France	Franciscan
Molina	c.1510–1579[31]	Extremadura (?), Spain	Franciscan
Ara	c.1515–1572	Huesca, Aragon (?), Spain	Dominican
Vico	c.1519–1555	Jaen, Spain	Dominican
Alonso	fl. 1570	Guatemala	Franciscan
Nájera (?)	fl. 1580's[32]	?	Franciscan
Urbano	c.1529–1608	Mondéjar, Castilla, Spain	Franciscan
Solana	?– c.1601	San Juan de los Reyes de Toledo (?),Spain[33]	Franciscan
Ciudad Real	1551–1617	Ciudad Real, Spain	Franciscan
Alvarado	c.1555–1603	Mexico	Dominican
Lagunas	? –1604 (?)	Castilla la Vieja, Spain	Franciscan
Zúñiga	? –1608(?)	Spain	Dominican
Arenas	fl. 1611	Spain (?)	merchant[34]

[29] The modern concept of authorship is not necessarily directly applicable to the dictionaries, as will be discussed below.

[30] Unless otherwise noted, the information in this list has been compiled from the editions and other studies mentioned for each work in the census.

[31] Cf. Sempat Assadourian (1988:390) for Molina's birthdate (my thanks to Ascensión Hernández for telling me about this reference).

[32] Bolles (2003) places him in Yucatan before 1580, when he was recognized as an authority on Mayan culture. He was still active in 1603.

[33] Cf. Acuña (1995:227-230). Solana entered the order at the Franciscan convent of San Juan de los Reyes de Toledo, but was not necessarily born there. He probably arrived in Yucatan in 1561.

Nearly all the authors are Spaniards, though there is one Frenchman, Gilberti, a Mexican, Alvarado, and a Guatemalan, Alonso. With the sole exception of Arenas, all are friars, 10 Franciscans and five Dominicans. Though the author is unknown, it is probable that the anonymous Tarascan vocabulary was done by Augustinians (Warren 1991). In some cases there is internal evidence for a possible indigenous author. Such is the case with the trilingual dictionary in the Newberry Library (Anonymous c.1545; cf. Clayton 1989, Téllez 2004). According to Acuña (1990), the author of the vocabulary attributed to Urbano (1605) might also have been an Indian. And although he did not receive credit as a co-author, we know that the Tetzcocan Hernando de Ribas, a native Nahuatl speaker, helped Molina in his lexicographic work (Hernández de León-Portilla 1996).

The number of languages in each dictionary and the directionality is indicated in the following list.

Monolingual: 0

Bilingual: 17

Spanish - Indian language (7): Molina (1555; Spanish-Nahuatl), Alonso (c.1570; Spanish-Kaqchikel), Córdova (1578; Spanish-Zapotec), Solana (1580; Spanish-Maya), González de Nájera (c.1582; Spanish-Maya), Alvarado (1593; Spanish Mixtec), Anon. Tzotzil (Spanish-Tzotzil)

Indian language - Spanish (2): Lagunas (1574; Tarascan-Spanish), Ciudad Real (Maya-Spanish)

in both directions (8): Olmos (1547; Spanish-Nahuatl, Nahuatl-Spanish), Gilberti (1559; Spanish-Tarascan, Tarascan-Spanish), Molina (1571; Spanish-Nahuatl, Nahuatl-Spanish), Ara (by 1572; Spanish-Tzeltal, Tzeltal-Spanish), Anonymous (c.1580; Spanish-Maya, Maya-Spanish), Arenas (1611; Spanish-Nahuatl, Nahuatl-Spanish), Anonymous Tarascan (Spanish-Tarascan, Tarascan-Spanish), Zúñiga (Spanish-Poqomchi', Poqomchi'-Spanish, Latin-Poqomchi')

Trilingual: 6

Anonymous Nahuatl (c.1545; Spanish-Latin-Nahuatl), Otomi glosses to Molina (1555; Spanish-Nahuatl-Otomi), Castro (1557; Spanish-Nahuatl-Matlatzinca), Otomi glosses to Molina (1571; Spanish-Nahuatl-Otomi), Otomi glosses to Gilberti (1559; Spanish-Tarascan-Otomi), Urbano (1605; Spanish-Nahuatl-Otomi)

Quadrilingual: 1

Vico (by 1555; Kaqchikel-K'ichee'-Tzutujil-Spanish)

---

[34] Ascensión Hernández (1982) suggested that Arenas was a merchant, a possibility which she tells me two researchers at Mexico's National Autonomous University, Ivonne Mijares and Javier Sanchiz Ruiz, have been able to confirm thanks to new documentary evidence.

As can be seen, all the dictionaries are multilingual, a fact which appears to be normal in the development of a lexicographic tradition.[35]

Dictionaries which unite more than two languages are less common, but there are three clear examples which were explicitly meant to do so (that is, which were not the result of marginal glossing); the trilingual Spanish-Nahuatl-Otomi dictionary by Urbano (1605), the Spanish-Latin-Nahuatl dictionary at the Newberry Library (Anonymous c.1545), and Vico's quadrilingual diction-ary. The first two undoubtedly originated as marginal glosses added to a pre-viously compiled bilingual dictionary, a practice clearly visible in the case of the four printed bilingual dictionaries with a third language added by hand in the margens. In the case of Urbano (1605), the base dictionary was Molina 1555, as noted by Acuña (1990). The anonymous Newberry dictionary is based on Nebrija's *Dictionarium* (1973[c.1495]). In both of these cases, instead of eliminating one of the languages of the dictionary taken as a model, both were maintained, probably because both had a certain importance. It is likely that the presence of Nahuatl in Urbano (1605) reflects the importance of Nahuatl as a dominant language in the Otomi area. In the case of the anonymous Spanish-Latin-Nahuatl dictionary at the Newberry Library, the Indian who produced it was probably studying not only Spanish but also Latin at the Franciscan school at Tlatelolco and so it was worth keeping the Latin in the dictionary together with the Spanish. Vico's quadrilingual dictionary is a different case, not least of all because it lists entries in up to three different Indian languages before giving the corresponding Spanish. The great similarity among Kaqchikel, K'ichee' and Tzutujil, three very closely related Mayan languages, explains why these three languages in particular were included. The corresponding forms were often the same and so the equivalents in K'ichee' and, rarely, in Tzutujil were only given when they were different (Bredt-Kriszat & Holl 1997:180).

As previously observed, there are no monolingual dictionaries. In fact, even today I know of only a handful of monolingual dictionaries within my geo-graphical limits. The first was apparently the *Hahil tzolbichunil t'an Mayab o Verdadero diccionario de la lengua maya* which Pacheco Cruz published in 1969. Pedro Florentino Ajpacajá Tum published one in K'ichee' in 2001, and there are four monolingual dictionaries for languages in Chiapas also published in 2001 (Zapata Guzmán *et al.* 2001; Morales Gómez &

[35] Osselton (1983:14) notes that "in the history of dictionary making ... , bilingual and polyglot precede monolingual works".

Hernández Hernández 2001; Montejo López *et al.* 2001; Gómez Aguilar *et al.* 2001).[36]

Of the bilingual dictionaries, seven are unidirectional from Spanish to an Indian language, two are unidirectional from an Indian language to Spanish, and eight are bidirectional between Spanish and an Indian language. I know of no examples of a bilingual dictionary, neither colonial nor modern, between two Indian languages. All of the dictionaries include Spanish (or Latin) as one of the languages used.

One of the most remarkable aspects of the dictionaries is their size. Typically they are much bigger than modern dictionaries of the same languages. The following table lists the sizes of sixteen of the dictionaries under study, as well as of some of their predecessors and of Covarrubias (1611). The calculations are usually based on extrapolations from partial counts, a fact which is indicated by giving the corresponding figures preceded by the sign for "approximately equal to" (≈). I distinguish between entries and vocables, where vocables group together and count only once entries whose initial words are the same.[37]

	Spanish		*the other language*	
	entries	**vocables**	**entries**	**vocables**
Palencia (1490)[38]	-	-	≈21,810	≈20,777
Nebrija (1492)[39]	-	-	≈29,452	≈24,891
Nebrija (1495)[40]	≈19,179	≈9,528	-	-
Alcalá (1504)	≈18,780	≈14,880	-	-
Nebrija (1516)	≈16,394	≈9,280	-	-

[36] The earliest monolingual dictionary of an American language that I am aware of is one for Greenlandic Eskimo published by Lynge in 1938–1939 (my thanks to Tony Woodbury for this reference). Lara (1984) makes some interesting observations about the conditions necessary so that speakers of a minority language might feel the need to produce a monolingual dictionary and which would explain the late appearance of such dictionaries among the indigenous peoples of Mexico, Mesoamerica and America.

[37] I make the distinction between entries whose initial words are the same and those where they are different because those dictionaries written in Nebrija's lexicographic style (to be explained below) typically use different entries for different senses of a given word, all of which begin with the same word.

[38] Uliana Cruz counted 2,195 entries and 2,091 vocables in the first 110 pp., 10.1% of the total of 1,093 pp., which gives ≈21,810 entries and ≈20,777 vocables by extrapolation. Most of the calculations for the extrapolations were made in this same way by my research assistants, Uliana Cruz and Nadiezdha Torres, or by myself. The precise figures are given in a slightly longer version of this paper but have been eliminated here for the sake of brevity.

[39] Colón & Soberanas (1979:12, note 4) calculate that the *Lexicon* has 28,000+ entries.

[40] Colón & Soberanas (1979:12) say that it contains "unas veintidos mil quinientas entradas" [some 22,500 entries].

Anon. (1545 ?)[41]	≈15,260	?	-	-
Olmos (1547)[42]	895	≈680	1,178	≈1,000 (?)
Molina (1555)	≈13,940	≈8,387	-	-
Molina (1571)[43]	≈18,346	≈6,700	23,623	≈17,347
Gilberti (1559)[44]	13,668	≈8,459	6,254	≈5,420
Ara (c.1571)[45]	7,769	≈7,100	?	?
Lagunas (1574)	-	-	≈367/.1,964	-
Córdova (1578)[46]	28,352	≈7,780	-	-
Alvarado (1593)	≈16,044	≈5,400	-	-
Urbano (1605)[47]	13,800	≈8,723	-	-
Anon. Tarascan	≈22,310	≈6,400	≈26,940	?
Anon. Tzotzil[48]	8,077	≈5,700	-	-
Solana[49]	9,000	?	-	-
Zúñiga	≈6,641	?	≈4,474	?
Ciudad Real[50]	-	-	≈21,809	≈12,202
Arenas (1611)[51]	≈2,036	?	≈1,006	?
Covarrubias (1611)[52]	≈5,432	?	-	-

[41] Clayton (1989:393, 414) says that it has some 15,260 entries, but that only 72% have the corresponding Nahuatl gloss, yielding more than 11,000 entries with Nahuatl equivalences.

[42] Sullivan (1985:12) notes that the Nahuatl-Spanish parte has 1,178 entries.

[43] León-Portilla ([1970]1977:lii) notes that Molina says that he added more than 4,000 vocables to the Spanish list of entries in the 1555 edition and calculates that there should be about 24,000 Nahuatl entries. Campbell (1985:iii) says that there are 23,623 entries in the Nahuatl-Spanish part, with 82,755 occurrences of the 1,339 morphemes. Hernández (2001:23-24), calculates that there should be 17,000 entries in the Spanish and 24,000 in the Nahuatl, approximately.

[44] Monzón (Coloquio Manrique) reports, based on a preliminary electronic version of the text, that the Spanish-Tarascan section contains 13,668 entries and that the Tarascan-Spanish part contains 6,254 entries.

[45] Laughlin (1988:28) gives a total of 7,769 entries.

[46] There are 28,352 occurrences of the field “ent>” in the electronic version of the dictionary (Smith Stark *et al.* 1993).

[47] There are 13,800 occurrences of the field “d>” in the electronic version of the vocabulary (Smith Stark *et al.* 2000).

[48] Laughlin (1988:28) gives a total of 8,077 entries.

[49] Acuña (1985:xiii) calculates that it contains an average of 23 Spanish entries per page which, given that there are 408 pp., would produce a total of about 9,000 entries. Thompson arrives at a similar estimate, though based on the copy at the Hispanic Society which has 115 folios and with about 40 entries per page.

[50] Acuña (1985:xiii) calculates that there is an average of 31 Maya entries per page, which, given that there are 932 pp., would produce a total of about 28,000 entries. Arzápalo (1995, vol. 1:iii), on the other hand, says that there are 15,975 lexical entries with 19,259 distinct words and 87,155 occurrences of those words.

[51] Since the organization is not alphabetical, it is difficult to estimate the number of vocables.

[52] Acuña (1985:xxviii) says that the number of senses does not exceed 50,000.

The most extensive of the dictionaries which go from Spanish to an Indian language is Córdova's, with more than 28,000 entries and nearly 8,000 vocables. There are six dictionaries comparable in size to Nebrija (1495), three of which are considerably larger. Of those dictionaries which go in the opposite direction, the largest is Ciudad Real's, but Molina's and the anonymous Tarascan dictionary are also impressively large.

4. ***Lexicographic aspects of the dictionaries***

Now that I have established the corpus of dictionaries which I am talking about and their general characteristics, I would like to attempt a more precise analysis of their lexicographic properties. First I will describe what little we know about the methods used by the friars. Next I will describe the two styles of lexical entries found, that of Nebrija and of Calepino. Finally I will talk about the ways that the entries are organized, the construction of the nomenclature, the solution of formal problems, and the overall quality of the dictionaries.

4.1 *Method*

I know of no descriptions or studies of the methods used by the colonial lexicographers. In a world where stationary stores were not to be found on every corner, how did they resolve the practical problems of finding supplies? How did they collect information? How did they store it? Who did they work with? Although I cannot answer these questions well, it is possible to find glimmerings of answers in the sources.

Obviously, in order to write a dictionary, one must first gather the material. Gerónimo de Mendieta (1525–1604) has left us a frequently cited description of the initial efforts of his Franciscan brethren at registering information about Nahuatl:

> Y púsoles el Señor en corazon que con los niños que tenian por discípulos se volviesen tambien niños como ellos para participar de su lengua, y con ella obrar la conversion de aquella gente párvula en sinceridad y simplicidad de niños. Y así fué, que dejando á ratos la gravedad de sus personas se ponian á jugar con || ellos con pajuelas ó pedrezuelas el rato que les daban de huelga, para quitarles el empacho con la comunicacion. Y traian siempre papel y tinta en las manos, y en oyendo el vocablo al indio, escribíanlo, y al propósito que lo dijo. Y á la tarde juntábanse los religiosos y comunicaban los unos á los otros sus escriptos, y lo mejor que podian conformaban á aquellos vocablos el romance que les parecia mas convenir. Y acontecíales que lo que hoy les parecia habian entendido, mañana les parecia no ser así. (Mendieta 1971[16th c.], book 3, ch. XVI:219-220)
>
> [And the Lord put it into their hearts that they should themselves become like children with the children that they had as disciples in order to partake of their language, and

> thereby work the conversion of those people, childlike in their sincerity and simplicity. And so it was that abandoning at times the seriousness of their persons they played with them with straws or stones in their free time, in order to overcome their reticence for communication. And they always carried with them paper and ink, and upon hearing a word from the Indian, they wrote it down, and the reason for which he said it. And in the evening the friars would gather together and discuss what they had written, and as best they could they would translate those words into the Spanish which seemed most fitting to them. And it came to pass that that which it seemed to them that they had understood one day, did not seem to them to have been the case the next.]

Clearly they did not have the success of a Kenneth Pike doing demonstrations of monolingual elicitation! Mendieta goes on to say that the missionaries were rescued by two events: first, some of the Nahuatl speaking children learned Spanish; and second, a Spanish widow gave them one of her sons who had learned Nahuatl playing with other children. That child went to live with the friars and became one of the greatest linguists of New Spain, Alonso de Molina.

Another aspect of the lexicographic work carried out by the friars can be gathered from the following testimony which Acuña (1984, vol. 1:xxvii) quotes from the *Historia de Yucatán* by friar Bernardo de Lizana (1575–1631). There, this author refers to friar Antonio de Ciudad Real as a "muy gran Latino" [very great Latinist] ([1633]1995:f. 164v), and says that

> no solo se contentò co[n] hazer Bocabularios, sino que hizo Calepino tan grande, que son s<u>s[53] bolumenes de a dozie[n]tos pliegos cada vno, los dos de su letra sacados en limpios,[54] y los borradores llenaua[55] dos costales, ocupò 40. años en esta obra, mas es ta[n] buena, y de ta[n]to peso, y vtilidad, que no tiene otro defeto q[ue] ser para esta tierra solamente q[ue] a correr esta lengua. En todo el mundo solas estas obras bastauan para dar luz, y claridad a todos los que la aprendiessen, y alli hallassen quantas frasis, y propiedad se pueden imaginar, sin que aya falta de vna palabra: y es de aduertir que si bien es lengua de Indios, es ta[n] copiosa, y elegante, como la que mas, y llaman la barbara los barbaros que no la entienden, que los que la saben se admiran de su profundidad, y elegancia, y este bendito Religioso fue el || Antonio de Lebrija della. (*op. cit.*, ff. 164v-165r)
>
> [not satisfied with just writing vocabularies, he compiled a Calepine so large that each of its volumes is comprised of two hundred folios, both written by his own hand in a clean copy, and the drafts filled two sacks, he spent 40 years writing it, but it is so good, and of such worth, and utility, that it has no other defect than that of being only for this land where this language is used. In all the world this work alone was

[53] The original says "seys" 'six'. Acuña (1984, vol. 1:xxvii) proposes, very reasonably in my opinion, that this word should be "sus" 'his'.
[54] This should be "limpio".
[55] This should be "llenauan".

> sufficient to provide light and clarity to all those who might learn it, and who might there find whatever expressions and propriety that one can imagine, without there being a single word missing: and it should be noted that though it be an Indian tongue, it is as copious and elegant as any other, and it is called barbarous by those barbarians who do not understand it, while those that do speak it admire its depth and elegance, and this blessed friar was its Antonio de Nebrija.]

Basing himself on this passage and the correct alphabetical order of the manuscript, Acuña considers that

> Quienquiera que haya sido su autor, debió dedicar, primero, muchos años a compilar la materia léxica, y después, como resultado de esa paciente labor, debió acumular verdaderas montañas de tarjetas o papelillos. (*op. cit.*, p. xxix)
>
> [Whoever the author might have been, he must have first dedicated many years to compiling the lexical material and then, as a result of his patient labor, he must have accumulated huge piles of cards or slips of paper.]

Friar Juan de Córdova (1578, *Vocabvlario*, "Prefactio") gives us another glimpse of this aspect of the gathering of words in the preface to his *Vocabvlario* of 1578:

> ¶ Por ventura parecera a algunos de los que la presente obra vieren, leye- | ren y trataren, que en hazerse y perficionarse se ha pasado menor trabajo, | que el que passaron otros voc<a>bulistas. Como vn Calepino, ò Antonio, ó | otros que romançaron vocablos. Los quales intimando sus trabajos, combi | daron à ser reputados y tenidos en mucho de los oyentes, como eran razon<.> | Y ello cierto tomado y considerado assi en la superficie, parece que lleua ca | mino. Porque la latinidad parece sciencia mas subida (si sciencia se puede lla | mar<)> que nó estas lenguas barbaras y de poco tomo. Pero si se considera co[n] | atencion, y se entra en el fondo y meollo del negocio, hallara ser al reues. | Porque aquellos autores toda su solicitud, cuydado y trabajo, se fenecio | en reboluer libros, y cotejar autores, y sacar vocablos y ponerlos en orde[n]. | Lo qual no podemos dexar de conceder, sino que aya sido gran trabajo. Pe | ro el nuestro (aliende del andar buscando y inquiriendo, y desenterrando | los vocablos de entre el pòluó del oluido, negligencia y inaduertencia y po | co vso, y e[n]tre tan bronca y no muy despierta gente) ha sido dias y noches | desuelarnos en desentrañar sus meros significados, y aplicarlos y ponerlos | cada vno en su assiento y lugar lo mejor que se a podido házer, verificando | los con la experiencia. Por las quales razones entiendo, que el que con | ojos limpios lo co[n]siderare, juzgara auer sido mayor este trabajo, ó a lome | nos (por no dar ocasion a murmuracion) no menor que el de aquellos auto | res. Yo assi lo entiendo, saluo si no me engaño por ser (<c>omo es) en causa pro | pria queda ocasion de engendrar suspecha de lo contrario, Y por esso lo re- | mito al juizio de los que mejor sintieren dello.
>
> [Perhaps it will seem to some of those who see, read and use the present work that its compilation and perfection has been less work than that of other compilers of vocabularies, like Calepino or Antonio, or others who have translated words into the vulgar tongue, who, publishing their works, invited the public to hold them in repute and esteem, as was their due. And that taken and considered as certain on the surface

> would seem to be on the right track. For the study of Latin seems to be a more elevated science (if science it might be called) than these barbarous languages of little account. But if one considers with care, and delves to the bottom and core of the matter, he will find things to be the other way around. Because those authors spent all their diligence, effort, and care in shuffling books, comparing authors, and extracting words and putting them in order. Which we cannot but concede was a great deal of work. But our own work (in addition to going about searching and inquiring, and uncovering words from amidst the dust of forgetfulness, neglect and unawareness and infrequent use, and amongst such wild and not very quick-witted folk) has meant days and sleepless nights trying to unravel their true meanings, and apply them and place them each in their proper place as best as possible, testing them with experience. For which reasons I understand that whosoever might consider it with open eyes, will judge this work to have been greater, or at least (so as not to give occasion to disgruntled murmuring) not less than that of the aforementioned authors. That is the way I see it, unless I deceive myself since (as is the case) it is on my own behalf, which might give rise to suspicions to the contrary, and for that reason I remit the case to the opinion of those who might better judge.]

This quotation is long but eloquent. In addition to recording data, Córdova emphasizes the need to flush them out, "going about searching and inquiring, and uncovering words from amidst the dust of forgetfulness, neglect and unawareness and infrequent use". In this way, he considers his work to be more difficult than that of Calepino or Nebrija, "or others who have translated words into the vulgar tongue", whose labor was limited to "shuffling books, com-paring authors, and extracting words and putting them in order". He also refers to the analytical process, which required "days and sleepless nights trying to unravel their true meanings, and apply them and place them each in their proper place as best as possible, testing them with experience". He realizes that many might think that the study of prestigious languages merits more recognition, "For the study of Latin seems to be a more elevated science (if science it might be called) than these barbarous languages of little account". But he contends that such is not the case: "But if one considers with care, and delves to the bottom and core of the matter, he will find things to be the other way around". He concludes that the compilation of vocabularies of Indian languages is a very difficult task: "For which reasons I understand that whosoever might consider it with open eyes, will judge this work to have been greater, or at least (so as not to give occasion to disgruntled murmuring) not less than that of the aforementioned authors", that is to say, Nebrija, Calepino, and others who translated words from other languages into Spanish.

An important aspect of the friars' method was its collective and cumulative nature. The collective aspect of their work can already be seen in the descriptions of the Franciscans' first attempts to learn Nahuatl mentioned above. We also know that the friars built on the work of their colleagues and

predecessors, gathering their materials together, polishing them, correcting them, and adding new material, thereby producing truly collective products. For example, Alvarado (1593) does not pretend to be an original author. The title of his dictionary reads as follows: "*Vocabulary of the Mixtec language*, done by the order of preachers, who reside in the Mixtec region, and of late compiled, and finished by the father Friar Francisco de Alvarado".

It has already been mentioned that there is evidence for the participation of the speakers of the languages studied in the making of the dictionaries, not only as informants, but also in a more direct way. A. Hernández (1996), for example, has noted the important role of the Tetzcocan Hernando de Ribas in helping the friars. She points out that Juan Bautista says in the "Prólogo" to his *Sermonario* that "Con su ayuda compuso el P. Fr. Alonso de Molina el *Arte* y *Vocabulario* mexicano" [with his aide the father Friar Alonso de Molina composed the Nahuatl *Grammar* and *Vocabulary*] (cf. García Icazbalceta 1956:476-477). It also seems to me likely that the copy of Nebrija's Spanish-Latin vocabulary with Nahuatl equivalences added, known as the trilingual vocabulary and often attributed to Bernardino de Sahagún (1499–1590), was done by a Nahuatl speaker, probably a student at the Royal College of the Holy Cross at the Franciscan convent of Santiago Tlatelolco. Friar Francisco de Alvarado, in the "Prologo" to his *Vocabulario en lengua misteca*, after recognizing the labor of the other friars who preceded him in the collection of words, recognizes that it is "los mismos Indios q[ue] son los mejores maestros que para esto eran, y an sido los autores" [the Indians themselves who are the best teachers that for that were and have been the authors].

Another facet of the participation of the speakers is often found in the recommendations for publication which appear in the front matters of dictionaries. For example, the Dominican friars Antonio de los Reyes and Pablo Rodrigues examined the Mixtec dictionary prepared by Francisco de Alvarado on the request of their provincial Gabriel de San Ioseph and gave the following opinion:

> Y visto por nos el dicho Vocabulario, y examinado con diligencia, y consultada la significacion de los Vocablos con los Indios naturales, mas abiles, y expertos en la dicha lengua, nos paresce a entrambos vnanimes y conformes, que el dicho Vocabulario puede y deue ser impresso.
>
> [And said dictionary having been seen by us and examined with care, and the meaning of the words checked with the native Indians most able and expert in said language, it seems to us both, unanimously and in agreement, that said vocabulary can and should be printed.]

In other words, the method of the friars gave an important role to the speakers of the languages which they described, whether it be as informants, aides, scribes, authors or evaluators.

Another aspect of the friars' method is more speculative. It derives from what I have called "the Zumárraga plan", a reference to the program set in motion by the Franciscan friar Juan de Zumárraga (1468–1548), first bishop of Mexico, to produce Christian doctrines, that is, books containing essential Christian texts, beliefs, practices and teachings, in the languages of the land. We find a reference to this plan in the colophon which Zumárraga added to the end of the Christian doctrine written by the Dominican friar Pedro de Córdova around 1520 in Hispaniola and published in Mexico in 1544:

> Y esta dotrina / por la gran religio[n]: zelo y letras del auctor merece ser tenida en mucho: y por el estilo y manera q[ue] lleua para los indios / sera d[e] mucho fructo / que quadrara mas a su capacidad. *Y mucho mas si se traduze en lenguas de indios / pues ay tantos dellos q[ue] saben leer*. Y esto encarga el dicho Obispo alos religiosos sieruos d[e] dios d[e]las tres ordenes: que aca ta[n]fiel y prouechosame[n]te y co[n] tanto buen exemplo / q[ue] aca es masnecessario / trabajan enla instrucio[n] y conuersio[n] destos naturales: y les pide por caridad que del catecismo te[n]gan especial cuydado / pues se conoce quanto importa para su saluacion. (italics added)
>
> [And this doctrine, for the great religion, zeal and learnedness of the author, deserves to be held in high esteem: and for the style and manner which it follows, which is well suited to their capacity, will be very fruitful for the Indians. *And all the more so if it is translated into the languages of the Indians since there are so many of them that know how to read.* And said Bishop charges the religious personnel, servants of God of the three orders which here so faithfully and profitably and with such good example that is here most necessary work in the instruction and conversion of these natives, with this: and requests of them for charity's sake that they take particular care with the catechism since it is known how important it is for their salvation.]

This call to the three monastic orders, that is, the Franciscans, the Dominicans and the Augustinians,[56] received an ample response throughout the ensuing years of the 16th century. Generally the first book published in a language of New Spain was in fact a Christian doctrine; the publication of grammars and dictionaries came later. It seems to me possible, though I cannot yet convincingly demonstrate that it is indeed the case, that the doctrinal texts served as a linguistic corpus which the friars could then use as material to be incorporated into their dictionaries (Smith Stark In press).

Finally, it is clear that another method used by the friars was the utilization of previously existing dictionaries in order to add to them the corresponding

---

[56] The Jesuits had only recently been founded in 1539 and did not become established in Mexico until 1572.

words in a new language. Karttunen (1988:547) notes that some scholars have spoken of "the Franciscan elicitation list". However, it is obvious that the friars simply used preexisting dictionaries for this purpose. The anonymous trilingual vocabulary at the Newberry Library utilizes a version of Nebrija's Spanish-Latin dictionary to this end, adding the Nahuatl equivalences. Urbano's dictionary is a copy of Molina's Spanish-Nahuatl dictionary (1555) with equivalences in Otomi added. Furthermore, at least four copies of published dictionaries survive with glosses added in another language: two use Molina (1555), one uses Molina (1571), and one uses Gilberti (1558) (which itself is a sligthly modified copy of Molina 1555). This use of preexisting dictionaries explains the curious existence of *empty entries*, that is to say, entries with a word in Spanish but no corresponding word in the other language. For example, we find the following entry in Córdova (1578): Abadejo pescado. There is no equivalence in Zapotec, however. Apparently, at some time during the preparation of the dictionary, this word was recorded without knowing the Zapotec equivalent.[57] The word survived the editing and printing processes, resulting in an empty entry.

4.2 *Entry styles*

As has already been said, the two great lexicographers of the 16th century were Nebrija and Calepino. Nebrija, in particular, was a model for the friars in New Spain. As Miguel León-Portilla has noted (1977:lv),

> El grande prestigio de que gozaba el primer gramático y lexicógrafo de la lengua castellana hizo que sus obras espontáneamente se tomaran como paradigma por cuantos acometían empresas semejantes.
>
> [the great prestige which the first grammarian and lexicographer of the Spanish language enjoyed resulted in his works being taken spontaneously as paradigmatic by all those who undertook similar tasks].

His dictionaries were bilingual and as such offered the friars a useful model for the description of the languages of New Spain. His influence was explicitly recognized in the following quotations taken from Molina's Spanish-Nahuatl and Nahuatl-Spanish dictionaries (1571): "cumo lo pone Antonio de Lebrixa e[n] su vocabulario" [as Anthony of Lebrixa puts it in his vocabulary] (Spanish-Nahuatl, third notice); "conforme al proceder del Antonio de Lebrixa" [according to the procedure of Anthony of Lebrixa] (Nahuatl-Spanish, "Prologo"); "assi como los latinos y de romance se buscan en el

[57] Both Nebrija (1516) and Molina (1555) contain *abadejo*, but in reference to a poisonous beetle, apparently a reference to the Spanish fly, rather than to a *codfish*, as is the case with Córdova.

Vocabulario del Antonio" [just as the Latin and Romance words are looked up in Anthony's Vocabulary] (Nahuatl-Spanish, second notice). And above we saw how Lizana Described Ciudad Real as the "Nebrija" of the Maya language.

Calepino's fame, on the other hand, went beyond the Spanish speaking world since his dictionary was in Latin, the cultured language of all Europe. However, the application of his monolingual work to the new languages was not so automatic. Nonetheless, references to Calepino are also quite frequent among New Spain lexicographers, as illustrated in the following two examples: "Como vn Calepino, ò Antonio, ó otros que romançaron vocablos" [like a Calepino, or Anthony, or others who have translated words into Spanish] (Córdova 1578, "Prefactio"); "porq[ue] el auctor (p[ar]a mas p[ro]uecho d[e]los estudia[n]tes) sigue en[e]l el orde[n] y modo del Ambrosio Calepino." [because the author (for the greater benefit of the students) follows the order and manner of the Ambrose Calepino] (Lagunas 1574:1). Note that Córdova mentions both Nebrija and Calepino. Probably the most famous and most important reference to Calepino is the one found in Sahagún's work. This outstanding Franciscan author, editor, coordinator and translator of an encyclopaedic documentation of the language and culture of the Mexica, without equal during the colonial period, and still the object of awe and admiration from modern scholars, clearly hoped to compile a dictionary of authorities for the Nahuatl language comparable to the one Calepino did for Latin.

> Ciertamente, fuera harto prouechoso, hazer vna obra tan vtil: para los que quieren deprender esta lengua mexicana: como Ambrosio Calepino la hizo: para los que qujere[n] deprender, la lengua latina: y la signjficacion de sus vocablos. Pero ciertamente, no a aujdo oportunjdad: porque Calepino saco los vocablos, y las significationes dellos, y sus equjuocationes, y methophoras, de la lection, de los poetas, y oradores, y de los otros authores, de la lengua latina: autorisando todo lo que dize, con los dichos de los authores: el qual fundamento, me a faltado a mj: por no auer letras, nj escriptura entre esta gente: y ansi me fue impossible hazer calepino. Pero eche los fundame[n]tos, para qujen qujsiere, con facilidad le pueda hazer. (Sahagún, Libro 1, "Al sincero lector")
>
> [Certainly it would be very beneficial to produce a work of such utility for those who wish to learn this Mexican language as Ambrose Calepino produced for those who want to learn the Latin language and the meaning of its words. But certainly there has not been an opportunity to do so, because Calepino extracted the words and their meanings and their ambiguities and metaphors from the reading of the poets and orators, and from the other authors in the Latin language, authorizing everything that he said with the sayings of the authors, which foundation has not been available to me since there are no letters or writing among these people, and so it was impossible for me to compile a Calepine. But I established the bases so that whosoever would like to might do so with ease.]

In effect, the Florentine Codex which Sahagún compiled could well serve as the basis for such a dictionary, although it has clearly not been as easy a task as Sahagún foresaw since to this day no one has actually produced it, and not for lack of interest in having the resulting product.[58]

These two authors, Nebrija and Calepino, in all fairness then can be identified as the principle models for the dictionaries produced in New Spain, resulting in two predominant lexicographic styles, that of Nebrija and that of Calepino.

4.2.1 *Nebrija's lexicographic style.* Nebrija's lexicographic style has the following characteristics (cf. Smith Stark 1998):

1. preference for classical Latin
2. brief entries with simple equivalences
3. distinct entries for different senses and locutions
4. derived forms following the basic form for a particular sense, thereby forming families of words based on that sense
5. syntactic inversion used to produce headwords
6. sporadic specification of grammatical information
7. deictic reference to preceeding entries
8. remissions to other entries
9. a predominantly alphabetical order.

The privileged status of classical Latin is part of the Humanistic program aimed at purging Latin of Medieval corruptions which it had accumulated during the preceding millennium. Since Latin was not used as a primary language in most of the lexicographic works produced in New Spain, this characteristic is not particularly relevant for the present study.[59] However, the other characteristics in the preceding list are clearly reflected in the majority of dictionaries reviewed here. They will each be illustrated in Nebrija and some of the New Spain dictionaries which emulate Nebrija's lexicographic style.

---

[58] A computerized version of the text has been produced by R. Joe Campbell: (http:// www2.potsdam.edu/ schwaljf/ Nahuatl/ florent.txt) and Marc Eisinger (IBM France). The CEN project under the direction of Marc Thouvenot, at the Center for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of America (CELIA) in France, is also putting together the necessary material for being able to produce such a dictionary.

[59] It remains to be seen whether this characteristic is reflected in an attitude on the part of the New Spain authors which is not only descriptive but prescriptive as well.

4.2.1.1 *Brief entries with simple equivalences.* Entries typically consist of a single head word and its equivalent in the second language given in the dictionary, as in the following examples.

Nebrija (1516):	Gauilan. accipiter humipeta.
Molina (1555):	Gauilan. tlotli.
Molina (1571):	Gauilan. tlotli.
Córdova (1578):	Gauilan. Mànipellàqui.
Alvarado (1593):	Gauilan, dziña,
Anon. Tzotzil:	Gavilan, mecotz.

In these examples of entries for *gavilán* "hawk", each author gives a single equivalence in the Indian language, although the equivalence in Latin consists of two words, and also in Zapotec (màni + pellàqui).

There can also be more than one equivalence in L2.

Nebrija (1516):	Carcax o linjauera. coritus. i. pharetra. ".
Molina (1555):	Carcax de saetas. micomitl. mixiquipilli.
Molina (1571):	Carcax de saetas. micomitl. mixiquipilli.
Córdova (1578):	Carcax de saetas. Piçotiquijlána, piçótiyágaquijlána.
Alvarado (1593):	Carcax de saetas. itneduvua. saininonduvua.
Anon. Tzotzil:	Hollin de fuego, ohboc, yoboquil.

Some authors are more generous with their equivalences than others. For example, in a study done in 2002b, I found an average of 1.3 equivalences per entry in Nebrija (1516), 1.1 in Olmos (1547), 2.2 in Molina (1555), and 2.1 in Molina (1571); Córdova (1578), largest of the Spanish based dictionaries, has an average of 1.8 equivalences per entry.[60] Córdova (1578) explains in the following passage that the presence of multiple equivalences is due to several factors: synonymy, elegance, lexical variation among dialects, and phonological variation from one dialect to another:

> ES el auiso tercero que se a de notar. Que para cada vocablo de los nuestros, se hallaran aplicados muchos desta lengua. Y la razon es, porque aunque siempre el vno dellos es el mas proprio y principal, con todo esso los demas como sinonomos à el siruen. Y los Indios en sus platicas vsan por elegancia de todos, porque este es su modo de hablar. Y tambien porq[ue] aunque cada pueblo difiera vno de otro en la lengua, no es tanta su difere[n]cia que casi no vsen de todos ellos, aunque algunas vezes apli-candolos. à otros significados, tomandolos en vn pueblo para vna cosa, y en otro para otra, y mudando, trocando ó quitando letras en algunos dellos, puesto que todos se entiende[n], como el Castellano que camina por Castilla. Y esta es vna de las razones por do[n]de van aqui muchos vocablos acabados, vn mesmó vocablo en diuersas terminationes ò letras, y mudadas tambie[n] enel medio, paraque cada vno

[60] Uliana Cruz counted 2922 entries and 5253 equivalences in folios 1r-43v.

halle alli el uocablo del pueblo do[n]de se hallare. Y assi nadie se turbe quando encontrare con ellos.

[It is the third notice that it should be noted that to each word of ours, many of this language will be found applied. And the reason is that, although one of them is always the most proper and the principle one, the others nonetheless can be used as synonyms. And the Indians in their conversations use all of them as a question of elegance, because that is their manner of speaking. And also because, although each town differs one from another in their language, the difference is not so great that they do not use almost all of them, although sometimes applying them to another meaning, understanding them in one town for one thing, and in another for another, and altering, switching or dropping letters in some of them, given that they all understand one another, as the Castilian who walks about Castile. And this is one of the reasons for which many words are found here ending, one and the same word, in diverse terminations or letters, and altered also in the middle, so that each one might find there the word of the town where he finds himself. And thus let no one become confused when he encounters them.]

4.2.1.2 *Distinct entries for different senses and locutions*. Frequently there are various entries which begin with the same word. For example, in Nebrija there are three entries which begin with the word *calabaça* ("squash", "gourd"), usually distinguished by additional words which indicate which particular kind of squash is referred to.

Nebrija (1516)
calabaça yerva & fruto *cucurbita -ae. Colocynthis -idis*
calabaça pequeña *cucurbitula -ae*
calabaça silvestre *colocynthis -idis*

In each of these entries there are appropriate equivalences in Latin for three different kinds of squash, one general, one small species and one which is wild. In other words, there are separate entries for three different senses of the word *calabaça*, each with its own equivalence. These three entries are justified lexicographically by the fact that each of the senses corresponds to a different word in Latin: *cucurbita*, *cucurbitula*, and *colocynthis*. This practice is common in various of the New Spain vocabularies. There follow examples of the entries for *calabaça* in Molina, Gilberti, Urbano, Córdova, Alvarado, the anonymous Tarascan dictionary and the anonymous Tzotzil dictionary.

Molina (1555)
Calabaça generalmente. ayutli. ayutetl.
Calabaça pequeña cogida verde y curada al sol. ayotzoyacatl.
Calabaça vaso. xicalli. xicaltecomatl.
Calabaça luenga. allacatl.
Calabaça redonda. atecomatl.
Calabaça lisa. tzilacayutli.

Calabaça otra redonda y negra. tamalayutli.
Calabaça chica espinosa. chayutli.
Calabaça pequeña y berrugosa. yye tecomatl.
Calabaça pequeñita siluestre. tlalayutli.

Molina (1571)
Calabaça generalmente. ayutli. ayutetl.
Calabaça pequeña y tierna, cogida por sazonar y curada al sol, para comer entre año. ayotzoyacatl.
Calabaça que sirue de vaso. xicalli. xicaltecomatl.
Calabaça luenga. allacatl.
Calabaça redonda. atecomatl.
Calabaça redonda y negra muy sabrosa. tamalayutli.
Calabacilla chica espinosa. chayutli.
Calabaça blanca y muy lisa. tzilacayutli.
Calabacilla pequeñita y berrugosa. yyetecomatl.
Calabacilla siluestre. tlalayutli.

Gilberti (1559)
Calabaça generalmente. puru. ytzuz.
Calabaça pequeña cogida verde y curada al sol. siriyani.
Calabaça vaso. vràni.
Calabaça luenga. ytzuz ytzumaqua.
Calabaça redo[n]da. ytzuz.
Calabaça lisa. thicatsi.
Calabaça otra redonda y negra. puruvas.
Calabaça chica y espinosa. apupu.
Calabaça pequeña y berrugosa. quarus.
Calabaça pequeñita siluestre. puruvandas.

Urbano (1605)
Calabaça generalmente. ayotli. ayotetl = anmé. nomé.
Calabaça pequeña cogida verde y curada al sol. ayotzoyacatl = no[n]thãhmé
Calabaça vaso. xicalli. xicaltecomatl = noximô. notzoximô.
Calabaça luenga. allacatl = nonbiphi.
Calabaça redonda. atecomatl = nohuâxi.
Calabaça lija. tzilacayotli = antemé.
Calabaça otra redonda y negra. tamalayutli = nonénamé.
Calabaça chica y espinosa. chayutli = anxamé.
Calabaça pequeñita siluestre. tlalayutli = noteho.
Calabaça pequeña y berrugosa. yye tecomatl = nattoeyoe3 y.

Córdova (1578)
Calabaça para vino o agua delas altas. Xijcayàche, xijcatiyòoniça, xijcaquéga.
Calabaça para ello redonda. Xijca l. xijga.
Calabaça desta tierra generalmente que comen. Queeto.
Calabaça de castilla. Quéto castilla
Calabaça redonda como melon. Quèto coo.

Calabaça lisa grande. Quètohuéche. l. hueeche.
Calabaça chiquilla como erizo espinosa. Yápe.
Calabaça pequeña berrugosa. Xijgatóchehuiñi.
Calabaça pequeñita siluestre. Quetolàna.
Calabaça las hojas de calabaças. Pelàgaquéto.

Alvarado (1593)
calabaça. yeq.
calabaça me dio seca al sol. yeqnindoco.
calabaça larga lisa. yeqtenuu.
calabaça de castilla. tiyaha.
calabaça blanca y redonda. tinduyu
calabaça grande amarilla. yeqñami.

Anonymous Tarascan dictionary
Calabaça. Puru, ytzuz.
Calabaça, con que sacan la aguamil. Yytzumaqua, yytzumataqua.
Calabaça siluestre. Puru vandas.
Calabaça pequeña. Sirani, siriyani.
Calabaça lisa de comer. Thicatsi.
Calabaça que cuelgan para tirarle. Viquiqui.
Calabaça xicara. Vráni
Calabaça rredonda. Ytzuz.
Calabaça negra. Puru vas.
Calabaçita berrugosa. Quarus.

Anonymous Tzotzil dictionary
Calabaza, cuh.
Calabaza otra especie de echura de melones. chum.
Calabaza, otra especie grande, larga, mayl.

A comparison of these entries gives a good idea of the degree of elaboration of the dictionaries. It also makes it possible to distinguish quite easily the relationships which exist among the diverse dictionaries. For example, it will be noted that Nebrija only recognizes three types of squash whereas Molina lists the same 10 types in both editions of his dictionary, although there are minor differences in the wording and the ordering of the entries. The entries in Gilberti and in Urbano make it plain that they are nearly identical to the 1555 edition of Molina, though with minor variations, and that they do not share the innovations in the 1571 edition of Molina where this is different from the *princeps*. Córdova also has 10 entries, some similar to those in Molina, but also some new ones such as *calabaça de castilla* (“Castilian squash”) and *calabaça las hojas de calabaças* (“squash the leaves of squashes”). In the case of Alvarado, the number of entries drops to 6, but all of them have some similarity to the corresponding entries in Molina or Córdova, although none is a literal copy. The Tarascan dictionary also has 10 entries, but

includes some new ones, such as *calabaça que cuelgan para tirarle* ("squash that they hang up for shooting at") and *calabaça, con que sacan la aguamil* ("gourd with which they extract century plant sap"). There are only three entries given in Tzotzil, but each corresponds to a distinct term in that language. Except for the cases of Gilberti and Urbano, which are copies of Molina (1555), the general impression is that each author adapts the model to the language which he is describing to some degree.

The statistics which were given in §3 for the number of entries and vocables in the different dictionaries studied is based on this characteristic of repeating entries which begin with the same word but which represent diffferent senses which have distinct equivalences in the other language. In this case each dictionary has a single vocable, *calabaça*, but different numbers of entries, ranging from three to ten. In this way it is possible to compare the gross quantity of entries with the number of entries based on different words (vocables). For example, Nebrija (1492) has an average of 1.4 entries for each vocable while Córdova has more than twice that amount, 3.6 entries per vocable. This suggests that Córdova, as a lexicographer, strove to distinguish as many senses as possible of the different words he registered.

4.2.1.3 *Families of words based on a single sense*. In Nebrija, there is a tendency to group words related by derivation and sharing a particular sense, even when this implies a violation of strictly alphabetical ordering. Consider the following forms for *caçar* ("to hunt"):

Nebrija (1516)
cabruno assi caprilis -e. Caprilus -a -um
caça de aves aucupium -ii
caçar aves aucupor -aris
caçador de aves auceps -cupis
caçadora cosa para caçar aucupatorius -a -um

caça de fieras o monteria venatio -onis
caçar fieras venor -aris
caçador de fieras o montero venator -oris
caçadora cosa de caça venaticius -a -um
caçadora cosa para caçar venatorius -a -um

caço de hierro fuscina -ae. Creagra -ae

In this case, Nebrija recognizes two distinct words for *caça* ("hunting"), one for birds (*caça de aves*) and one for wild animals (*caça de fieras o monteria*), which correspond to distinct words in Latin, *aucupium* and *venatio*. That is, the motivation for the distinct senses distinguished in Spanish is the existence of distinct equivalences in Latin. After each of these entries Nebrija

lists some other words based on the same sense of hunting and with corresponding words in Latin based on the same stem: four forms which refer to the hunting of birds, based on *aucupium*, and five forms which refer to the hunting of wild animals, related to *venatio*. Note that this practice results in violations of strict alphabetical ordering. The series *caça-caçar-caçador-caçadora* seems to be based on some notion of the direction of derivation in Spanish: *caçar* is derived from *caça*, *caçador* from *caçar*, etc. After giving a series of entries for one sense, Nebrija then returns to another sense of *caça* and the forms derived from it. MacDonald (1973:vi), in his edition of Nebrija (1516), refers to this characteristic when he says that

> los derivados de vocablos básicos suelen seguir, fuera del orden alfabético lógico la palabra raíz. Por ejemplo, después de *sufrir* se encuentra en este orden: *sufrimiento, sufrido,* y *sufrible*. Se notan también otras faltas de orden alfabético sin razón aparente para ello.
>
> [the derived forms of basic words, usually follow, outside of logical alphabetical order, the root word. For example, after *sufrir* 'to suffer' one finds in this order: *sufrimiento, sufrido*, and *sufrible*. Other errors in alphabetical ordering can also be noted, with no apparent reason for them.]

Karttunen (1988:549) has noted this same type of "deviation from strict alphabetical order in favor of grouping entries in derivational families" as a characteristic of Nebrija's lexicographic style which is also found in Mesoamerican dictionaries. Consider the following forms for *caçar* ("to hunt") in Molina (1571).

Molina 1571

Cacarear la gallina. tetlatoa. tetzatzi. tlatlazcatlatoa

Caçar. n,ami. n,aami.
Caça presa tlaaxitl. tlaantli.
Caçador o montero. amini. anqui.
Caçamiento. amiliztli.
Caçar hombres o aues para otros. nite,tlamalia. nitetla, axilia. nite,amilia.

Caçar con redes. nitla,matlauia.
Caçada cosa assi. tlamatlauilli.
Caçador tal. tlamatlauiani. tlamatlauiqui.

Caçar aues con lazo. nitla,tzouia. nitla,tzouazuia

Caçar fieras con lazo. nitla,cximecauia. nitla,mecauia.

Caçar aues co[n] liga. nitla,tlaçalhuia. nitla,tecpauia.
Caçar con red que se cierra. nitla,tlapechmatlauia. nitla,tlapachiuazmatlauia. nitla,tlapachiuazuia.

Caço de hierro. tepuzcaxitl.

In this case six senses of *caçar* are distinguished, of which the first two are acompanied by derived or related forms based on the same sense: *caçar (hombres o aues)* ("to hunt [men or birds]") and *caçar con redes* ("to hunt with nets"). Each sense corresponds to a distinct verb root or stem in Nahuatl, *ami* and *matlauia* in the first two cases. The order of the senses does not seem to follow any particular logic, such as the letter which begins the second word in the entry, producing further exceptions to a strict alphabetical ordering. This same type of ordering by derivationally related families of senses is found in other dictionaries, such as Córdova (1578), though there are some, such as Alvarado (1593), where it is not at all prominent.

4.2.1.4 *Syntactic inversion used to produce headwords.* Another recourse used by Nebrija in his entries is that of altering the natural syntactic order of expressions used to distinguish a particular sense being registered in order to place the headword in first position. For example, Nebrija has the entry *calçada, hazer de nuevo*, which represents the expression *hazer calçada de nuevo* ("to pave a road anew"), but with *calçada* ("road") displaced from its normal syntactic position in order to serve as the headword of the expression. In the same way, *cabera cosa* represents the phrase *cosa cabera* ("thing at the end"), but with *cabera* ("at the end") displaced from its normal position in order to serve as the headword of the entry. This same characteristic is found in Molina (1555), Córdova (1578), Alvarado (1593) and the anonymous Tarascan and Tzotzil dictionaries, as can be seen in the following examples.

Nebrija (1516)
calçada, hazer de nuevo viam sterno
cabera cosa ultimus -a -um. Extremus -a -um

Molina (1555)
Camino hazer noquetza.
Caluo ser assi. ni,quaxuxumuliui. ni,quaxuxulacqui.
Callente cosa. tlatotonilli.
Calabaçadas dar. nite,quatetzotzona.

Córdova (1578)
Dormir hazer a otro. Tococácia, tocacácia.
Firme cosa ò fixa. Vide fuerte rezio. Nalipi, naquijchi, natipa, chichi.

Alvarado (1593)
Cabal venir la quenta, yonutnaha, yonasinotuhua. yonasino
caliente cosa, saini. saidzaa.

Anon. Tarascan
Cierta cosa. Thsirimequa, thsiris [tsirimeni].
Cierto ser. Thsirimiseni [tsirimeni].

Anon. Tzotzil
Acedía tener, xevet colondon, xenon colondon.
Agra cosa, pogh, paghal, apaghal, unde paghel vagh, paghal vchombo.

Curiously, MacDonald (1973:vi-vii) interprets the word *cosa* ("thing"), found in many of these inverted expressions, as a type of qualifier, parallel to other grammatical indications, which Nebrija uses to identify adjectives. In reality it is simply the result of the syntactic inversion which I have just described. Adjectives are listed as if they were modifying a generic noun: *cosa caliente* ("something hot"), *cosa agra* ("something sour"), *cosa cierta* ("something certain").

4.2.1.5 *Sporadic specification of grammatical information.* MacDonald (1973: xi) is of the opinion that in Nebrija (1516), "los calificativos *adverbio*, *conjunción*, y *preposición* sirven más bien para llenar espacio libre que para calificar." [the qualifying expressions adverb, conjunction, and preposition serve more as space fillers than as qualifiers]. Karttunen (1988:549) notes that "Nebrija eschews grammatical class labels, relying instead on Spanish morphology, the Latin gloss, and frequent citation of Spanish synonyms to make clear what part of speech each entry is" and that Mesoamerican dictionaries follow his example. In effect, all the dictionaries have occasional indications of grammatical information, as can be seen in the following examples, but none of them includes such indications systematically.

Nebrija (1516)
cien vezes adverbio cienties
de preposicion de ablativo a. Ab. Abs. De. Ex
del preposicion con articulo del macho
despues que conjuncion posteaquam. Postquam

Molina (1555)
Presto, aduerbio. yciuhca. çaniciuhca.
Poder nombre. uelitiliztli. ueliyotl. uelitilizçotl.
Poder verbo. niueliti.

Córdova (1578)
Desmelenadura actiua. Quelahuezàcha, huexijti.
Desmelenadura passiua. Quelatiàcha, nayàcha, naxijti.

Alvarado (1593)
Hazer espuma. neutro, yocanateiño,

4.2.1.6 *Deictic reference to preceding entries.* One of the most notable characteristics of Nebrija's dictionary and of the Mesoamerican dictionaries which adopt his style is the use of deixis to refer to previous entries in order to avoid

repeating information. MacDonald (1973:vii) refers to this characteristic when he says that "Su práctica de usar frases de especificación tales como *desta manera*, *esta manera*, y *assi* constituye un rasgo estilístico que obliga que el lector se refiera a artículos previos para determinar el sentido de la palabra de que se trata." [his practice of using phrases for specification such as *in this way*, *this way*, and *thus* constitutes a stylistic feature which obliges the reader to refer to previous entries in order to determine the sense of the word being treated]. Likewise, Karttunen (1988:549) says of the Mesoamerican dictionaries that "the ubiquitous notations assi [thus], desta manera [in this way], en esta manera [in this way] and este mesmo [this same one] of their dictionaries are all originally Nebrija's conventions." Some examples follow.

Nebrija (1516)
camellos de dos corcobas camelus arabicus
camellero que los cura camelarius -ii
camelleria oficio de aqueste camelelasia
cortar juntamente concido -is
cortadura assi concisio -onis
cortar por debaxo succido -is
cortadura en esta manera succisio -onis

Molina (1555)
Cayda generalmente. uetziliztli. uetziztli.
Caydo assi. uetzqui.
Cayda juntamente. cenuetziliztli. netquitiuetziliztli.
Caydo assi. cenuetzqui.
Campana. lo mesmo.
Campanario. tepuztli ypilcaya. tlatziliniloya.
Campanero que las haze. campana chiuhqui. ca[m]panapitzq[ue]

Córdova (1578)
Descargarse o purgarse de cargos o culpa que le echan a alguno. Tecábilija, teláayobia, tequixetíchaya, teòçácaláolijatícha, teóchijlijatícha.
Descargarse assi mintiendo, vide escusarse. Tocóatóaya.

Anon. Tarascan
Çurrarle la badana. Chatazcuni xucani, niyazmarucuni, chahtacuni, niyatacuni xucani.
Çurrarlos assi. Chatazcuhpeni, chatacuhpeni, niyazmarutspeni, niyatatspeni, xucahpeni.

For example, when the camel keeper is identified by Nebrija as *camellero que los cura* ("camel keeper who cares for them"), the reference of *los* ("them") must be sought in the previous entry, *camellos de dos corcobas* ("camels with two humps"). Likewise, in the entry *cortadura en esta manera* ("a cut in this way") the interpretation of *en esta manera* ("in this way") comes from the preceding entry: *cortar por debaxo* ("to cut underneath").

An important consequence of this feature of the vocabularies is that the entries are often not self-sufficient in the sense that they cannot be correctly understood out of context. As a result, if they are quoted somewhere else, the missing contextual information should be supplied. For example, if Molina's (1555) entry "Caydo assi. cenuetzqui." is cited, it should be given as something like "Caydo assi [juntamente]" [fallen in this way (together)]. Unfortunately, this is often not the case when scholars cite entries from the colonial dictionaries.

The use of deictic references to preceding entries is very frequent in dictionaries like Córdova's (1578), but less apparent in others, such as the Anonymous Tarascan dictionary.

4.2.1.7 *Cross-references.* For cross-references to other entries in his dictionary, Nebrija used the term *busca* ("look for"). This same expression is used in Molina (1555, 1571) and Gilberti (1559). Córdova, Alvarado and the author of the anonymous Tzotzil dictionary, on the other hand, used the Latin expression *vide* ("see"), while Zúñiga used the Latin terms *supra* ("above") and *infra* ("below"). Examples of these different conventions for cross-referencing follow.

Nebrija (1516):	caudillo *busca* en capital
Molina (1555):	Basta. *busca* abasta.
Molina (1571):	Cabero o vltimo. *busca* postrero.
Gilberti (1559):	Caudillo. *busca* capitan.
Córdova (1578):	Caridad la que se da. *Vide* limosna. Xillàa.
Alvarado (1573):	Carmenar *vide* cardar.
Anon. Tzotzil:	Encordio *vide* dibujo.
Zúñiga:	Descabezar. *supra* Degollar.
	Crisol, i[d est]. molde. *infra*. Anam.

4.2.1.8 *Predominantly alphabetical order.* With the exceptions mentioned above due to the grouping of derivationally related families of senses, and occasional strays, Nebrija used a predominantly alphabetical ordering, as did the New Spain authors who adopted his style. In fact, alphabetical ordering was the predominant organizational principal in New Spain lexicography, as will be discussed in more detail below (§4.3).

4.2.2 *Calepino's lexicographic style.* In contrast to Nebrija's lexicographic style, derived from the bilingual Medieval glossaries, there is another more discursive style which talks about the words, often describing their meanings in detail and with examples which describe how the words are used in their

different senses. In some cases, authors are given who have used the word, typically other friars respected for their sermons or religious writings. I refer to this style as Calepino's lexicographic style since it shares various characteristics with the famous Augustinian lexicographer from Bergamo. Its characteristics can be summarized as follows.

1. entries with discursive texts
2. elaboration of a general meaning
3. different senses in a single entry
4. examples of use
5. references are made to authorities or the sources of the examples
6. alphabetical order

This style is exemplified in the following examples from Lagunas (1574), Zúñiga (c.1608) and Ciudad Real (end of the 16th century).

a. Lagunas (1574)

¶ THAVA, significa pisar, o hollar, o dar co | ces. vt. Thauahchacuni, pisar o hollar el cuerpo | aq[ua]lquier cosa. Thauarheni, darle vna coz. Tha- | ua thauaarhani vel. thauambarhini, darse de co | zes. Thaua[n]garhicuni pisar enla cara, o rostro, o | haz de q[ua]lquier cosa Thauanducuni, enel pie, o pies.

Thauaparhani, en lasespaldas. Y assi vsan | como nosotros desta Methaphora diziendo, Fulano haze esto: por q[ue] tiene espaldas, o estri- | ua e[n] fulano. Nanahq[ue] ys vsirahati, hiboq[ui] nanah | q[ue]nithaua parhahaca. ¶ Thauanurhini, llorar, | pisar, o estriuar, o dar algu[n]a coz, o estriuijo[n] e[n] al | gu[n]a cosa dexa[n]dola otras y passar, o p[er]seguir ade | lante co[n] mayor animo y nueuas fuerças. Y assi | los religiosos podran dezir. Thauanurhihens || cacuhche ys quixan yame[n]do parhaq[ue]hpenapu, | Dios himboetaqua. i[d est] Que quando passaron a | estas partes dexaron y acocearon, tornando a | menos preciar todas las cosas del mundo por a | mor de dios. Y assi todos los Xp[ist]ianos para d[e]zir | que acocean, pisan, o menosprecian al demo- | nio porquanto ya enel Baptismo y con qualq[ui]e | ra buena obra le han acoceado y dexado atras, | confuso y menospreciado, podran dezir. Tha | uanurhinstahacacuhche. i[d est], acoceamoslo. vel. A | mutanstahacacuhche. i[d est]. Menospreciamoslo. | Porque Amutanstani, es el proprio vocablo d[e] | tornar amenospreciar qualquier cosa. &c.

[¶ THAVA, means to step on, or tread upon, or give a kick to. As Thauahchacuni, to step on or tread upon the something's body. Thauarheni, give it a kick. Thaua thauaarhani or thauambarhini, give oneself kicks. Thauangarhicuni to step on the face of or the surface of anything. Thauanducuni, on the foot or feet. Thauaparhani, on the back. And in this way they use, as we do, this metaphor, saying, so and so because he has a back, or he supports himself on so and so. Nanahque ys vsirahati, hiboqui nanah quenithaua parhahaca. ¶ Thauanurhini, to cry, step on, or use as a stirrup, or give something a kick, or a support allowing it to pass by, or to surge ahead with lifted spirits and renewed vigor. And so the religious fathers could say. Thauanurhihens || cacuhche ys quixan yame[n]do parhaq[ue]hpenapu, | Dios himboetaqua. that is, that

when they passed by these parts they abandoned and gave kicks, despising all things of this world for the love of God. And so all Christians, in order to say that they give a kick to, step on, or despise the Devil in so much as in Baptism and with whatever good deed they have given him a kick and left him behind, dazed and despised, might say. Tha | uanurhinstahacacuhche. that is, we give him a kick, or Amutanstahacacuhche. that is, we despise him. Because Amutanstani, is the proper way to say to come to despise whatsoever thing, etc.]

b. Zúñiga (first part, folio 373v)

¶ Ponzah (compulsiuo de Ponic sup[r]a en significado de llegar a ajustar de igualar algo con otra cosa) Ajustar la medida, el peso, el valor de la cosa la paga el premio al trabajo, la pena a la culpa. &c. no llega lo pesado con el peso con la medida, no llega a la medida al peso. &c. manponic. [ve]l. manruponbeh. [ve]l. manruponeh chaponzah hazque llegue, que ajuste, que venga lo vno con lo otro que ajuste al peso, &c. manponic tzac rucamanic nayeure. [ve]l. manrupo[n]beh rucamanic etzac nayeure chaponzah ahic no iguala la paga que le das a su trabajo igualasele ajustasele dale el justo precio, y al contrario, no iguala tu trabajo a la paga q[ue] tasamos mas te doy de lo que merece, trabaja mas para que iguales ajustes el trabajo con la paga, quizin acamanic xaban chipam nutic. [ve]l. vabix, manponic ructzac. [ve]l. manruponbeh tzac. [ve]l. manruponeh ructzac xcucutnacavui achaponzah ahic ticamanac chic. &c. Mi venerable padre fray fran[cis]co de Viana tratando de la grande piedad y misericordia de Dios (no me acuerdo en que lugar o lugares de sus escritos que todos los tengo vistos y leidos y por ellos se razonablem[en]te esta lengua) que aun a los malos en el infierno no les da toda la pena y tormentos segun merezian sus culpas.

[¶ Ponzah (causative of *Ponic* above in the sense of coming to correspond to, to match one thing with another) for the measure, the weight, the value of something, the payment, the reward to match the task, the punishment to correspond to the guilt, etc. that which is weighed does not correspond to the weight, to the measure, does not correspond to the measure, to the weight, etc. manponic. or manruponbeh. or manruponeh chaponzah make one thing correspond to, match, fit, the other, adjust to the weight, etc. manponic tzac rucamanic nayeure. or manrupo[n]beh rucamanic etzac nayeure chaponzah ahic the payment that you give him does not correspond to his work, let it match it, correspond to it, give him a fair price, and to the contrary, your work does not correspond to the payment that we set but rather I give you what you deserve, work more so that you make the work match, fit, the payment, quizin acamanic xaban chipam nutic. or vabix, manponic ructzac. or manruponbeh tzac. or manruponeh ructzac xcucutnacavui achaponzah ahic ticamanac chic. etc. My venerable father friar Francisco de Viana, treating of the great pity and mercy of God (I do not remember in what place or places of his writings, all of which I have seen and read and thanks to which I know this language reasonably well) says that even to the evil ones in Hell he does not give all the pain and torment that they deserve for their sins.]

c. Ciudad Real

¥ *ne max*. es vna yerua de flor blanca, cuyas ojas curan llagas || viejas: y ellas y la raiz aprouechan mucho alas hinchaçones en especial delas piernas. Lauando las con el agua

> en quese cozieron o conel çumo de la tal yerua: y despues de lauado sepongan las ojas en cima delo hinchado. ¶ Sus cogallos aprouechan para curar el fuego desanct anton.
>
> [*ne max* is a plant with a white flower, whose leaves cure old sores. And they use them and the roots a lot for swellings, especially in the legs, washing them with the water in which they were cooked or with the juice of this plant. And after washing, they place the leaves on top of the swelling. ¶ They use the young shoots to treat Saint Anthony's fire (an inflammatory or gangrenous skin condition).]

As can be seen, all these examples come from dictionaries which procede from an Indian language to Spanish. However, Nebrija's style is also found in dictionaries of this type, as with the following examples from Molina (1571) and Gilberti (1559).

> Gilberti (1559)
> Tarascue. yerno, o suegro, o suegra. [son-in-law, or father-in-law, or mother-in-law]
>
> Molina (1571)
> Montli. yerno. marido de hija, o ratonera. [son-in-law, husband of daughter, or mouse trap]

Notice though that the different senses of the words, which are usually distinguished in Nebrija's style with an explanatory text which accompanies the head word in different entries for each sense, are not distinguished in the case of dictionaries from Indian languages to Spanish. This asymmetry is due to the fact that the dictionaries are conceived from the point of view of a Spanish speaker.

In the following sections I comment on each of the characteristics of Calepino's lexicographic style except for alphabetical ordering, which will be treated in §4.3.

4.2.2.1 *Entries with discursive texts.* Rather than giving simple equivalences, entries in Calepino's lexicographic style tend to be expressed in complete sentences or in phrases with a continuous syntactic structure. For example, Ciudad Real days that *ne max* "es vna yerua de flor blanca" [is a plant with a white flower] and Lagunas says that *thava* "significa pisar, o hollar, o dar co | ces" [means to step on, or tread upon, or give a kick].

4.2.2.2 *The elaboration of a general meaning.* Instead of giving a single sense of a word in each entry, the different senses are gathered together and enumerated extensionally or even at times intensionally. For example, Zúñiga says that *ponzah* has a meaning "de llegar a ajustar de igualar algo con otra cosa" [of coming to adjust, to match, one thing to another]. After this rather general expression of the meaning of the term, he then goes on to list a number

of more specific uses: “Ajustar la medida, el peso, el valor de la cosa la paga el premio al trabajo, la pena a la culpa. &c. no llega lo pesado con el peso con la medida, no llega a la medida al peso. &c.” [For the measure, the weight, the value of something, the payment, the reward to match the task, the punishment to correspond to the guilt, etc., that which is weighed does not correspond to the weight, to the measure, does not correspond to the measure, to the weight, etc.]. In this case there is a detailed list of the types of arguments this verb can take. Likewise, Ciudad Real defines *haɔab* as “azote, disciplina, palo, materia, espada u otro instrumento para herir” [scourge, discipline, rod, matter, sword or other instrument for causing injury] (Arzápalo 1995, vol. 1:288), giving a broad description of possible meanings of the term both as specific instances of use and generically.

4.2.2.3 *Different senses in a single entry.* Instead of presenting the different senses of a word all together, as in the preceding examples, they can also be presented one by one, as in the following example of *han* in Ciudad Real’s dictionary, which is distributed over two entries.

> ¥ *Han*: el suegro respecto desolo el yerno. porque respecto de la nuera. Se dize nohyum.
> ¥ *Han*. el yerno respecto del suegro ydela suegra ¶ Ten vhan batab. Yosoy yerno del caçique. ¶ Item llama *han* el yerno al hermano desu suegro: a hach han vaJuan es por ventura Juan tu verdadero suegro padre de tu muger? ¶ Item. *Han* tio hermano de madre. o marido dela hermana dela madre. ¶ Item llama. *Han*. el varon al sobrino hijo de su cuñado hermano de su muger. (fol. 177v; cf. Arzápalo 1995, vol. 1:299)

> [*Han*: the father-in-law with respect to the son-in-law alone, because with respect to the daughter-in-law one says *nohyum*.
> *Han*. the son-in-law with respecto to the father-in-law and the mother-in-law ¶ Ten vhan batab. I am the son-in-law of the chief. ¶ Also the son-in-law calls the brother of his father-in-law *han*: a hach han vaJuan is John by any chance your true father-in-law, father of your wife? ¶ Also, *Han* uncle, mother’s brother or mother’s sister’s husband. ¶ Also, the male calls the nephew, son of his brother-in-law, his wife’s brother, *Han*.]

First the meaning *yerno* (“son-in-law”) is given. Then come the meanings of “hermano de suegro de hombre” (“man’s father-in-law’s brother”), “hermano de la madre” (“mother’s brother”), “marido de la hermana de la madre” (“mother’s sister’s husband”), and “hijo del hermano de la mujer” (“wife’s brother’s son”). In the first two cases, example sentences are given to illustrate each sense.

4.2.2.4 *Examples of use.* The use of illustrative examples is quite scarce in Nebrija's lexicographic style whereas it is quite common in that of Calepino. For example, in the entries cited earlier, Lagunas gives sentences to illustrate the words *thauaparhani* and *thauanurhini* and Zúñiga gives various sentences which contain the verb *ponzah*.

The *Bocabulario de maya than* in Vienna is interesting in this sense. It is a Nebrija style dictionary, but at the same time is full of examples of usage, generally taken from religious texts as in the following example (Acuña 1993, p. 58).

> Abrirse latier<r>a, ppachahal vchij luum [for the earth to open up]
> Abriose la tier<r>a y t<r>agoles el Infierno, como a datan y abrion; ppa chahi vchij uum capopot lukiob tumen mitnal, tibay vcibahob datan <yetel abiron> [The earth opened up and Hell swallowed them up, as it did to Dathan and Abiram]

In this case, the example of usage contains a reference to the Bible (*loc. cit.*, note 59; cf. *Numbers* 16:31-4, *Deuteronomy* 11:6, *Psalm* 106:17).

4.2.2.5 *References to authorities or sources for the examples.* Perhaps the most distinctive characteristic of Calepino's lexicographic style is the use of authorities for documenting the use of words and their meanings. This characteristic is also found in some colonial dictionaries. For example, Zúñiga refers to friar Francisco de Viana in the entry for *ponzah* cited above and repeated here in part.

> My venerable father friar Francisco de Viana, speaking of the great piety and mercy of God (I don't remember in which place or places of his writings, all of which I have seen and read and thanks to which I know this language reasonably well) says that even to the evil ones in Hell he does not give all the pain and torment that they deserve for their sins.

René Acuña has been especially perspicuous in identifying possible religious sources in the examples that are found in the dictionaries. For example, in his edition of the Motul (1984), he proposes more than 100 examples which seem to be extracted from doctrinal texts, though not all are identified as such explicitly, 31 from primers and confessionals, 35 from the Bible, and 38 from collections of sermons. Examples of each of these types follow.

> from primers and confessionals
> Caay eol ech va tiocolal:
> tienes por ventura duda en la fee. eres hereJe. (fol. 62r)
> [do you perchance have doubts about the Faith, are you a heretic]

from the Bible
vHaaz tan tah. ya. Saul. cacimi ti katun
fue desgraciado saul y murio en la guerra. encontro con trabajos y desgracias.
[Saul was disgraced and died in the war. He encountered travail and misfortune]
(fol. 203r)

from collections of sermons
vamatan ppatbex akebane Hunkuli abenelex mitnal
sino dexais vuestros pecados para siempre yreis al infierno (fol. 199r)
[if you do not forsake your sins forever you will go to Hell]

As can be concluded from these examples, the concept of authority was reinterpreted in terms of the authority of the source of the text, not necessarily in terms of the propriety of the language used in the examples.

4.3 *Organizational principles.*

Let's look now at another facet of the dictionaries under study, the organizational principles that they follow. As might be expected, the predominant strategy is an alphabetical organization. However, it is also possible to find other organizational principles: ordering by parts of speech, by word terminations, by meaning and by communicative situations.

alphabetical: Molina (1555, 1571); Gilberti (1559); Lagunas (1574); Córdova (1578); Ara (before 1572); Alvarado (1593); Urbano (1605); Anon. Tarascan; Ciudad Real; Anon. Maya than; Anon. Tzotzil; Zúñiga
by parts of speech: Olmos (1547), Zúñiga
by word terminations: Olmos (1547)
by meaning: Olmos (1547), Molina (1555), Arenas (1611)
by communicative situations: Arenas (1611)

These different possibilities are of course not mutually exclusive. I will now discuss each possibility in turn.

4.3.1 *Alphabetical order.* The most frequently used organizational principle is alphabetical order. Even when some other principle is involved, alphabetical ordering is also usually present in some guise. It is convenient to distinguish alphabetical ordering in Spanish and in Indian languages.

4.3.1.1 *Alphabetical order in Spanish.* A frequent impression when working with colonial vocabularies is that there is something odd about the alphabetical order employed. Laughlin (1988, vol. 1, p. 30) expresses this opinion as follows: "The alphabetical order of the Spanish entries in all three dictionaries, even after one has figured out some of the rules, is totally perplexing." I well remember that when I began to consult Molina's Nahuatl dictionary as a

graduate student many years ago I always had problems finding words. In some cases my problems were due to the orthographic differences between modern Spanish and colonial Spanish. But they were also due to the fact that I had not yet paid much attention to the canonical order used by Molina. In reality, the alphabetical order used for Spanish throughout the 16th century is quite consistent, but it differs from the alphabetical order currently used either in Spanish or in English.

> Nebrija (1516)
> a b c {=[k]} ç/c {=[(t)s]} ch d e f g {= [g]; gue/gui ordered as if they were ge/gi}, g {= [(d)ž]} h i {= [i/y]} j {= [(d)ž]} l ll m n ñ o p q {qua6cua} r s t u {vowel} v {consonant} x z

> Molina (1555, 1571); Córdova (1578); Alvarado (1593)
> a b c {=[k]} ç/c {=[s]} ch d e f g h i consonant {= [(d)ž]} y vowel {= [i/y]} l ll m n ñ o p q r s t v (vowel) v (consonant) x z (Molina [1555, 1571] use cua & qua; Córdova [1578] almost does not use qua; Alvarado [1593] uses cua & qua)

> Covarrubias (1611)
> a b c {=[k]} [does not use cua] ç/c {=[s]} ch d e f g h j {= [(d)ž]} i {= [i/y]} k l ll m n ñ o p q {includes qua} r s t u {vowel} v {consonant} x z

The New Spain authors generally follow the order used by Nebrija – I don't know if it originated with him or not –. As can be seen in the preceding examples of alphabetical ordering, the major point of disagreement is in the placement of *i vocal* ("vocalic *i*") (which includes *y*) before *i consonante* ("consonantal *j*") in Nebrija, as in current usage, but in the opposite order in Molina, Córdova, Alvarado and Covarrubias. All authors listed distinguish stop *c* from fricative (or affricate) *c/ç*, but Nebrija is the only one who distinguishes stop *g* from fricative (or affricate) *g*. There is also some vacilation in the use of *qua* to write /kua/. Nebrija and Córdova do not use it, Molina and Alvarado use both *qua* and *cua*, and Covarrubias uses only *qua*. As can be seen, the order instituted by Nebrija reflects a good deal of linguistic influence. Not only the form of the letters is taken into account but also their pronunciation. For example, occlusive *c* is ordered before fricative *c/ç*, and these go before the affricate *ch*.[61]

Another source of confusion for the modern user is the grouping of senses of words in families, discussed above in §4.2.1.3. There are also incon-

[61] The recognition of *ch* as a separate letter of the Spanish alphabet, dating at least to Nebrija's work at the end of the fifteenth century, finally came to an end with the decision of the Association of Academies of the Spanish Language, in its tenth congress (Madrid, 1994), to treat *ch* and *ll* as sequences of two letters for the purpose of alphabetization (Real Academia Española 1999:1-2).

sistencies and irregularities in the application of the alphabetical ordering. Though such editorial errors are inconvenient, they can also be useful indicators of influences. For example Nebrija (1516) has the forms *regalar* < *regar* < *regañar*, in that order. This same erroneous order is found in Molina (1555, 1571), Córdova (1578) and Alvarado (1593) thereby providing hard evidence for the connections that exist among these dictionaries.

4.3.1.2 *Alphabetical order in indigenous languages.* Alphabetical ordering was frequently adapted to the peculiarities of the graphemes proposed for individual languages, which could include special combinations of letters for representing certain sounds, letters which were not used in Spanish or specially invented letters. Two of the most interesting cases of such adaptations are those found in Gilberti (1559) for Tarascan and Ciudad Real for Maya. Gilberti distinguishes between the graphs *t*, *tz*, *ts*, and their aspirated counterparts *th*, *thz*, *ths*. However, they are ordered first according to the following vowel and then according to the three points of articulation, but without taking into account aspiration.

> alphabetical order in Gilberti (1559) for Tarascan
> a ca ch c/ç co cu e h y m n o p q s t(h)a t(h)za t(h)e t(h)ze t(h)i t(h)zi t(h)si t(h)o t(h)zo t(h)u t(h)zu v/u x

In the case of Maya, *tz* is ordered after *ç*, probably due to the similarity perceived between the two sounds represented by these letters. Then comes *ɔ*, the glottalized counterpart of *tz*. The author of the Motul distinguishes two types of *h*, strong (*rezia*) and simple, and places them in this order although he does not distinguish between them graphically. Double *pp*, the glottalized version of *p*, and *th*, the glottalized version of *t*, are ordered directly after the corresponding non-glottalized stop. However *k*, the glottalized form of *c*, is placed in its traditional position in the alphabet, just before *l*.

> alphabetical order in Ciudad Real for Maya
> a b c ç tz ɔ ch cɦ e h rezia h simple y{consonant} i vocal {vowel} k l m n o p pp t th v x

Another interesting case is Molina's ordering of Nahuatl. He explicitly comments on his alphabetical order in his second notice to the reader (Molina 1571, *Vocabulario mexicana*, "Aviso segvndo"):

> ¶ Por no tener esta lengua [como he dicho] todas las letras del Abece, me parecia que tampoco estaua yo obligado a seguir totalmente el concierto que otros Vocabularios suelen lleuar, de poner los vocablos arreo, yendo en todas las primera letras dellos atado al orden del Abece, y ansi quise sacar deste estilo algunos vocablos, entendiendo que otro lugar les seria mas acommodado y adaptado, como era tras la ça, poner ce. ci. ço. çu y luego. cha. che. chi. cho. chu. Y assi mismo, porque el. tza. tze. tzi. tzo. tzu. [que se

> vsa mucho enesta lengua] va ala pron<u>nciacion de. ça. ce. ci. ço. çu, quise lo poner junto con el e[n]la letra. c. mas por parecerme que era lo mas acertado entrexerir los todos, como aca vno le cupiesse su lugar, guardando el orden vsado del Abece. y poner tambien el. tza. tze. tzi. tzo. tzu. enla letra. T. [pues que se escriue con ella] aunque se pro<n>uncie a manera de. ça. ce. ci. ço. çu. portanto lo hize assi. Demanera, que todos los vocablo<s> Mexicanos se han de buscar eneste Vocabulario, assi como los latinos y de romance se buscan enel Vocabulario del Antonio, por el mismo orden del Abece, conuiene a saber, C. ante a. C. ante e. C. ante. h. C. ante. i. &c. Y el mismo orden se guardara enlas terceras y quartas letras que despues desta<s> se siguen.
>
> [Due to the fact that this language does not have [as I have said] all the letters of the alphabet, it seemed to me that neither was I obliged to follow totally the convention that other vocabularies usually practice of placing the words one after another, proceding in all their initial letters according to alphabetical order, and so I wanted to deviate from this style with respect to some words, understanding that another place would be more fitting and appropriate, as was the case of placing *ce, ci, ço, çu* after *ça* and then *cha, che, chi, cho, chu.* And likewise, because *tza*, *tze*, *tzi*, *tzo*, *tzu* [which are much used in this language] are pronounced like *ça*, *ce*, *ci*, *ço*, *çu*, I wanted to put them together in the letter *c*. But due to the fact that it seemed to me that the most correct thing to do was combine them all together, as each one's place is suited, maintaining the traditional alphabetical order, and also placing *tza*, *tze*, *tzi*, *tzo*, *tzu* in the letter *T* [since it is written with it] although it is pronounced like *ça*, *ce*, *ci*, *ço*, *çu*, and so that is how I did it. And so all the Nahuatl words should be looked up in this vocabulary like Latin and Spanish words are looked up in Anthony's vocabulary, according to the same alphabetical order, namely, *C* before *a*, *C* before *e*, *C* before *h*, *C* before *i*, etc. And the same order is followed in the third and fourth letters that follow after these.]

Apparently Molina intends to say that he would like to follow a modified version of Nebrija's order, but that he is not going to do so, ordering the words instead letter by letter. For example, with respect to *c* and *ç*, the order is *ca, ça, ce, ch, ci, co, ço, cr, cu, çu*. Although he claims to be following Nebrija's practice, such is not the case when he orders Nahuatl, but does apply to the Spanish half of his dictionary. Above all, one is impressed by Molina's readiness to innovate with alphabetical order.

4.3.2 *Ordering by parts of speech.* A second type of ordering found is by parts of speech. A possible antecedent of this type of ordering is the *Vocabulista* by Pedro de Alcalá (1505). This author ordered his Spanish-Arabic vocabulary alphabetically, but within each letter he listed first the verbs, and then the nouns and other parts of speech. In the case of the verbs, they were presented in a single column format giving the principle parts of each verb. Nouns, on the other hand, were presented in a double column format. In this way, the division by parts of speech was probably induced in part by the difference in the formats considered most appropriate for their presentation.

Olmos's (1547) vocabulary is also based on parts of speech in the sense that it contains almost only verbs. But the best example of a vocabulary organized in this way is Zúñiga's Poqomchi' vocabulary, which has various interesting characteristics. The first surviving part of the incomplete manuscript contains a Spanish-Poqomchi' vocabulary in one column and a Poqomchi'-Spanish vocabulary in a second wider column, both ordered alphabetically. The second part of the manuscript also has two columns. The wider column also goes from Poqomchi' to Spanish, but first contains only verbs, and later contains only nouns. The narrower column has one section with nouns which go from Spanish to Poqomchi', and another section with adverbs which go from Latin to Poqomchi'.

4.3.3 *Ordering by word endings*. Olmos' vocabulary, in addition to consisting almost entirely of verbs, is also of interest because the verbs are grouped according to their terminations: verbs which end in *-huya*, *-tia*, *-ti*, *-li*, *-tla*, *-lia*, *-ma*, *-mi*, *-mia*, *-na*, *-ni*, *-nia*, *-oa*, *-ua*, *-ui*, *-ça/-tza*, *-ci/-tzi*, *-ca*, *-ço*, *-chi*, *-chia*, *-pa*, *-pi*, *-pia*, *-qui*, *-quia*, *-qua*, *-ya*. In some cases these terminations are suffixes, but in others they simply correspond to the last part of the stem.

4.3.4 *Semantic ordering.* I know of no dictionary ordered semantically in its entirety. However, on occasion one finds lists of words according to the meanings of the forms. For example, Olmos includes a section on kinship terms. Molina (1555) likewise adds a section containing information on the Nahuatl numerical system, "Cuenta segun la lengua Mexicana" (ff. 250-260). Finally, Arenas (1611), who arranges the content of his vocabulary according to communicative situations in many cases (see the following section), also uses semantic groupings, with lists of vocabulary corresponding to semantic fields such as "Nombres de cosas para escriuir" [names of things for writing], "Nombres de algunos animales domesticos" [names of some domestic animals], "Nombres de diuersas colores" [names of various colors], and many others.

4.3.5 *Ordering by communicative situations.* The last type of ordering that I have found is that which corresponds to different communicative situations. Something of this sort is found in Gilberti's grammar of Tarascan where one finds near the end a section on "Modus dicendi", manners of speaking. Here the author lists words and expressions which can be used in two types of situations: "Para quando van dos de camino" [for when two people go traveling] and "Para mandar en casa" [for giving orders at home]. Both contain

material permitting an intimate look at the day to day life of a friar: “pongan agua a escalentar para lauar los pies” [heat up some water for washing my feet] or “A muchacho, o hijo, aun no esta cozida la comida, vengo muerto de hambre, pon me de comer yot<e> ruego” [Oh, boy, or son, the food is still not cooked, I come home dying of hunger, give me something to eat, I beg of you]. This same type of language use is registered in Arenas’ *Vocabulario* (1611). This book is organized in terms of various communicative situations, with appropriate expressions for each one, for example: “Palabras de salutacion” [words of greeting], “Lo que se suele dezir, y preguntar a los enfermos” [that which one customarily says to or asks sick people], “Las palabras que le suele[n] dezir a los Indios q[ue] trabaja[n] en minas, y labores del ca[m]po” [words which are customarily used with Indians who work in the mines, and in the fields] or “Lo que ordinaria mente se suele dezir qua[n]do se compra, o vende algun cauallo” [that which one ordinarily is accustomed to say when a horse is bought or sold], etc. As mentioned in the preceding section, Arenas also includes lists of words belonging to certain semantic fields.

4.4 *The entry lists of the dictionaries*

One of the more interesting questions concerning New Spain lexicography is that of the sources for the entry lists, head words or nomenclatures of the dictionaries, that is, the list of words which they give equivalences for. We saw above that one of the methods used by the colonial lexicographers was that of using the entry list of a preexistent dictionary to gather words in another language. We know that Nebrija, Molina and Gilberti were used in this way. I have also mentioned the fact that some scholars have claimed, or at least assumed, that the nomenclatures in the missionary dictionaries were impoverished versions of Nebrija. However, upon examining the dictionaries with care, one finds that such is not the case. In fact, I have argued elsewhere (Smith Stark 2002b,) that the nomenclatures of the missionary dictionaries make an important contribution to the history of Spanish. Although Nebrija’s influence is clearly present, it is also true that there is a significant level of innovation and creativity in the Spanish nomenclatures. Insofar as the nomenclatures in the Indian languages are concerned, they are totally new in the majority of the cases studied here.

4.4.1 *The Spanish nomenclatures.* In order to identify the sources of the Spanish entries found in the dictionaries in my corpus, I have compared the nomenclatures found in Nebrija, Molina (1555, 1571), Gilberti (1559), Córdova (1578), Alvarado (1593), Urbano (1605) and the anonymous Tarascan

and Tzotzil dictionaries for the entries from CAB to CAM. It is clear that there is a lot of similarity among the different dictionaries. In the first place, two of them, Gilberti's and Urbano's, can be considered translations since their Spanish nomenclatures are nearly identical to that in Molina 1555. Gilberti is the most faithful. Of 241 entries in Molina in the section examined, he eliminates 5 (2.1% = 5/241) and adds none. Of the 236 entries he maintains, 205 undergo no changes (86.9% = 205/236) and 31 (13.1% = 31/236) suffer minor modifications, summarized in the following list.

a. changes in abbreviations (11/236 = 4.7%)
b. insignificant changes in orthography (4/236 = 1.7%)
    i → y (2)
    qua → cua (1)
    y → i (1)
c. changes in orthography which possibly reflect differences in pronunciation (8/236 = 3.4%)
    bazo → baxo (1) (correction of an error?)
    delito → delicto (2)
    huego → fuego (2)
    callente → caliente (2)
    suziedad → suciedad (1)
d. slight changes in wording (4/236 = 1.7%)
    cabecera ycpal que sirue por almohada → cabeçal que sirue por almohada
    camino que va a alguna casa → camino que va azia vna casa
    assi → alli
    campana → campana lo mesmo
e. changes in gender (3/236 = 1.3%)
    cayda → caydo
    calabaçada → calabaçado
    calua → caluo
f. corrections (1/236 = 0.4%)
    cabrlllas → cabrillas

Urbano (1605) makes more changes, but his dictionary is nonetheless still basically a copy of Molina's with the addition of equivalences in Otomi. There are a total of 256 entries in the section compared: 238 of Molina's entries are reproduced (238/241 = 98.8%), with minor changes in many cases,[62] 3 entries are eliminated (3/241 = 1.2%), and 18 new entries are added (18/256 = 7.0%).[63] Some of Urbano's innovations also appear in Molina 1571, a fact

[62] This discussion only refers to changes in the Spanish nomenclature; there are also changes in the Nahuatl text, which nonetheless is still essentially a copy of Molina (1555).
[63] Actually, only 16 are really new since one of the new entries was given twice (*Calentarse en algo*) and another was a repetition of a previously existing entry (*Camino que* llama[n] de sanctiago Enel cielo).

which suggests that Urbano might have worked from a copy of Molina with annotations which would later appear in the 1571 edition. The remaining dictionaries also show influence from previous works, but none of them can be considered a translation of another. All of them innovate to a greater or lesser degree. The following table records the number of entries and vocables in six ew Spain dictionaries. In each case, the number and percentage of vocables which are also found in Nebrija are noted as well as the number and percentage of vocables that were eliminated from those in Nebrija. The number of innovations is also registered, that is, the number of vocables that are not found in Nebrija and the percentage that these represent with respect to the total number of vocables in the dictionary. Finally, the number of vocables not found in any of the previous dictionaries listed in the table is given and the percentage these represent with respect to the total number of vocables in that dictionary.[64]

		Nebrija's influence (CAB-CAM)							
Author	entries	vocables in Nebrija			eliminated		innovated over Nebrija	innovated over others	
Nebrija 1516	293	137	137	100%	-	-	-		
Molina 1555	241	99	87	64%	50	12	12%	12	12%
Molina 1571	373	108	91	66%	46	17	16%	6	6%
Córdova 1578	434	133	101	74%	36	32	24%	20	15%
Alvarado 1593	280	95	78	57%	59	17	18%	4	4%
Anon. Tarascan	341	98	79	58%	58	19	19%	?	?
Anon. Tzotzil	90	64	59	43%	78	5	8%	?	?

For example, Molina (1555) has 241 entries and 99 vocables from CAB to CAM. Of the 99 vocables, 87 are in Nebrija, 64% of the 137 entries which Nebrija has in the corresponding section of his dictionary. Molina eliminated the following 50 of Nebrija's vocables.

> cabeçal, cabañuela, cabañuelas, cabeceamiento, cabeçuda, cabellado, cabelladura, cabera, cabestrar, cabestrage, cabida, cabrituno, cabrahigo, cabrahigar, cabrahigadura, cabrio, cabron, cabruno, caçadora, caçon, caçurro, cachar, cadaño, cadañera, caediza, cala, calaboço, calador, calamar, calamon, calar, calcar, calçon, calderon, calentamiento, calenturoso, calero, calidad, calongia, calurosa, calostro, callosa, callecer, camello, camellos, camellero, camelleria, caminador, camodar, campero.

But he also included the following 12 vocables which were not in Nebrija.

> cabizbaxo, cacarear, caducar, caduco, calabaçada(s), caldo, calentada, calmado, caluniado, camellon, caminante, campanilla

[64] I have not included these figures for the anonymous Tarascan and Tzotzil dictionaries since we do not know their date of completion.

That is, 12 of the 99 vocables in Molina (1555), 12%, are innovations in his nomenclature which were not taken from Nebrija. As can be ascertained from the preceding table, the most innovative lexicographer was Córdova, with 24% innovations.

The role of Molina as a model can also be noted in the preceding table. For example, Córdova has 32 entries which are not found in Nebrija, but only 20 which are not also found in Molina (1571).

Not only do we find innovations with respect to Nebrija and Molina. There are also various words in the nomenclatures of these dictionaries which appear before the earliest occurrences noted from CAB to CAM in Gili Gaya's *Tesoro lexicográfico* (1947). The 31 examples which I have found in Molina (1555), Molina (1571), Córdova (1578) and Alvarado (1593) follow.

a. Molina (1555) – cabizbaxo (1604), caducar (1604), calabaçada (1604), calentada (1607), calmado (1706), caluniado (-), camellon (1607)
b. Molina (1571) – cabezpelado (-), cacao (1607), caçamiento (-), caçada (1623), calabacilla (-), calos (-)
c. Córdova (1578) – cabeçada (1604), cacharro (-), cachorrillo (1604), cagatorio (1607), cayrel (1601), cayrelar (1611), calamitoso (1604), calado (1604), calcado (1607), caldear (1600?), caldeado (1717), calentado (1607), callejera (1604), camada (-), camalote (-), cambiado (1604), campestre (1599)
d. Alvarado (1593) – calmarse (-)

The dates in parentheses are the first appearances as entries in a Spanish based dictionary according to Gili Gaya; a hyphen indicates that the word is not found in Gili Gaya.

One also finds senses of words which appear in New Spain dictionaries before the first appearance registered by Gili Gaya. The following examples are found in Molina (1555).

cabecera (=pillow) (-), cabeçudo (=stubborn) (1599), caberme buena suerte (1601), camisa (=menstruation) (1607), camisa (=corn husk) (1679)

The preceding examples demonstrate that the nomenclatures of the New Spain dictionaries were influenced by Nebrija, but that they also contain an important component of innovations not attributable to Nebrija's influence.

4.4.2 *The entry words in indigenous languages.* For the nomenclatures of the indigenous languages registered, there are no possible European antecedents. Logically one would first expect a dictionary with a Spanish nomenclature from which an inverted version could then be produced with a nomenclature in the indigenous language. However I know of no evidence which allows confirmation of this model. For example, the first published dictionary to go

from an Indian language to Spanish was Gilberti's. The Spanish-Tarascan version is basically a translation of Molina (1555) as we have already seen. The Tarascan-Spanish version is quite a bit smaller. If it were produced as a result of a mechanical inversion, then all the Tarascan forms should be found in the Spanish-Tarascan version of the dictionary and all the forms in the Spanish-Tarascan version should have entries. I know of no studies which show whether or not this is the case for Gilberti's dictionary or for any of the other dictionaries which go in both directions, including Nebrija's. With modern computer technology it should be relatively easy to test this model once a dictionary is digitalized.

There is at least one case where the suggested model was apparently not used, that of Ciudad Real where there is no corresponding Spanish-Maya version. However, even in this case, earlier Spanish-Maya dictionaries done by others could have formed the basis for an inversion.

4.5 *The solution to formal problems*

The production of a dictionary implies the resolution of various types of problems related to the nature of the language being described. In particular I would like to mention three such problems: the selection of a citation form for verbs, the treatment of obligatory inflectional prefixes and the inclusion of inflectional information in entries.[65]

4.5.1 *The citation form of verbs.* In the case of Spanish, Nebrija used the infinitive for citing verbs in his vocabulary, a convention that continues to be used to this day. However, many Mesoamerican languages lack a form similar to the Spanish infinitive. In these cases, the New Spain lexicographers generally adopted the Latin model, using the first person singular of the present indicative of verbs as a citation form. Such is the practice that Molina (1555, 1571) uses for Nahuatl, Córdova (1578) for Zapotec, Alvarado (1593) for Mixtec, and Urbano (1605) for Otomi.

first person singular of the present indicative used as citation form for verbs

Molina (1555, Nahuatl): Caminar. ni,nenemi.

Urbano (1605, Otomi): Caminar. ni,nenemi = Tana,yó. tana,pâ. tana,neyu. Pl. hoe.

Córdova (1578, Zapotec): Caminar o començar camino, vide partir. Ti+záa÷yanèza, co, cha, záa-néza÷ya, co, ti+yóo-nèza÷ya.

[65] Other problems meriting discussion, but which I won't go into here, are the handling of obligatorily possessed nouns and of verb-particle type constructions.

Alvarado (1593, Mixtec): Caminar, yo+sica÷ndi, f. caca[66]

For example, the verb for "to walk" in Nahuatl, *ni,nenemi* has a prefix *ni-* for the first person singular and is a verb form in the present tense of the indicative mode. Literally it means "I walk", but is used conventionally as the equivalent of the Spanish infinitive for citing verbs in Nahuatl.

The same thing happens with Otomi, where *tana-* is a prefix which indicates first person singular present indicative; with Zapotec, where the prefix *ti* indicates the habitual aspect and the enclitic *=ya* indicates first person singular; and with Mixtec, where the proclitic *yo=* indicates present tense and the enclitic *=ndi* indicates first person singular.

The use of the first person singular as a citation form for verbs is not the only model followed, however. In Tarascan, for example, where there is a form similar to the Spanish infinitive marked by a suffix *-ni*, Gilberti employs it as the citation form for verbs.

infinitive used as citation form for verbs
Gilberti (1559, Tarascan): Caminar. xangara÷ni.

A third possibility is illustrated by Lagunas' Tarascan dictionary, which uses verb roots as citation forms.

root used as citation for for verbs
Lagunas (1573, Tarascan): Thava (the entry for this root is reproduced above)

4.5.2 *Inflectional prefixes.* Several of the languages included in the dictionaries studied here utilize inflectional prefixes. These cause difficulties for the lexicographer since they make the identification of the base to which the prefixes are added somewhat difficult. Some authors, like Molina and Urbano, indicate the presence of inflectional prefixes by separating the prefixes from the stem by means of a comma, as in the following examples.

Molina 1555: Caminar. ni,nenemi.
Urbano 1605: Caminar. ni,nenemi = Tana,yó. tana,pâ. tana,neyu. Pl. hoe.

Here it can be seen that Nahuatl *ni,nenemi* "caminar" has an inflectional prefix *ni-*, thereby permitting the identification of the verbal stem *nenemi* ("to walk"). Urbano uses the same convention in his Otomi dictionary, as can be seen in the entry *tana,yó*, where the inflectional prefix *tana-* is separated from the verbal stem *yó*. Other authors, like Córdova and Alvarado, offer no such help.

[66] I have added a plus sign (+) after prefixes and proclitics and a division sign (÷) before suffixes and enclitics to facilitate the interpretation of the internal structure of the forms registered by Córdova and Alvarado.

4.5.3 *Principle parts and inflectional information.* In many languages the correct inflection of a word cannot be predicted on the basis of a single form alone, but rather requires additional information of some sort. Traditionally, in the case of Latin, this fact was recognized by proportioning not only a single citation form, but also other forms of a word, sometimes called principal parts, with the intention of providing all the information necessary in order to produce its entire paradigm. For example, in the entry *canis* ("dog") as cited above from Nebrija and repeated here, the ending *is* is given in order to indicate that the genitive of *canis* is also *canis*.

Forms of the genitive of nouns given in Nebrija (1492)
Canis. is. por el can o perro

Some of the colonial lexicographers utilized similar techniques in order to provide additional inflectional information in their entries. For example, the formation of the preterite verb form is not transparently predictable in Nahuatl. For this reason, Molina (1571), in the Nahuatl-Spanish section of his dictionary, systematically provides the preterite forms of the verbs given, as in the following entry for the verb *miqui* ("to die").

Miqui. ni. morir. prete. onimic.

The stem *miqui* is given, followed by the prefix *ni-*, which must be added to the verb in order to produce the citation form, *nimiqui* ("I die"). Next comes the gloss, *morir* ("to die"), and finally, after the abbreviation *prete* for *pretérito*, comes the preterite form of the verb, *onimic*, literally, *morí*, with the antecessive proclitic *o-*, the first person singular subject prefix, *ni-*, and the truncated form of the stem, *mic*, which is used in the preterite.

In other cases, abbreviated forms like those used by Nebrija to indicate Latin inflectional information are given. For example, Córdova indicates the completive of some irregular verbs by giving the initial part of the inflected verbs as in the following example of the verb *robar* ("to steal").

Robar como quiera vide hurtar. Ti+bàana÷ya, co+láa[na÷ya].

Here he gives the form *tibàanaya*, which contains the habitual prefix *ti-* and the first person singular enclitic *=ya*, both added to the stem *bàana*. He then provides information on the completive form of the verb. He does not give the entire form but rather just the prefix *co-* and the first part of the verb stem, which shows a change in the initial consonant from *b* to *l*. In this way the reader can reconstruct the complete form of the completive as *co+láana÷ya* ("I stole"). In a similar way, Urbano (1605) indicates the plural form of the three

verbs which are listed in the entry for *caminar* ("to walk") by giving the plural enclitic *=hoe* after giving the singular forms.

> Plural suffix in Urbano (1605)
> Caminar. ni,nenemi = Tana,yó. tana,pâ. tana,neyu. Pl. hoe.

Obviously the correct interpretation of this type of information presupposes that the user is familiar with the conventions used in the dictionaries. Such conventions are carefully explained in the introductions to the dictionaries published by Molina and Córdova but are generally lacking in the others.

4.6 *Quality*

The last topic which I would like to address is that of the quality of the dictionaries under examination. Generally speaking, these works reflect a notable degree of skill in the lexical description of the languages being recorded. The size of the nomenclature and the number of distinct vocables registered generally exceed the size of modern dictionaries of the corresponding languages. They demonstrate a keen awareness of the meanings of terms which do not correspond to Spanish in any direct way. They register information about figurative uses of the languages. But they also have limitations which should be recognized. In some cases they make distinctions which are more appropriate in the models used than in the languages being described. They can contain neologisms whose status in the language being described, or in Spanish, is questionable. And in some cases the forms given could be literal translations or calques of Spanish and not necessarily legitimate forms of the language being described.

4.6.1 *Coverage.* The raw size of the colonial dictionaries suggests that the coverage of the lexicon is quite extensive. For example, compare Córdova's (1578) Zapotec dictionary, with around 28,000 entries, 7,700 vocables and 51,000 equivalences, with Pickett & Embrey's (1965) useful, but much briefer, modern Isthmus Zapotec dictionary, with around 2,620 entries, 2,130 vocables and 3,600 equivalences (Smith Stark 1998:10).

The semantic coverage in the colonial dictionaries can also be much more profound. For example, Pickett & Embrey have the entry

> za la manteca; la nube [the lard; the cloud]

In contrast, from the distinct occurrences of this same term in Córdova (1578), it is possible to reconstruct the following equivalences simply for the meaning of *manteca* ("lard"):

> zàa, záa, zaa. 'aceite, barniz, crisma, lardo, manteca, miera, olio, saín, sebo, unción' [oil, varnish, chrism, pork lard, fat, juniper oil, olive oil, animal fat, tallow, unction]

Córdova's vocabulary has also been recognized for its coverage of certain semantic fields. Specifically, Marcus & Flannery (1978:51) have called Córdova a "pioneer ethnobiologist" for the large number of names of plants and animals that he includes in his vocabulary: 608 names of plants, mushrooms and animals according to Hunn (1998). In contrast, the Stubblefields (1991), in their dictionary of Mitla Zapotec in the central valley of Oaxaca, only have 584 names. Facts such as these suggest that in some cases colonial lexicographers achieved a coverage as good as or better than that obtained in modern studies.

4.6.2 *Semantic analysis.* The colonial dictionaries also did a good job of describing semantic categories different from those familiar to Europeans. Consider, for example, the description of the Maya word *han* mentioned above (Ciudad Real, fol. 177v; cf. Arzápalo 1995, vol. 1, p. 299). The extension of this term receives a quite detailed description, though no attempt at an intensional meaning is essayed. It refers to a mother's brother or the husband of a mother's sister; a man's father-in-law and a man's father-in-law's brother, the son-in-law of a man or a woman, and the son of a wife's brother. A modern Yucatec Maya dictionary (Bricker *et al.* 1998) simply lists this term as *há§an* ("son-in-law"), suggesting that in this case at least either the semantic coverage is less complete than that of Ciudad Real or else the semantic differences between Spanish and Maya have been ironed out over the last 400 years.

4.6.3 *Figurative uses.* The vocabularies quite frequently include information about figurative uses of the languages. For example, Montes de Oca (2004) has identified nearly 100 examples of diphrastic expressions explicitly identified in Molina's Nahuatl dictionary (1571). The following example is from the entry for *guerra* ("war") in the first edition of that dictionary.

> Molina (1555): Guerra. yaoyotl. necaliliztli. tlayuecoliztli. &p[er].
> meta[phoram] mitl chimalli. atl. tlachinolli. [ve]l teuatl.
> tlachinolli.
> mitl chimalli, lit. arrow, shield
> atl tlachinolli, lit. water, burned thing
> teuatl. tlachinolli, lit. divine water, burned thing

Three diphrastic expressions are listed and identified as metaphorical references to warfare: *mitl chimalli* (literally "arrow", "shield"); *atl tlachinolli* (literally "water", "burned thing"); and *teuatl tlachinolli* (literally "divine water", "burned thing"). This practice is also found in other dictionaries. For

example, Córdova identifies a metaphorical expression for “adultery”, which literally means something like boneburning.

> Córdova (1578): Adulterio Quela-hue+zaqui-chita. Es como methaphora. [lit. boneburning (cf. Smith Stark 1997)]

The anonymous Tarascan dictionary likewise registers an entry for “to gird oneself strongly, or to make a great effort” and gives an equivalent in that language which is said to be a metaphorical expression; literally it means something like ‘to then cause myself to tie it to myself strongly”.[67]

> Anon. Tarascan
> Ceñirse fuertemente, o esforçarse fuertemente. Vyngam hopataquarenstani. Per metaphoram. [lit. “to then cause myself to tie it to myself strongly”]

Notice that metaphorical usage is explicitly noted with Latin expressions like *methaphora* and *per metaphoram* in the metalanguage of these lexicographers.

4.6.4 *Loanwords.* Some of the vocabularies recognize the presence of loanwords from Spanish in the Indian languages. These are generally indicated with annotations like *idem*, Latin for “the same”, or *lo mesmo* (“the same”), as in the following examples.

> a. Anon. Tarascan
> Ceuada. Lo mesmo.
> Cidros. Idem.
>
> b. Alvarado (1593)
> crucifixo. idem.
>
> c. Córdova (1578)
> Sombrero. lo mesmo. [ve]l. Làti pallàa. tiyòo quìqueni, làti lòho quìque|ni, xilòho quìqueni.
> Marta animal conocido. Idem. Vide etiam Mona. si vale.

Notice that Córdova also recognizes the possibility of using native Zapotec expressions as alternatives to the use of a loanword in the case of *sombrero* (“hat”).

Thanks to studies such as Karttunen & Lockhart’s examination of civil documents in Nahuatl (1976), we know that loanwords frequently were written in ways which reflected the phonological adaptations that they underwent as a result of the articulatory habits of the speakers of the languages receiving them. However, in the dictionaries reviewed here the loanwords are generally recorded in their standard orthographic form.

---

[67] I am grateful to Cristina Monzón for her help in the interpretation of this example.

4.6.5 *Neologisms.* In order to be able to talk about the new ideas, institutions and other things brought to New Spain from Europe, many dictionaries contain *neologisms*, newly coined expressions or novel uses of traditional expressions in the indigenous languages. In some cases they are the result of *subreption*, the extension of the meaning of a traditional word or expression to new referents with similar functions. For example, Córdova (1578) registers the traditional word for pitch pine, *quiti* and its variants, which was also applied to torches made of pitch pine. He records this term for candles as well, like torches also used for casting light and the result of the introduction of the European art of candle-making to America. In other cases, a preexisting expression was used in a novel way which cannot be considered as functionally equivalent. For example, Córdova contains an entry for "mezquita de Mahoma" ("mosque of Mohammed"), *Líchi pezèláo* (literally "home of the devil"). This seems to be a novel meaning for a traditional term used to refer to the home (*lìchi*) of the lord of the underworld, *Pezèelào*.

Another solution for naming newly introduced concepts was simply to coin new expression, such as in the case of the equivalences that Córdova gives for *Abad* ("abbot").

> Abad prelado de monjes. Pixòce coquì còpa-pitòo, coquìche-pea, cocòo-pea, conàapea ni-tàca-lào÷ni.
> [=father lord.of.lineage keeper-god, he.who.rules-measure, he.who.puts-measure, he.who.sees-measure that which.becomes-face÷3]

Four expressions are given, with meanings like "father governor of the priests", "ruler", "governor", "the one who is first". The first of these expressions was probably novel since it involves what seems to be a calque from Nahuatl, *còpa-pitòo* ("priest", literally "keeper of god", Smith Stark 2002:140). In any event, all these expressions may be considered *neologisms* of one type or another since they refer to a social category introduced by the Spaniards. It is often difficult to be sure whether such expressions were previously existing terms or new creations, and in the latter case, whether they were created artificially for the vocabularies or were already in spontaneous use among speakers of the Indian languages. For example, the term for axe is given by Córdova as *Quiba-yàga* (lit. metal-wood). Kaufman (2002) reconstructs this term in Proto-Zapotec as **ki:7kwa yaka* but it seems unlikely that metal axes were used before the arrival of the Spaniards. Perhaps this was a newly coined expression which was translated into the different forms of Zapotec to such an

extent that it now looks like a valid cognate set.[68] Attestations of such forms in very early colonial documents could help resolve this issue in some cases. Likewise, when modern reflexes of the forms found in colonial dictionaries are attested, we know that they were not just artificial creations of the lexicographers but actually did become incorporated into the spoken language. For example, Ciudad Real recorded *tzimin* for the horse, an animal introduced by the Spaniards (fol. 119r). This term was the result of an extension of the traditional Maya word for *tapir*.[69] A reflex is still found as *c/ íimin* ("horse") in modern forms of Maya (Bricker *et al.* 1998), thus providing clear evidence that it was really incorporated into the language.

Neologisms are also found in the Spanish of the dictionaries. For example, Molina warns (1555, first notice) that

> EN este vocabulario se ponen algunos romances, que en nuestro Castellano no quadran, ni se vsan mucho: y esto se haze por dar a ente[n]der mejor la propiedad dela lengua de los indios, y assi dezimos. Abaxador aunque no se vsa en nuestro romance: por declarar loque quiere dezir esta palabra. tlatemouiani, la qual en buen romance quiere dezir, el que abaxa algo.
>
> [In this vocabulary there are some words which do not sound right in Spanish, nor are they much used: and this is done so as to better illustrate properties of the Indian tongue, and so we say. *Abaxador* 'lowerer' even though it is not used in our Spanish: in order to express what the word *tlatemouiani* means, which in good Spanish means 'he who lowers something'.]

As a result of this practice, one cannot even be certain of the naturalness of the vocabulary used as head words in Spanish.

4.6.6 *Calques.* Those who have elicited data in another language know that there is always a danger that the form elicited might be a calque, that is, a literal translation of the form elicited and not a natural expression in the language under study. In some cases, it is possible that the forms in an indigenous language given in colonial dictionaries were literal translations and not naturally occurring equivalences. For example, in Urbano's Otomi vocabulary, many of the Otomi expressions are literal translations of the corresponding Nahuatl forms in this trilingual dictionary. Such is the case with the word for *mar* ("sea").

> Urbano (1605): Mar generalmente. uey-a÷tl. ylhuica a÷tl ◂ an-ta-dehe. an-tehmahettzi.

---

[68] Cf. Hockett's (1948:127-128) warning about the dangers of the *Wörter-und-Sachen* technique based on Bloomfield's reconstruction of Proto-Algonquian words for 'gun' and 'whisky'.

[69] Probably via a markedness reversal of the type discussed by Witkowski & Brown (1983).

Nahuatl: uey 'big', a÷tl 'water-abs', ylhuica 'heaven, sky'
Otomi: an 'article', ta 'big', dehe 'water', teh, reduced form of *dehe* (?), mahettzi 'heaven, sky'

In Nahuatl, the word for "sea", *ueyatl*, literally means "great water", whereas the alternative form *ylhuica atl*, literally means "sky water". The two forms for "sea" given in Otomi apparently have the same literal meanings: *an-ta-dehe* seems to mean "big water" and *anteh- mahettzi* could be "sky water". That is to say, the two forms in Otomi are directly parallel to the two forms in Nahuatl. It is hard to know if they are legitimate Otomi forms or the result of someone giving artificially constructed forms in Otomi which were simply literal translations of the Nahuatl. Bartholomew (2000:189) notes that Urbano in-cludes a large number of literal translations of Nahuatl expressions which are not currently used in Otomi. She has also noted that when there are several Otomi expressions for a Spanish word, the first ones tend to be calques which are then followed by the more natural Otomi forms (personal communication, 2007). However, there are also examples of legitimate Otomi forms which are literal equivalents of corresponding Nahuatl terms, such as *ciento pies* ("centipede") which Urbano gives as *petla-çol-coua÷tl* (lit. "straw.mat-oldsnake ÷absolutive") in Nahuatl and *no+xiphi-cqueyã* (lit. "article+old.straw. mat-snake") in Otomi. The latter form is still found in modern Otomi as *xifik'eñä* (Hekking & Guerrero 2007).

4.6.7 *Lexical residue from other dictionaries.* The final phenomenon which I would like to mention with respect to the quality of the New Spain dictionaries has to do with what could be called *lexical residue*, a consequence of the influence of the sources of the dictionaries on their lists of entries. In principle, the entries in a bilingual dictionary should reflect the lexical distinctions which are relevant in the language being documented. For example, Nebrija, in his Spanish-Latin dictionary, has seven entries for *buscar* ("to look for"). These seven entries are justified because they correspond to seven different Latin verbs which can be translated as *buscar*: *inquiro*, *conquiro*, *perquiro*, *disquiro, exquiro*, *indago* and *exploro*.

Nebrija (1516)
buscar como quiera quaero -is. Inquiro -is
buscar juntamente conquiro -is
buscar hasta el cabo perquiro -is
buscar por diversas partes disquiro -is
buscar con diligencia exquiro -is
buscar por el rastro investigo -as. Indago -as
buscar a tiento exploro -as -avi

Molina (1555), on the other hand, has 11 entries for *buscar*, including some verbs formed via the incorporation of body parts as instruments.

Molina (1555)
Buscar generalmente. nitla,temoa.
Buscar haziendo ynquisicion. nite,tlatemolia.
Buscar algo tentando conlos pies. nitla,icxitemoa. nitla,icxitotoca.
Buscar atiento con la mano. nitla,matemoa. nitla,matoca.
Buscar mirando al derredor. nitla,ixtemoa. nitla,ixtotoca.
Buscar por rastro. nitlacxitotoca.
Buscar de raiz la verdad. nitla,neluayotoca. ynelhuayocan naci.
Buscar y hallar assi de raiz la verdad. ynelhuayocan onacic.
Buscar a alguno o alguna cosa en todas partes o lugares. tlanauac niquiça. tlanauac nitlateca.
Buscar con dilige[n]cia. nitla,nematcatemoa. nitla,acicatemoa. nitlamauiztemoa.
Buscar atiento piojo o pulga a otro. nite,atencoconauia.

For example, *buscar atiento con la mano* ("to look for by feeling with the hand") is formed from the verb *temoa* or *totoca* ("to look for"), but with the incorporation of the noun *mai-tl* ("hand"). Given that Nahuatl permits body part incorporation with ease, it is not clear whether this entry is a lexeme which would have been included spontaneously or if its presence is due to the entry *buscar a tiento* ("to look for by feeling") in Nebrija's dictionary.

In the case of Zapotec, Córdova repeats many of the same entries found in Molina.

Córdova (1578)
Buscar generalmente. Ti+quil le÷a, coti, to+yóbi÷a.
Buscar atentando con los pies. Ti+quil le-nija÷ya, co, ti-gána-nija÷ya, cotána.
Buscar a tiento co[n] la mano. Ti+quille-ñaa÷ya, ti+gána-ñaa÷ya, cotà.
Buscar haziendo inquisicion. Ti+cóo-nijaya, col, tiquil leaticha, coti.
Buscar mirando al derredor o de aca para alla. Ticànaquil lea. co. toyóbia, tána. [ve]l. tiñaacapija.
Buscar a alguien preguntando, vide preguntar. Tinñapaya. co. te[n]nàpaya.
Buscar escaruando como la gallina. Tonnijtaya, tonnijtèa.
Buscar por rastro. Zatil leanéza, zatil lexinézani.
Buscar de rayz la verdad. Ticòonijaya, tiquillelijaquitalijticha.
Buscar a alguno en todas partes. Ticanazáaquil lea, toyòbia, tiquil lea quitóbiláte.
Buscar con diligencia. Tiquillenaqueñea, tiquil lequillaquilla.
Buscar lo perdido. Toyòbia, tiquillea, cot. [ve]l. tequil lea.

For example, Nebrija's *buscar por diversas partes* ("to look for in different places"), which Molina transformed into *Buscar a alguno o alguna cosa en todas partes o lugares* ("to look for someone or something everywhere or everyplace"), appears as *Buscar a alguno en todas partes* ("to look for someone everywhere"). One of the equivalences given is actually a phrase

consisting of *ti+quille÷a* (“I look for”) plus *quitóbiláte* (“everywhere”). That is, it is a syntactic expression which does not necessarily deserve its own dictionary entry. It would seem to be a case of lexical residue derived from the influence of Nebrija and Molina on Córdova’s dictionary. Córdova’s entry *Buscar atentando con los pies*, formed with the same verb *ti+quille÷a*, but with the noun *nija* (“foot”) incorporated in place of *ñaa* (“hand”), appears in Molina as *Buscar algo tentando conlos pies*, though not in Nebrija. In this case, the presence of the entry in Córdova would seem to be a case of Nahuatl lexical residue or, at least, of Molina’s influence.

5. ***Conclusion***

In this paper I have tried to provide an overall view of the lexicography practiced in early New Spain. From its roots in the Middle Ages, two primary lexicographic styles were developed, that of Nebrija and that of Calepino. Approximately 23 bilingual or multilingual dictionaries survive from those produced between 1492 and 1611, bearing witness to the impressive accomplishments of the lexicographers of the time in terms of the extent of their work and the ways in which they resolved various formal problems in the construction of a dictionary. Osselton (1983:13) has observed that “lexicographers are by nature cautious men, more given to copying than to starting afresh”. Likewise, Landau (1989:35) notes that “The history of English lexicography usually consists of a recital of successive and often successful acts of piracy. ... The early history of English lexicography is little more than a record of judicious or flagrant copying from one’s predecessors”. As is to be expected, then, there are clear indications of influences among the different authors studied here. Nonetheless, the art of constructing dictionaries in New Spain in the 16th and early 17th centuries shows such a remarkable degree of creativity, originality and achievement that, when considered together with the art of grammar writing carried out simultaneously, this period should in all fairness be recognized as marking the birth of descriptive linguistics.

REFERENCES

A. ***Primary sources***

Adelung, Johann Christoph & Johann Severin Vater. 1970[1806 (vol. 1), 1809 (vol. 2), 1812 (vol. 3, 1a parte), 1815 (vol. 3, 2a parte), 1816 (vol. 3, 3a parte), 1817 (vol. 4)]. *Mithridates oder allgemeine Sprachenkunde mit dem Vater Unser als Sprachprobe in bey nahe fünfhundert Sprachen und Mundarten*. Vossischen Buchhandlung, Berlin. Reprinted: Hildesheim & New York: Georg Olms.

Alcalá, Pedro de. 1505. *Vocabulista arábigo en letra castellana*. Granada: Juan Varela.

[Alonso, Juan]. s. XVI. Vocabulario en lengua castellana y [guate]malteca que se llama Cak chequel chi. Ms. Garrett 226 in the Firestone Library, Princeton University (16th century). Ms. Cortés 120 in the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. There is a photographic copy of the latter from the Gates Collection in the Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago, with the title *Calepino grande, castellano y quiché* (The last two have some interpolated pages taken from ms. 7 of the Manuscrits Americains collection of the BNF.) Mss. 7 (probably from the 17th century) and 14 of the Manuscrits Americains collection of the French National Library in Paris. The second is a late incomplete copy with some variants. There are photographic copies from the Gates Collection of ms. 7 in box 39, 7-11, of the Harold B. Lee Library at Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, and of ms. 14 in box 43, 3, of that same library. Acuña 1983 believes that a third copy by Gates which is also found there in box 39, 2-6, could be a copy of Garrett 226. He also claims that this vocabulary was almost entirely incorporated into that of Thomas de Coto. Cf. Acuña (1983) on the family of manuscripts which are related to this important vocabulary. Smailus 1989 seems to be an edition of this document. E. Hernández (2007) notes that a vocabulary with the same title is in the Lilly Library at the University of Indiana, Bloomington and that it appears to be a translation of the head words in Molina 1571.

Aluarado, Francisco de. 1962[1593]. *Vocabulario en lengva misteca*. Mexico: Pedro Balli. Facsimile edition: Wigberto Jiménez Moreno: *Fray Francisco de Alvarado, Vocabulario en lengua mixteca.* Facsimile reproduction with an introductory study by Wigberto Jiménez Moreno and an appendix with a vocabulary taken from the *Arte en lengua mixteca* by Fray Antonio de los Reyes. México: Instituto Nacional Indigenista & Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, S.E.P. Electronic version: Maarten E.R.G.N. Jansen & Gabina Aurora Pérez Jiménez. *El vocabulario del dzaha dzahui (mixteco antiguo)[;] hecho por los padres de la Orden de Predicadores y acabado por fray Francisco de Alvarado (1593)*. Edición analítica. Leiden, 2003.

Anonymous. 1513. *Quinque linguarum utilissimus vocab. latine, tusche, gallice, hyspane & alemanice*. Venetiis: Melchorem Sessam.

Anonymous. c.1545 (?). Dictionarium ex hispaniensi in latinum sermonem interprete Aelio Antonio Neprissensi. Lege foeliciter. Ms. in the Newberry Library, Chicago. Cf. Clayton (1989), Téllez (2004).

Anonymous. 1587. [*Glosas otomíes*]. Annotations of the Otomi equivalences of the entries handwritten in the copy of Molina 1571 which once belonged to the Mexican Emperor Maximilian. According to Ulrich Köhler (personal communication, 12.III.2007), the original was bought by Gustav Brühl of Cincinnati in Paris in 1887, who then sent it to Eduard Seler in 1904. Seler had a copy made of the Spanish entries and corresponding Otomi glosses, which Prof. Köhler acquired more than 30 years ago in Germany. The original dictionary was included in the catalog of Seler's books published shortly before his death in 1922, but its present location is unknown.

Anonymous. *Vocabulario de mayathan*. See Heath de Zapata (1978).

Anonymous. post 1555. [*Glosas otomíes*]. Marginal notes with the Otomi equivalences of the spanish entries written by hand in the copy of Molina (1555) in

the National Anthropology Museum library in Mexico City. Mentioned by Acuña (1990). Cf. Acuña "Introducción" (1990:xxxii-xli).

Anonymous. post 1559. [*Glosas otomíes*]. Marginal notes with the Otomi equivalences in the speech of a colony of miners in Tzintzuntzan, written by hand in the copy of Gilberti 1559 in the New York Public Library. Mentioned by Bartholomew (1991:2697).

Anonymous. 1991[end of the 16th century (?)]. [Diccionario grande de la lengua de Michoacan]. Ms. in the Latin American Library, Tulane University. There is a partial copy in the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University. Benedict Warren, ed. Morelia, Michoacán: Fimax Publicistas.

Anonymous. 1988[end of 16th or beginning of 17th century]. [El diccionario grande de tzotzil]. Ms. which disappeared during the Mexican Revolution. There is a copy made in 1907 in the Garrett Collection of Princeton University. Facsimile, printed edition, English inversion, Spanish inversion and thesaurus published by Robert M. Laughlin & John B. Haviland, eds. *The Great Tzotzil Dictionary of Santo Domingo Zinacantán[;] With grammatical analysis and historical commentary*. 3 vols. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Ansileubus. 1926–1931[end of the 8th century]. Liber glossarum Ansileubi (= Glossarium Ansileubi). Ms. included in vol. 1 of W. M. Lindsay, J. F. Mountford & J. Whatmough, eds., *Glossaria latina*, 5 vols., Paris, 1926–1931. Reprint Hildesheim & New York: Georg Olms, 1965.

Ara, Domingo de. 1986[1616; before 1572]. *Bocabvlario* de lengva tzeldal segun el orden de Copanabastla. Manuscript in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. It is a copy made of Ara's original by Alonso de Guzmán in 1616. Edición facsimilar: Mario Humberto Ruz, ed. México, D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. *Vocabulario de la lengua española y tzeldal*. Ms. en la Biblioteca Van Pelt, Universidad de Pennsylvania.

Araoz, Francisco de. 1778. Vocabulario mexicano. Ms. in the Latin American Library, Tulane University. A photographic copy of this manuscript by Gates is in the Newberry Library, Chicago.

Arenas, Pedro de. 1982[1611]. *Vocabvlario manval de las lengvas castellana, y mexicana*. México: Henrico Martinez. Ascensión H[ernández] de León-Portilla, ed. México, D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Balbi, Joannes Januensis. 1286. *Catholicon*. Ms. First printed by Gutenberg in Mainz, 1460. At least 24 editions were published between the *princeps* and that of Lyons in 1520. Vineis (1994, p. 320) mentions a reedition in 1971, but does not say where.

Busa, Gabrielus. 1987[1507]. *Vocabularius Aelii Antonii Nebrissensis[;] adaptación de lexicon al catalán*. Barchinone: Per Karolum Amorosis. Germán Colón & Amadeu-J. Soberanas, eds. *Elio Antonio de Nebrija & Gabriel Busa, Diccionario latín-catalán y catalán-latín (Barcelona, Carles Amorós, 1507)*. Barcelona: Puvill Libros.

Calepino, Ambrogio. 1502. *Calepinus. Ad Librum. Mos est putidus: & nouus repertus: Ingens materia ut que at uideri: Præclarus[que] liber: bunusq[ue] totus: versus addere nominis probati: Mentitis titulis: tubore nullo: Obscuriq[ue] uiri: rudisq[ue] uatis: Auctor sic quasi tunc: bonusq[ue] fiat. Nullis mobile ueritas: fidesq[ue] est. Iis demptis liber exeas aperta In uulgus facie: fauore nullo: Et graiis*

galeatus: & latinis Nam: credas: alii magis: q[ue] ipse Quærent auxilium: petas ab illis. Sed si flatus olet: proba: legasque. Reggio nell'Emilia: Donnino Bertocchi.

Casas, Cristóbal de las. 1570. *Vocabulario de las dos lenguas toscana y castellana. En que se contiene la declaración de Toscano en Castellano, y de Castellano en Toscano, en dos Partes*. Sevilla: En la Casa de Alonso.

Castro, Andrés de. 1557. [*Glosas matlatzincas*]. Marginal notes with the Matlatzinca equivalences written by hand in the copy of Molina 1555 in the Museum of the American Indian library in New York City. Mentioned by Bartholomew (1991:2697; 1992:17-18). An edition of this material was being prepared by Roberto Escalante when he died in 2000; the project was later taken over by Yolanda Lastra.

Ciudad Real, Antonio de. 1985[end of the 16th century]. [*Calepino maya de Motul*]. Ms. In the John Carter Brown University. Rene Acuña, ed. México, D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Ciudad Real, Antonio de. 1995[end of the 16th century]. [*Calepino maya de Motul*]. Ramón Arzápalo Marín, María Isabel López Rosas, Patricia Martel Díaz-Cortés, Carlos Strassburger Frías & Alejandro Villanueva González, eds. México, D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Cordoua, Iuan de. 1886[1578]. *Arte en lengva zapoteca*, compuesto por el muy reverendo padre ... Mexico: Casa de Pedro Balli. Nicolás León, ed. Morelia: Imprenta del Gobierno en la Escuela de Artes.

Cordoua, Iuan de. 1942[1578]. *Vocabvlario en lengva çapoteca*. Mexico: Pedro Charte & Antonio Ricardo. Wigberto Jiménez Moreno, ed. 1942. *Juan de Córdova, Vocabulario castellanozapoteco*. México, D.F.: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, S. E. P. Reprint: México, D.F. Ediciones Toledo, 1987.

Cordoua, Iuan de. 1993[1578] *Vocabvlario en lengva çapoteca*. Mexico: Pedro Charte & Antonio Ricardo. Thomas C. Smith Stark, coordinator, with the collaboration of Sergio Bogard & Ausencia López Cruz. Electronic version México, D.F.: El Colegio de México.

Cordoua, Pedro de. 1945[1544]. *Dotrina xp[ist]iana p[ar]a instrucion [&] informacio[n] delos indios: por manera de hystoria.* Mexico: en casa de Juan Cromberger. E. Rodríguez Demorizi, ed. *Pedro de Córdoba, Doctrina cristiana para instrucción e información de los indios, por manera de historia[;] IV Centenario de la Doctrina cristiana del P. Córdova 1544–1944*. Ciudad Trujillo, Rep. Dominicana: Editora Montalvo.

Covarrubias Orozco, Sebastián de. 1984[1611]. *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*. Madrid. Reedition: Madrid: Turner.

Gilberti [=Gylberti], Maturino. 1987[1558]. *Arte de la le[n]gua de Michuaca[n]*. [Mexico]: Iuan Pablos. J. Benedict Warren, ed. Morelia, Michoacán: Fimax Publicistas.

Gilberti, Maturino. 1989[1559]. *Vocabulario en lengua de Mechuacan*. *Vocabulario en la lengua castellana y mechuacana*. Mexico: Iuan Pablos Bressano. Benedict J. Warren, ed. Morelia, Michoacán: Fimas Publicistas. Other edition Agustín Jacinto Zavala, Clotilde Martínez & J. Benedict Warren, eds. 1997. Zamora, Michoacán-México, D.F.: El Colegio de Michoacán, Zamora / Fideicomiso Teixidor.

González de Nájera (?), Gaspar. by 1582 (?). Bocabulario de Mayathan por su abecedario. Ms. in the National Library, Vienna, Austria. Facsimile published by Acuña (1993). Bolles (2003) suggests that the author might have been Nájera, who was active in the 1580's and who was alive at least until 1603. The surviving manuscript of the dictionary is believed by him to be from the 1730's.

Hervás [y Panduro], Lorenzo. 1778–1787. *Idea dell'universo: che contiene la storia della vita dell'uomo, elementi cosmografici, viaggio estatico al mondo planetario, e storia della terra, e delle lingue*. 21 vols. Cesana: Gregorio Biasini all'Insegna de Pallade.

Hugutio da Pisa. c.1160. *Magnae derivationes*. Ms. Some extracts were published in C. Riessner, *Die Magnae derivationes des Uguccione da Pisa und ihre Bedeutung für die romanische Philologie*, Roma, 1965.193-233 *passim*. Cf. the review by Giulio Schizzerotto in *Studi medievali*, 3a s., 8.219-233, who is preparing a critical edition according to Vineis (1994:253).

Lagunas, Iuan Baptista [Bravo] de. 1983[1574]. *Arte y dictionario: con otras obras, en lengua michuacana*. Mexico: Pedro Balli. Warren, J. Benedict, ed. Morelia, Michoacán: Fimax Publicistas.

Lizana, fray Bernardo de. 1995[1633]. *Historia de Yucatán, devocionario de Nuestra Señora de Iz[a]mal, y Conquista espiritual*. Gerónimo Morillo, Madrid. Reedition: René Acuña: Bernardo de Lizana, *Devocionario de Nuestra Señora de Izamal*. México, D.F.: Universdiad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Mendieta, Jerónimo de, Pedro Oroz & Francisco Suárez. 1947[1585]. *Relacion de ladescripcion de la prouincia del sancto Euangelio que es en las Indias occidentales, que llaman la Nueua España*. Manuscrito en la biblioteca del Archivo de la Torre do Tombo, Lisboa. Fidel de J. Chauvet, ed. *Relación de la descripción de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio que es en las Indias Occidentales que llaman La Nueva España* (= *"Anales" de la Provincia Franciscana del Santo Evangelio de México*, año 4, no. 2). México: Imprenta Mexicana de Juan Aguilar Reyes.

Molina, Alonso de. 2001[1555]. *Aquí comiença vn vocabulario en la lengua castellana y mexicana*. Manuel Galeote, ed. Málaga: Universidad de Málaga.

Molina, Alonso de. 1970[1571]. *Vocabvlario en lengva castellana y mexicana* & *Vocabvlario en lengva mexicana y castellana*. México: Antonio de Spinosa. Miguel León-Portilla, ed. México: Porrúa (second edition 1977).

Molina, Alonso de. 2001[1571]. *Vocabvlario en lengva castellana y mexicana* & *Vocabvlario en lengva mexicana y castellana*. México: Antonio de Spinosa. Esther Hernández, ed. Madrid: Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional.

Morán, Pedro & Dionisio de Zúñiga. 1991[…]. *Arte breve y vocabularios de la lengua po3om[;] basado en los manuscritos de fray Pedro Morán y fray Dionisio de Zúñiga*. René Acuña, ed. México, D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Nágera Yanguas, Diego de. 1637. *Doctrina y enseñança en la lengua maçahua de cosas muy utiles y provechosas para los Ministros de Doctrina y para los naturales que hablan la lengua maçahua*. Mexico: Juan Ruyz.

Nebrissensi, Aelio Antonio. 1979[1492]. *Lexicon ex sermone latino in hispaniensem*. Salamanca. 2nd edition corrected and enlarged by the author: Burgos, 1512. 3rd

edition, corrected, Arnao Guillén de Brocar, Alcalá de Henares, 1520. Germán Colón & Amadeu-J. Soberanas, eds. *Diccionario latino-español*. Barcelona: Puvill.

Nebrissensi, Aelio Antonio. 1973[c.1495]. *Dictionarium ex hispaniensi in latinum sermonem*. Salamanca. 2nd edition corrected and enlarged by the author: Fadrique de Basilea, Burgos, 1512. 3rd edition, corrected, Arnao Guillén de Brocar, Alcalá de Henares, 1520. Critical edition of the 1516 printing Gerald J. MacDonald, ed. *Antonio de Nebrija, Vocabulario de romance en latín[;] transcripción crítica de la edición revisada por el autor (Sevilla, 1516) con una introducción*. Madrid: Editorial Castalia.

Nebrissensis Aelio Antonio. 1511 (?). *Vocabularius Nebrissensis. Lexicon i. dictionarium nuperrime ex hispaniense in gallicum traductum eloquium: cum quamplurimis additionibus a papa & hugone excerptis*. Lyon: Simon Vincent.

Olmos, Andrés de. 1985[1547]. *Arte de la lengua mexicana y vocabulario*. René Acuña & Thelma Sullivan, eds. México, D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Olmos, Andrés de. 1985[1547]. [*Todos los v[er]bos o casi todos los que ay en la lengua*]. Ms. in the Latin American Library of Tulane University. René Acuña & Thelma D. Sullivan, eds. México, D.F.: Universidad Autónoma de México. Recent discussions of the possible authorship of this text are found in Smith Stark (2004), Hernández (2005), and Dakin (2007).

Palencia, Alfonso [Fernández] de. 1967[1490]. *Uniuersal vocabulario en latin y en romance*. Sevilla. Samuel Gili Gaya, ed. *Alfonso de Palencia, Universal vocabulario en latín y en romance*, 2 vols. Madrid: Comisión Permanente de la Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española.

Palet, Ioan. 1604. *Diccionario muy copioso de la lengua española y francesa*. Paris: Matthieu Guillemot au Palais.

Papias *Vocabulista*. 1053. Elementarium doctrine rudimentum. Ms. B. Mombricius printed the first edition (Mediolani [Milano]: Domenico da Vespolate, 1476). Other incomplete editions were printed in Venice in 1485, 1491 and 1496 (Philippum de pincis Mantuanum). Bottega d'Erasmo reedited the 1496 edition, with section 21, *pecus - placidus*, taken from the original edition as an appendix (Torino, 1966). Violetta de Angelis is preparing a critical edition (de Angelis 1977–1980).

Percivale, R. 1599. *A dictionary in Spanish and English*. London: E. Bollifant.

Real Academia Española. 1979[1726–1739]. *Diccionario de la lengua castellana, en que se explica el verdadero sentido de las voces, su naturaleza y calidad, con las phrases o modos de hablar, los proverbios o refranes, y otras cosas convenientes al uso de la lengua*. 6 tomes (t. 1, A-B, 1726; t. 2, C, 1729; t. 3, D-F, 1732; t. 4, G-N, 1734; t. 5, O-R, 1737; t. 6, S-Z, 1739). Madrid: Imprenta de Francisco del Hierro (tt. 1-2) & Imprenta de la Real Academia Española por la viuda de Francisco del Hierro (tt. 3-6). Facsimile edition: *Diccionario de autoridades*, 3 vols. Madrid: Gredos.

Reyes, Antonio de los. 1593. *Arte en lengva mixteca*. Mexico: Pedro Balli.

Rincón, Antonio del. 1595. *Arte mexicana*. Mexico: Pedro Balli.

Scobar, Christophorus. 1519. *Vocabularium Nebrissense ex siciliensi sermone in latinum L. Christophoro Scobare Bethico interprete traductum*. Venetiis.

Scobar, Christophorus. 1520. *Vocabularium ex latino sermone in siciliensem et hispaniensem denuo traductum*. Adiunctis insuper L. Christophori Scobaris viri eruditissimi reconditissimis additionibus. Venetiis.

Solana (?), Alonso de (la). 1580 (?). [*Diccionario de Motul II*]. Ms. in the John Carter Brown Library, Brown University (204 folios), and another, more complete version in the Library of the Hispanic Society of America (115 folios), New York. Cf. Thompson (1962); Acuña (1995:227-230); Bolles (2003).

Solana (?), Alonso de (la). 1580 (?). [*Diccionario de San Francisco*]. Ms. in the Latin American Library of Tulane University, of which there is a photographic copy in the Newberry Library, Chicago. This is a handwritten copy, with rearrangements and other changes, made by Juan Pio Pérez in the 1850's or early 1860's, of an older manuscript now lost. Facsimile published by Michelon 1976. Bolles (2003) notes that the Spanish-Maya portion seems to be the same as the Solana dictionary. Since the Solana dictionary apparently had a Maya-Spanish counterpart (Bolles 2003), it seems reasonable to suppose that the Maya-Spanish part of this manuscript might correspond to the lost Maya-Spanish part of the *San Francisco*.

Terreros y Pando, P. Esteban. 1786–1788. *Diccionario castellano con las voces de ciencias y artes y sus correspondientes en las tres lenguas francesa, latina é italiana*. 3 vols. (1, A-F, 1786; 2, G-O, 1787; 3, P-Z, 1788). Madrid: La Imprenta de la Viuda de Ibarra, Hijos y Compañía.

Urbano, Alonso. 1990[1605]. [*Arte breve de la lengua otomí y vocabulario trilingüe*]. René Acuña, ed. México D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, México.

Urbano, Alonso. 1990[1605]. [*Vocabulario trilingüe español-náhuatl-otomí*]. Ms. en la Biblioteca Nacional de París. Facsimile edition. René Acuña, ed. 1990. México, D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. Provisional electronic version: Thomas C. Smith Stark, coordinator, with the collaboration of Heriberto Avelino & Mari Paz Covarrubias. México, D.F.: El Colegio de México, 2000.

Vico, Domingo de. 1997[c.1555]. *Vocabulario de la lengua cakchiquel con advertencia de los vocablos de las lenguas quiché y tzutuhil se traslado de la obra compuesta por el Il[ustrísi]mo Padre, el venerable Fr[ay]. Domingo de Vico*. The original is lost. A ms. copy with modifications, possibly from the late 17th century, is in the French National Library, Fond Americain 46. Cf. Cristina Bredt-Kriszat, Ursula Holl, Karin Pläschke, Ortwin Smailus & Anja Stiehler, eds. Hamburg: Ms., Department of Precolombian Languages and Cultures, University of Hamburg.

Zúñiga Marroquín, Dionisio de (?). 1931[c.1608]. [*Maremagno pocomchí*]. Ms. in the Museum Library, University of Pennsylvania. There are copies of this manuscript in the Peabody Museum Library and in Tulane's Latin American Library. William Gates, ed., 1931, *Zúñiga, Diccionario Pokonchí*. Typescript with a transcription, with some translation into English and commentary, of the Poqomchi' to Spanish portion of Zúñiga c.1608. (Ms). Cf. Miles (1957:735-736), Carmack (1973:120-121), Acuña (1978, 1979, 1991). Acuña prefers a date of c.1614.

B. ***Secondary sources***

Aarsleff, Hans, Robert Austerlitz, Dell Hymes & Edward Stankiewicz, *et al*., eds. 1975. *Historiography of linguistics*. 2 vols. The Hague & Paris: Mouton.

Abellán Giral, Concepción. 1991. *Studies in the Humanism of Antonius Nebrissensis: His biography and his grammatical theory*. Doctoral thesis, University of London.

Acuña, René. 1978. "Two Pocom dictionaries: a critical discussion". *Latin American Indian Literatures* 2:2.90-103.

Acuña, René. 1979. "Dos diccionarios de la lengua Pocom: una discusión crítica". *Estudios de cultura maya* 12:241-256.

Acuña, René, ed. 1984. See Ciudad Real (primary sources).

Acuña, René, ed. 1985. See Olmos (1574) (primary sources).

Acuña, René, editor. 1990. See Urbano (1605) (primary sources).

Acuña, René. 1990. "Introducción". Acuña, ed., 1990.xix-lxx.

Acuña, René. 1991. See Morán & Zúñiga (primary sources).

Acuña, René. 1995. Cf. Lizana (1633) (primary sources).

Ajpacajá Tum, Pedro Florentino. 2001. *K'ichee' choltziij*. Guatemala: Cholsamaj.

Angelis, Violetta de, ed. 1977-1980. *Papiae Elementarium*. Testi e Documenti per lo Studio dell'Antichità, 58, 1-3. Milano: Cisalpino Goliardica, Milano. [1: A-Aequus; 2: Aequus-Anniferme; 3: Anni-Azoni.]

Ariza, M[anuel], R[afael] Cano, José María Mendoza & A[ntonio] Narbona, eds. 1992. *Actas del II Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Lengua Española*. Madrid: Pabellón de España.

Barriga Villanueva, Rebeca & Pedro Martín Butragueño, eds. 1997. *Varia lingüística y literaria [;] 50 años del CELL.* México, D.F.: El Colegio de México.

Bartholomew, Doris. 1991. "Lexicography of the Languages of the Mesoamerican Indians". Hausmann, *et al*., eds. 1991:3.2697-2700.

Bartholomew, Doris. 2000. "Intercambio lingüístico entre otomí y náhuatl". *Estudios de cultura otopame* 2:2.189-201.

Bartholomew, Doris A. & Louise C. Schoenhals. 1983. *Bilingual Dictionaries for Indigenous Languages*. México, D.F.: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Bertini, F. 1981. "La tradizione lessicografica latina fra tardo antico e alto medioevo". Simonetti, *et al*., eds. 1981:1.397-409.

Bolles, David. 2003. "The Mayan Franciscan Vocabularies: A preliminary survey". FAMSI grantee report. Online at:
http:// www.famsi.org/ reports/ 96072/index.html. Consulted 30.VIII.2007.

Bredt-Kriszat, Cristina & Ursula Holl. 1997. "Descripción del *Vocabulario de la lengua cakchiquel* de fray Domingo de Vico". Zimmermann, ed., 1997.175-192.

Bricker, Victoria R., Eleuterio Po'ot Yah & Ofelia Dzul de Po'ot, with a botanical index by Anne S. Bradburn. 1998. *A Dictionary of the Maya Language as Spoken in Hocaba', Yucatán*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Bursill-Hall, G. L. 1975. "The Middle Ages". Aarsleff, *et al*., eds. 1.179-230.

Campbell, R. Joe. 1985. *A Morphological Dictionary of Classical Nahuatl[;] A morpheme index to the* Vocabulario en lengua mexicana y castellana *of Fray Alonso de Molina*. Madison: The Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies.

Campbell, R. Joe & Mary L. Clayton. 1988. “Bernardino de Sahagun’s Contributions to the Lexicon of Classical Nahuatl”. Klor de Alva, Nicholson & Quiñones Keber, eds. 1988.295-314.

Cannon, Garland. 1990. *The Life and Mind of Oriental Jones: Sir William Jones, the father of modern linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Carmack, Robert M. 1973. *Quichean Civilization. The ethnohistoric, ethnographic, and archaeological sources*. Berkeley, etc.: University of California Press.

Castro, Américo. 1936. *Glosarios latino-españoles de la Edad Media*. *Revista de filología española*, anejo 22. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos.

Clayton, Mary L. 1989. “A Trilingual Spanish-Latin-Nahuatl Manuscript Dictionary Sometimes Attributed to Fray Bernardino de Sahagún”. *International Journal of American linguistics* 55:4.391-416.

Corominas, Joan. 1954. *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana*. A. Francke AG., Berna, Suiza. 1st edition, 1955–1957. 3rd printing, 1976. 4 vols. Madrid: Gredos.

Corominas, Joan & José A. Pascual. 1980–1991. *Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico*. 6 vols. Madrid: Gredos.

Cremascoli, G. 1968. “Uguccione da Pisa: saggio bibliografico”. *Aevum* 42.123-168.

Cremascoli, G. 1969. “Ricerche sul lessicografo Papia”. *Aevum* 43.31-55.

Cruz, Víctor de la & Marcus Winter, eds. 2002. *La religión de los binnigula’sa’*. Oaxaca: Instituto Estatal de Educación Pública de Oaxaca / el Instituto Oaxaqueño de las Culturas.

Dakin, Karen. 2007. “La organización de los verbos en el *Vocabulario* del Ms. del *Arte* de Olmos en la Universidad de Tulane”. Paper presented at the V International Conference on Missionary Linguistics, Mérida, Yucatán, México.

Esparza Torres, Miguel Ángel & Hans-Josef Niederehe. 1999. *Bibliografía nebrisense[;] las obras completas del humanista Antonio de Nebrija desde 1481 hasta nuestro días*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Finkel, Raphael, William Hutton, Patrick Rourke, Ross Scaife & Elizabeth Vandiver. 2007. “The Suda On Line (www.stoa.org/sol/)”. http:// www.stoa.org/ sol/ about.shtml (Last changed May 30, 2007). Consulted 21.XI.2008.

Ford, Richard I. ed. 1978. *The Nature and Status of Ethnobotany*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan.

García Icazbalceta, Joaquín. 1954[1886]. *Bibliografía mexicana del siglo XVI[;] catálogo razonado de libros impresos en México de 1539 a 1600. Con biografías de autores y otras ilustraciones[;] precedido de una noticia acerca de la introducción de la imprenta en México*. Agustín Millares Carlo, ed. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Gili Gaya, Samuel. 1947. *Tesoro lexicográfico 1492-1726)*. Tomo primero A-G. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.

Gili Gaya, Samuel, ed. 1967. *Alfonso de Palencia, Universal vocabulario en latín y en romance*, 2 vols. Madrid: Comisión Permanente de la Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española.

Goetz, Georgius. 1888–1923. *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*. 7 vols. Leipzig: Teubner.

Gómez Aguilar, Rafael, Manuel Cruz Aguilar, Pablo Gómez Jiménez & Guillermo Rodríguez López. 2001. *Sle'ulab'il b'a stojolil k'umal tojol-ab'al*. Tuxtla Gutiérrez, Chiapas: Gobierno del Estado. [monolingual dictionary in Tojolabal.]

Guzmán Betancourt, Ignacio ed. 1996. *Estudios de filología y lingüística náhuatl 1995–1996.* (= monographic issue of the *Revista latina de pensamiento y lenguaje*, vol. 2, no. 2B). Guadalajara, Jalisco: Sociedad Iberoamericana de Pensamiento y Lenguaje.

Hartmann, R.R.K. ed. 1983. *Lexicography: Principles and practice* London, etc.: Academic Press.

Hausmann, Franz Josef, Oskar Reichmann, Herbert Ernst Wiegand & Ladislav Zgusta, eds. 1989–1991. *Wörterbücher/ Dictionaries/Dictionnaires: ein internatio-nales Handbuch zur Lexikographie*. *An International Encyclopedia of Lexico-graphy. Encyclopédie internationale de lexicographie.* Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Heath de Zapata, Dorothy Andrews. 1978. *Vocabulario de mayathan*. Coordinado con el Diccionario de Motul. Introduction by José Díaz-Bolio, Área Maya/Mayan Area, n. p.

Hekking, Ewald & Alonso Guerrero. 2007. "Préstamos del náhuatl en el otomí del vocabulario trilingüe de fray Alonso Urbano". Paper presented at the V International Conference on Missionary Linguistics, Mérida, Yucatán, México.

Hernández de León-Portilla, Ascensión. 1996. "Hernando de Ribas, intérprete de dos mundos". Guzmán Betancourt, ed. 1996:2.477-493.

Hernández [Hernández], Esther. 2005. "En torno al diccionario americano más antiguo: el Vocabulario de verbos nahuas de fray Andrés de Olmos (1547)". Varios editores, con un prólogo de César Hernández Alonso. *Filología y Lingüística. Estudios ofrecidos a Antonio Quilis*, 1779–1795. Madrid: Consejo Superio de Investigaciones Científicas/ UNED/ Universidad de Valladolid.

Hernández [Hernández], Esther. 2007. "Originalidad léxica en los vocabularios hispanomayas del siglo XVI". (this volume).

Hockett, Charles F. 1948. "Implications of Bloomfield's Algonquian Studies". *Language* 24:1.117-131.

Josserand, Kathryn & Karen Dakin, eds. 1988. *Smoke and Mist[;] Mesoamerican studies in memory of Thelma D. Sullivan*. Oxford: B. A. R.

Karttunen, Frances. 1988. "The Roots of Sixteenth-century Mesoamerican Lexicography". Josserand & Dakin, eds., 1988:2.545-559.

Karttunen, Frances & James Lockhart. 1976. *Nahuatl in the Middle Years[;] Language contact phenomena in texts of the colonial period*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press.

Kaufman, Terrence. 2002. "Proto-Zapotec(an) Reconstructions". Unpublished manu-script.

Kishimoto, Emi. 2005. "The Adaptation of the European Polyglot Dictionary of Calepino in Japan. *Dictionarium latino lusitanicum, ac iaponicum* (1595)". Zwartjes & Altman, eds. 2005.205-223.

Klor de Alva, J. Jorge, H. B. Nicholson & Eloise Quiñones Keber, eds. 1988. *The Work of Bernardino de Sahagun[;] Pioneer ethnographer of Sixteenth-Century*

Aztec Mexico. State University of New York, Albany: (distributed by the) University of Texas Press.
Labarre, Albert. 1975. *Bibliographie du Dictionarium d'Ambrogio Calepino (1502–1779)*. Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner.
Landau, Sidney I. 1989. *Dictionaries[;] The art and craft of lexicography*. Cambridge, etc.: Cambridge University Press. (first edition, 1984, Charles Scribner's Sons.)
Lara, Luis Fernando. 1984. "El diccionario, instrumento de la etnicidad". Lara, ed. 1990.39-50.
Lara, Luis Fernando. 1990. *Dimensiones de la lexicografía[;] a propósito del Diccionario del español de México*. México, D.F.: El Colegio de México.
Lepschy, Giulio, ed. 1994. *History of Linguistics. Classical and Medieval linguistics*. London & New York: Longman. [Originally published in 1990 in Italian by Società editrice il Mulino.]
Lope Blanch, Juan M. 1990a. *Estudios de historia lingüística hispánica*. Madrid: Arco Libros.
Lope Blanch, Juan M. 1990b. "La lingüística española del Siglo de Oro". Lope Blanch 1990a.5-50.
Lope Blanch, Juan M. 1990c. "El *Vocabulario de las dos lenguas toscana y castellana* de Cristóbal de las Casas". Lope Blanch 1990a.111-124.
Lynge, Kr[istoffer]. 1938–1939. *Kalâtdlit oKalugtuait oKalualâvilo*. 3 vols. Nûngme, Greenland. (Reprint: Det Grønlandske Forlag, 1957).
Marcus, Joyce & Kent V. Flannery. 1978. "Ethnoscience of the Sixteenth-century Valley Zapotec". Ford, ed. 1978.51-80.
Mengin, Ernst, editor. 1972. *Bocabulario de mayathan[;] das Wörterbuch der yukatekischen Mayasprache[;] vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe des Codex vindobonensis S.N. 3833 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*. Bibliotheca lingüística americana, 1. Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt.
Miles, S. W. 1957. "The Sixteenth-Century Pokom-Maya. A documentary analysis of social structure and archaeological setting". *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 47:4.733-781.
Montejo López, Bernabé, Rubén López López, Jorge Guzmán Gutiérrez, Enrique Jiménez Jiménez & Ernesto Martínez López. 2001. *Säkläji'b ty'añ ch'ol*. Tuxtla Gutiérrez, Chiapas: Gobierno del Estado [monolingual dictionary in Chol.]
Montes de Oca, Mercedes. 2004. "Metáforas que aparecen en la parte náhuatl de Molina 1571". Unpublished paper.
Morales Gómez, Alejandra & Adriana Hernández Hernández. 2001. *Otekøme'-tscutsyame*. Tuxtla Gutiérrez, Chiapas: Gobierno del Estado [monolingual dictionary in Zoque.]
Murray, J. A. H., Henry Bradley, W. A. Craigie & C. T. Onions, eds. 1961[1884–1933]. *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Reedited as *The Oxford English Dictionary, being a corrected reissue with an introduction, supplement and bibliography of A new English dictionary on historical principles*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Niederehe, Hans-Josef. 1984. "Das 'Universal Vocabulario' des Alfonso Fernández de Palencia (1490) und seine Quelle". *Historiographia linguistica* 11:1/2.39-54.

Nieto Jiménez, Lidio. 1992. “El «Nuevo tesoro lexicográfico español (1490–1726)»”. Ariza, *et al.* eds. 1992.1268-1275. Online (2007): http:// www.cervantesvirtual.com/FichaObra.html?Ref=19855.

Osselton, N. E. 1983. “On the History of Dictionaries[;] The history of English-language dictionaries”. Hartmann, ed. 1983.13-22.

Pacheco Cruz, Santiago. 1969. *Hahil tzolbichunil t’an Mayab o Verdadero diccionario de la lengua maya*. México: Mérida, Yucatán (no publisher mentioned)

Pickett, Velma B. & Virginia Embrey, compilers. 1965. *Vocabulario zapoteco del Istmo: Castellano-zapoteco y zapoteco-castellano*. México, D.F.: Instituto Lingüístico del Verano.

Real Academia Española. 1999. *Ortografía de la lengua española*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe.

Real Academia Española. 2001. *Nuevo tesoro lexicográfico de la lengua española*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe.

Rossi, Giuseppe Carlo. 1964. “La lengua española en Italia: ayer, hoy y mañana”. En *Presente y futuro de la lengua española[;] actas de la asamblea de Filología del I Congreso de Instituciones Hispánicas*. 1.371-381. Madrid: Oficina Internacional de Información y Observación del Español (OFINES), Ediciones Cultura Hispánica.

Sandys, John Edwin. 1921. *A History of Classical Scholarship*. Vol. 1, *From the Sixth Century B. C. to the end of the Middle Ages*. Third edition. Cambridge: University Press.

Seler, Eduard. 1921 (?). *Americana[;] eine Sammlung von Werken über Amerika speziell Mexiko und von daselbst gedruckten Büchern*. Leipzig: G. Fock.

Sempat Assadourian, Carlos. 1988. “Memoriales de fray Gerónimo de Mendieta”. *Historia mexicana* 37:3.357-422.

Shaw, Jean Florence. 1997. *Contributions to a study of the printed dictionary in France before 1539*. Ph. D. thesis, University of Toronto. On-line: http://www.chass.utoronto.ca/edicta/shaw/frame.htm

Simonetti, Manlio, Giuseppina Simonetti Abbolito & Alessandro Fo, eds. 1981. *La cultura in Italia fra tardo antico e alto medioevo*. 2 vols. Roma: Herder.

Smailus, Ortwin. 1989. *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y guatemalteca que se llama Cakchiquel Chi. Análisis gramatical y lexicológico del cakchiquel colonial según un antiguo diccionario anónimo*. 3 vols. Hamburg: Wayasbah.

Smith Stark, Thomas C. 1993. “La influencia del náhuatl en el *Vocabvlario en lengva çapoteca* de Juan de Córdova”. Paper presented at the II Congreso Nacional de Lingüística, El Colegio de México, México, D. F.

Smith Stark, Thomas C. 1998[1993]. “Juan de Córdova as a lexicographer”. Paper presented at the 92nd meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Washington, D. C. A Spanish version was published as “Juan de Córdova como lexicógrafo”, translated by Víctor de la Cruz, in *Guchachi’ reza[;] Iguana rajada* (Oaxaca) 58.2-13.

Smith Stark, Thomas C. 1997. “‘Ratero’ y ‘quemarle la canilla’: ¿dos calcos zapotecos?”. Barriga Villanueva & Butragueño, eds. 1997:1.471-479.

Smith Stark, Thomas C. 2000. “La gramática descriptiva en la Nueva España: 1521–1645”. Paper presented at the symposium “Los gramáticos de Dios: las raíces de la lingüística descriptiva en la Nueva España”. México, D.F.: El Colegio de México.

Smith Stark, Thomas C. 2002a. “Dioses, sacerdotes y sacrificio: una mirada a la religión zapoteca a través del *Vocabvlario en lengva çapoteca* (1578) de Juan de Córdova”. Cruz & Winter, eds. 2002.89-195.

Smith Stark, Thomas C. 2002b. “La aportación de los diccionarios bilingües de la Nueva España a la lexicografía del español”. Paper presented at the III Coloquio de Historiografía de la Lingüística Hispánica. México, D.F.: El Colegio de México.

Smith-Stark, Thomas C. 2005. “Phonological description in New Spain”. Zwartjes & Altman, eds. 2005.3-64.

Smith Stark, Thomas C. In press. “La trilogía catequística: artes, vocabularios y doctrinas en la Nueva España como instrumentos de una política lingüística de normalización”. Paper to be published in Rebeca Barriga Villanueva & Pedro Martín Butragueño, coordinators, *Historia sociolingüística de México*.

Téllez Nieto, Heréndira. 2004. Acercamiento filológico al Vocabulario trilingüe, atribuido a fray Bernardino de Sahagún. Undergraduate thesis. México, D.F.: Universidad nacional Autónoma de México.

Thompson, J. Eric S. 1962. “El misterio del diccionario maya de Solana”. *Estudios de cultura maya* 2.11-15.

Vineis, Edoardo. 1994. “Linguistics and Grammar”. Edoardo Vineis & Alfonso Maierù, eds. 1994.136-272.

Vineis, Edoardo & Alfonso Maierù. 1994. “Medieval linguistics”. Lepschy, ed. 1994:2.134-315.

Warren, J. Benedict, ed. 1991. *Diccionario grande de la lengua de Michoacan[;] por autor o autores desconocidos*. Introduction, paleography and notes by the editor. 2 vols. Morelia, Michoacán: Fimax Publicistas.

Wikipedia collaborators. 2007. “Jacopo Facciolati”. On-line: http:// en.wikipedia.org/ wiki/Jacopo_Facciolati. *Wikipedia. The Free encyclopedia*. Consulted 30.VIII.2007.

Wikipedia collaborators. 2007. “Egidio Forcellini”. On-line: http:// en.wikipedia.org/ w/index.php?title= Egidio_Forcellini&oldid= 152748935. *Wikipedia. The Free encyclopedia*. Consulted 30.VIII.2007.

Witkowski, Stanley R. & Cecil H. Brown. 1983. “Marking-reversals and Cultural Importance”. *Language* 59:3.564-582.

Zapata Guzmán, Alfredo, Roberto Sántiz Gómez, Felipa Pérez López, Diego Torres Sánchez & Juan Mendoza Ruiz. 2001. *Swejteseji’bal k’op yu’un tseltal*. Tuxtla Gutiérrez, Chiapas: Gobierno del Estado. [monolingual Tzeltal dictionary]

Zimmermann, Klaus, ed. 1997. *La descripción de las lenguas amerindias en la época colonial*. Frankfurt am Main & Madrid: Vervuert & Iberoamericana.

Zwartjes, Otto & Cristina Altman, eds. 2005. *Missionary linguistics II / Lingüística misionera II. Orthography and phonology. Selected papers from the Second International Conference on Missionary Linguistics, São Paulo, 10-13 March 2004*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

LAS APORTACIONES DEL *CALEPINO DE MOTUL* Y SU TRÁNSITO POR LA LEXICOGRAFÍA COMPUTACIONAL

RAMÓN ARZÁPALO MARÍN
Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México

ABSTRACT

The manuscript known as the Calepino of Motul is attributed to Friar Antonio from Ciudad Real (1573–1617). The manuscript's denomination derives from frequent references made to the town of Motul, in Yucatan, Mexico, where the author wrote the manuscript. The document consists of 466 folios *recto* and *verso*, which means that it contains nearly a thousand pages, the subject of our present research. This exposition covers three parts which on the whole go from the sixteenth to the twenty–first centuries, and research areas of a theoretical nature such as the application of intercultural fields and ethnic development. In his monumental work Ciudad Real presents 15,975 lexical entries with 19,259 words and a total of 87,155 tokens, where these words appear. During the first part of our paper we emphasize the characteristics of the computerized edition that includes the systematization of Maya orthography and modernization of Spanish, an index of Maya terms and their localization, the inverse index, and a grammatical, semantic and pragmatic classification of lexical entries. We also indicate the scientific classification of fauna and flora terms, in addition to the Spanish translations lacking in the original document, along with other analyses. In the second part of the paper we display a few analyses undertaken on the basis of semantic categories employed in their classification. Finally, we propose some research lines applicable to an intercultural field and the development of the Maya people.

1. *Acerca del origen y autoría del Calepino de Motul*

Antonio de Ciudad Real llegó a América en 1573 y falleció en 1617. Es autor de varias obras en lengua maya de Yucatán, aunque su obra lexicográfica más importante es el *Gran Diccionario o Calepino,* del cual se elaboraron dos copias (Tozzer 1977:170). Una de estas copias, según nos reporta Nicolás Antonio (1672), pasó a la biblioteca del Duque del Infantado, en España; la otra copia se nos dice, permaneció en Yucatán. A mediados del siglo XIX el

abate Charles Étienne Brasseur de Bourbourg (1814–1874) compra el manuscrito de Motul, en la ciudad de México y poco tiempo después es vendido en los Estados Unidos a John Carter Brown, de la ciudad de Providence, Rhode Island. La referida obra, de incalculable valor histórico, lingüístico y cultural, se conserva actualmente en la biblioteca John Carter Brown.

Resulta de especial interés el estudio de la historia de dos mundos que se encuentran; más aún, cuando es a través del léxico y del contacto de dos lenguas que reflejan fielmente el contacto de grupos humanos que comparten experiencias de asombro, fascinación y de mutuo conocimiento. De inimaginables consecuencias históricas sería la incalculable emoción al encontrarse en el Golfo de Honduras por primera vez mayas y europeos, aunque también seguirían penosas etapas de lucha, de poder y dominio, por la superioridad tecnológica y militar de aquellos que tienen por Dios "… lo que en su lengua llaman *Vamonché*, [sic] que quiere decir *palo enhiesto de gran virtud contra los demonios*." (Landa 1973:20). La cruz como significante de dos conceptos distintos, insertos en culturas diferentes coincide en un momento histórico decisivo por el carácter simbiótico que se le asigna. Tozzer nos expresa esta ambigüedad con base en los textos proféticos[1] y Arzápalo añade otra interpretación acorde a una forma sinonímica del Ritual de los Bacabes.[2] Fenómenos de carácter intercultural de esta naturaleza siguen permeando los códigos de comunicación entre los mayas y con los mayas de Yucatán.

Esta comunicación sin embargo, iría mano a mano con las ansias de poder, relación que se observa a todo lo largo del desarrollo lingüístico tanto del español como del maya, en especial en el ámbito léxico. Son los misioneros de la cristiandad los más preocupados en registrar los signos orales empleados por los originarios de estas tierras de manera escrita, para poder difundir el evangelio vertiginosa y eficazmente.

La primera edición de esta obra de Ciudad Real es realizada por el eminente mayista yucateco don Juan Martínez Hernández en 1929, quien recibió soporte moral y significativo financiamiento del entonces gobernador

[1] This is used in the Prophecies to mean "tree of our life." The Franciscans apply the term [*uahom che*] to the Christian cross… (Tozzer 1966[1941]:43, nota 215).

[2] En el Folio 33 se cita un interesante paralelismo entre el *acante* y el *acantun*: *tu pach Acantun* // *Acante.* // Y en el Folio No. 88 encontramos *Hun ten Acantun // Acante //* Fue una sola vez en el *Acantun*, "Piedra parlante" // en el *Acante*, "Madero parlante" Probablemente se trata del paralelismo "estela de piedra, estela de madera" vs. "cruz de piedra, cruz de madera". La aso-ciación hecha con el carácter parlante nos la proporciona la etimología del maya en el primer caso y los recursos mnemónicos de la pasión de Cristo en la Cruz, en el segundo caso (Arzápalo 1985:291, 333).

socialista de Yucatán, don Felipe Carrillo Puerto (Martínez Hernández 1929). El resultado sin embargo, no satisfizo las expectativas de los especialistas de la época; errores, omisiones diversas, así como lecturas e interpretaciones incorrectas fueron señalados por William Gates (1932) y Mengin (1960). En 1984, Acuña publica una edición facsimilar del manuscrito, en dos volúmenes, con el título de *Calepino Maya de Motul* (Acuña 1984).

Además del magno Calepino de Ciudad Real, podemos reportar algunas obras de gran importancia histórica del siglo XVI, una es el *Vocabulario muy copioso en lengua Española e Maya de Yucatan,* 1580, de Alonso de Solana y la otra es el *Diccionario de la lengua Maya*, 1571, de Luis de Villalpando (Tozzer 1977:169).

La obra que nos ocupa consta de 466 folios *recto* y *verso*, es decir, de casi un millar de páginas. Son 15,975 las entradas léxicas contenidas en esta monumental obra, con 19,259 palabras y un total de 87,155 ocurrencias o veces que aparecen estas palabras. La sección español-maya no fue considerada relevante para su edición en este estudio.

En la primera fase de nuestro análisis comenzamos con la paleografía del documento para poder manejar adecuadamente los vocablos mayas; esta tarea se logró a través de la sistematización de la ortografía y la puntuación. El español fue modernizado en la edición final, el latín fue corregido en numerosos casos y hemos ofrecido la traducción paralela al español, ya que el autor se cuidó de no proporcionar traducciones al castellano de expresiones impropias del lenguaje de los misioneros.

La gigantesca y a la vez paciente labor del insigne lexicógrafo misionero Antonio de Ciudad Real habría de continuarse casi cinco siglos después, con la incorporación de métodos lexicográficos acordes con el actual proceso de globalización en el que nos encontramos inmersos. Y así como el ilustre y dedicado fraile recogió estos materiales lingüísticos con tanto fervor, nosotros a su vez nos hemos dedicado también a la tarea de reorganizar la información que, con el auxilio de las computadoras de nuestro tiempo nos proporcionan nuevas perspectivas de trabajo para el avance del estudio del lenguaje. Sobre las aplicaciones de estos estudios enfocaremos nuestra atención en la última parte de la exposición. Para comprender con mayor claridad la heurística seguida en el análisis de este valioso manuscrito veamos de cerca una hoja facsimilar antes de realizar la paleografía y aplicar los programas computacionales. Observemos entonces el Folio 377v del citado Calepino (lámina 1).

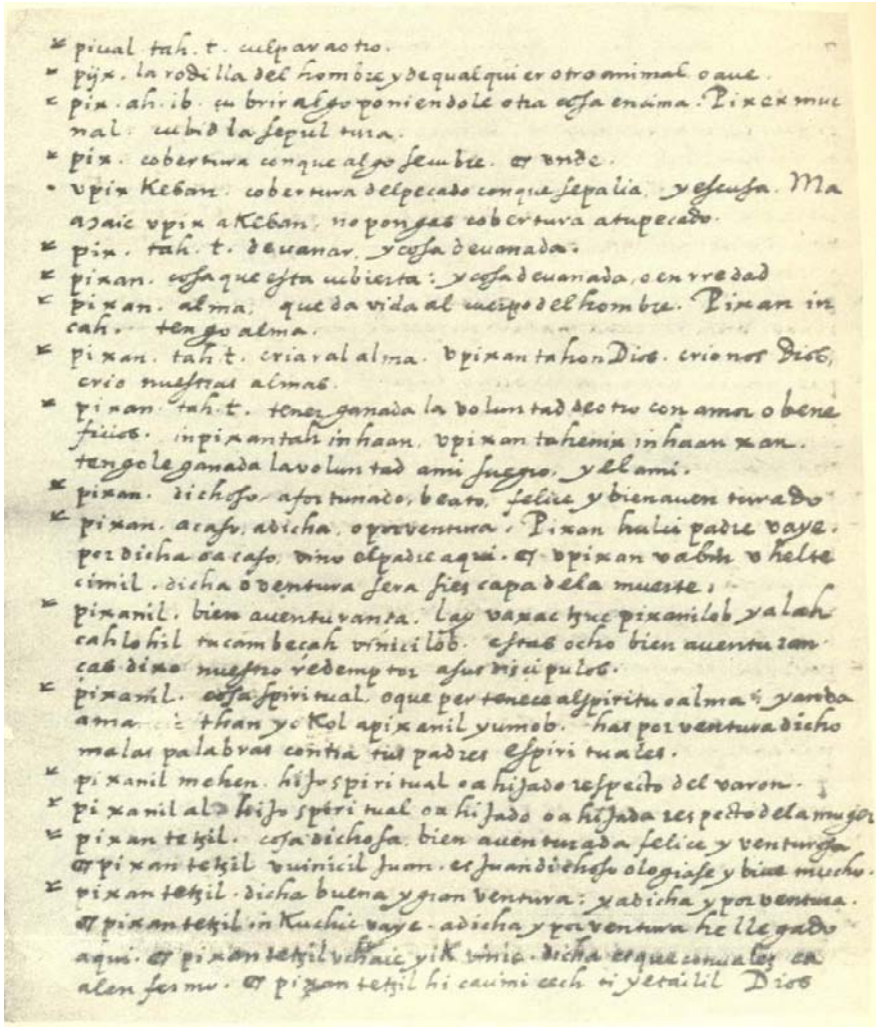

pixal tah. t. culpar a otro.
pÿx. la rodilla del hombre y de qualquier otro animal o aue.
pix. ah. ib. cubrir algo poniendole otra cosa encima. Pixcx mucnal cubrir la sepultura.
pix. cobertura con que algo se cubre. et unde.
vpix Kcban cobertura del pecado con que se palia. y escusa. Ma ayaic vpix aKcban, no pongas cobertura a tu pecado.
pix. tah. t. de uenar. y cosa de uenada.
pixan. cosa que esta cubierta: y cosa de uenada, o enuredad
pixan. alma, que da vida al cuerpo del hombre. Pixan in cah. tengo alma.
pixan. tah t. criar al alma. vpixan tahon Dios. crio nos Dios, crio nuestras almas.
pixan tah. t. tener ganada la uoluntad de otro con amor o beneficios. in pixantah in haan. vpixan tahemix in haan xan. tengo le ganada la uoluntad ami suegro, y el ami.
pixan. dichoso. afortunado, beato, felice y bienauenturado
pixan. acaso, adicha, o peruentura. Pixan hulci padre vaye. por dicha o acaso vino el padre aqui. et vpixan vabin o helte cimil. dicha o uentura sera si es capa de la muerte.
pixanil. bien auenturanza. Lay uaxac hunc pixanilob y alah cahlohil tu cambecah uinicilob. estas ocho bien auenturanzas dixo nuestro redemptor a sus discipulos.
pixanil. cosa spiritual. oque pertenece al spiritu o alma. y anda ama. ic thian yc Kol apixanil yumob. has por ventura dicho malas palabras contra tus padres espirituales.
pixanil mehen. hijo spiritual o ahijado respecto del varon.
pixanil al. hijo spiritual o hijado o hijada respecto de la muger.
pixan tetzil. cosa dichosa. bien auenturada felice y venturosa et pixan tetzil uinicil Juan. es Juan dichoso o logiase y bina mucho.
pixan tetzil. dicha buena y gran ventura: y adicha y por ventura. et pixan tetzil in Kuchic vaye. adicha y por ventura he llegado aqui. et pixan tetzil uchaic yik vinic. dicha es que como les en alen fe mio. et pixan tetzil hi cauimi cech ti yetzilil Dios

Lámina 1: *Folio 377v del Calepino de Motul*

2. *La edición del diccionario y su gran valor lexicográfico*

Martínez Hernández establece que el *Diccionario de Motul* es el mismo que el *Calepino* de Ciudad Real y hace referencia a Lizana (1893[1633]:99), en donde este misionero manifiesta:

> Antonio de Ciudad Real […] hizo Calepino tan grande, que son seis volúmenes de a doscientos pliegos cada uno, los dos de su letra sacados en limpios, y los borradores llenaua dos costales, ocupó 40 años en esta obra, mas es tan buena, y de tanto peso, y utilidad, que no tiene otro defeto que ser para esta tierra solamente que a correr esta lengua en todo el mundo solas estas obras bastauan para dar luz, y claridad a todos los que la aprendiessen, y allí hallasen quantas frasis, y propiedad se pueden imaginar, sin que aya falta de una palabra, etc. (Tozzer 1977:171)

Para la edición de este diccionario enfocamos la atención en la sección maya-español, no solamente por la abundante cantidad de entradas léxicas, sino por su gran riqueza en información cultural. Consideramos además que es de la autoría de Ciudad Real, mientras que la sección español-maya que acompaña al documento difiere notablemente del estilo, riqueza y precisión de la primera parte. La metodología que rige todo el proceso seguido, desde la paleografía de los materiales filológicos hasta su edición final, tuvo que conjuntarse armoniosamente con las exigencias de las técnicas computacionales para ofrecer como producto acabado un diccionario legible, inteligible para un público que fuera más allá del ámbito de los mayistas e hispanistas y que proporcionara además, clasificaciones y estadísticas de fácil acceso. El tercer tomo de la edición ofrece la paleografía del documento, lo que permite cotejar la sistematización de la ortografía del maya, la división de palabras y la adición de traducciones faltantes en el original (del latín o del maya), señaladas de manera clara.

Procedimos entonces a realizar todo el cúmulo de tareas diseñadas, de la siguiente manera:

- Una acuciosa transcripción paleográfica de los 466 folios, sistematizando la ortografía y deshaciendo abreviaturas, entre otras de las actividades. Al regular gradualmente los vocablos fuimos observando una asombrosa correspondencia con la estructura fonológica de la lengua.

- El mantenimiento del léxico y la sintaxis del español colonial, modernizando sin embargo la ortografía, para facilitar su lectura.

- La traducción de las expresiones latinas y corrección de las mismas, ya que no siempre estaban redactadas en la lengua de los clásicos; detrás de éstas se guardaba el pudor de los misioneros que evitaban pronunciar ciertas partes del cuerpo o acciones condenadas por la Iglesia.

- No todos los vocablos o expresiones vienen en el original acompañados de sus respectivas traducciones; nos impusimos por lo tanto, la tarea de

acompañar sistemáticamente todas las expresiones mayas de sus correspondientes glosas; éstas sin embargo, van marcadas con otro tipo de letra.

- Esta etapa inicial en la historia de la interculturalidad despertó el asombro e ingenio de Ciudad Real para observar e interpretar las diferencias culturales que él percibía a través del léxico y de las categorías gramaticales. Estos señalamientos nos dan la pauta para organizar el complejo corpus léxico en categorías gramaticales, semánticas y pragmáticas; éstas últimas dan cuenta en particular, de la rica información proporcionada acerca del uso del vocabulario por niños, mujeres, ancianos, gente vulgar o caciques, es decir, tenemos a disposición valiosa información sociolingüística y es la que tratamos de ordenar en la edición, con el auxilio de programas computacionales.

- Para hacer el Calepino accesible a un público más amplio, sobre todo fuera del ámbito mayista o mesoamericano ofrecemos la identificación de los elementos de fauna y flora ahí contenidos, acompañados de su nomenclatura científica.

- Se estableció un índice de vocablos de cada una de las tres lenguas empleadas en el manuscrito (maya, español y latín), con el respectivo señalamiento de su ubicación, especificando folio, entrada y renglón.

- Una innovación en lo que respecta a la edición de esta clase de diccionarios para lenguas amerindias fue la elaboración de un diccionario inverso; consiste éste en una secuencia de palabras ordenadas alfabéticamente, mas no de izquierda a derecha, sino de derecha a izquierda. Sus aplicaciones son múltiples, ya que constituyen no sólo una útil herramienta para fines de rima y estudios de poesía; resulta ser una base fundamental para el análisis de los glifos de la escritura maya.

- Por último, todos aquellos vocablos y expresiones que ofrecen contrapartes oscuras en español por cuestiones de la interculturalidad, han recibido especial atención a través de notas aclaratorias.

3. *Los primeros aportes lingüísticos a la interculturalidad; influencia mutua del español y del maya*

El maya de Yucatán, como muchas otras lenguas indoamericanas, habría de sufrir el fuerte impacto cultural e ideológico de los europeos que llegaron a América en busca de riquezas y poder. Bartolomé Colón (1437–1514), en el reporte del cuarto viaje de su hermano Cristóbal (1451–1506) nos señala clara y explícitamente cuáles eran sus objetivos. Al hacer contacto por primera vez con los mayas en agosto de 1502, encontramos de manera muy significativa la descripción que hace Alessandro Zorzi, de Venecia, al referirse a estos indoamericanos en términos elogiosos: “Seguitando piu oltre in fino a una terra…

in la quale habita gente de bona forte che vivono de industria et mercantia come si fa in la provincia la qual chiamon MAIA" (Arzápalo 1997:25). Y en la *Littera mandata della Jnsola de Cuba … de lanno MDXIX …* notamos la enorme importancia del oro, a través de su expresión léxica en este histórico escrito. Observamos así, la aparición gráfica del vocablo *takin*,[3] escrito *tuquin*, según la percepción auditiva del europeo (Arzápalo 1997:24-25).

Unos decenios más tarde comenzaría el proceso de colonización y adoctrinamiento y que vemos reflejado en el vocabulario. Comienzan a traducir los textos religiosos cristianos recurriendo a las contrapartes léxicas nativas; muy pronto habrían de darse cuenta los misioneros de que los significantes mayas estaban asociados frecuentemente con las ineludibles connotaciones ideológicas nativas y fueron evitadas. Fue debido a esta circunstancia que los préstamos hispanos fueron adoptados.

Además del magno Calepino de Ciudad Real, podemos reportar algunas obras de gran importancia histórica de fines del siglo XVI, una es la *Doctrina Cristiana en Idioma Yucateco ó Maya*, de Luis Villalpando (murió en 1552) y las otras son *Sermones de dominicos y Santos en lengua Maya*, así como *Noticias sagradas y profanas de las antigüedades y conversión de los Indios de Yucatan*, de Alonso de Solana (Tozzer 1977:197). Lamentablemente para la filología mesoamericana y la lingüística misionera, todas ellas están actualmente perdidas.

3.1 *Acerca del léxico religioso maya durante los siglos XVI y XVII*

A la vez que los europeos hacían esfuerzos para introducir el cristianismo con el auxilio de los recursos lingüísticos disponibles, los mayas, celosos guardianes de su cultura intangible seguían registrando sus oraciones, ensalmos y conjuros para el aniquilamiento de los malos espíritus de sus congéneres enfermos, por medio de la invocación de sus deidades, a quienes les imploraban favores con un lenguaje literario, esotérico y codificado. Numerosas menciones de estas divinidades y de sus respectivas advocaciones las encontramos en el *Ritual de los Bacabes* (Arzápalo 1987). Esta importante obra, representativa de la religión de los antiguos mayas se salvó afortunadamente de la furia y el castigo del Obispo Diego de Landa (1524–1579), producto de su fanatismo e intolerancia religiosa. Consideramos de particular importancia el hecho de encontrar un rico vocabulario recopilado por Ciudad Real y proveniente de muy diversos campos semánticos; sin embargo, en lo que respecta a los nombres de deidades y de actividades directamente relacionadas con la religión maya, nuestro lexicógrafo sencillamente los omite. No encontramos por ejemplo, mención alguna de las siguientes expresiones del *Ritual* en la obra bajo estudio:

[3] Este vocablo significa en maya "excremento del Sol".

1.	*Ah Tabay*	El-de-la-cuerda
2.	*Can Ahau*	Cuatro-ahau
3.	*Can Ahau Caanal*	Cuatro-ahau-del-cielo
4.	*Can Ahau Tii Cab*	Cuatro-ahau-de-la-tierra
5.	*Cantul Tii Bacab*	Cuatro-bacab
6.	*Cantul Tii Ku*	Cuatro-deidad
7.	*Chacal Itzamna*	Gran-Itzamna-rojo
8.	*Ekel Ah Ku*	Dios-negro
9.	*Ekel Ahau*	Ahau-negro
10.	*Ekel Itzam*	Itzam-negro
11.	*Hunuc Can Ahau*	Gran-cuatro-ahau
12.	*Hunuc Kuenel*	El-único-y-divino
13.	*Ix Bolon Ahau*	La-nueve-ahau
14.	*Kanal Itzamna*	Itzamna-amarillo
15.	*Sacal Itzamna*	Itzamna-blanco. (Arzápalo 1987:560-610)

Cabe hacer algunas observaciones pertinentes para comprender tanto el impacto ideológico experimentado por los mayas al entrar en contacto religioso con los cristianos, como el desarrollo lexicológico de su lengua. En el centro del Universo destaca *Hunuc Kuenel* "El-único-y-divino" (No.12) y cuya advocación tetranal expresada a través de *Hunuc Can Ahau* "Gran-cuatro-ahau" (No.11) representa su presencia en las cuatro direcciones del mundo, sin perder su unicidad; su sinónimo *Cantul Tii Ku* "Cuatro-deidad" (No. 6) nos señala que no son cuatro deidades, sino cuatro advocaciones de una sola. La expresión *Cantul Tii Bacab* "Cuatro-bacab" corresponde a la deidad sostenedora del Universo, a manera de atlante. Las deidades, cabe señalar, se manifiestan con el color correspondiente a la dirección de la tierra en que se localice: rojo para el oriente, blanco para el norte, negro para el poniente y amarillo para el sur. Por último, la dualidad juega un papel muy importante en este contexto, ya que las deidades pueden manifestarse en su advocación masculina o femenina. *Ah Tabay* "El-de-la-cuerda" es la deidad protectora de los suicidas que mueren ahorcados; y la contraparte femenina *Ix Tabay* es más conocida hoy día, con rasgos satanizados por el cristianismo.[4]

3.2 *El léxico religioso en el Calepino de Ciudad Real*

A diferencia del auténtico léxico maya, con la original estructuración gramatical y significados nativos del citado Ritual, de los Cantares de Dzitbalché (Barrera Vásquez: 1965) o de las diversas versiones del Chilam Balam (Gordon:

[4] La describen los mayas como el demonio que se le aparece a los ebrios en las noches de luna y los seduce hasta perecer en el frenesí de un amor infernal; curiosamente sólo tiene cuatro dedos en las manos, faltándole el pulgar, para no hacer la señal de la cruz.

1913; Roys. 1933), observamos en el vocabulario contenido en esta obra redactada en Motul numerosos vocablos religiosos de origen hispánico, con fines de evangelización. Nos referimos a la extensa obra léxica de Fray Antonio de Ciudad Real que, como mencionamos anteriormente, en los 466 folios recto y verso pudimos computar 15,975 entradas léxicas, 19,259 palabras y 87,155 ocurrencias; en ella aparecen 203 hispanismos, incluyendo topónimos y antropónimos; esta cantidad representa un poco más del 1% del vocabulario total proporcionado por nuestro ilustre misionero, preocupado por objetivos claramente catequísticos.

Entre estos hispanismos por lo tanto, encontramos numerosos vocablos del ámbito cristiano: *altar, ángel, apostoloob, Ave Maria, casulla, cofradía, confesar, cristiano, Cristo, cruz, diáconos, doctrina, Espíritu, evangelio, gloria, hostia, Iglesia, Jesucristo, Jesús, mandamiento, misa, monasterio, obispo, padresoob, Papa, Pascua, penitencia, Poncio Pilatos, procesión, purgatorioe, sacerdote, sacramentoil, salmoil, santosoobe y Trinidad.*

3.3 *El léxico sobre bromatología*

Una enorme ventaja en el manejo de este Calepino consiste en la facilidad para ordenarlo por clases de palabras previamente clasificadas en determinados campos semánticos, más allá de su clasificación gramatical, que aparece en primer orden y la pragmática que encontramos en tercer orden. Así, a manera de ilustración del procedimiento léxico computacional seguido en esta investigación, así como de la riqueza gastronómica de los mayas prehispánicos, ofrecemos una muestra de los resultados, con los vocablos relacionados con bebidas y comidas de los mayas.

MUESTRA DE PALABRAS RELACIONADAS
CON LA BROMATOLOGÍA

acaan **s**us. bro. el mismo vino.
accattah, -te vt. bro. cocer o guisar debajo de tierra en barreñones de barro y en ollas, cuando lleva caldo lo que se guisa.
accatbil ulum, ah tzoo, keken, etc. *loc. bro.* estas cosas así guisadas.
acchee sus. bro. ciertas matas cuyas hojas comen los indios en tiempo de hambre; y de sus flores hacen miel las abejas.
ah hom ic sus. bro. guisado que hacen con chile, masa y caldo de la olla; lo mismo que *hom ic. ah om zial sus. bro.* caldo, guisado o salsa hecha de pepitas de calabaza y chile.
balchee sus. bro. el vino que se hace de este árbol.
baltaail sus. bro. golosina o glotonería y gula.
cayil uah loc. bro. empanada de pescado.
caatzuhtah, -te vt. bro. bizcochar pan.
cii sus. bro. vino en general.

zaa sus. bro. atole que son gachas, puches de masa de maíz *tac u zaail* venga el atole. De aquí sale *u zaail mah semen mulieris, metaphorice sustancia genital femenina, en sentido metafórico.*

zacaa sus. bro. atole, en lengua mexicana; hecho de agua y maíz y bébese frío, sin cocer ni calentar, ya entrado el día es bebida fresca y sustenta; algunas veces mezclan cacao en ella.

tzah vt. bro. freír; *tzaheex cay* freíd el pescado.

chuk, chukub sus. bro. salsa espesa en que se moja el pan u otra cosa.

xix, cẖacxix loc. bro. agua destilada que se destila en pozo o cueva.

3.4 *Las condiciones pragmáticas del cambio semántico*

Es menester hacer algunas consideraciones de índole pragmática que nos ayuden a comprender mejor el complejo proceso de cambio semántico con miras a explicar de manera más adecuada la situación sociolingüística actual, no tan sólo en relación con la lengua y el grupo de dominio directo, sino con todas las actuales implicaciones de la globalización económica y cultural. Habrá que observar por lo tanto, que muchos de los conceptos de reciente introducción de Europa y de carácter religioso aparecen con su contraparte maya en el Calepino. Observemos entonces el término *kuuna*, con los significados de *kuu* o su variante *kuul* sus. Rel. "Dios o ídolo" … y también *kuul* adj. rel. "cosa divina" … (Arzápalo 1995:436) y *na* sus. arq. "casa", … (Arzápalo 1995:537), es decir, de manera intracultural, *kuuna* denota "sitio o templo dedicado a la divinidad". Ciudad Real introduce el vocablo *iglesia*, ilustrado claramente en las siguientes entradas de dicho Calepino:

16. *kuu* sus. rel. Dios *yotoch kuu* la iglesia *u canantech kuu*
Dios te guarde *kubenteex a ba tii* encomendaos a Dios; de
kuu Dios, sale *kuu uinic* hombre de Dios, hombre divino.
Kuu uinic buthaan balaan tii Dios hombre divino, lleno todo
de Dios. Ídem, *kuu uinic* Dios hombre, hombre Dios.
(Arzápalo 1995:433).

17. *kuuna* sus. arq. templo o iglesia *u kuuna San Francisco*
la iglesia de San Francisco, donde está su cuerpo.
Kuunail San Francisco la que es de su invocación. (Arzápalo 1995:

En esta primera etapa de la Colonia, es decir, los siglos XVI y XVII, existe una coocurrencia de términos mayas que van cediendo su sitio a los vocablos hispanos, por la fuerte carga cultural que conllevan aquéllos y dificultan por lo tanto la tarea de evangelización a los dedicados misioneros. Otro caso interesante nos lo ofrece el préstamo *espiritu*, cuya expresión nativa *ik*, de gran carga ideológica para los mayas y de alta frecuencia de aparición en los ámbitos de la geología, la física y la cosmovisión, fue premeditadamente eliminada para dejar espacio libre a las nuevas ideas de acomodo al

cristianismo. Tenía que ser así y no de otro modo, al pertenecer *ik* al segundo día del calendario maya, con el significado de aliento, espíritu, energía, vida y seguir a *imix* que significa "ceiba" o "maíz", plantas de profundo significado en la cosmovisión del maya (Thompson 1950:70-73), es decir el origen material del ser humano, para ser seguido del espíritu o energía. Las glosas relevantes que nos ofrece Ciudad Real al respecto son:

18. *ik* sus. geo. aire o viento *may u malel ik tu lacale* todas las cosas pasan como viento, muy de prisa *ikil cah ca cuxtal* es un viento nuestra vida.
19. *ik* sus. fis. anhélito, resuello y soplo que uno echa por la boca.
20. *ik* sus. ide. el espíritu, vida y aliento *bini, binaan yik* murióse, fuésele el espíritu o el alma *tin cħaah ik* he vuelto en mí, he cobrado aliento (Arzápalo 1995:384).

La práctica de una compleja religión obligaba a los mayas al frecuente empleo léxico de la unicidad del universo y de la existencia de un solo Dios; de ahí la expresión *kuu* o su sinónimo *bacab* para expresar el concepto de Dios, con la presencia de un gran número de advocaciones que siguen un patrón preestablecido: se rigen por la dualidad masculino / femenino; bueno / malo, etcétera. La tríada cielo / tierra / inframundo; la concepción tetranal de la tierra en oriente / norte / poniente y sur, y así sucesivamente.

De particular interés resulta la glosa de "hombre divino", en la que se combinan los términos maya y español para poder expresar en la lengua nativa el sentido cristiano de la frase, ya que la significación de lo divino, en sentido cristiano se manifiesta a través de *balaan tii Dios* "lleno todo de Dios". Así que la fuerte carga ideológica que conllevan los vocablos mayas para el nativo del siglo XVI impulsa a los frailes a tomar la firme determinación de imponer los términos hispanos para transmitir de manera más efectiva las enseñanzas cristianas. Es así como la expresión "Dios Padre, Dios Hijo, Dios Espíritu Santo" se convierte en *Dios Yumbil, Dios Mehenbil, Dios Espiritu Santo*.

Resulta difícil comprender sin embargo, la elección de la forma *mehen* para la construcción de la frase *Dios Mehenbil*, cuando observamos de cerca las siguientes entradas del Calepino:

21. *mehen* sus. par. hijo varón respecto del padre. *Yax mehen* el hijo primero *u caa dzic mehen* el segundo**.** *U yox dzic* el tercero, etc.
22. *mehen* sus fis. *metaphorice, semen viri* en sentido metafórico, semen viril. *Tu baxtah u mehen contrectauit semen suum virile*. Se masturbó. (Arzápalo 995:517)

Una explicación de carácter metonímico sin embargo, la podríamos encontrar en la siguiente entrada:

> 23. *mehenbil* p. bio. cosa engendrada. *Mehenbilen tu men Juan* fui engendrado por Juan. (Arzápalo 1995:517)

De alguna manera se minimiza la significación sexual del término *mehen* para expresar el concepto de "engendrar, tomar forma humana", contrapuesto a "crear", que implica una actividad divina.

En algunos casos, las palabras no tenían significación específica de alguna de las culturas involucradas, mas para fines de dominio, el grupo dominante tenía que señalar las sutiles diferencias y expresarlas claramente en la lengua de los nativos, acompañando al término maya de un tono peyorativo. Así, la glosa que nos proporciona el Calepino para *tzatz* es "manteca, grosura, sebo o unto de cualquier animal" (Arzápalo 1995:193), mientras que el préstamo *manteca* que este fraile nos ofrece en la misma obra permanece hasta el presente siglo primordialmente con el significado de "manteca de cerdo". El término español "lanza" lo restringen los europeos al elemento importado y queda el vocablo maya *ta* con la traducción "lanceta o navaja de pedernal". El préstamo *caja* coexiste en la primera etapa de la Colonia con la palabra maya "*maaben* sus. arf. caja, cofre, arca o escribanía.", aunque pronto habría de desaparecer del vocabulario de esta lengua. Numerosos vocablos, sobre todo del ámbito culto de este grupo étnico van desapareciendo gradualmente; los nombres para los días del calendario (*imix, ik, aakbal, kan,* etc.,)[5] para los meses (*poop, uo, zip, zodz*, etc.,)[6] los ciclos solares (*tun, haab*, *katun, baktun*, etc.,) los numerales (*lahun, hunkal, hunpic, hunalau*, etc.,)[7] con excepción de los cuatro primeros, todos los demás han caído en desuso.

3.5 *Los factores sociolingüísticos del cambio*

Los primeros vocablos del español que se incorporaron al maya reflejan claramente los intereses catequísticos, económicos y de poder de los europeos; los cambios en el sistema de vida de los nativos por las condiciones de dominio muestran con gran fidelidad los graduales acomodamientos que se han venido haciendo hasta el presente milenio. Tomemos por caso la expresión *chaan misa* que era en el siglo XVI la forma correspondiente a "oír misa"; tenemos que

[5] Los cuatro primeros días del *tzolkin* o calendario maya que significan "ceiba (árbol primigenio) / maíz"; "viento, aliento, energía, vida"; "claustro materno, gestación, humedad, oscuridad" y "divinidad, granos de maíz", respectivamente.

[6] Los cuatro primeros meses del *tzolkin* o calendario maya que significan "estera, gobierno"; "rana, nubes"; "desliz, venado" y "murciélago, frío, humedad", respectivamente.

[7] Con sus respectivos significados de "diez, veinte, ocho mil y sesenta y cuatro millones".

señalar sin embargo que, el verbo *chaan* significa "ver un espectáculo" y se ha modificado a *uuy misa*, que viene a ser la traducción literal de "oír misa". Con los cambios religiosos experimentados en los últimos años, a través de diversos grupos protestantes, ya es común el uso de palabras y expresiones características de estos grupos religiosos. Es frecuente escuchar en el maya de Yucatán términos tales como "templo, pastor, hermano, etc.", resultado naturalmente de la globalización religiosa.

4. ***La aplicación de técnicas computacionales para una mayor eficiencia en el análisis***

Poco común en la filología o la lexicología indoamericana es el empleo de técnicas computacionales para una mayor eficiencia y exactitud en el manejo de cuantiosas bases de datos; y en el caso de nuestro manuscrito en cuestión se tuvo que elaborar una serie de programas con características específicas para los requerimientos del proyecto. Al no tener disponibles los programas necesarios de manera comercial, se tuvo que recurrir al diseño de programas, con la colaboración de nuestro equipo de investigación.

Se elaboró así un programa que nos extrajo todas las locuciones latinas corregidas; de esta manera pudimos observar la correspondencia de éstas con las expresiones mayas que fueron consideradas impropias para ser traducidas al español por no ser "apropiadas para el púlpito pero necesarias para el sagrado sacramento de la confesión" ; encontramos así "*ah colach* … el que se toca suciamente a sí mismo, es vocablo feo y no para púlpito" (Arzápalo 1995:15).

Con el auxilio de programación de este tipo todos los vocablos aparecen clasificados por la parte de la oración a la que pertenecen, por el grupo semántico asignado y, en caso necesario, por la función pragmática que les corresponde. También con la ayuda de la computación, se produjo un diccionario inverso, tomando en consideración sus posibles aplicaciones no sólo para el análisis de los recursos gramaticales y literarios de la lengua maya, sino también para el estudio de la escritura prehispánica. Para cada una de las tres lenguas del manuscrito hay un índice de palabras, con su localización debidamente señalada con una página del índice para la lengua maya. Finalmente, para el análisis de índole sintáctica primordialmente, se elaboró la concordancia de todos los vocablos de contenidos en la obra de Ciudad Real.

5. ***Proyecciones de los logros obtenidos para estudios lingüísticos e históricos, así como para el desarrollo integral de la etnia maya***

Las abundantes y excelentes referencias de Ciudad Real a la cultura de los mayas, que reflejan las primera etapas del contacto, así como de la receptividad

del español para facilitar la comunicación con el grupo originario nos alentó para analizar y sistematizar los materiales léxicos que aquí se presentan. El rico material documental que se nos proporciona en el ámbito religioso bien puede servir tanto para estudiar el cambio y desarrollo semántico, como para realizar estudios comparativos de conceptos religiosos de los dos grupos en contacto para fines de una mejor convivencia pacífica. La sistematización de la ortografía hecha en la edición que nos ocupa, así como la riqueza léxica y las clasificaciones a las que nos referimos anteriormente, representan una buena base para la preparación de materiales didácticos adaptados a la enseñanza del maya moderno, con la gran ventaja de tener los materiales disponibles para el análisis etimológico.

No es menester recurrir a los horóscopos mayas, sean éstos prehispánicos, coloniales o modernos, para comprender que, ante situaciones de dominio desproporcionado, relaciones económicas de palpable injusticia social y lacerante menosprecio a los valores culturales indígenas, las manifestaciones lingüísticas y literarias de esta gente permanecen latentes en gran medida, mas no en un inminente riesgo de desaparición. Un sustancial y éticamente justo incremento en su nivel de vida conllevaría en consecuencia una revalorización de su cultura (en sentido integral) y el renacimiento de una condición social digna.

APÉNDICE: LISTA DE PALABRAS RELACIONADAS CON LA BROMATOLOGÍA

aal sus. bro. el agua que uno toma para beber. *Cẖaeex a ual tu zebal ca xiiceex* tomad rápido vuestra agua, e idos.
abichthulyan, abichthulyen adj. bro. cosa tibia en líquidos, esto es, ni caliente ni fría; porque dicen que es así la orina del conejo.
abichthulyen haa loc. bro. agua tibia.
abichthulyencunah vt. bro. entibiar así algún líquido.
abichthulyenhal vi. bro. entibiarse.
acaan ***s****us. bro.* el mismo vino.
accattah, -te vt. bro. cocer o guisar debajo de tierra en barreñones de barro y en ollas, cuando lleva caldo lo que se guisa.
*accatbil ulum, ah tzoo, keken***,** etc. *loc. bro.* estas cosas así guisadas.
acchee sus. bro. ciertas matas cuyas hojas comen los indios en tiempo de hambre; y de sus flores hacen miel las abejas.
ah hom ic sus. bro. guisado que hacen con chile, masa y caldo de la olla; lo mismo que *hom ic. ah om zial sus. bro.* caldo, guisado o salsa hecha de pepitas de calabaza y chile.
ah thecẖ cele sus. bro. pozole y bebida clara sin cacao.
ah thech cele sus. bro. ídem.
aakalix sus. bro. bebida hecha de maíz tierno.
aklix sus. bro. lo mismo que *akalix.*

bakil uah loc. bro. empanada de carne.
balchee sus. bro. árbol del que hacen vino y se emborrachan. *Lonchocarpus violaceus.*
balchee sus. bro. el vino que se hace de este árbol.
baltaail sus. bro. golosina o glotonería y gula.
bulcitah, -te; bulzacatah, -te vt. bro. hartar a uno de vino o atole.
buulil coppen sus. bro. puches con frijoles cocidos y enteros y con ají exprimido por encima.
buulil zaa sus. bro. ídem.
bulkoltah, -te vt. bro. hartar hasta no más de caldo espeso o guisado así.

caa sus. her. molinillo o muela en que se muele el maíz. *U Caail chacauhaa* muela así en que muelen el chocolate.
cabil zaa loc. bro. puches con miel *cabil naranja* conserva de naranja.
cayil uah loc. bro. empanada de pescado.
caanchee sus. bro. barbacoa, *tablado en alto* donde se guarda algo.
caatzuhtah, -te vt. bro. bizcochar pan.
cii sus. bro. vino en general.
ciui sus. bro. achiote hecho ya en panecillos, son colorados.
cocolo☽ *adj. bro.* lo que no está bien asado, ni bien cocido. *Cocolo*☽ *a muc iz* no están bien asadas tus batatas *cocolo*☽ *a chac ulum* no está bien cocida esta gallina.
coppen sus. bro. puches o atole acedo y sabroso, hecho de maíz viejo, con mezcla de batatas.
cut vt. bro. machacar o majar en almirez o en mortero chile, mostaza, perejil, etc., en poca agua.

zaa sus. bro. atole que son gachas, puches de masa de maíz *tac u zaail* venga el atole. De aquí sale *u zaail mah semen mulieris, metaphorice sustancia genital femenina, en sentido metafórico.*

zacaa sus. bro. atole, en lengua mexicana; hecho de agua y maíz y bébese frío, sin cocer ni calentar, ya entrado el día es bebida fresca y sustenta; algunas veces mezclan cacao en ella.

zacan; huchbil zacan sus. bro. masa de maíz.

zacan zacan adj. bro. cosa semejante a masa. *Zacan zacan uah* pan a medio cocer.

zacchiitah, -te vt. bro. lavar y limpiar el maíz para hacer pan, que quede blanco.

zay sus. bro. la corteza blanca y delicada de las tortillas de maíz, de las dos partes que tienen. *U zayil uah* la tal corteza y tómase por el buen pan.

zaaya sus. bro. atole o puches hecho de chicozapote, en tiempo de hambre.

zapat-hal vi. bro. hacerse desabrida alguna cosa.

zaphal vi. bro. hacerse desabrida alguna cosa.

zapatcunah, zapcunah vt. bro. hacer desabrida alguna cosa.

zapizap adj. bro. cosa un poco desabrida.

zicil sus. bot. pepitas de calabaza.

zomkaktah, -te vt. bro. chamuscar, socarrar o asar mal asado, que solamente está asado por la superficie.

zucuc sus. bro. pan bazo, basto o negro, o comida simple y pobre.

zuz vt. bro. cepillar, raer, raspar, rallar queso o pan, y escamar pescado *zuzaan* cosa cepillada, raída.

zulbil uah loc. bro. sopa de pan o pan remojado.

tzah vt. bro. freír; *tzaheex cay* freíd el pescado.

tzaahal p. bro. acento en la primera sílaba; ser frito.

tzahaan p. bro. cosa frita.

tzahbil adj. bro. lo que es o está frito *tzahbil a cib tii cay* fríe el pescado.

tzamezah vt. bro. gastar y consumir la comida.

tzee vi. bro. moler de la primera vuelta o de la primera vez el maíz para tortillas. *Tin tzeah; bin in tzeeb pasado y futuro.*

tzuy vi. bro. freír *tzuyah, tzuyub pretérito y futuro de freír.*

tzuyaan p. bro. cosa que está frita.

tzuybil p. bro. cosa frita *tzuybil a cibeexi* habéis de freirlo.

tzuuyul p. bro. ser frito.

Dilah, Dilib vt. bro. descascarar o deshollejar jícamas, plátanos, etc. *Dileex chicam descascarad las jícamas.*

chacah, -ab; tin chacah, bin in chacab vt. bro. cocer en agua o en otro líquido *chaceex ulum* coced la gallina. De aquí sale *chac a nok tu kab Ditaan ca lukuc u luumil* cuece tu ropa, échala en calada, para que se quite la tierra.

chacbil adj. bro. cosa cocida.

chaacal p. bro. acento en la primera sílaba, ser cocido.

chacaan p. bro. cosa que está cocida.

chacau thoctah, -te loc. bro. pelar con agua caliente las aves.

chay adj. bot. coles de esta tierra. *Cnidosedus acontifolius. Cnidoscolus chayamansa.*

chaictah, -te vt. bro. guisar en chilmole *chaicteex ulum guisad la gallina en chilmole.*

chaicbil adj. bro. guisado así.

che, cheche adj. bro. cosa cruda; ni asada, ni cocida, ni frita, ni guisada *hach che a hanaleex maa takani* muy crudo está lo que coméis y no de sazón *che bak, che cay* carne cruda, pescado crudo.
cheche, che adj. bro. cosa cruda, etc., como se dijo en *che.*
chekuum vt. bro. preparar el maíz de cierta manera para hacer de él tortillas.
chel chuctah, -te; chel chuhtah, -te loc. bro. asar sobre las brasas.
chel chucbil; chel chuhbil loc. bro. cosa así asada.
chepa sus. bro. pan de maíz nuevo y tierno, y el tal maíz.
chiibal, chiiah, chiib vt. bro. comer huevos, pescado, chile y cualquier salsa *yan ua a chiibal bak, yan a chiic bak tii viernes?* ¿has comido carne en viernes?
chiibil p. bro. ser comida carne, huevos y pescado, etc.; y ser mordido y picado; es pasivo de *chiibal***.**
chohcinah vt. bro. echar a cocer maíz o frijoles.
chuucul kaktah, -te vt. bro. asar entre las brasas algo.
chuucul taantah, -te loc. bro. tostar entre la ceniza o rescoldo, maíz en grano, en mazorcas o cacao, etc.
chuchlah, chuchle vt. bro. pasar *o secar al sol* higos, plátanos y chicozapotes, y asar o tostar venados, iguanas y otros animales para que no se dañen.
chuchlabal p. bro. ser pasados así.
chuchuh elan loc. bro. cosa que está quemada por fuera o socarrada y no asada.
chuchuh elzah loc. bro. quemar así y socarrar.
chuchullah, -le vt. bro. lo mismo que *chuchlah.*
chuchul adj. bro. cosa así pasada y secada al sol.
chuchul bak sus. bro. carne fiambre.
chuchulcinah vt. bro. lo mismo que *chuchlah.*
chuk, chukub sus. bro. salsa espesa en que se moja el pan u otra cosa.
chukah, -ub vt. bro. mojar en la salsa y sopear en el potaje y comer así.
ch̄ac, ch̄acchee sus. bro. barbacoa, cama o lecho hecho de varas. *U ch̄acil cib; u ch̄acil ic* barbacoa en que tienden y ponen al sol la cera, ají o chile, etc.
ch̄ochcinah vt. bro. salar o dar sabor de sal *ch̄ochcineex a hanal* salad vuestra comida, dadle sabor de sal *ch̄ochcineex a cristianoileex* sed buenos cristianos, dad sabor de sal a vuestra cristiandad.

ek sus. bro. la grasa de los guisados. *Yek cum* la grasa de la olla. *Yek ulum la grasa de la gallina; yek keken* la grasa *del puerco.*
eek uah loc. bro. pan bazo y moreno.
elmal adj. bro. lo más sabroso y sustancioso de cualquier comida. *Yelmal keken; yelmal ulum* lo mejor del puerco, de la gallina.

hak zicil sus. bro. pan hecho con frijoles y pepitas de calabaza.
haalah, -ab vt. bro. sacar de la olla y sacar lo que se cuece o asa debajo de la tierra *haleex bak tii cum* sacad la carne de la olla, etc.
hanal sus. bro. la comida *takan ua hanal?* ¿está por ventura sazonada la comida? ¿está hecha? De aquí sale *hananileni cuchi* yo ya había comido *hananilechi***,** etc.
hanzah chii vt. bro. cocinar o guisar de comer.

haucheetah, -te vt. bro. abrir el pescado por el medio, por la parte de arriba para abajo, cuando éste está fresco, para salarlo o secarlo *haucheteex cay tu lacal abrid el pescado así, para poder salarlo..*

hoah, -ob vt. bro. moler bien, por segunda vez los asientos que quedan del maíz que se molió para hacer atole *hoeex u maʔil zaa moled bien los asientos para hacer el atole.*

hooʔah, -ob vt. bro. sacar cosas de comer de alguna vasija con la mano o con cuchara, como manjar blanco, manteca, masa y cosas que se pegan ídem, coger, tomar con la mano lodo, barro o cosas así.

huchah, -ub vt. bro. moler algo como sal, maíz o cacao.

huchbil adj. bro. cosa así molida.

huyah, -ub vt. bro. menear, mover o revolver alrededor, arroz, atole y cosas así.

huybal, huybul p. bro. es el pasivo.

huyuul p. bro. pasivo de *huyah, -ub.*

hulhaatah, -te vt. bro. aguar el vino.

hoy kuum loc. bro. echar el maíz en agua caliente con cal; prepararlo para hacer tortillas. *Hoy a kuum prepara así el maíz para las tortillas.*

icil sus. bro. salsa con chile, y caldo con chile y carne; y cualquier guisado así.

kaab sus. bro. leche, zumo o jugo. De aquí salen muchos nombres o vocablos como *u kaab cab* miel *u kaab cib* miel de la cera *u kaab cum* caldo de la olla. *U kaab chee* la leche o goma líquida que destilan los árboles *u kaab chii* las babas de la boca **u** *kaab ich* lágrimas o humor de los ojos *u kaab yach zinan* la ponzoña que tiene el alacrán en la cola *u kaab mazcab* la herrumbre u orín del hierro, etc.

kaaktah, -te vt. bro. asar al fuego *kaakte ulum asa el pavo.*

kakaan p. bro. cosa asada.

kaakbil adj. bro. cosa asada.

kaaklah vt. bro. secar las carnes al fuego y después al sol para guardarlas *kaakleex a cimzah ceh secad así la carne de venado.*

kaaklabil adj. bro. carne seca así.

keyem sus. bro. la masa que hacen de maíz molido con los granos por despicarse.

kelah, -eb vt. bro. tostar en seco en sartén, en caldera o comal, maíz, cacao, garbanzos y cosas así *keleex cacau tostad el cacao.* Ídem, cosa tostada *ceex a kel cacau ahí tenéis vuestro cacao tostado.*

kelaan p. bro. cosa así tostada.

kelbal, kelbel p. bro. ser tostado.

kelbil adj. bro. cosa tostada así.

kelchuctah, -te vt. bro. tostar en las brasas y rescoldo o ceniza, *cosas tales como* maíz, castañas, etc.

kinhaa sus. bro. agua caliente.

kobenyah vt. bro. cocinar, hacer de comer y servir en la cocina.

koyem sus. bro. lo mismo que *keyem***.**

kool ic sus. bro. caldo espeso con masa y chile.

kool sus. bro. caldo o guisado algo espeso, hecho con pan rallado o con masa.

kooltah, -te vt. bro. guisar cualquier cosa. *Tin kooltah ulum* he guisado y aderezado con este guisado o caldo la gallina, etc.

koolbil ulum loc. bro. gallina guisada con este guisado llamado *kool.*
kool zacantah, -te loc. bro. lo mismo que *kooltah, -te.*
kuum sus. bro. maíz cocido en agua y cal, preparado para moler y hacer de él tortillas.
kuumtah, -te vt. bro. cocer así el maíz; y prepararlo *tac cum uchebal kuum* traiga una olla para cocer así el maíz.

liktzuhil uah loc. bro. pan fresco, recién sacado del horno.
luphaatah, -te vt. bro. dar de beber. *Luphaateex numul beoob* dad de beber a los caminantes. *Lupeex haa tii numul beoob*, *ídem.*

maↃ sus. bro. la masa de que se hace el pozole, de maíz por despicar; la masa del atole; el asiento del mismo atole, y el maíz que se cuece sin cal como para hacer atole.
makah, -ab vt. bro. comer frutas blandas; miel, huevos y otras cosas blandas; y comer tierra. De aquí sale, *maken luum* come tierra tú; palabra de enojo o rencor que se dice a los perezosos que no quieren trabajar. *U makab luum a xiblil maa yohel col* coma tierra tu marido pues no sabe hacer milpa o no la quiere hacer.
menyah hanal loc. bro. hacer o guisar de comer. *Menyah hanal in cah* estoy guisando de comer. *Menteex hanal; u hanal padre* haced de comer o la comida del padre.
muctantah, -te vt. bro. asar debajo de la ceniza y rescoldo, como castañas, maíz y bellotas. *Muctanteex ixim asad así el maíz.*
muxah, -ub vt. bro. moler cosas sin agua. *Muxeex taab* moled sal, etc.

nacħ adj. bro. cosa demasiadamente sazonada, asada o cocida y cosa asurada.
nacħil nacħ adj. bro. cosas así demasiadamente sazonadas o asuradas.
nech sus. bro. unos panecillos que hacen los indios para llevar en algún camino largo. Ídem, bastimento, provisión, matalotaje, sustento y viático para el camino de mar o tierra. *Mentabal u cah u nech in ximbal* haciéndome están mi matalotaje. *Kuil nech* divino viático. *U than Dios u nech ca pixan* la palabra de Dios es el sustento de nuestra alma. De aquí sale *nech in cah tin menyah, tin ximbal loe* llevo provisión para mi trabajo o para mi camino.
nicħ cl. bro. cuenta de bocados de vianda. *Hun nicħ, caa nicħ, ox nicħ***,** etc. *un bocado, dos bocados, tres bocados.*
u nooy zacaa loc. bro. el asiento del pozole, que es la sustancia de aquella bebida.
u nooy zacan loc. bro. la flor de la harina.
num chocħcinah loc. bro. salar mucho la comida.

och zucuc loc. bro. comida simple y pobre, sin especias.
ochel sus. eco. comida y sustento, denotando cuál. *Yochel ca pixan u cucutil ca yumil tii Jesucristo* manjar y comida de nuestra alma es el cuerpo de Nuestro Redentor.
ocheltah, -te vt. bro. tener por manjar o servir de manjar. *Bacix yochelac angeloobe, yoltahix Cah Lohil c-ocheltic coon uinic xane* aunque sea manjar de los ángeles, quiso Nuestro Redentor que los hombres le tengamos también por manjar nuestro.
och hanal sus. eco. provisión de comida, mantenimiento y sustento que uno tiene para sí y para su casa.
oloch sus. bro. calabazas asadas enteras debajo de la tierra, sin quitar las pepitas.

opp adj. bro. pan tostado en las brasas o bizcochado; y tortillas así. *Opp uah tortilla tostada.*
ooppci adj. bro. cosa muy tostada, asada y demasiado cocida, que queda seca.
oppcinah vt. bro. tostar tortillas en las brasas y bizcochar pan; asar y cocer mucho una cosa que quede medio seca.
oppemoppem adj. bro. cosa muy asada y muy cocida, que está medio seca.
opphal vi. bro. asarse o cocerse mucho, como tostándose o asurándose; y bizcocharse así.
opp kaaktah, -te; oppcinah loc. bro. véase arriba.
opp kakan loc. bro. lo que está así tostado *opp kakbil* lo tostado así.
oppolopp adj. bro. cosa muy sazonada, asada o cocida; que está casi seca.

pakchuctah, -te vt. bro. asar algo sobre las brasas. *Pakchucte bak asa la carne sobre las brasas.*
pechmal vi. bro. malsazonarse lo cocido o asado por falta de fuego.
pibtah, -te vt. bro. asar debajo de la tierra, carne, calabazas, etc.
pib adj. bro. lo así asado.
piban adj. bro. cosa asada debajo de la tierra, en los hornillos llamados *pib***.**
pibbil, pibil adj. bro. lo asado debajo de la tierra en los tales hornillos llamados *pib***.**
piz hanal loc. bro. la comida ordinaria.
poocaan p. bro. cosa que está asada, como huevos, junto al fuego; y cosa calentada, tostada y chamuscada a la lumbre; loza cocida, y milpa ya quemada.
poocbil adj. bro. viene de *poocah***,** cosa asada, calentada, tostada, chamuscada y seca a la lumbre; y loza cocida. *Poocbil hee, poocbil uah* huevos asados, pan tostado *poocbil bin a cib tii hee* asa los huevos.
pocchuctah, -te vt. bro. asar calabazas y huevos, poniéndolos junto a las brasas sin cubrirlos.
pocchucte kum, hee asa así las calabazas y los huevos.
pocchuhtah, -te vt. bro. con todos sus tiempos, es lo mismo que *pocchuhtah* y es más usado.
poxtah, -te vt. bro. escamar pescado. *Poxteex cay, u pach cay escamad el pescado.*

tahaan p. bro. cosa que está sazonada, cocida o asada.
takanzah vt. bro. sazonar o madurar alguna cosa. *Cunx ca a takanez hanal? ¿qué tal si sazonas la comida?*
takan keltah, -te loc. bro. tostar muy bien el cacao para que haga mucha espuma en el chocolate.
tamacaz ic loc. bro. chile puro, sin mezcla de sal.
tamacaz vino loc. bro. el vino puro, sin agua.
tanlah vt. bro. aderezar; tener de alguna cosa; gobernar, regir; y tener cuidado de alguna persona. *Tanleex u hanal padre* tened cuidado de la comida del padre, aderezadla *Dios Ɔaic a toh olal ca utzac a tanlicoon* Dios te dé salud para que nos rijas, gobiernes y tengas cuidado de nosotros.
tatcunah vt. bro. espesar o cuajar atole o cosas así. *Tancunza***,** *ídem.*
tat huchtah, -te loc. bro. moler muy bien lo que se muele con agua o está remojado, como maíz, etc.
ticin pibtah, -te loc. bro. asar en seco debajo de la tierra.

tooztabtah, -te vt. bro. polvorear con sal.
thancabal uah, pim uah loc. bro. tortillas de maíz gruesas; y cosas así.
thancunah vt. bro. engrosar así el pan y cosas así. *Thancun, thancunte a polic tablas* labra las tablas gruesas, no delgadas.
thoh chacau haa loc. bro. hacer chocolate, chorreando de una jícara a otra *thoheex chacau haa ten hacedme un poco de chocolate.*

u taa co loc. la suciedad que queda pegada entre los dientes y muelas; *u taa zacan* salvados que salen de la harina; *u taa zuz* cepilladuras, *viruta u taa chacauhaa* panecillos de masa para hacer chocolate; *u taa miz* la basura que saca la escoba cuando barren; *u taa pol* astillas o cepilladuras que saca el carpintero; *u taa pol; u taa polbil tunich* cascajo que saca el cantero de la piedra que labra; *u taa ich* legañas que se forman en los ojos.
uah sus. bro. tortillas de pan de maíz, de esta tierra.
uah yaal Dios loc. bro. el pan que Dios nos da por su misericordia y las temporadas que da el mundo de pan, frutas, etc.
uiibil p. bro. ser comido el pan.
ul sus. bro. atole dulce hecho de maíz nuevo y fresco; puches o gachas.
ulmal vi. bro. ablandarse el pescado en el agua; ablandarse y sazonarse muy bien lo que se cuece. *Baax maa tan yulmal a uooleex ceex ah zipile?* ¿por qué, pecadores, no se ablandan vuestros corazones?
ulmezah vt. bro. sazonar bien lo que se cuece.

xekmal vi. bro. cocer demasiado los frijoles, gallinas y cosas así.
xix, cħacxix loc. bro. agua destilada que se destila en pozo o cueva.

REFERENCIAS

A. ***Fuentes primarias***

Calepino de Motul. Diccionario Maya-Español. Ver Arzápalo Marín (1995), fuentes secundarias.

Ciudad Real, Antonio. Ver *Calepino de Motul.*

Chilam Balam of Chumayel (The Book of) Ver Gordon (1913) y Roys (1933), fuentes secundarias.

Landa, Diego de. 1973 [1566]. *Relación de las cosas de Yucatán*. México: Editorial Porrúa, S.A. (Décima Edición). Ver Tozzer (1966[1941]), fuentes secundarias.

Solana, Alonso de. 1580. *Vocabulario muy copioso en lengua Española e Maya de Yucatan.* En la biblioteca de la Hispanic Society of America, New York.

Villalpando, Luis de. 1571. *Diccionario de la lengua Maya.* México. (Brinton 1882 señala que existe al menos un ejemplar).

B***. Fuentes secundarias***

Acuña, René. 1984. *Calepino Maya de Motul*. México, D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Arzápalo, Ramón. 1980. "Contribución para el estudio de la religión maya a través de textos religiosos modernos: oraciones para el ofrecimiento de las primicias y plegaria para la curación de una enfermedad en Pustunich". *Indiana* 6.137-153. [=Gedenkschrift Walter Lehmann. Parte I. Berlín: Gebr., Mann Verlag.]

Arzápalo, Ramón. 1984. "Tiempo físico y tiempo gramatical en maya". *Actas del VII Congreso de la Asociación de Lingüística y Filología de América Latina (ALFAL)*, 257-268. [=Homenaje a Pedro Henríquez Ureña, Santo Domingo.]

Arzápalo, Ramón. 1987. *El ritual de los Bacabes*, edición facsimilar con transcripción rítmica, traducción, notas, índice, glosario y cómputos estadísticos. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Arzápalo, Ramón. 1995. *Calepino de Motul*. Diccionario Maya-Español. Edición computarizada, sistematización de la ortografía del maya y modernización del español. Índice de vocablos mayas y su localización; índice inverso del maya; clasificación científica de términos de fauna y flora. Adición de traducciones al español faltantes en el documento original. Lista de expresiones latinas, muestras de las concordancias y transcripción paleográfica. 3 volúmenes. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Arzápalo, Ramón. 1997. "Las actitudes de mayas y europeos durante los primeros encuentros". *Revista de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México*. Septiembre-Octubre 1997, Núm. 560-561.24-28.

Barrera Vásquez, Alfredo. 1965. *El Libro de los Cantares de Dzitbalché*. México, D.F.: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.

Brinton, Daniel Garrison. 1882. *Maya Chronicles*. Philadelphia: Library of Aboriginal American Literatures.

Gates, William. 1932. "Diccionario de Motul. Maya-Español. A review". *The Maya Society Quarterly* (Baltimore), Sept. 1.93.

Gordon, G.B. 1913. *The Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel, with Introduction by G.B. Gordon*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, The Museum Anthropological Publi-cations.

Landa, Diego de, *Relación de las cosas de Yucatán*. México, D.F.: Porrúa. (Ver Tozzer: 1966[1941]).

Lizana, Bernardo de. 1893. *Historia de Yucatán*, *Devocionario de Nuestra Señora de Izamal y conquista espiritual*, México: Imprenta del Museo Nacional.

Martínez Hernández, Juan. 1929. *Diccionario de Motul. Maya-Español*. Mérida: Talleres de la Compañía Tipográfica Yucateca. (Ver Ciudad Real).

Mengin, Ernst. 1960. "Die wichtigsten Ergebnisse und Aufgaben der Mayaforschung. Ein Ruckblick und Ausblick". *Akten des 34 Internationalen Amerikanisten Kongresses*, Viena. 1960.743-762.

Roys, R.L. 1933. *The Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel*. Washington, D.C.: Norman, Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Thompson, J. Eric S. 1950. *Maya Hieroglyphic Writing*. Washington, D.C.: Norman, Carnegie Institution of Washington. [Second printing 1962].

Tozzer, Alfred M. 1921[1977]. *A Maya Grammar. UIT bibliography and appraisement of the Works noted.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology. [=vol. 9 of the Museum's Papers.]. Reimpresión: New York: Dover Publications, Inc.

Tozzer, Alfred M., ed. 1966[1941]. *Landa's Relación de las cosas de Yucatán*. Reprinted with permission of the original publishers. New York: Kraus Reprint Corporation.

ASPECTS OF THE LEXICOGRAPHER'S VOCATION IN ALONSO DE MOLINA'S *VOCABULARIO EN LENGUA CASTELLANA Y MEXICANA Y MEXICANA Y CASTELLANA* (1555/1571)[*]

JOSÉ ANTONIO FLORES FARFÁN
Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, México / University of Amsterdam
Amsterdam Centre for Language and Communication

RESUMEN

Este ensayo explora el trabajo lexicográfico más destacado del periodo colonial no sólo para la lengua náhuatl, sino probablemente para todo el hemisferio americano. Con una extensión y profundidad que se mantienen incólumes, Alonso de Molina (c.1514–1585) modestamente titula *Vocabulario* lo que en realidad constituye un diccionario comprehensivo y una fuente de información sin paralelo en torno a diversos procesos sociolingüísticos y socioculturales que todavía han recibido poca atención. Algunos de estos procesos son cubiertos de manera general en este ensayo, destacando aquellos menos estudiados en la lingüística nahua. Así se incluyen ejemplos del vasto léxico utilizado para describir objetos pertenecientes a la cultura invasora ajenos a la cultura receptora del momento; ejemplos de proceso evolutivo del léxico en diferentes momentos de la historia del contacto náhuatl español y variaciones lexicales que responden a distintos intereses y objetivos del Fraile, incluyendo propósitos descriptivos, e instancias dialectales y sociolectales de la variación, por mas mínimas que éstas sean. Semejantes variaciones lexicales incluyen arcaísmos, prestamos, neologismos, y una serie de discrepancias entre las secciones mexicana y castellana que reflejan diferencias fundamentales en términos de la variabilidad sociolingüística y la composición de la obra.

1. *Introduction*

First published in the mid sixteenth century (cf. Galeote 2001), the *Vocabulario* of the Franciscan Friar Alonso de Molina (c.1514–1585) is the most extensive first hand published work on Nahuatl lexicography even today.

[*] I gratefully acknowledge comments and suggestions of Otto Zwartjes and Thomas Smith-Stark to an earlier draft of this paper. Of course any error is of my own responsibility.

It mostly encompasses peculiarities of the high varieties preferred in grammatical descriptions in an interesting heteroglossic range that involves internal and external levels of diglossic variability:

> Para la *variedad y diferencia que ay* en los vocablos, según diversas provincias, se tendrá este aviso: que al principio se pondrán los que se usan aquí en *Tetzcuco y en Mexico, que es donde mejor y mas curiosamente se habla la lengua*; y alcabo se pondran los que se usan en otras provincias, si algunos oviere particulares. (Molina 1977[1571]: 'Prólogo al Lector', Aviso segundo, Castellano-Mexicano; énfasis mío)
>
> [For the *variety* and *differences* existent in lexical items, according to the province, I give this notice: only at the beginning those employed in *Tetzcuco and Mexico* shall be used, *which is where more curiously and better the language is spoken*; and at the end in other provinces, if there were any particular ones.]

Molina's *aviso* ("notice"), along with other types of evidence, provides us with elements that help us to understand how Nahuatl variability relates to dialectal and sociolectal differentiation. For example, there is a considerable overlap between the language of the above mentioned geographical regions and high prestige varieties. From a diglossic point of view, so-called Classical Nahuatl, which appears most prominently in Tezcoco (cf. Bierhorst 1985: *passim*), was the superimposed high variety (cf. Flores Farfán *in press*). No matter how slightly, it differs not only from Nahuatl varieties found outside Central Mexico, but also from the Mexica dialectal variety itself. In other words, the varieties we would today call standard are curiously enough socially and geographically linked to Mexico-Tenochtitlan and Tezcoco, rather than to the dialect spoken by those allied to the Spaniards, the *Tlaxcaltecas*. As we shall see, the dialectal differentiation that Molina registered in his *Vocabulario* referred above all to the variations between Mexico-Tenochtitlan and Tezcoco, although not exclusively.

The preference for one variety over another in linguistic research is still quite common. For example, in orthodox linguistic anthropology, the less "interfered" varieties are favored, or better still, those that have not yet been influenced by the national language and that represent the mono-linguistic standards of the community, all of which manifests, in the case at hand, Nahuatl purism (cf. Hill & Hill 1986:*passim*, Flores Farfán 2003, 2004). Purism does occur, to a greater or lesser extent, in Molina's work. As it is briefly advanced in this paper, it is possible that in the case of Molina's *Vocabulario*, given its lexicographic nature — ultimately pedagogically conceived for purposes of evangelization — a speech variety arose with its own characteristics. To a certain extent, this resembles what is known today as 'foreign talk' (cf. Ferguson 1971).

Friar Alonso de Molina's work can be examined considering how the above mentioned variations were incorporated at different moments of the *Vocabulario* creative process, and also by how comprehensively his project approached the "whole" Nahuatl lexicon. In this respect, Lockhart (1992:6) reminds us that: "Molina went far beyond utilitarian basics to include a vast range of vocabulary, making many subtle semantic and grammatical distinctions".

Recent studies (outstandingly Clayton and Campbell 2002; cf. also Hernández 2001) have brought to light important information on the *Vocabulario* that help us to understand:

- What kind of methodology was used and how it diverges from the prevailing models of the time,
- How the dictionary was created with communication and educational requirements in mind,
- The contact phenomenon and its sociocultural and sociolinguistic treatment,
- Linguistic variations as indicators of the different stages of the project development, manifesting the history of Nahuatl-Spanish contact,
- Linguistic variations as indexes of geographical and/or sociolectal differences.

I will review these aspects in more of less detail, pursuing to demonstrate that in the *Vocabulario* we find a linguistic missionary variety which has its own traits that probably distinguished itself from other oral and written modalities of the epoch.

2. ***Aspects of Molina's methodology***

According to Clayton and Campbell (2002:339) Molina's lexicographic project went far beyond Nebrija's model, pinpointing that explicit mentions of Antonio de Nebrija (1441/1444?–1522) are only given while advising the reader that he follows Nebrija in presenting the verbs in the infinitive, together with organizing the entries in alphabetical order. Moreover, apart from the obvious fact of being a bilingual dictionary, following Karttunen (1988, quoted in Clayton and Clayton 2002:339) the authors claim that Molina used Nebrija as a word list while in turn missionaries also used Molina as an elicitation list for other languages. On closer inspection, one can conclude that the influence of Nebrija's model went beyond this exclusive issue, other such traits encompass the inclusion of brief entries with simple equivalences, and the occasional specification of parts of speech (cf. Smith Stark, this volume). Yet as Clayton and Campbell suggest (2002:339) Nebrija's influence on Molina was far "…more subtle and indirect than one might have expected." In this

respect, as we will see, Molina also incorporated innovative descriptive features that pursue to capture Nahuatl specificity. As to the elicitation methodology employed, it clearly involved what today we call collaboration or collaborative work, something that, based on their cultural patterns, the indigenous peoples in general, and the Nahuas in particular, probably found quite familiar.[1]

On the other hand, the entries do justice to the structure of the language by providing the required markers for lexical elements such as verbs. Molina informs us, for instance, whether the verb is transitive or intransitive. The Nahuatl verb demands, as a minimum, person and tense. The first person singular and present tense categories are the forms that Molina chose as standards for his *Vocabulario*. The inclusion of the first person singular is another Nebrija trait; as well as indicating whether or not the verb requires an object: an obligatory category in Nahuatl. For instance:

> *Apizmiqui*. n. morir de hambre ["to starve to death"]. Preterito. *onapizmic.* (1977[1571]: Nah-Sp, 7r)
>
> *Apizmictia*. *nite*. matar de hambre a otro ["to starve someone to death"]. Preteri. *oniteapizmicti*. (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp,7r)

Probably Molina recovered Olmos (1985[1547]) as the forerunner of the linguistic classification of the Nahuatl verb in modern studies by including the preterite form, prefiguring the modern classification of the verb groups in Nahuatl. He even managed to integrate the verb classification with remote categories of Latin grammar, such as the infinitive. In the *Vocabulario*, the infinitive became the standard form to translate or provide the Spanish equivalent in the Nahuatl section, as well as the standard entry in the Spanish section, following Nebrija's example, together with the inclusion of *ego* or the first person singular:

> Todos los verbos de la lengua se pondrán en la primera persona del presente del indicativo [si la tuvieren] y si no, en la tercera, porque esta todos los verbos la tienen; y sirve siempre una misma para singular y plural, pero el romance de los verbos se pondrá en el infinitivo, como lo pone Antonio de Lebrixa en su vocabulario. (1977[1571]: 'Prólogo al Lector', Cast-Mex, Aviso tercero)
>
> [All of the verbs in the language shall be placed in the first person of the indicative (if they have it) and if not, in the third person, because all of the verbs have it; it is always the same for singular and plural, but the Romance version of the verbs shall be placed in the infinitive, as they are in the vocabulary of Antonio de Lebrixa.]

Even when this might seem unsystematic, it is a very suitable and fortunate combination, since it pays justice to Nahuatl less marked verbal form which is

[1] Just consider the *tequio* or communal work, a vital practice up to this day.

the third person singular, the most natural and canonical entry from the point of view of Nahuatl lexicography, something that becomes crystal-clear while presenting for instance the impersonal forms of the verb which of course cannot be used in the *ego* form. In other words, even when following Nebrija in verbs' presentation, Molina explicitly states that all verbs have a third person singular form, which is actually the case and constitutes the less marked form, a modern lexicographical approach to select the canonical entries to be included in a Nahuatl dictionary. Molina developed a linguistic analysis which is based on Nebrija and recovers the grammatical approach of the epoch, while at the same time pays justice to the Nahuatl structure, separating the root of the verb and providing the obligatory morphology to produce a complete utterance. Therefore, depending on the nature of the verb (animate/inanimate, transitive/ intransitive) Molina provides the verbs in the *ego* form (for transitive and animates) or in the third person (for inanimates/intransitive). All this results an indication that Molina composed his *Vocabulario* with a didactic purpose, most of all pursuing to reveal the Nahuatl nuances, specifying for instance in the Spanish section some metaphorical uses, evidently directed to the Nahuatl learner (Clayton & Campbell 2002). Moreover, according to Clayton and Campbell (2002:367) being Nahuatl the target language, Molina conceived the Spanish to Nahuatl section as a Nahuatl vocabulary: "…Molina sees his job primarily as clarifying Nahuatl words in Spanish rather than as facilitating translation INTO Nahuatl, regardless of the direction of the dictionary." This explains why the Nahuatl equivalents of the Spanish section are much more numerous than the Spanish entries themselves. Clayton and Campbell (2002:368) count for the 1571 version 17,410 Spanish entries with 37,433 Nahuatl equivalents. The fact that Nahuatl was the target language, is even evidenced in Spanish calques that resemble Nahuatl processes of incorporation and compounding:

> Azeite de almendras. almendras *chiaucayotl. almendras azeite*. (1977[1571]:Sp-Nah, 18r). (emphasis added, quoted in Clayton & Campbell 2002:338)

The nouns, on the other hand, are at times first placed in the absolutive in the Spanish and most of all in the Nahuatl section, even though in conversational practice they are always used possessively. For example:

> Boca. *camatl.* ["mouth"] 1977[1571]:Sp-Nah, 20r)
> Mano del hombre. *maitl. toma.* ["hand of the man". (*to-ma* is "our hand")] (1977[1571]: Sp-Nah, 81v)

Mano derecha. *nomayec. nomayeccan. nomaymatca. nomanematca. mayeccantli. mayauhcantli.* [“right hand”] (1977[1571]:Sp-Nah, 81v) [2]
Mano yzquierda. *nomaopoch. nopochma.* [“left hand”] (1977[1571]:Sp-Nah, 81v)
Pie con el que anda el animal. *ycxitl*: [“foot that the animal walks with”] (1977[1571]: Sp-Nah, 96v)
Nariz del hombre. *yacatl. toyac*. [“nose of the man” (*to-yac* is “our nose”)] (1977 [1571]:Sp-Nah, 88r)
Taita, padre de los niños. *tata* [father of the children. *tata*] (1977[1571]:Sp-Nah, 111v)

Notice how *taita*, which is Nahuatl, is already included in the Spanish section (this constitutes an indication of the degree of incorporation of Mexicanisms to the Spanish of the time (see below) also an interesting inclusion in terms of a form of address).

Tia hermana de padre o de madre. *auitl*. *teaui*. [“aunt of father or mother”] (1977[1571]: Sp-Nah, 113r)
Cabello o pelo largo. *Tzuntli* [“hair”] (1977[1571]:Sp-Nah, 22v)
Dedo de la mano. *mapilli.* [“hand’s finger”] (1977[1571]:Sp-Nah, 37r)
Dedo meñique o pequeño dla mano. *tomapilxocoyouh. mapilxocoyouh.mapiltontli*. [“small finger of the hand”] (1977[1571]:Sp-Nah, 37r)
Dedo del pie. *xopilli* [“foot’s finger”] (1977[1571]:Sp-Nah, 37r)
Dedo pulgar. *touey mapil. vei mapilli.* [“thumb”] (1977[1571]:Sp-Nah, 37r)
Dedo con el que moftramos algo. *totemapilhuaya.* [“finger with which we show something”] (1977[1571]:Sp-Nah, 37r)
Dedo grande del pie. *touei xopil* [“big foot’s finger”] (1977[1571]:Sp-Nah, 37r)

Not only most body parts in the Nahuatl section are presented in their rather uncommon non-possessed form, but when eventually possessed, this occurs in the first person plural, in a type of collective, all inclusive way:

to-mapilxocoyouh, to-temapilhuaya, to-uei xopil. [3]

In contrast, curiously enough, it is in the Nahuatl section where more (Spanish-like) free forms are provided. Just consider a few examples, which are representative of the whole Nahuatl–Spanish section:

Maytl. mano [“hand”] (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp,51v)
Tzontli. cabello o pelo [“hair”] (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp,153v)
Icxitl. pie. [“foot”] (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp,34r)
Camatl. boca. [“mouth”] (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp,12r)

[2] Notice that possessive prefixes are alternated rather arbitrarily. For example: *mo-ma-yec* is “your (SG)-hand-right”, “your right hand”, *no-ma-yec-can* “my-hand-right-place”, “(the place of) my right hand”. Moreover, the translations do not render the forms as possessive.
[3] This reminds us of the way in which at times riddles, collected in the sixth book of the Florentine Codex, were replied. For example *to-zti* (“our nail(s)”) or *t-ixtelolo* (“our eye(s)”).

Another indication of the normalization process typical of the linguistic missionary variety is attested for example in that in both sections items such as *camatl* are presented with the absolutive *-tl,* even when *-camac* is the form that is utilized in conversational practice, accompanied with obligatory possessive morphology, *nocamac*, "my mouth".

The presentation of requisite possessive nouns in the absolutive form evokes the modern effects of linguistic elicitation; in other words, the decontextualized forms are produced to cope with the researcher's queries and please the friar, probably one of the most outstanding characteristics of the missionary variety of Nahuatl depicted in this paper. Of course, this must have implied an exercise in reflection and negotiation between Molina and his collaborating speakers, as also indicated by the need for neosemantisms[4], neologisms or descriptive circumlocutions — outstandingly for the ecclesiastic terminology and new cultural objects. In passing, consider that the inclusion of neologisms was not only present in the Mexican section, but even in the Spanish one (e.g. *abaxador* "lowerer, one who puts things down"), a practice that can also be traced back to Nebrija (Smith-Stark, this volume).

The retention of certain vowels that are omitted in actual practice is another indication of the emergence of a missionary variety[5]. For instance, *nomaopoch* (cf. infra), which should contract to *nomapoch*, suggests a careful, even artificial articulation. Such missionary linguistic forms call to mind what in the modern literature has been depicted as high attention to speech in the form of e.g. minimal pairs in the Labovian (1972a) sense, which calls attention to the status of the participants in interaction, in the frame of "accommodation theory" (Giles ed. 1984); all of which amounts to a 'foreign talk' variety. (cf. Ferguson 1971).

Furthermore, because *ma**y**tl*, "hand" was presented in a free form it required an additional (epenthetic) vowel. Keeping in mind that body parts are inalienable forms in Nahuatl, this formation reminds us of the phenomenon of hypercorrection, in which an unnecessary vowel is added to form the noun with *–tl*

[4] A neosematism consists of a word which acquires a new meaning; for example, as an effect of language contact. As Nahuatl neosematisms, consider the well-known semantic extensions of the words *ichcatl* ("wool") and *mazatl* ("deer"), which respectively became "sheep" and "horse" (cf. Lockhart 1992).

[5] Given the written register to which this and all colonial sources belong, it seems difficult to find similar contracted forms; yet, in Olmos (1985[1547]:264) we encounter *nahui* ("my aunt"), derived from *ahui*, ("aunt") and the first person possessive, *no-*, and not *noahui.* Another indirect indication that *noamoch* constitutes a form derived from very carefully monitoring speech is contemporary usage, particularly linked to elicitation, in which several similar forms associated to purist attitudes emerge (cf. Flores Farfán 1999, 2003).

(the existing *ma* form alternates with *maitl*, cf. Andrews 1975).[6] The phenomenon, which may be interpreted as the induction of a new absolutive suffix *–itl*, could also have been encouraged, apart from the above mentioned conditions, by the general avoidance of monosyllables in Nahuatl.[7]

Thus, most of all in the Mexican section, Molina does not necessarily indicate the inalienable nouns, such as body parts or kinship relationships, an outstanding trait of the linguistic missionary variety, which produces a number of induced forms as these. More examples in this respect include:

Nacaztli. oreja. ["ear"] (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp, 62v)
Xictli. ombligo o bruxula para tirar derecho[8]. ["navel or compass to throw straight".] (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp, 159r)
Tzintlantli. nalga. ["buttock"] (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp, 152v)
Nantli. madre. ["mother"] (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp, 63r)
Tata. por *tayta* dize el niño [for *tayta* "baby talk"] (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp, 91r)
Tatli. padre. ["father"] (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp, 91r)
Tatlia. bigotes de la barba ["moustache"] (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp, 91r)

Yet, in the case of kinship terminology, after the forms are presented in absolutive form, at times the first person possessive is immediately included:

Pilo.no. mi sobrino, dize la muger ["my nephew, in female speech"] (1977[1571]: Nah-Sp, 81v)
Pilpo.no. mi primera muger. ["my first wife"] (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp, 81v)

On the other hand, entries that are found in one section are not necessarily included in the other and their definitions may vary. For example, compare two different entries for "buttocks":

Nalga. *tzintamalli*. (1977[1571]:Sp-Nah, 88r) vs. *Tzintlantli.* nalga. ["buttock"] (1977 [1571]:Nah-Sp,152v)

Whether or not the methodology employed by Molina was totally or only partially an interrogative one and to what extent this played a role in inducing absolutive forms we cannot be sure. Yet there are indeed indications that direct questions were in fact employed, such as the use of absolutive forms which are normally possessed (kinship terminology/body parts), as seen above, and the

[6] Cf. the form *tlitl* ("fire").
[7] Of course other forces may be at work to produce similar forms, such as analogical formation, compare *maytl* with *cueitl* ("indigenous shirt").
[8] Notice that the second meaning of *xictli* is probably a semantic extension to describe a new object introduced by the invading culture, a force that also probably played an important role in producing absolutive or free forms, together with the lexicographic need of a canonical entry. Smith-Stark (personal communication) has called my attention that this word probably refers not to a compass but rather to the sighting hole on a blunderbuss, a semantic extension from navel which according to him would make more sense.

inclusion of entries with two contiguous vowels, one of which would normally be deleted.

Interestingly, an assessment of both the Mexican and Spanish sections of the *Vocabulario* reveals that there is no complete equivalence between them, much less a systematic one (cf. Clayton & Campbell 2002:352 and following) as also becomes clear when studying the contact effects of Spanish on Nahuatl and their history.

3. ***Lexical variability as an index of the Nahuatl-Spanish contact history***

Moving on, Molina's *Vocabulario* is filled with elements that Lockhart (1992:262) qualifies as belonging to stages 1 and 2 of the Spanish-Nahuatl contact history:

> Though the 1571 edition is the fullest, much of the material was already present in the first version … of 1555 […] Molina and his indigenous aides constantly added new items but apparently rarely removed old ones, so that the end product, though fully representative of Stage 2, is also a tremendous mine of information on Stage 1. Quite a few of Molina's entries contain both a Stage 1 and Stage 2 renditions of a Spanish term.

Hence, as Lockhart himself suggests (1992:299-303), the lexicon includes both meanings of the root *–pia*, which originally meant 'guardar' ("to save/ to keep") and which became 'tener' ("to have") as it is used today. In the Mexican section we find this root with its original meaning, while in the Spanish section it appears with its post-contact meaning:

> *Pia. nino.* guardarse de algo. pret *oninopix.* ["to keep away from, beware of something"] (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp, 81v)
>
> *Pia. nite.* guardar a otro. prete. *onitepix*. ["to keep, to take care of someone"] (1977 [1571]:Nah-Sp, 81v)
>
> *Pia. nitla*. guardar agluna cosa. preter. *onitlapix*. ["to keep, yo take care of something"] (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp, 81v)

Consider the variations of this root in the following entries, which shifting form *e* to *a* — maintain the same basic, older meaning:

> *Pieloni*. cosa digna de guardar. ["something worthy of keeping"] (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp, 81v)
>
> *Pielli*. deposito. ["deposit"] (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp, 81v)
>
> *Pieloni yihuitl*. fiesta de guardar. ["festivity of obligatory observance"] (1977[1571]: Nah-Sp, 81v)
>
> *Pieltia*. *nicte.* dar a guardar algo. Pr. *onictecpielti.* ["to give something (to someone) for safe-keeping, for taking (good) care of it"] (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp, 81v)

Continuing with the Spanish section we find the contact induced and more modern meaning:

Posseer. naxca nicpia. notechpoui. notechpouhqui. nocococauh. ["to possess. I have my possession"][9] (1977[1571]:Sp-Nah, 97v)

According to Lockhart (1992:284), most of the loanwords in the 1571 edition had already been introduced in the earlier 1555 edition. If we take a closer look at Lockhart's information, it seems that Molina's selection involved a certain level of purism. This would seem natural, if we take into consideration that the everyday texts of the time doubled the *Vocabulario* in loanwords. Regardless, Lockhart (1992:563) pinpoints that:

> ... some of the mildest, and most insightful and least disapproving comments on Spanish loanwords in Nahuatl are to be found in Molina's introductory remarks to his dictionary (cf. 'Auiso octavo', eighth notice in the prologue of the Nahuatl to Spanish section).

Clayton and Campbell (2002:352) state that a non-purist approach but rather a functional one in both directions prevails in Molina. Similarly, Karttunen and Lockhart's (1976:84) comparison of Molina's work with common texts reveals that loanwords, found principally in the Spanish section, appear to have been selected from very well-established everyday borrowings. Not surprisingly, clerical terminology is over-represented, with approximately 200 of these terms included — mostly nouns and only one verb. If we were to compare Molina's introduction of loanwords with other fields of interest, ethnobotanical terms would probably come in a close section for obvious reasons (cf. Lockhart 1992:287). This is so because these terms include a good deal of plants and vegetables that were unknown to the Spaniards.

Instances of descriptive circumlocutions, neologisms or neosemantisms that at first sight may seem to be the result of a purist ideology rather stem from a denotative motivation. Just consider a couple of examples, mentioned only briefly, since several such forms found in the *Vocabulario* have already been studied by Karttunen and Lockhart (1976) and Lockhart (1992). A thorough count of neologisms, descriptive circumlocutions or induced forms would reveal that they appear in almost every page, configuring what I have called a missionary linguistic variety:

> Abogado. *tepan tlatoani. tlatoliquaniani. tlatlatoliquaniani. tlatlatol namictiani.* ["The word's specialist, he who talks a lot changing words, he who finds the words to talk profusely"] (1977[1571]:Sp-Nah, 1v)
>
> Marrano cochino de un año. *ye cexiuhtia coyametl.cexiuhcayotl coyametl. omonamic.* ["One year old pig or hog. A peccary who has already mated, paired up"] (1977 [1571]:Sp-Nah, 82r)

[9] In Karttunen and Lockhart (1976:43-45) the development of *–pia* from its original meaning of safe-guarding to the innovation due to language contact is discussed.

Notice that this is stage 1 (c.1520-1550) descriptive circumlocution, which is based on the word for peccary which was first semantically extended to "pig", later on the word *pitso*(*tl*), the new word for this animal was introduced and took over, displacing the former use in stages 2 and 3 (Lockhart 1992:280).[10]

As it is well-known, other forms that changed at different moments in the *Vocabulario's* development include semantic extensions of terms referring to animals that initially kept their original meaning but that were later adopted and adapted to refer to animals introduced by the Spaniards. One of these terms, *ichcatl*, which was originally "cotton" (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp, 32r), came to mean "sheep", a semantic extension (cf. Lockhart 1992:Chapter 7). In Molina this word is found glossed with both meanings in the same entry, showing that Molina amounted meanings rather than preferring one over the other, putting together words from stages 1 and 2.

Another well known example is *mazatl* ("deer") which became *cauallo* ("horse") in stage 2 (cf. Lockhart 1992:280). In the Nahuatl section this word *by itself* is rendered only with its original meaning (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp, 50r), yet in its semantic complex it encompasses meanings having to do with training colts, etc. In the Spanish one it appears as a loan which is rendered as a descriptive circumlocution in Nahuatl:

> Caualgar a cauallo. *cauallo ipan ninotlalia.cauallo ipan nitleco*. [lit. "on a horse I sit. on a horse I climb"] (1977[1571]:Sp-Nah, 26r)

Probably an example of another induced form (i.e. a form not obtained in spontaneous speech but in elicitation), is in fact an explanation that actually omits the word which is been trying to be elicited: *michin* ("fish"):

> Pescado, generalmente*. atlanemini. atlan chane*. ["(s)he who lives in water, the water dweller"] (1977[1571]:Sp-Nah, 95v)

[10] In the 1555 Vocabulary (204) the generic *puerco o puerca* is glossed as *coyametl* ("peccary") an indication that the word *pitsotl* is a later development. According to Lockhart (1992:280) the meaning of *pitzotl* is unknown. My hypothesis is that it derives from *quipipitzohua* ("to suck, kiss"), a meaning that certainly reminds the pig's behavior. Even when there was an animal called *pizotli,* "pisote" present in Book 11 of the Florentine Codex, these words or the animals are not identical. Thus *pitsotl* cannot simply be considered equivalent to *pizotli* and thus a model for the word *pitzotl.*, Sahagun (f.10) states: "Otro animalejo que se llama *pezotli* es como el de arriba dicho *mapachitli,* salvo que no tiene pies ni manos como persona…" ["Another animal which is called *pezotli* is like the above mentioned *mapachitli,* but it does not have human-like hand or feet…"].

There are numerous neologisms in Molina based on, among other things, similar descriptive circumlocutions that refer to the material and spiritual elements that were introduced by the Spanish invaders already profusely studied by Lockhart (1992:Chapter 7). Lockhart (1992:276) provides numerous examples, such as:

Ship	*Caxtillan Acalli* [“Castile boat”]
Paperiztac	*Caxtillan amatl* [“white Castile paper”]

Molina’s high tolerance of loanwords would explain why many entries from Lockhart’s (1992) contact stage 2 (c.1550–1640) were introduced. Just consider some eloquent examples taken directly from Molina:

Cuchillo tentli. filo de cuchillo [“the sharpness of a knife”] (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp, 25v)
Tlatornouilli. cosa echa con torno. [“something made with a lathe”] (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp, 142r)
Chrifmayotia. nite. Chrifmar a alguno. [“to crisscross someone”] (1977[1571]:22r)

Clayton and Campbell (2002:352) conclude that based on this open loan incorporation, which compared to Nebrija is extensive, Molina’s *Vocabulario* has an everyday flavor — which includes most of early Americanisms in Spanish — Taino lexicon such as *ají* (“hot chile pepper”), *maguey* (“maguey”), etc.

Molina’s *Vocabulario* is an unrivaled source for understanding the history of Nahuatl-Spanish contact, and also one that allows us to understand the internal development of the language, without confusing it with the processes of contact induced change. An example provided by Karttunen and Lockhart (1976:136) informs us that the Nahuas called a cat, an animal that the Spaniards introduced, *mis mis*, even though a word already existed in Nahuatl for assorted felines in Pre-Hispanic Mexico: *miztli*, (e.g. “the puma”), which in the case of the cat is *mizton*, with the diminutive *-ton*. The onomatopoeic term is actually more a convergent identification than a loanword *strictu sensu.* This suggests that some of the linguistic realities of specific entries that could be considered borrowings are more complex and more realistically conceived as convergent or concurrent forms.

Following is another example, though not as obvious as the previous one, from the *Vocabulario*:

Maciuhqui. aunque sea tal, o tal qual es. [“although it may be so or as it is”] (1977 [1571]: Nah-Sp, 50v)
Maciui. aunque, o dado que, o puesto caso. [“although or given that or that being the case”] (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp, 50v)

These entries help us to accurately understand the contemporary uses and origin of *maaske*, (“although, no matter that, may it be so”), a word that should

not be exclusively considered a loanword, as some authors have suggested (cf. Hill & Hill 1986).[11] As other entries in Molina allows us to corroborate, voiceless or voiced /w/, orthographically represented by the digraph <uh> and <u>, as in *maciuhqui* and *maciui*, respectively, is historically dropped in a number of Mexicano dialects. This is the case with *melaua*(*c*) ("right, correct straight"). This last entry appears in Molina (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp, 55r]) in different compounds. In modern Mexicano (e.g. in Guerrero and Tlaxcala), *Maciuhqui* surfaces as *maaske*, *maaski*, *maase*, *maasi*. [12]

On the other hand, Galeote (2001:xxxv) provides us with some examples of the different moments of lexical inclusions in the Spanish section of the *Vocabulario*. He points out that between the first version of 1555 and the second of 1571, the number of *Mexicanisms* or Nahuatl words borrowed in the Spanish section doubled. Consider one such example taken from the Nahuatl section of 1571:

> *Macehualli*. vasallo. ["vassal"] (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp, 50v)
> *Macehuallotl*. vasallaje o cosa de maceuales. ["vassal or something having to do with '*macehuales*'= commoners"] (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp, 50v)

The Spanish section constitutes an eloquent index of the degree of integration of Mexicanisms in the Spanish of the time, to such a degree that it is quite possible that many current and outdated Mexicanisms have partially existed thanks to the work of the Franciscans, including the terms *macehual* and *tameme* ("carrier"), a word used in Mexico up to this day, actually stemming from a Mexican archaism: *tlameme.* In other words, as Clayton and Campbell (2002:355) state, Nahuatlisms are full-fledged integrated in Molina's *Vocabulario*, and to a certain extend reflect Nahuatl loan integration of the time — at least in missionary speech —, which as influential as it was probably contributed to disseminating them beyond missionary use.

No matter how marginally, archaisms are also present in the *Vocabulario,* not only in Nahuatl but also in Spanish, as when Molina uses the phrase *lo mesmo* for *lo mismo (passim)* (meaning "the same as") to indicate synonyms, together with archaic Spanish spelling (Clayton & Campbell 2002:335).

Since Molina's aides were principals belonging to the nobility, it is most likely that when prompted by the Friar to produce specific lexical items, occasionally the *pillis* actually turned to archaisms as the high prestige forms of

---

[11] Additional contemporary evidence to state that *maaske* and its variants is a word of Nahuatl origin is its existence as a probable Nahuatl borrowing in other Mexican indigenous languages, such as Otomi and Totonaco, evidence that calls for more investigation.

[12] In Modern Balsas Nahuatl usage, when one leaves a given place, *maaske teh* is the expected courtesy routine to say "goodbye".

the language. This fact is interpreted here as another indication of the configuration of a missionary linguistic variety. Let us take a look at some of such archaisms in more detail.

4. *The presence of archaisms in Molina's Vocabulario*

Just as we find elements from both contact stages 1 and 2 in the *Vocabulario,* so the *a* ~ *e* variation, among other traits, can be considered the opposition of more modern *versus* more archaic forms. Examples of archaisms are to be found in the verses of the sacred chants known collectively as *Cantares Mexicanos*. In the poem translated by Garibay (2000:139)[13] as *La divina elección* ("The divine choice"), we find such a variation (*–pia* < *-pie*)[14]:

Ica monoma in tehuatl
tonteicnota mochiel imanca mocal imanca,
*ca mitzontla**pie**lia ipalnemohuani*

Así, por tu propio impulso (Por tu oscilación)
Haces piedad para ellos en tu templo y tu santuario (Te apiadas de la gente),
Allí están vigilando Xiuhtzin Coyolchiuhqui (En efecto te vigila el dador de la vida)

[Thus, by your impulse (oscillation)
You have mercy on those in your temple and your sanctuary (you take pity on your people),
There Xiuhtzin Coyolchiuhqui is watching (Indeed, he watches you, the giver of life).]

Or in the *Vocabulario* we find *miec* (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp, 56r) instead of *miac* "mucho" ("a lot"). Also countless entries in *Cantares* with *e* where we would expect an *i* suggest that *e* is linked to more archaic forms, even when it might also be considered a dialectal variation between Tenochtitlan and Tezcoco. For example:

*…xiuhcali**e**c nocuica, maquizcalitec non tlatoa…*
Canto en primavera, entre joyas hablo (Garibay 2000:132)
[I sing in spring, among jewels I speak.]

In contrast, in Molina we find:

*Iti**i**c,* dentro de algo. ["inside something"] (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp, 42v)

---

[13] As Garibay (1994:317) himself suggests, poetry is certainly a genre in which archaic language is to be most likely found, not only in Nahuatl, but in any language. The most archaic forms of Nahuatl are found as witnessed in *Cantares Mexicanos* (Bierhorst 1985; Garibay 2000) and of course in the oldest Nahuatl texts available known as *Primeros Memoriales*, especially in the text *Veinte Himnos Sacros de los Nahuas* [20 sacred hymns of the Nahuas] (cf. Garibay 1995; Canger 1988:31).

[14] An interesting parallelism is present in Modern Mexicano. In Balsas Nahuatl, the difference between *kipia* ("to have") and *tlapia* ("to keep, guard, take care of"), is, as can be seen, the opposition between the specific object *ki-* and the undetermined object *tla-*.

This is probably where it is harder to discern or to select a single explanation. While the *e* ~ *i* variation can be categorized dialectal, it can also be related to other levels of variability, including the sociolectal, stylistic and even as part of an archaic *versus* a more modern register. As a result, the terrain becomes rather complex. Presumably, Molina preferred the *Tenochca*, which uses *i* instead of *e,* quite possibly a Tezcoco trait, maybe because he learned it as a child. However, because the later in fact coincides with the more archaic forms of the language, inclusion of forms with *e* may also be a reflection of his attempts to standardize the diastratical elite variety and include prestige forms of the language. The claim that *e* is older than *i* is supported by studies in the reconstruction of Protonahuatl. Dakin (1982:46), following Whorf (1937), suggests that Yutoaztec *a* derived in Aztec *e* which in turn was developed into an *i* — thus *i* can be considered a later development.

Clearer forms that were already archaic at the moment of the Spanish arrival include the agentive *–quetl* at times found as *–qui* at times as*–quetl*, in Molina:

> Cantor. *cuicani. cuicatlali. cuica pic-**qui**.* ["poet-singer"] (1977[1571]:Sp-Nah, 24r)
> *Cuicapic-**qui**.* componedor de canto. ["composer of songs"] (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp, 26v)[15]
> *Mic-**quetl**.* cuerpo de hombre muerto. ["body of a dead man"] (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp, 56r)
> *Mic-**qui**.* muerto o difunto. ["dead or deceased"] (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp, 56r)

As can be seen by the preceding example, Molina included both more archaic and contemporary forms; thus *–quetl* is indeed attested as the most archaic form, while *–qui* is a more contemporary one.[16] It is also possible that in his pursuit to find equivalences to his Spanish questions, Molina attributed, together with his aides, specific nuances to words that, as *micquetl* and *micqui*, are basically synonymous.

Therefore the whole picture is a complex one. Consider that the high variety, to which the sacred chants belong as the superimposed variety in the diglossic spectrum, contained much more grammatical complexity, as in the case in point, the agentive which has two forms (cf. Flores Farfán 2004, 2005).

If we again turn to *Cantares*, we will also find the use of *cuicanitl* ("poet-singer") (cf. Garibay 2000:8). Probably Molina, in his lexicographical quest, turned to old forms as one way of rendering a number of issues, yet as I have suggested included a number of other different forms from different periods

[15] Garibay (1995:18 ff.) lists *–quetl*, as well as other forms such as *–na* (later the agentive *–ni*) and *–tla* (later the absolutive suffix *–tli*) as archaic.

[16] Another interesting parallelism regarding modern Nahuatl emerges here. In Balsas Nahuatl forms ending in *–ketl* are considered *Mexicano de iksaan*, ("old Mexicano"), while forms with the transferred Spanish agentive *–ero* are obviously not. Compare: *tlawaanketl* vs. *tlawaankero* ("drunkard").

and registers, all of which, as an overall result, produced a sort of "mixed variety", one of the characteristics of the missionary variety. For example, consider the inclusion of two forms for the word rabbit:

Conejo. *tochtli. tochin.* ["rabbit"] (1977[1571]:Sp-Nah, 28v)
Tochin. conejo. ["rabbit"] (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp, 148r)
Tochtli. conejo ["rabbit"] (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp, 148r)

Notice that in the Spanish-Nahuatl section both forms are included in the same entry, starting with the most recent and thus common one and then the archaism (*–in* is an archaic absolutive form)[17], while in the Mexican section two separate entries are provided, following the alphabetical order.

A final example is an entry that resorts to an archaic form *-tla* to refer to the idea of "farmer" or "villager" and its semantic complex, even when it is probably a fossilized example:

Millapixcalli. cauaña de labradores. ["peasant's hut"] (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp, 56v)
Milla tlacatl. labrador o aldeano, ["peasant or villager"] [18] (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp, 56v)

The origin of *milla*, even when the more contemporary form is also included in the *Vocabulario* (*milli*), is formed with the radical for cultivated field *mil-* plus the archaic absolutive suffix *-tla*, which later became *-tli*, as in *mil-li* — just as with *-tli*, the /λ/ in *-tla* is submitted to regressive assimilation to /l/.

Thus probably due to the configuration of a missionary linguistic variety which greatly valued high prestige forms, and allows for complex diglossic grammatical variability, in Molina we encounter elements not only from contact stage 1, but also archaisms characteristic of a such mixed variety.

5. *Some remarks concerning dialectal variation in the* Vocabulario

Even when Molina declares that he will provide dialectal variations when necessary, he does not specify the origin of non-preferred words, so this remains to be reconstructed (cf. Clayton & Campbell 2002:342).

[17] According to Garibay (1994:317) the archaic language retains *–in*, which later on was substituted by *–tli*. His example is: "*cuauhin* por *cuauhtli*" [*cuauhin* for *cuauhtli*: "eagle"]. This would also explain why in Classical and Modern Nahuatl *–in* is the less productive absolutive form.

[18] As Sullivan and Dakin (1980:293) pinpoint while referring to the *Primeros Memoriales*, one of the oldest texts available which presents a number of archaisms: "en estos textos se encuentra el protosufijo *–la* que representa la asimilacion de la *tl* despues de una *l*…por ejemplo tenemos *nella*, "verdadero", *quetzalcalla*, "casa de plumas de quetzal", *yancuipilla*, "recien nacido"…" ["in these texts we encounter the protosuffix *–la* which represents the assimilation of *tl* after *l*…for example we have *nella*, "truthful", *quetzalcalla*, "house of quetzal feathers", *yancuipilla*, "just born"…"].

One of the most prominent variations in Molina is the *e* ~ *y* switch at the beginning of the word, which represents an isogloss (cf. Lastra 1986:11, 24):

Eexpa. cada tres vezes. ["each three times"] (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp, 28r)
Yexpa. tres vezes. ["three times"] (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp, 36r)
Eexca. en cada tres partes, o a cada tres raciones. ["in each three parts"] (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp, 28r)
Yexcan. en tres partes, o lugares. ["in three parts"] (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp, 36r)

Dialectologically, the forms that begin with *y*- appear for example in the Nahuatl of the current state of Guerrero, including Balsas Nahuatl (cf. Flores Farfán 1999) and according to Lastra (1986:24) in Tlaxcala, Hidalgo, State of Mexico, D.F. (Mexico City) and Morelos. However, those that allow only *e*- are also characteristic of the Nahuatl of the Valley of Mexico, where forms such as *euatl* may have alternated with *yehuatl*, ("(s)he"), if only occasionally, as suggested by the above examples. Even when Molina did not specified the origin of such dialectal variation, the inclusion of these forms is coherent with the High variety approach that over all guided his lexicographic project.

Another example of the dialectal lexical variation is the word that denotes "squirrel". In Central Mexico we find *techalotl* (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp, 92r) (and its variants *quauhtechalotl* (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp, 86r) and *tlaltechalotl* (1977 [1571]:Nah-Sp, 124v), while in other regions like contemporary Guerrero we have *moto'*— in Molina (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp, 61a) we also find *mototli*. This may be indicative of the unconscious inclusion and maybe even normalization, no matter how marginally, of forms from different dialects.[19]

Another variation that can be attributed to dialectal differentiation is the alternation of *o* and *u*, actually allophones in Nahuatl. Probably also as part of the normalization process, in Molina we find a number of examples with *u* where we would expect an *o*:

Muchi. todo. ["all"] (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp, 61r)

In older texts which are plentiful in archaisms we encounter *muchi*, ("all") (Garibay 1995:174), while in Molina we find both *muchi* as the free standing

[19] As Canger (1988:48) states: "…The situation that was in force at the time of the Spanish conquest was frozen…by the arrival of the Spanish…" which also implied that "…the configuration of the sociolects…was frozen …". This entails that the common features of Central dialects are due to "…late influence from one prestigious and dominant dialect, Tenochtitlan … and they have had the function of unifying the dialects". It was with these conditions in mind, that missionaries such as Molina recovered such more homogenous varieties that represent the ruling classes for their language policies, probably also including purposes of normalization.

form, and also *mochi*, although only in compounds or descriptive circumlocutions. A selection includes:

Mochicauani. esforçado o animoso. ["hard worker or enthusiastic"]
Mochicauhqui. idem.
Mochicomatini. sospechoso o malicioso. ["suspicious or naughty"]
Mochi oipan quiz. persona experimentada. ["experienced person"]
Mochi oquittac. Idem. (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp, 57v)

Although this requires much more investigation, just as I have suggested elsewhere (Flores Farfán 2004, 2005) the diatopical variation directly overlaps with the diastratic level, a fact that might explain the inclusion of variable forms, especially considering that the high prestige variety was conceived of as the most suitable and polished speech, and consequently an obligatory referent. This of course corresponded to the dialectal varieties of Tezcoco, precisely where the poetic registers flourished and which favored [u] over [o]. Such preference can be witnessed in the following example:

*tep**u**tzcomonia. nite*. Lo mismo es que *tepotzcomonia*. [*tep**u**tzcomonia. nite*. "The same as *tepotzcomonia*"] (1977[1571]:Nah-Sp, 103v)

This suggests that in fact Tezcoco was the first and foremost form preferred by Molina, consistent with the High nature of such dialect. Moreover, regarding the variation *o* ~ *u* the existence of double transfers in Molina Spanish words, treated unconsciously as a speaker of the prestige variety of Nahuatl would, might be an indication of the social value of *u*:

Bienes de f**u**rtuna. *tlatquitl* (1977[1571]:Sp-Nah, 19v)
C**u**dicia. *tlaeleuliliztli. neicoltiliztli* (1977[1571]:Sp-Nah, 32v). (quoted in Clayton & Campbell (2002:369)

This might be an indication of the pervasive influence of the Received Pronunciation which had *u* as the High form — representing Tezcoco, after all the place where Nahuatl poetry flourished.

6. ***Final remarks***

It is worthwhile recalling that missionaries worked with few, i.e. High varieties, not only in the Nahuatl, but in several other Mesoamerican languages. These were almost always prestige varieties, in the case of Nahuatl corresponding roughly to Mexico-Tenochtitlan and above all Tezcoco. Molina (1977[1571]:8) himself explains in one of his *avisos* that the words used by other provinces would be presented towards the end, if they required specification. Clearly, although (the e.g. dialectal) variation is recognized, it is included only marginally and not at all specified.

While the Spanish section of the *Vocabulario* is extremely interesting, it is the Nahuatl language that stands out, even if it appears after the Spanish one, as if it was a translation — which is *not* at all the case; rather it is the target language. Many neologisms and finer definitions emerged in the transcultural effort that we now call intercultural. Molina himself reminds us:

> También se ha de advertir que los romances de los vocablos de la lengua [para que mejor se entienda la significación de ellos] se han de buscar en este vocabulario que comienca en la lengua mexicana:, por quanto en el estan mejor declarados que en el que comienca en romance […] ('Prólogo al Lector', Mex-Cast, Aviso sexto.)
>
> [… the Romance of the terms of the language must be looked for in this vocabulary that begins in the Mexican language, since there they are better defined than in the one that begins with Spanish.]

Molina was conscious that the missionaries required a Nahuatl dictionary for their purposes of evangelization, and therefore Nahuatl was the target language. Molina never lost sight of this lexicographic goal. In other words, Molina's most important lexicographic work focused primarily on the Nahuatl language, not the Spanish one. Such a prominence of Nahuatl as the target language, even when derived from evident educational and communicative motives, entails a first maintenance effect of the indigenous tongue, that we still highly value and admire up to this day. In this sense, the Franciscan project, a humanistic project of great scope, prefigured not only modern processes of linguistic documentation, but the ethnographic science of *our time*, and by doing so, took it far beyond the lexicographic works of *its time*.

REFERENCES

A. ***Primary Sources***

Molina, Alonso de. 2001[1555]. *Aquí comienza vn vocabvlario en la lengua Castellana y Mexicana.* México: Juan Pablos. Ed. Manuel Galeote. Málaga: Universidad de Málaga.

Molina, Alonso de. 1977[1571]. *Vocabvlario en lengva castellana y mexicana[;] Vocabvlario en lengva mexicana y castellana.* México: Antonio de Spinosa. Re-edición México: Editorial Porrúa, México, 1970 (second edition 1977).

Nebrija, Antonio de. 1984[1492]. *Gramática de la Lengua Castellana.* Madrid: Antonio Quilis Spinosa. Madrid: Editora Nacional.

Olmos, Andrés de. 1985[1547]. *Arte de la lengua mexicana y vocabulario*. Ed. René Acuña. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Sahagún, Bernardino de. 2001[1577]. *Códice Florentino.* Ed. facs. Presentación e introducción por Miguel León-Portilla. México: Libros Mas Cultura.

B. ***Secondary Sources***

Andrews, Richard. 1975. *Introduction to Classical Nahuatl.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Barriga Villanueva, Rebeca & Pedro Martín Butragueño, eds. 2005 (in press). *Historia sociolingüística de México*. México: El Colegio de México.

Bierhorst, John. 1985. *Nahuatl English Dictionary and Concordance to the Cantares Mexicanos*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Brincat, Joseph, Winfrid Boeder & Thomas Stolz, eds. 2003. *Purism in Minor Languages, Endangered Languages, Regional Languages, Mixed Languages*. Bochum: Universitätsverlag Dr. N. Brockmeyer.

Canger, Una. 1988. "Nahuatl dialectology: A survey and some suggestions". *International Journal of American Linguistics* 54:1.28-72.

Clayton, Mary & Joe Campbell. 2002. "Alonso de Molina as a Lexicographer". Frawley, Hill & Munro, eds. 2002.336-391.

Dakin, Karen. 1982. *La Evolución Fonológica del Protonáhuatl*. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Ferguson, C. 1971. "Absence of Copula and the Notion of Simplicity: A study of normal speech, baby talk, foreigner talk and pidgins". Hymes, ed. 1971.141-150.

Flores Farfán, José Antonio. 1999. *Cuatreros somos y toindioma hablamos. Contactos y conflictos entre el náhuatl y el español en el sur de México*. México: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social.

Flores Farfán, José Antonio. 2003. "Nahuatl Purism: Between language innovation, maintenance and shift". Brincat, Boeder & Stolz, eds. 2003.281-313.

Flores Farfán, José Antonio. 2004. "Classical Nahuatl: Outlining its sociolinguistic complexity". Stolz, ed. 2004.167-178.

Flores Farfán, José Antonio. (in press). "Hacia una historia sociolingüística mesoamericana. Explorando el náhuatl clásico". Barriga Villanueva & Martín Butragueño, eds. 2005 (in press).

Frawley, William, Kenneth C. Hill & Pamel Munro, eds. 2002. *Making Dictionaries: Preserving indigenous languages of the America.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Galeote, Manuel. 2001. "Estudio preliminar" de Aquí comiença vn vocabulario en la lengua castellana y mexicana, xi-xiii. Málaga: Universidad de Málaga.

Garibay, Ángel M. 1994. *Llave del Náhuatl*. México: Porrúa.

Garibay, Ángel M. 1995. *Viente Himnos Sacros de los Nahuas*. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Garibay, Ángel M. 2000. *Poesía Náhuatl*. 2 Vols. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Giles, Howard, ed. 1984. "The dynamics of speech accommodation". *International Journal of the Sociology of Language,* 46.1-155.

Hernández, Esther. 2001. "Estudio" de Fray Alonso de Molina *Vocabulario en Lengua Castellana y Mexicana*, 9-47. Madrid: Ediciones de Cultura Hispánica.

Hill, Jane H. & Kenneth C. Hill. 1986. *Speaking Mexicano. Dynamics of a syncretic language in Central Mexico*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Hymes, Dell, ed. 1971. *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages: Proceedings of a conference held at the University of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica, April 1968.* Cambridge, etc.: Cambridge University Press.

Karttunen, Frances & James Lockhart. 1976. *Nahuatl in the Middle Years. Language contact phenomena in texts of the colonial period*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Labov, William. 1972. *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press.

Lastra de Suárez, Yolanda. 1986. *Las Areas Dialectales del Nahuatl*. Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Lockhart, James. 1992. *The Nahuas. A social and cultural history of the Indians of Central Mexico*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Siméon, Rémi. 2004. *Diccionario de la lengua náhuatl o mexicana. Redactado según documentos y manuscritos auténticos y publicados en francés en 1885…* Trad. de Josefina Oliva de Coll. 17a edición. México: Siglo XXI.

Smith-Stark, Thomas. 2008. (This volume). "La lexicografía en la Nueva España".

Stolz, Thomas, ed. 2004. *Alte Sprache, Diversitas Linguarum.* Bochum: Universitätsverlag Dr. N. Brockmeyer.

Sullivan Thelma D. & Karen Dakin. 1980. "Dialectología del náhuatl de los siglos XVI y XVII". *Rutas de intercambio en Mesoamérica y el Norte de México. XVI Mesa Redonda de la Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología*, 291-297. México: Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología.

LOS VOCABULARIOS HISPANO-MAYAS DEL SIGLO XVI

ESTHER HERNÁNDEZ
Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales-CSIC, Madrid

ABSTRACT

This article attempts to be a contribution to the history of the bilingual vocabularies of Spanish and Mayan languages that the missionaries compiled during the sixteenth century. For that, it offers a panoramic vision from all, including a mention to the vocabularies never founded or accessible in present time. Besides, it describes and analyzes both lexicographical method and lexical originality of few bilingual vocabularies of Spanish with the different Mayan languages, and one in the other direction (Maya-Spanish). Additionally, it deals with the question if this vocabularies are inspired by the *Vocabulario español-latino* (c.1495) by Antonio de Nebrija (1441/1444?–1522), or/ and the *Vocabulario en lengua mexicana* (1555, 1571) by Alonso de Molina (1514–1585). In short, it shows that vocabularies of Hispanic and Amerindian languages are valuable sources for learning the history of Spanish lexicon in America.

1. *Introducción*

El objeto de este trabajo es el estudio de los vocabularios del español con las lenguas mayas que los misioneros compusieron durante el siglo XVI. En él, daremos cuenta de los vocabularios de los que se tiene alguna noticia que se hicieron, atendiendo a los cronistas de la época y a los catálogos bibliográficos u otros estudios realizados después,[1] e informaremos de dónde se localizan los ejemplares de los que se han conservado. Describiremos, con ello, un capítulo

[1] Partimos de los trabajos de Niederehe (2004), Hernández de León-Portilla (2003), McQuown (1991:2661-2670) y Smith Stark (inédito). Este estudio forma parte de los que estamos realizando para el proyecto "Corpus de vocabularios bilingües iberoamericanos (siglos XVI–XVIII): tesoro lexicográfico y léxico histórico del español de América [HUM-2005-01633]. Una versión previa con el título "Originalidad léxica de los vocabularios hispano-mayas del siglo XVI" fue leída en el congreso de lingüística misionera de Mérida, para cuya asistencia disfrutamos de una ayuda de viaje por parte del consejo noruego de investigaciones científicas (NFR, Norges Forkningsråd).

de la lexicografía histórica que no ha sido abordado de manera conjunta para las lenguas mayas y que, sobre todo, no ha sido hasta ahora tratado desde el ámbito de la filología y de la lingüística hispánicas. Específicamente, analizaremos el método lexicográfico y la originalidad léxica de los vocabularios mayas en relación con el *Vocabulario español-latino* (c.1495) de Antonio de Nebrija (1441/1444?–1522), fuente primordial de los vocabularios bilingües con las lenguas indígenas americanas durante ese periodo. También compararemos los lemas en castellano de los distintos vocabularios hispano-mayas con los lemas del *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana* de fray Alonso de Molina (c.1520–1580), cuyas dos ediciones (1555 y 1571) fueron la base de gran parte de los vocabularios mesoamericanos compuestos en dicho periodo. Por último, mostraremos que los primeros vocabularios bilingües que se compilaron con las lenguas mayas contienen materiales léxicos interesantes para los estudios en torno a la historia de la lengua española en América.

2. *Los misioneros lexicógrafos en las fuentes*

Los cronistas religiosos[2] escribieron acerca de los vocabularios que redactaron los misioneros y algunos también describieron el método que tenían para componerlos. Así, fray Francisco Vázquez (1647–c.1714), a propósito del vocabulario de la lengua de Guatemala de fray Pedro de Betanzos (segunda mitad del siglo XVI), hoy de paradero desconocido, hablaba de cómo los franciscanos trabajaban:

> poniendo cuidado y solicitud en percibir de los mismos indios las voces, escribirlas (muchas veces en la mano), tomarlas de memoria, hoy un poco, mañana otro poco, preguntar los significados a quien más sabía, conferenciar entre sí mismos y rumiar cada uno entre sí, el modo, el sonido, el gesto. ¡Oh, qué trabajos pasaron aquellos operarios evangélicos! Los libros que dejaron escritos lo testifican, pues los que llaman vocabularios son como unos memoriales de mucho volumen, su estilo es, en la una columna, poner por orden alfabético las cosas en idioma castellano y, a la parte correspondiente, no verbos ni nombres, sino oraciones enteras, muy prolijas para explicar lo que se pide. (Vázquez 1937–1944[c.1714], I, cap. XXV:124)

Sabido es que, en esta época, los vocabularios bilingües no tenían entradas univerbales como los diccionarios de hoy. Según revelaba el cronista, la técnica lexicográfica consistía en acompañar, a una palabra o frase castellana, un enunciado explicativo con frases o sintagmas equivalentes en la lengua indí-

[2] Sobre la historia de Yucatán y de Guatemala, por un lado escribieron los franciscanos fray Diego de Landa (1524–1579), Bernardo de Lizana (1581–1631), Diego López de Cogolludo (1613–c.1665) y Francisco Vázquez (v. Adams, Scholes & Roys 1952) y, por otro, los dominicos fray Antonio de Remesal (murió en 1619) y Francisco Ximénez (1666–c.1722). (v. Esteve Barba 1992[1964]:318-329).

gena.[3] Vázquez proporcionaba, además, información del procedimiento de composición de los vocabularios, de la finalidad de estos textos[4] y de las notables diferencias en el aprendizaje de la lengua maya para los jóvenes o para los bilingües, frente a quienes no lo eran:

> […] sin duda, guiándose de los vocabularios latinos, escribían el romance y andaban preguntando lo que le correspondía en la lengua de los indios [...], porque todo lo que se había de saber, en lo extenso que se necesitaba para predicarles y entenderles, había de ser a fuerza de aplicación y aprehensión de voces extrañas, fatigando la memoria y llegando a enfermar de la cabeza algunos, a rigores del mucho trabajo; pues aquel sabía más lengua, que había aprendido más copia de vocablos. Para muchachos sin otros cuidados y que naciesen o se criasen conversando con indios, era bueno, porque en largo tiempo vinieran a saber como los indios; pero, para hombres provectos, vivos, y de la calidad de españoles, que pican en cólera, tengo por cierto que sería un género de martirio. (*ibidem*)

3. ***Singularidad de los vocabularios mayas***

Muchas de las obras de los misioneros se difundieron gracias a la temprana implantación de la imprenta que, desde 1539, se estableció en México (v. Medina 1989[1912]). Sin embargo, las obras lingüísticas que se elaboraron con las lenguas mayas no se imprimieron en su momento y su conservación en manuscritos ha sido deficiente.[5] Así, en contraste con otras lenguas mesoamericanas que poseen vocabularios impresos en la época,[6] los de las lenguas

[3] Probablemente sus autores tomaban algún trabajo latino, a veces quizá las *Introduciones* nebrisenses (Nebrija 1996[c.1488]), las que, con la ayuda de los bilingües, irían anotando al tiempo que relacionaban el léxico maya.

[4] Estaban concebidos como instrumentos para el aprendizaje de las lenguas mayas y también pudieron utilizarse como herramienta de traducción de textos, dada la rica tradición cultural y literaria de estas lenguas (Arzápalo Marín 2005:94). Tenían una finalidad codificadora: para que los frailes produjeran textos orales o escritos sobre las lenguas indígenas. Fueron, por lo tanto, vocabularios surgidos para el aprendizaje rápido de las lenguas mayas como producto unido a la evangelización (v. Esparza Torres 2003; Zimmerman 2005:108), y compilados para uso exclusivo de los frailes españoles.

[5] Los manuscritos de diccionarios del castellano con las lenguas del tronco maya (tzeltal, maya yucateco, quiché, cakchiquel, tzutuhil, tzotzil, etc), que permanecían depositados en los conventos, sufrieron todo tipo de saqueos sobre todo después de la Independencia (v. Acuña 1983:13).

[6] Nos referimos a los vocabularios del náhuatl (1555, 1571), de fray Alonso de Molina (1520–1580) del tarasco (1559) de fray Maturino Gilberti (1498–1585), otro del tarasco (1574) de fray Juan Bautista de Lagunas (murió en 1604), del zapoteco (1578) de fray Juan de Córdova (1501–1595) y de la lengua mixteca (1593) de fray Francisco de Alvarado (murió en 1603).

mayas nos han llegado en versiones manuscritas, que son además normalmente copias, no originales, localizadas en diversas instituciones como veremos.[7]

4. *Vocabularios hispano-mayas*

El criterio que hemos seguido para intentar saber cuántos y cuáles se elaboraron[8] ha consistido en buscar las obras lexicográficas de todas las lenguas mayas realizadas en el siglo XVI.[9] Para describir los vocabularios primero hemos tenido en cuenta su paradero actual y después hemos seguido un orden geográfico, como lo hizo Niederehe (2004), con una subclasificación por lenguas, según los ordenó Hernández de León-Portilla (2003). Las fuentes antiguas informan de la redacción de unos quince vocabularios, de los cuales ha llegado a nuestros días solo la mitad de ellos. A continuación, analizaremos la estructura de los vocabularios a los que hemos tenido acceso y cuyo análisis no se ha abordado hasta ahora como parte de la lexicografía española. La idea que subyace a esta investigación es que los diccionarios con las lenguas mayas y el español deberían de ser tenidos en cuenta no solo por la lingüística indoamericana, sino también por la lingüística hispánica. Entre otras razones, porque la mayoría tiene como lengua de partida, o lengua de encabezamiento de las entradas, el español.[10] El análisis de los lemas de las entradas permitirá saber en qué tradición lexicográfica se apoyan, si es que lo hacen en alguna.[11]

---

[7] Encomiable es, sin duda, la labor de rescate que ha llevado a cabo la UNAM y la de mayistas, como Acuña, o la de Arzápalo Marín, que han editado códices antiguos (v. *Calepino maya de Motul* y *Calepino de Motul*, respectivamente). No hay que olvidar la labor que realizó el grupo de bibliófilos que las coleccionaron (Charles Brasseur de Bourbourg [1814–1874], Richard Garret [murió en c.1858], William E. Gates [1863–1940], Carl Hermann Berendt [siglo XIX], etc.), razón por la que hoy se encuentran depositadas en diversas instituciones: en el fondo americano de la Biblioteca Nacional de Francia, en las colecciones de Bancroft (Berkeley), Garret-Gates (Princeton), de la John Carter Brown (Providence), etc.

[8] Los vocabularios que hemos inventariado – a veces con labilidad en cuanto a su fechación, autoría, etc. – pueden clasificarse de modo diverso, dependiendo del criterio que sigamos. Realizar una aproximación por órdenes religiosas, por ejemplo, es muy útil para comprender su desarrollo en el tiempo, pues compañeros de orden copiaban los trabajos de sus antecesores. Este estudio lo ha realizado Bolles (2003 [en línea]) con los diccionarios redactados por los franciscanos.

[9] Hay noticias de los diccionarios que se confeccionaron en las obras bibliográficas generales o las de las órdenes monacales, así como en los catálogos de Viñaza y BICRES I. Sin embargo, muchos de ellos son inaccesibles quizá porque nunca se redactaron realmente, porque se desconoce su paradero o porque se han perdido.

[10] Tienen entradas españolas los vocabularios de Juan Alonso (siglo XVI) (cakchiquel), de Alonso de la Solana (murió en 1600) (maya yucateco), de *Mayathan* (maya yucateco), el *Anónimo* del tzotzil y el de Domingo de Ara (murió en 1572) (tzeldal). Otros tienen por entradas frases en la lengua maya seguidas de su equivalente castellano, como el de Domingo

4.1. *Vocabularios de paradero desconocido*

4.1.1 *Maya yucateco*. Fray Diego de Landa (1959[c.1566]:30), el primer obispo e historiador del Yucatán, afirmaba sobre el maya hablado en la zona que "el que más supo fue fray Luis de Villalpando, que comenzó a saberla por señas y pedrezuelas y la redujo a una manera de arte y escribió una doctrina cristiana en aquella lengua". A este testimonio fray Bernardo Lizana (1995 [1633]:150) agregó: "tomó, pues, muchos términos de la lengua de memoria, con sus significados, buscando a los verbos su conjugación y a los nombres su variación". Fuera de estas afirmaciones, no hay una fuente primaria que asegure que Luis de Villalpando (murió en 1552) escribió específicamente un diccionario; en la primera edición del *Epítome* León Pinelo sólo escribía: "F. Lvis de Villalpando, Franciscano, Escrivio en una de las lenguas de las Indias. imp[reso]" (p. 105). En nuestra opinión, puede que el franciscano fray Luis de Villalpando escribiera una obra lexicográfica, sobre todo teniendo en cuenta su implicación en la cuestión lingüística, dado su empeño en que los niños indígenas aprendieran español.[12] Hay quien asegura que el diccionario llegó a publicarse en 1571 (v. García Icazbalceta 1954[1886]:41, n. 107); sin embargo, no lo hemos hallado, ni consta su existencia en fuentes de primera mano.[13]

Se ha dicho que el indio Gaspar Antonio Chi (c.1531–c.1575) escribió un diccionario del maya yucateco en la segunda mitad del siglo XVI.[14] Gaspar

---

de Vico (murió en 1555) (cakchiquel, quiché y tzutuhil) y el diccionario *de Motul* (maya yucateco), así como la parte inversa del vocabulario de Domingo de Ara. En estos últimos, las entradas están constituidas por frases indígenas, encabezadas de palabras ordenadas alfabéticamente; es decir, las correspondencias que se establecen entre las lenguas son fraseológicas, pero siguen un orden alfabético. Tienen, por consiguiente, una finalidad lexicográfica, como es la de servir para traducir de una lengua a otra de manera cómoda, al estar alfabetizadas las palabras clave.

[11] La mayoría de los vocabularios mesoamericanos coetáneos se basa en el *Vocabulario español-latino* de Nebrija (Nebrija 1989[c.1495] [en adelante, *VEL*] (v. Hernández 2006b).

[12] V. detalles de su acción en el interesante estudio sobre las primeras escuelas mayas de Ramos Díaz 2006 [en línea].

[13] Lo hemos buscado en las bibliotecas con fondos americanos, así como en el *Archivo General de Indias* [AGI en adelante] y en el *Archivo de Simancas*, y aprovechamos esta ocasión para dar las gracias a los facultativos de ambos archivos por la información facilitada. En cualquier caso, dicho vocabulario o se perdió, o se recicló en la obra de otro misionero contemporáneo. Por otro lado, para argumentar que Villalpando no puede ser el autor del vocabulario de *Mayathan* – de lo que tratamos más adelante –, Bolles (2003: en línea) afirmaba: "llegó a Campeche en 1546. En el capítulo franciscano de 1549 fue elegido custodio y se fue a servir a Conkal. En 1552 murió, parece poco probable que escribiera un diccionario como el de Viena".

[14] Del mismo modo que otros indios bilingües que anónimamente contribuyeron a inventariar el léxico de los vocabularios, y que en general participaron en las tareas de codificación lingüística como es el caso de Hernando de Ribas en el de Molina (1571) (v. Hernández de

Antonio Chi[15] era cuatrilingüe, conocía bien la gramática y parece ser que hizo un arte, aparte de la *Relación de algunas costumbres* de 1582.[16] No obstante, no hay una fuente primaria cercana que asegure que escribió un vocabulario.[17]

Para terminar con los supuestos autores de obras lexicográficas que no han sido encontradas hasta hoy, tenemos que referirnos al franciscano fray Gaspar González de Nájera (segunda mitad del siglo XVI), a quien Bolles le atribuye la autoría del vocabulario de *Mayathan*, del que trataremos más abajo.[18] Entre otras razones, se basa en el contenido de un documento en el que figura como autor de un vocabulario en maya yucateco. Este documento presenta, a nuestro juicio, una información fiable, y está dirigido a

> la Audiencia de Nueva España, para que viesen un Arte y Vocabulario para aprender la lengua de los Indios de Yucatán, y una Cartilla para enseñar a leer a los niños Indios, compuestos por fray Gaspar González de Nájera, y, siendo útiles y sin error, le dieren licencia para imprimirlos y venderlos por un tiempo de diez años. (AGI, Audiencia de México, leg. 2999, *apud* Bolles)

4.1.2 *Otras lenguas mayas de México y de Guatemala.* Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta (1525–1604) aseguraba que fray Andrés de Olmos (c.1491–c.1570) había redactado un vocabulario con la lengua maya de la Huasteca, pero nunca

---

León-Portilla 1996), creemos muy probable que Gaspar Antonio interviniese en la redacción del vocabulario de *Mayathan* por la competencia en la lengua maya que se le supone a un nativo y por ser natural de Maní, uno de los primeros asentamientos de la orden franciscana en Yucatán. Esta localidad tiene una presencia muy significativa en este diccionario y, en especial, ha llamado nuestra atención lo que se dice en el artículo "Los linderos de nosotros los de Maní: *c'et luumilob ah Maniob*", palabras que difícilmente escribiría un misionero oriundo de España.

[15] Al parecer fue un protegido de fray Diego de Landa, reclutado por Villalpando y Benavente para las tareas lingüísticas. Más información sobre este personaje histórico en Blom (1928); Alvar (1972); Bolles (2003 [en línea]); Ramos Díaz (2006 [en línea]); y, Strecker & Artieda (2006 [en línea]). V. asimismo Viñaza, nº 716, 244; BICRES I , nº 740.

[16] V. edición y estudio de Strecker & Artieda (2006 [en línea]).

[17] Cogolludo se refirió solo a la *Relación*, y decía: "[…] estas, y otras muchas costumbres (que dice la relación) usaron estos indios de Yucatan: tengóla en mi poder escrita original por Gaspar Antonio, descendiente de los señores y reyes de la ciudad de Mayapán, llamado Xiu en su gentilidad, bautizado adulto por los religiosos fundadores de esta provincia, que le enseñaron, no solo á leer y escribir, pero aun la latinidad, que la supo muy bien, y cuando la escribió año de mil y quinientos y ochenta y dos, á los veinte de marzo, era intérprete por el rey de el juzgado mayor de esta gobernacion, y dice, que se la mandó recopilar D. Guillen de las Casas, gobernador y capitan general en estas provincias" (Cogolludo 1995–1997[1688], cap. VI:179-180).

[18] A este autor, e incluso a Gaspar Antonio Chi, también se le atribuye la participación en las *Relaciones* de Landa, v. Restall & Chuchiak (2002). V. asimismo Strecker & Artieda (2006 [en línea]).

ha habido constancia del mismo;[19] así como no la hay tampoco del vocabulario de la lengua tzeldal atribuido a fray Jorge de León (segunda mitad del siglo XVI).[20]

Al hablar de la fundación de la provincia de Guatemala, el cronista de la orden franciscana Mendieta afirmaba que fray Pedro de Betanzos (segunda mitad del siglo XVI) "en aquellos principios supo mejor que otros la lengua de los indios que es muy bárbara y dificultosa de pronunciar y en ella compuso arte y vocabulario, y después un Fr. Francisco de la Parra la perficionó añadiendo cuatro o cinco letras, o por mejor decir, caracteres, para mejor pronunciar aquella lengua, porque no bastaban las de nuestro a, b, c [...].[21] Finalmente, los bibliógrafos citan diversos vocabularios compuestos por fray Domingo de Vico (murió en 1555), también de paradero desconocido, salvo el cakchiquel-hispano que veremos más abajo y que se le atribuye.[22]

4.2 *Vocabularios localizados*[23]

4.2.1 *Maya yucateco*

4.2.1.1 *Vocabulario hispano-maya de* Mayathan. El vocabulario de Viena o *Bocabulario de Mayathan* es, como hemos ido indicando antes, un diccionario en busca de autor, que tiene las entradas en castellano y las equivalencias en la lengua maya de Yucatán. Ha sido editado en versiones facsimilares por Mengin (1972) y por Acuña (1993). Ambos han explicado la historia del códice que fue a parar a Viena, donde se conserva hoy.[24]

---

[19] Mendieta (1870[c.1696], lib. IV, cap. XLIV); *Epítome* (1629:108); Viñaza (1892: nº 773; BICRES I, nº 114).

[20] Viñaza (1892: nº 756); BICRES I, nº 110.

[21] Mendieta (1870[c.1596]: lib. IV, cap. VII).

[22] *Epítome*: 110 (v. *infra* n. 43); Viñaza, nº 825 da como título: "Seis Artes y Vocabularios de diferentes lenguas de los indios, por Fray Domingo de Vico"; BICRES I, nº 132.

[23] No trataremos en esta ocasión el *Vocabulario de Santo Domingo de Zinacantán*, anónimo de la lengua tzotzil, editado por Laughlin (1988) (v. comentarios de Lara (2003, 37) a la edición de 1975) por su insegura datación. Tampoco analizaremos el vocabulario maya-hispano, conservado en la biblioteca John Carter Brown, comúnmente conocido como diccionario o calepino "*de Motul"*, por corresponder a las postrimerías del siglo XVI con los principios del XVII.

[24] Diversos investigadores han acometido su estudio desde 1939, año en que se presentó en el *XXVII Congreso de Americanistas* celebrado en México; también Mengin dio una ponencia en el celebrado en Viena en 1960. Sobre su autoría y fechación, así como su posible relación con el *Calepino de Motul*, v. Acuña (1983). Por otro lado, Bolles ha colocado su texto completo en la página *web* de FAMSI, con modificaciones en la estructura de las entradas originales, siguiendo la edición de Acuña. Para nuestro análisis utilizaremos la edición de 1972, cuyo facsímil presenta una reproducción fotográfica visiblemente mejor.

El manuscrito de Viena presenta una letra humanística cursiva, de varias manos, a veces a dos columnas y otras a una sola. Para Acuña, la copia es "tardía, de un prototipo antiguo probablemente compuesto en la segunda mitad del siglo XVI". Está incompleta, pues termina en la letra *v*, y llega hasta la entrada "vino, generalmente". Fue originalmente la obra de un cultivado misionero, dada su riqueza léxica.[25] Y, tanto por el procedimiento de composición, como por el texto castellano contenido en la misma, se corresponde con los primeros diccionarios mesoamericanos compuestos por los misioneros franciscanos, según veremos con algo de detalle.

El vocabulario de *Mayathan* no sigue de manera evidente la nomenclatura de Antonio de Nebrija,[26] pero parte de su caudal léxico subyace en el texto. Lo podemos observar, por ejemplo, en el último de los artículos de la letra *b*. En él registra una palabra clave que no figura en los vocabularios de Molina (2001[1571]) o Alvarado (1962[1593]), aunque sí la recoge Nebrija (c.1495) y también Córdova (1578). Así, en *Mayathan* encontramos:

Bujeta de calabaçitas pequeñas: *bux*.
Bujeta así de polbos de piçiete: *u buxil kutz*.

En tanto que en Nebrija (c.1495, 1516) aparecen:

Buxeta de box. *pyxis.dis*
Buxeta pequeña. *pyxidicula, e*.

Del mismo modo, hay entradas en el diccionario de *Mayathan* que están o copiadas o inspiradas en última instancia en el *VEL*. Entre otras, están las siguientes:

Cañafistola bastarda, árbol medeçinal: *ixtuabin*. [Nebrija c.1495: Cañafistola. *cañaphystula.ę.no*.]
Capacho o çumaya, aue noturna que es agüero de los indios: *puhulcaan* [Nebrija c.1495: Capacho ave o çumaia. *cicuma. ę*]
Escaviosa, yerua mediçinal: *necau*. [Nebrija c.1495: Escaviosa ierva. *escauiosa. no*.]
Pebre o salsa: *chuk*. [Nebrija c.1495: Pebre especia o pimienta. *piper.is.*]

[25] Acaso fuera obra de fray Gaspar de Nájera, como propone Bolles, aunque otros se lo han atribuido a fray Francisco de la Torre (segunda mitad del siglo XVI). Así, de acuerdo con Ramos Díaz: "Fray Hernando de Sopuerta redactó en 1580 una memoria de los franciscanos que trabajaban en Yucatán y enunció al menos una docena de religiosos que dominaban la lengua maya [...] En ese temprano grupo de estudiosos de la lengua de los naturales está fray Francisco de la Torre a quien se le atribuye el llamado Vocabulario de Viena" [lo hizo Heath de Zapata en 1965, *apud* Ramos Díaz (2006)].

[26] En cuanto a la macroestructura de este diccionario, también ha llamado nuesta atención que la letra *ç* esté alfabetizada aparte.

Por otro lado, la entrada del artículo "Cocar y haçer cocos la gimia o mono: *bibizne*. *es chij*. *suschij*." es casi idéntica a otra del vocabulario de Molina (1555, 1571) ["Cocar la ximia o la mona. *cotaloa*."] y está ausente en Nebrija c.1495, 1516 (v. Hernández 2000). Sin embargo, con la excepción de este caso, hemos comprobado que el diccionario de *Mayathan* presenta escasa coincidencia léxica con el del náhuatl. Y ello nos llevaría a la datación del original a fechas tempranas, pues los franciscanos pronto comenzaron a aprovechar el camino abierto por el extraordinario lexicógrafo que fue Molina y, en este vocabulario, tal cosa no sucede. Se aparta también de él en que el de *Mayathan* presenta nombres propios y topónimos, y en que contiene gran cantidad de anotaciones sobre conceptos religiosos con datos sobre la orden franciscana. Esta información de tipo enciclopédico adolece de la modernidad de la tradición nebrisense, que fue seguida en la primera lexicografía mesoamericana, y entroncaría con la tradición medieval de composición de vocabularios del tipo del *Universal Vocabulario* (1490) de Alonso de Palencia (1423–1492).

Es significativo, además, el hecho de que algunas entradas o subentradas no tengan como lema o palabra clave una palabra llena, sino un verbo conjugado dentro de una frase[27] como muestran los ejemplos siguientes:

> Aborreçió Herodes a san Juan, y queríale matar: *Herodes taaki u kuxul ti san Juan, u kati ix u cimez cuchi*.
>
> Abogado interçesor y medianero: *chumuc cabal*. nuestra Señora y san Francisco son mis abogados: *cacoolel yetel san Francisco in chumuc cabalob*. tomad por abogada a nuestra Señora: *chaex achumuc cabalte cacoolel bamex cacoolel yah okotbailante cofradiala*. (*Mayathan* 1972[prob. finales del siglo XVI]: *sub voce*)

Por otro lado, el vocabulario de *Mayathan* presenta la singularidad de incluir refranes, algunos de marcada tradición hispánica, como por ejemplo:

> A buena hambre no ay pan malo. *ma kalam u hanal ah uijh mabal ma cij tu chij uijh*.
> A moro muerto, gran lançada[28]. *ua cimen balamil icnal, u popo chektabal tumen chhoo*. [una traducción literal vendría a ser 'muerto el jaguar, a pisotearle encima los ratones]. (*Mayathan* 1972[prob. finales del siglo XVI]: *sub voce*)

[27] Ello podría indicar que el autor empleara como fuente algún texto de otro género, acaso cartillas o confesionarios redactados en la lengua maya.

[28] Esta misma entrada la hallamos en el vocabulario de Alonso Sánchez de la Ballesta, pseudónimo de Padre Frómista de San Agustín [finales del siglo XVI]: *Ballesta* (1587): "A moro muerto, gran lançada, que todos se atreuen al que esta de capa cayda. *Arbore deiecta quiuis ligna colligit* […], *mortuo leoni et lepores insultant* […] (v.NTLE, s.v. *moro*). Cuesta creer que la coincidencia sea casual, y lo más probable es que ambos compartieran la misma fuente. En cualquier caso, todo hace pensar en que el manuscrito de Viena tiene adiciones posteriores, hechas seguramente en el siglo XVII.

Es evidente que está inspirado en un vocabulario europeo pero, al mismo tiempo, contiene entradas adaptadas a la realidad yucateca, esto es, concebidas desde la lengua indígena, como en:

> Adiuinar por abes o por sus cantos: *tamay chij*.
> Andarse o menearse algún diente: *nikchahal co.* todos los dientes se me andan: *nik laakinco tulacal, pec ucahinco tulacal*.
> Abrasarse la tierra con el gran calor: *chichich tanhal.* (*Mayathan* 1972[prob. finales del siglo XVI]: *sub voce*)

En castellano contemporáneo no es posible la colocación **andarse los dientes* del segundo artículo, dado que la palabra *dientes* no se combina con el verbo *andar(se)* (v. *Redes*, CREA *s.v. dientes*). Si seguimos a Correas (2000 [1627] *s.v. dientes*), se empleaba la expresión *tener dientes* 'tener dificultad', y la palabra *dientes* acompañaba a los verbos *mostrar*, *nacer*, *sacar*, *limpiar* o *quebrar*. No hallamos, por otro lado, en las diferentes variedades del castellano, históricas o geográficas, **andarse los dientes* (v. CORDE, CORPUSESP y LHA); y, en tanto no documentemos esta expresión, que nos permita explicarla como variante dialectal, cabe pensar que podría haber algún tipo de interferencia formal o semántica de la lengua indígena. Un caso semejante es el de la última entrada, que presenta la pronominalización del verbo *abrasar(se)* acompañando al sintagma *la tierra*, inapropiada en castellano no literario. Inversamente, en este diccionario comprobamos también cómo una palabra o expresión maya se utiliza para diversos conceptos europeos y, mediante el mecanismo de la metáfora, muestra nuevas acepciones en el diccionario, *v. gr.*: "Bonete de clerigo y fruta de un arbol de esta tierra: *kum che*".

Por lo que respecta a su microestructura, los campos de información son los habituales de los vocabularios bilingües del siglo XVI: en primer lugar, aparece la entrada pluriverbal castellana, a veces autodefinida y con explicaciones adecuadas a la realidad yucateca, y, en segundo término, figuran las equivalencias en maya, con sus diversas acepciones.

Desde el punto de vista de su originalidad léxica, hemos comprobado que el texto castellano de este diccionario es permeable a las nuevas palabras que los españoles estrenaron en América. Eran indudablemente de uso común los antillanismos *guano*, *ají*, etc., contenidos en el texto. Sin embargo, tienen poca presencia los nahuatlismos, pero, entre otros, están *atol*, *piçiete*, *cocoyol*, y *tuza*. Más interesantes resultan, claro está, los mayismos, empleados como préstamos[29] con diversos grados de adaptación formal y semántica. Así, aparecen:

[29] Seguimos la terminología empleada por García Yebra (1985).

> ***Bolines***, pescadillos pequeños: *bolim*. de agua dulçe: *topom*. [préstamo adaptado fonética y morfológicamente, y definido mediante aposición.]
> Cauar con los palos llamados ***jul***, de puntas agudas: *xulpan*. [préstamo adaptado fonéticamente y con la marca metalexicográfica "llamados".]
> Ydolo otro de los indios de Mérida. *ahchuncaan*. y llamóse ansí el ***ku*** o çerro grande que está detrás de San Francisco, al oriente. [préstamo adaptado morfológicamente mediante el artículo castellano y definido sinonímicamente mediante disyunción; sinécdoque ya usual en la Nueva España para 'templo' o, despectivamente, 'cerro, templo en ruinas' de los indios, ya que el vocablo en maya significa 'deidad'.]
> Arrojarse en el pozo o ***dzonote***: *pulbatichen ti dzonot*. [préstamo adaptado fonéticamente y definido con procedimiento sinonímico, vocablo que habría de convertirse en *cenote.*]. (*Mayathan* 1972[prob. finales del siglo XVI]: *sub voce*)

Por otra parte, desde el punto de vista lexicográfico, este vocabulario maya podría servir para adelantar la fecha de documentación de algunas palabras datadas con posterioridad en las fuentes lexicográficas del español: el *Tesoro* de S. Gili Gaya, el *NTLE*, y el *NTLLE* de la Real Academia Española.[30]

En definitiva, es un vocabulario que sigue una tradición lexicográfica importada como es lógico de Europa, que está concebido desde la lengua indígena y que indudablemente contiene interesantes materiales del patrimonio inmaterial maya. Pero además, interesa insistir en que constituye una fuente con novedades léxicas aprovechables para la historia de la lengua española, aunque haya que tener presente que es una copia del vocabulario original en la que se hicieron adiciones posteriores.

4.2.1.2 *Vocabulario hispano-maya atribuido a fray Alonso de la Solana.* La *Hispanic Society of America* de Nueva York (HSA, en adelante) conserva un diccionario manuscrito con el título de *Vocabulario muy copioso en lengua española y maya de Yucatán*. En la portadilla aparece escrito su autor, fray Francisco de la Solana (murió en 1600), el lugar de Mérida y la fecha de 1580.[31] Este vocabulario permanece inédito y de él se conserva otra copia muy

[30] Con una datación tentativa de *Mayathan* (c.1580) se podría adelantar la fecha de registro lexicográfico de las voces siguientes: *cebadilla*, (1705) Sobrino; *cojijo*, (1786) Terreros; *çollipar*, (1739) Academia, s.v. *zollipar*; *delinqüente*, (1786) Terreros; *ébano*, (1604) Palet; *enbaydor*, (1706) Stevens; *enbuste*, (1591) Percival; *enbustidor* (1604) Palet; *encalabriar* (1591) Percival; *espetar*, (1591) Percival; *esquinença*, (1611) Covarrubias; *estantigua*, (1604) Palet; *falcar*, (1611) Covarrubias; *fator*, (1521) Percival; *fautor*, (1721) Bluteau; *feligrés*, (1611) Covarrubias; *fisga*, (1604) Palet; *guizcar*, (1734) Academia; *helenia*, (1853) Domínguez; *naborío*, (1917) Alemany; *sofaldar*, Covarrubias (1611); *zaranda*, (1617) Minsheu.

[31] Lizana ofrecía noticias de Solana, a partir de la información directa que le proporcionaría Landa (v. Lizana [1995:150, 228-230, 242-244]). Por otro lado, Viñaza (1892:nº813) aseguraba que "según D. Nicolás Antonio, nació Fray Antonio en la villa de la Solana; del Arzo-

parecida en la biblioteca John Carter Brown (en adelante JC). Esta última es posterior, según hemos intentado demostrar en un estudio específico que hemos realizado de este manuscrito y en el que mostramos que sigue la tradición lexicográfica nebrisense y que diversos aspectos léxicos lo hacen original.[32]

Como es sabido el *Codex Indicus* 8 conservado en la biblioteca JC está compuesto de dos volúmenes: el primero empieza por la lengua maya, tiene las definiciones o correspondencias en castellano y es conocido como *Diccionario de Motul I*;[33] mientras que el segundo volumen empieza por la parte castellana y tiene las equivalencias en maya. Este último es conocido con el inadecuado título de *Diccionario de Motul II*.[34]

4.2.2. *Vocabulario hispano-tzeldal atribuido a fray Domingo de Ara*. Del dominico fray Domingo de Ara (mediados del siglo XVI) hay abundante info.-mación biobibliográfica,[35] pues fue compañero de fray Bartolomé de las Casas (c.1484–1566). El diccionario de Ara más conocido es de la lengua tzeldal y castellano, su manuscrito se encuentra en la biblioteca Brancroft de Berkeley y M. Ruz lo publicó en la UNAM en 1986 con facsímil y edición paleográfica.[36]

---

bispado de Toledo; estudió en Salamanca; vistió el hábito de San Francisco en el convento de San Juan de los Reyes de Toledo; partió en una misión para Yucatán en 1560; murió el año de 1600 en el convento franciscano de Mérida". M. Ramos Díez se ha expresado en los siguientes términos: "En el presente poco tenemos de Solana, a no ser la suposición de que es el autor de un manuscrito, Bocabulario en lengua maya (1580) que está en la biblioteca de la Hispanic Society of New York (manuscrito B2005)".

[32] Al que remitimos ahora y del que presentamos un avance en el II Congreso de Lexicografía Hispánica, celebrado en Alicante en 2006 (v. Hernández, en prensa). Asimismo, Bolles ha realizado un estudio contrastivo comparándolo con el de *Mayathan*, al que remitimos también.

[33] V. ediciones de Acuña (1984) y Arzápalo Marín (1995).

[34] Tal reconstrucción del título está motivada exclusivamente por el hecho de que ambos vocabularios comparten su paradero. La lectura de ambos muestra que el que empieza por la lengua castellana no guarda ninguna relación con el que empieza por la maya. Si bien el que empieza por la lengua maya contiene muchas menciones a la localidad de Motul, no ocurre lo mismo con el que tiene como lengua de partida la castellana, de ahí que esta denominación sea inadecuada para éste.

[35] V. Viñaza (1892: nº 718); BICRES I, nº 108; Ruz (1986); y Smith (inédito).

[36] De la parte tzeldal-castellano, Brasseur de Bourbourg (1871:10) escribió: "Quoiqu'écrit de deux mains différentes et surchargé de noms et d'additions, cet ouvrage est bien, toutefois, le vocabulaire original de fr. Domingo de Ara, appelé ailleurs de Hara et de Lara, dont il est question dans Remesal. Lorsque l'original se trouva trop usé, celuici fut copié par ordre et remplaça probablement l'ancien dans la bibliothèque du convent de Copanahuaztla, d'ou il passa, lors l'abandon de cette ville, au monastère des Dominicains de Ciudad Real (San Cristobal)".

El vocabulario hispano-maya está colocado en imágenes en la página *web* de FAMSI, y se atribuye a fray Domingo de Ara. Esta copia, conservada en Pennsylvania, fue realizada en 1620.[37] Un análisis somero de sus entradas castellanas revela que pertenece a la misma tradición lexicográfica hispano-amerindia que sigue el vocabulario de Nebrija, si bien reduce su número de artículos considerablemente. Sin detenernos ahora en su análisis léxico, interesa señalar que la importancia de un diccionario como este estriba, por ejemplo, en que documenta tempranamente el americanismo *vainilla* (*Vanilla planifolia*), palabra que, como es sabido, pasó del español a otras lenguas (inglés, francés, etc).

4.2.3 *Lenguas mayas de Guatemala*

4.2.3.1. *Vocabulario hispano-cakchiquel chi atribuible a fray Juan Alonso.* Según Niederehe, hay diversas copias, depositadas en diversas instituciones, del *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y guatemalteca que se llama cachiquel chi*, atribuido al franciscano fray Juan Alonso.[38] El cronista Vázquez decía de él que "se crió entre indios, a su usanza y teniéndose por tal", y también que "el niño Juan [...] iba a la escuela [...] y fue promovido [...] hasta presbítero".[39]

Por nuestra parte, hemos localizado otra copia de un vocabulario con el mismo título en la biblioteca *Lilly* de Bloomington, la cual, por el tipo de letra y sus características físicas, se haría en el siglo XVI.[40] Esta copia del

[37] Tiene el *ex libris* de la Biblioteca de Brasseur de Bourbourg y el de Daniel G. Brinton. Actualmente, la Universidad de Pennsylvania lo conserva con la signatura "Ms. Coll. 700, Ítem 185 Biblioteca de Libros Raros y Manuscritos". Este vocabulario que empieza por la parte castellana, Brasseur de Bourbourg (1871:11) lo describió del modo siguiente: "Manuscrit de 220 ff. C'est la seconde partie du vocabulaire de Fr. Domingo de Ara. Au premier feuillet il porte ces mots: "De licencia sui praelati ad usum habet Fray Alonso de Guzman traslado este bocabulario el sobre dicho P. el año de 1620 años en la provincia de Tzeldales en el pueblo de Taquin Vitz".

[38] Niederehe ofrece los siguientes datos: "En algunos otros títulos, siempre de los siglos XVI y XVII […] se trata de copias (¿idénticas?) del vocabulario de fray Juan Alonso (OFM; s. XVI), repartidas por las bibliotecas de Princeton [ms. Garret 266], Washington [ms. Cortés 120] y París [ms américain 7 & 14], y la de la Asociación americana de filosofía" (2004:84). No nos ha sido posible consultar estos manuscritos para este trabajo, salvo la primera página del conservado en Princeton (v. *infra*).

[39] Según Acuña (1983), quien además asegura que este vocabulario fue la fuente principal del diccionario hispano-cachiquel de fray Thomas de Coto, que fue compuesto en la segunda mitad del siglo XVII. Proporciona información sobre fray Juan Alonso en xxxiii-xxxviii. El propio Coto cita a Alonso s.v. *sacrificar hombres*, en una mención a los primeros criollos que tomaron el hábito en América (f.419v). V. estudio del vocabulario de Coto en Hernández (2008a).

[40] La biblioteca *Lilly* lo data en ca.1578. Por otra parte, hemos detectado que el copista cometió algunos errores con las consonantes del castellano *t-* /*d-*, que acaso sean confusiones propias de

vocabulario hispano-cakchiquel está incompleta, pero una simple ojeada a su nomenclatura castellana indica que es una copia literal de las entradas del vocabulario de Molina en su edición de 1571, con muy pocas diferencias léxicas.[41] Se trata de una obra muy interesante, pues en ella se advierte con claridad el procedimiento técnico de su composición: los artículos no van corridos, sino que primero se escribió la columna de la izquierda completamente a partir del vocabulario de Molina, para después rellenar la columna derecha con las equivalencias cakchiqueles.

4.2.3.2. *Vocabulario cakchiquel, con quiché y zutujil, y castellano, atribuido a fray Domingo de Vico.* En el manuscrito conservado en la Biblioteca Nacional de Francia aparece el título siguiente: "Vocabulario de la lengua cakchiquel con advertencia de los vocablos de las lenguas quiché y tzutohil, se trasladó de la obra compuesta por el Ilmo. Padre el venerable Fr. Domingo de Vico".[42] Bredt-Kriszat y Holl (1997) hicieron una pormenorizada y rigurosa descripción del texto de este vocabulario, que fue copiado con posterioridad.

Según el cronista fray Antonio de Remesal, fray Domingo de Vico viajó a Guatemala en 1545, a las órdenes del nuevo obispo de Chiapas Bartolomé de las Casas, y murió en 1555. Por consiguiente, el vocabulario hubo de redactarlo antes de esta fecha, lo que lo convierte en el diccionario del área lingüística maya localizado más antiguo. Es unidireccional, esto es, solo tiene entradas en la lengua cakchiquel y no hay ninguna noticia antigua de que Vico escribiera también una parte con entradas en castellano.[43]

El diccionario se estructura en forma de artículos en los que la lengua castellana siempre aparece como equivalencia, bien de las palabras guía de la entrada en cakchiquel, o bien de otras palabras o frases relacionadas con esa

---

un bilingüe, dadas las diferencias entre estos sonidos y los correspondientes de las consonantes del maya. No obstante, el texto no contiene demasiados errores y sí bastantes tachaduras; de hecho, la ausencia de lapsus recurrentes de sibilantes en el texto castellano contribuiría a datar esta copia preferentemente en el XVI.

[41] De la misma manera, el ms. Garret 266 tiene idénticas entradas a las de Molina (1571). Está colocada la imagen de su primera página: [http://libweb5.princeton.edu/mssimages/mesogarrettgates1.html#mesogarrettgates1]. En esta institución se atribuye a Félix Solano. Ver la argumentación contraria de Acuña (1983:xxxv).

[42] Llama la atención que no esté en la *Bibliothèque* de Brasseur de Bourbourg (1871:152-153) entre las obras asignadas a Vico, si bien tiene el *ex* libris *Ex Collectione Americana. Domini Brasseur de Bourbourg*.

[43] Remesal (1966:297) afirmaba que Vico escribió otros vocabularios de diversas lenguas de la zona, así como Mendieta (*v.*4.1.3). Y, en *Epítome* (1629:120), en el capítulo de "autores, que han escrito en lenguas de las indias" figura "Fray Domingo de Vico Dominico. Vocabularios i Artes de la lengua Cachiquil, i de la Verapaz, i de otras seis, en que escrivio varios tratados".

entrada o lema cakchiquel; así, a continuación de la equivalencia castellana, suelen aparecer frases en cakchiquel y su correspondiente traducción al castellano, todo ello entreverado de indicaciones gramaticales sobre el Cakchiquel. En cierto modo, sigue la tradición habitual de los vocabularios en los que se complementan las indicaciones gramaticales y léxicas (v. Esparza Torres 1999:249). En nuestra opinión, uno de sus valores estriba en que puede concebirse como un yacimiento de la lengua primera que hablaban los españoles o criollos[44] y, en consecuencia, permite conocer aspectos de los orígenes y del primitivo desarrollo del castellano, en este caso, en Guatemala.[45]

5. *Recapitulación*

Los vocabularios hispano-mayas redactados en el siglo XVI contienen información interesante de la primera etapa del contacto entre la lengua española y las lenguas mayas. Sin duda, los especialistas en la lingüística maya han encontrado en ellos material imprescindible para el conocimiento de las lenguas mayas en dicha etapa, que fue fundamental porque, durante la misma, los misioneros realizaron la alfabetización y las primeras codificaciones gramaticales y léxicas. Nosotros hemos procurado demostrar aquí que los vocabularios también son reveladores de los procesos de cambio léxico y semántico operados en el español americano en su etapa de orígenes. Entre otras razones, lo revela el hecho de que el español con el que están redactados ya está bastante matizado por la presencia de indigenismos y de americanismos, detectados en todos los diccionarios que hemos conseguido localizar.

Hemos ofrecido un panorama que ha abarcado, tanto a los vocabularios citados en las fuentes bibliográficas pero que hoy se encuentran en paradero desconocido, como a los que han llegado a nuestros días. Respecto de los primeros, hemos visto cómo realmente las fuentes más directas o próximas en el tiempo no dan cuenta de la existencia específica de vocabularios del maya yucateco. Nos referimos a los vocabularios supuestamente escritos por fray Luis de Villalpando y por el indio Gaspar Antonio Chi, aunque pensamos que éste sí pudo intervenir en la redacción del vocabulario hispano-maya de

[44] Entendemos el diccionario "como un producto lingüístico, como un fenómeno verbal complejo" (Lara 2003:36). Por otro lado, conviene tener en cuenta que el interés de la hispanística por este tipo de materiales arranca desde los comienzos de los estudios del español americano, aunque no haya habido continuidad en su atención. En efecto, Amado Alonso, gran impulsor de la dialectología hispanoamericana, le envió a Rodolfo Lenz una carta, que ha sido editada por Guitarte (1966:82), donde podemos leer: "vamos a reeditar gramáticas y vocabularios antiguos (época de conquista) de las lenguas indias. Mucho nos dirán sobre el español importado".

[45] Hemos realizado un análisis de los indigenismos que contiene (v. Hernández 2008b).

Mayathan. En cuanto a este, no descartamos que su autor fuera fray Gaspar González de Nájera, como sostiene Bolles. Lamentablemente, no se han hallado los vocabularios que los cronistas y los bibliógrafos aseguran que, durante el siglo XVI, escribieron fray Andrés de Olmos (guasteco), fray Jorge de León (tzeldal), fray Pedro de Betanzos y fray Domingo de Vico (lenguas mayas de Guatemala).

De manera especial, nos hemos detenido en el análisis de la micro y de la macroestructura del vocabulario de *Mayathan*, cuyo manuscrito está depositado en Viena. Hemos visto que entronca con la tradición lexicográfica medieval, aunque algo se apoya en el vocabulario de Nebrija, dada la inequívoca coincidencia de algunas de sus entradas. Siguiendo con los vocabularios del maya yucateco, hemos visto cómo los dos manuscritos del diccionario de fray Alonso de la Solana (conservados en la HSA y JB) siguen la nomenclatura de *VEL*, aunque su texto presenta novedades léxicas dignas de tener en cuenta para estudios de historia del español.

El vocabulario hispano-tzeldal de fray Domingo de Ara (conservado en Pennsylvania) sigue asimismo al *VEL*, aunque reduce considerablemente el número de artículos lexicográficos. En cambio, el vocabulario hispano-cakchiquel chi atribuible a Juan Alonso (según el manuscrito que hemos encontrado en la biblioteca Lilly, en Bloomington) se basa en el vocabulario de Molina en su edición de 1571.

El vocabulario acaso más antiguo, el vocabulario de fray Domingo de Vico (conservado en la BNF) – único de los analizados que no tiene entradas en castellano, sino en la lengua autóctona, el cakchiquel –, sigue una técnica lexicográfica en la que se complementan las indicaciones gramaticales con las léxicas. Y, como sucede en los otros diccionarios, la lengua castellana del mismo presenta ya abun-dantes indigenismos léxicos.

En suma, hemos procurado mostrar en qué tradición lexicográfica están situados los vocabularios bilingües del español con las lenguas mayas y, así mismo, que atesoran un valioso material lingüístico, que conviene tener en cuenta no solo desde la indoamericanística, sino también desde los estudios hispánicos.

REFERENCIAS

A. ***Fuentes primarias***

Alonso, Juan. c.1578. Vocabulario en lengua castellana y guatemalteca que se llama: cak chiquel chi. Ms. Lilly Library, Bloomington.

Alvarado, Francisco. 1962[1593]. *Vocabulario en lengua mixteca*, reproducción facsimilar con un estudio de Wigberto Jiménez Moreno y un apéndice con un *Vocabulario sacado del Arte en lengua mixteca* de fray Antonio de los Reyes.

México: Instituto Nacional Indigenista e Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.

Anónimo. 1972[prob. finales del siglo XVI]. *Bocabulario de Mayathan. Das Wörtherbuch der yucaterischen Mayasprache, Vollständge Faksimile-Ausgabe des "Codex vindobonensis" S. N. 3833 der Osterreichischen Nationalbibliothek*. Ernst Mengin, ed. Graz, Austria: Akademische.

Anónimo 1988[prob. finales del siglo XVI] *The great tzotzil dictionary of Santo Domingo Zinacantán*. Robert M. Laughlin & John B. Haviland, eds. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

Ara, Domingo de. 1986[c.1555]. *Bocabulario de lengua tzeldal según el Orden de Copanabastla*. Mario Humberto Ruz, ed. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Ara, Domingo de. c.1555. *Vocabulario de la lengua española y tzeldal*. En línea: http://www.famsi.org/research/mltdp/item185/

Ballesta. Alonso Sánchez de la Ballesta. 1587. *Dictionario de vocablos castellanos, aplicados a la propiedad latina* […]. Salamanca: Iuan Andrés Renaut.

Calepino maya de Motul = Ciudad Real

Ciudad Real, Antonio de. 1984[fines s. XVI]. *Calepino maya de Motul*. René Acuña, ed. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Ciudad Real, Antonio de. 1995[1551–1617]. *Calepino de Motul: diccionario maya-español*. Ramón Arzápalo Marín, ed., Rosana de Almeida et al., (colaboradores). México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Cogolludo, Diego [López de]. 1995–1997[1688]. *Historia de Yucatán.* Campeche: Publicaciones del H. Ayuntamiento de Campeche.

Córdova, Juan de. 1987[1578]. *Vocabulario en lengua çapoteca*. México: Ediciones Toledo [edición facsimilar].

Correas, Gonzalo. 2000[1627]. *Vocabulario de refranes y frases proverbiales (1627)*. Louis Combet, ed., revisada por Robert Jammes & Maïte Mir-Andreu. Madrid: Castalia.

Coto, Thomas de. 1983[c.1650]. *[Thesavrus Verborvm] Vocabulario de la lengua cakchiquel v[el] guatemalteca, nueuamente hecho y recopilado con summo estudio, trauajo y erudición*. René Acuña, ed. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Gilberti, Maturino. 1901[1559]. *Diccionario de la lengua tarasca o de Michoacán*. Antonio Peñafiel, ed. México: Tipografía de la Oficina Imp. de Estampillas.

Epítome = León, Antonio de, [León Pinelo].

Introduciones = Nebrija, Elio Antonio. 1996[c.1488].

Lagunas, Juan Bautista de. 1890[1574]. *Arte y diccionario tarascos.* Nicolás León, ed. Morelia: Imp. y Lit. en la Escuela de Artes.

Landa, fray Diego de. 1959. *Relación de las cosas de Yucatán, por el P. Fray Diego de Landa Obispo de esa Diócesis*. Angel M. Garibay K. (introd.). México: Editorial Porrúa. [Octava edición. Con un apéndice en el cual se publican varios documentos importantes y cartas del autor].

León, Antonio de, [León Pinelo]. 1629. *Epitome de la biblioteca oriental i occidental, nautica i geografica*, por el licenciado Antonio de Leon Relator del Supremo i Real Consejo de las Indias. Madrid: Juan Gonzalez.

Lizana, fray Bernardo, 1995[1633]. *Devocionario de Nuestra Señora de Izamal y conquista espiritual de Yucatán*, René Acuña, ed. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Mendieta, fray Gerónimo de. 1870[c.1596]. *Historia eclesiástica indiana*. *Obra escrita a fines del siglo XVI*. Joaquín García Icazbalceta, ed. México: Antigua Librería.

Mayathan. Bocabulario de Mayathan. Ver Anónimo 1972[siglo XVI].

Molina, Alonso de. 2001[1555]. *Aquí comiença vn vocabulario en la lengua castellana y mexicana*. Manuel Galeote, ed. Málaga: Universidad de Málaga.

Molina, Alonso de. 2001[1571]. *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana*. Esther Hernández, ed.. Madrid: Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional.

Nebrija, Elio Antonio. 1996[c.1488]. *Introduciones latinas contrapuesto el romance al latín*. Miguel Ángel Esparza & Ramón Sarmiento, eds. Madrid: Fundación Antonio de Nebrija–SGEL.

Nebrija, Elio Antonio de. 1989[c.1495]. *Vocabulario español-latino*. Madrid: Real Academia Española.

Nebrija, Elio Antonio de. 1981[1516]. *Vocabulario de romance en latín*. Gerald J. MacDonald, ed. Madrid: Editorial Castalia.

Palencia, Alonso. 1967[1490]. *Universal Vocabulario en latín y en romance*. Madrid [Sevilla]: Publicación de la Comisión Permanente de la Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española.

Solana, Alonso de la. c.1580. *Vocabulario muy copioso en lengua española y maya*. 2 manuscritos en Hispanic Society of America, Nueva York [signatura B2005] y en John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Providence [*Codex Indicus 8*]

Vico, Domingo de. c.1555. Vocabulario de la lengua cakchiquel con advertencia de los vocablos de las lenguas quiché y tzutohil, se trasladó de la obra compuesta por el Ilmo. Padre el venerable Fr. Domingo de Vico. MS. BNP R-7507.

Vázquez, Francisco. 1937–1944[c.1714]. *Crónica de la Provincia del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de Guatemala*. Lázaro Lamadrid, ed. Guatemala: Tip. Nacional.

B. ***Fuentes secundarias***

Acuña 1984, v. *Calepino maya de Motul*. (fuentes primarias).

Acuña 1983, v. Coto. (fuentes primarias).

Alvar, Manuel. 1972. “Las ‘Relaciones’ de Yucatán del siglo XVI”. *Revista de Filología Española* 55:1-34.

Arzápalo Marín, Ramón. 1995, v. *Calepino de Motul*. (fuentes primarias).

Arzápalo Marín, Ramón. 2005. “La representación escritural del maya de Yucatán desde la época prehispánica hasta la colonia: proyecciones hacia el siglo XXI”. Zwartjes & Altman, eds. 2005.89-106.

BICRES I = Niederehe, Hans-Josef. 1994. *Bibliografía cronológica de la lingüística, la gramática y la lexicografía del español (BICRES). Desde los comienzos hasta el año 1600*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

BICRES II = Niederehe, Hans-Josef. 1999. *Bibliografía cronológica de la lingüística, la gramática y la lexicografía del español (BICRES): Desde el año 1601 hasta el año 1700*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Blom, Frans. 1928. “Gaspar Antonio Chi, Interpreter”. *American Anthropologist* (New Series) 30:2(April-June).250-262.

Bolles, David. 2003, en línea[mayo 2007]. *The Mayan Franciscan Vocabularies: A Preliminary Survey*. http://www.famsi.org.

Brasseur de Bourbourg, Charles-Etienne. 1871. *Bibliothèque México-Guatemaliénne, precedée d’un coup d’oeil sur les études américaines*. Paris: Mainsonneuve.

Bredt-Kriszat, Cristina & Ursula Holl. 1997. “Descripción del *Vocabulario de la lengua cakchiquel* de fray Domingo de Vico”. Zimmermann, ed. 1997.175-192.

Campos Souto, Mar, Félix Córdoba Rodríguez & José Ignacio Pérez Pascual, eds. 2006. *América y el diccionario*. A Coruña: Universidade da Coruña [=Anexos de *Revista de Lexicografía*, 2.]

CORDE = Real Academia Española, *Banco de datos (CORDE)* [en línea], *Corpus diacrónico del español*, http://www.rae.es

CORPUSESP = M. Davies, *Corpus del español* [en línea] http://www.corpusdelespanol.org

CREA = Real Academia Española: *Banco de datos (CREA)* [en línea]. *Corpus de referencia del español actual*. http://www.rae.es

DCEH = Corominas, Joan & José Antonio Pascual. 1980–1991. *Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico*. Madrid: Gredos.

Esparza Torres, Miguel Ángel. 1999. “Gramática y diccionario en las primeras descripciones del español”. Fernández Rodríguez et al., eds. 1999.245-255.

Esparza Torres, Miguel Ángel. 2003. “Lingüistas en la frontera: sobre las motivaciones, argumentos e ideario de los misioneros lingüistas”. *Romanistik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 9:1.67-92.

Esteve Barba, F. 1992[1964]. *Historiografía indiana*. Madrid: Gredos.

FAMSI = Foundation for the Advancement of Mesoamerican Studies. En línea: www.famsi.org

Fernández Rodríguez, Mauro, Francisco García Gondar & Nancy Vázquez Veiga, eds. 1999. *Actas del I Congreso Internacional de la Sociedad Esapañola de Historiografía Lingüística, A Coruña, 18-21 de febrero de 1997*. Madrid: Arco Libros.

García Yebra, Valentín. 1985. “El Neologismo”. *Tradução e Comunicação*. (Sao Paulo) 7:21-34.

García Icazbalceta, Joaquín, 1954[1886]. *Bibliografía Mexicana del siglo XVI*. Agustín Millares Carlo, ed. México: Andrade y Morales, Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Guitarte, Guillermo L. 1996. “Una carta de Amado Alonso a Rodolfo Lenz. El proyecto de un *corpus* de estudios sobre el español extrapeninsular”. *Lexis* (Lima) 20:1/2.63-86. [=*Centenario de Amado Alonso (1896-1996)*: *Temas de filología hispánica*. Luis Jaime Cisneros & José Luis Rivarola. eds.].

Hernández, Esther. 2000. “El Vocabulario náhuatl de Molina frente al Vocabulario de Nebrija”. *Iberorromania* 52:1-9.

Hernández, Esther. 2006a. “Un proyecto de investigación para la historia de la lexicografía hispano-amerindia”. *Boletín de La Sociedad Española de Historiografía Lingüística* 4:29-40.

Hernández, Esther, 2006b. “Influencias de método y concepción entre los vocabularios novohispanos del siglo XVI”. Campos Souto et al., eds. 2006.63-77.

Hernández, Esther, 2008a. “Aproximación al Vocabulario de la lengua cakchiquel o guatemalteca (ca.1650) de fray Thomás de Coto como fuente léxica del español”. *Bulletin Hispanique* 110:1.319-331.

Hernández, Esther, 2008b. “Indigenismos en el *Vocabulario de la lengua cakchiquel* atribuido a fray Domingo de Vico, ms. BNP R.7507”. *Revista de Filología Española* 88:1.67-88.

Hernández, Esther. [en prensa].“En torno al vocabulario hispano-maya conservado en la biblioteca ‘John Carter Brown’ (*Codex Indicus 8*)”. *Revista de Lexicografía* 14.

Hernández de León-Portilla, Ascensión. 1996. “Hernando de Ribas, intérprete de dos mundos”. *Revista Latinoamericana de Pensamiento y Lenguaje* 2:447-493.

Hernández de León-Portilla, Ascensión. 2003. “Las primeras gramáticas meso-americanas. Algunos rasgos lingüísticos”. *Historiographia lingüística* 30:1/2.1-44.

Lara, Luis Fernando. 2003. “El diccionario y sus disciplinas”. *Revista Internacional de Lingüística Iberoamericana* 1:35-49.

Laughlin, Robert M. 1988. Ver Anónimo 1988[siglo XVI]. (fuentes primarias).

LHA= P. Boyd-Bowman, *Léxico Hispanoamericano (1493-1993),* eds. R. Harris-Northall & J. Nitti, CD-Rom, Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 2003

McQuown, Norman A. 1991.“Lexicographie der Mayasprachen”. *Wörterbücher. Dictionaries. Dictionaries. Dictionnaires. Ein internationales Handbuch zur Lexicographie*, 5:3.2661-2679. Hausmann, Franz Josef et *al.*, eds. Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Mengin 1972, v. *Mayathan*.

Medina, José Toribio. 1989 [1912]. *La imprenta en México (1539-1821)*. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Niederehe 1994, v. BICRES.

Niederehe 1999, v. BICRES.

Niederehe, Hans-J. 2004. “Los misioneros españoles y el estudio de las lenguas mayas”. Zwartjes & Hovdhaugen, eds. 2004.81-91.

NTLE = Nuevo Tesoro Lexicográfico del Español (siglo XIV-1726). 2007. L. Nieto Jiménez y M. Alvar Ezquerra, dirs. Madrid: Real Academia Española / Arco Libros.

NTLLE = Real Academia Española. 2001. *Nuevo Tesoro Lexicográfico de la Lengua Española*. Madrid: Espasa Calpe. [2 DVDs.]

Ramos Díaz, Martín. 2006, en línea. “Escuelas, mentores y libros europeos en el sureste de la Nueva España”. siglo XVI. Istmo. Revista virtual de estudios literarios y culturales centroamericanos, 12.

Redes = Redes. Diccionario combinatorio del español contemporáneo. 2004. Ignacio Bosque, dir. Madrid: Ediciones SM.

Remesal, Antonio de. 1966. *Historia general de las Indias Occidentales y particular de la Gobernación de Chiapa y Guatemala*. Vol. 2. Carmelo Sáenz de Santa María, ed. Madrid: Atlas. [=Biblioteca de Autores Españoles.]

Restall, Matthew, & Chuchiak IV, John F. 2002. “A Reevaluation of the Authenticity of Fray Diego de Landa’s *Relación de las cosas de Yucatán*”. *Ethnohistory* 49:3.651-669.

Roys, Ralph L. 1952. “The Franciscan Contribution to Maya Linguistic Research in Yucatan”. *The Americas. A Quaterly Review of Inter-American Cultural History* 8:4.417-429.

Ruz, Mario Humberto. v. Ara, Domingo de. 1986[c.1555] (fuentes primarias).
Scholes, France V. 1952. "Franciscan Missionary Scholars in Colonial Central America". *The Americas. A Quaterly Review of Inter-American Cultural History* 8:4.391-416.
Smith Stark, Thomas C. (inédito). "La aportación de los diccionarios bilingües de la Nueva España a la lexicografía del español". *III Coloquio de Historiografía de la Lingüística Hispánica, El Colegio de México-México, 25 de septiembre de 2002*.
Strecker, Matthias, & Artieda, Jorge. 2006. "La Relación de algunas costumbres (1582) de Gaspar Antonio Chi". En línea: http://www.ejournal.unam.mx/historia_novo/ehn06/EHNO0605.pdf.
Tesoro = Gili Gaya, Samuel. 1947. *Tesoro lexicográfico (1492-1726)*, (A-CH). Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
Viñaza, Conde de la [=Muñoz y Manzano, Cipriano]. 1892. *Bibliografía española de lenguas indígenas de América*. Madrid: Establecimiento tipógrafico Sucesores de Rivadeneyra.
Zimmermann, Klaus, ed. 1997. *La descripción de las lenguas amerindias en la época colonial*. Frankfurt am Main & Madrid: Klaus Vervuert & Iberoamericana.
Zimmermann, Klaus. 2005. "Traducción, préstamos y teoría del lenguaje: La práctica transcultural de los lingüistas misioneros en el México del siglo XVI". Zwartjes & Altman, eds. 2005.107-136.
Zwartjes, Otto & Even Hovdhaugen, eds. 2004. *Missionary Linguistics/ Lingüística Misionera. Selected Papers from the First International Conference on Missionary Linguistics, Oslo, 13-16 March 2003*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
Zwartjes, Otto & Cristina Altman, eds. 2005. *Missionary Linguistics II / Lingüística misionera II. Orthography and Phonology. Selected Papers from the Second International Conference on Missionary Linguistics, São Paulo 10-13 March 2004*, Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

EL PROYECTO LEXICOGRÁFICO DE BERNARDINO DE SAHAGÚN EN EL PROCESO DE COMPRENSIÓN DE LOS DIOSES MEXICAS

PILAR MÁYNEZ
UNAM /Facultad de Estudios Superiores, Acatlán, México

ABSTRACT

Based on models derived from Orteguian perspectivism and modern constructivism, this article examines the progressive way in which Friar Bernardino de Sahagún (1499–1590) defined Nahua terms which alluded to diverse realities of the indigenous divine world in the textual material generated during the production of the *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1547–1577). Each surviving manuscript which formed part of this project contains lexical information that should be considered as part of a greater corpus by means of which the linguistic strategies employed by the Franciscan may be identified and the degree of understanding of Mexican culture that he was able to achieve from his Judeo-Christian and Renaissance point of view can be evaluated.

1. *Perspectivismo y constructivismo. Dos alternativas de acercamiento a la 'Historia general'*

Decía el filósofo español José Ortega y Gasset (1883–1955) que el cuerpo en el que uno habita es recluso e infuso, lo que hace que los seres sean personajes inexorablemente espaciales, ubicados en un solo sitio. Este ser que vive en ese cuerpo se inserta en el mundo, con el que coexiste, sobre el que actúa, al que mira y del que reflexiona (1972a:166). Desde este enfoque, entonces, el *yo* y el *aquí* son inseparables y propios, se excluyen de los demás y, por con-siguiente, son diferentes a ellos. Esto implica que el mundo y todas las cosas que en él existen sean vistos a través de diversos enfoques, desde muy variadas aristas (1972b:107-109).

Lo anterior llevó a Ortega y Gasset a formular lo que él llamó "ley estructural" la cual establece que el *aquí* del Otro no es el mío (1972b:108). Los *aquís* se excluyen, no son interpenetrables, son distintos y, por eso, la perspectiva en que aparece el mundo es siempre la mía; de ahí que no coincidan plenamente nuestras visiones de la realidad.

En este principio orteguiano conocido como *perspectivismo*, debe considerarse también otro más que complementa el anterior y que sostiene que todos llevamos en nuestra imaginación un *diagrama* del mundo a cuyos cuadrantes referimos todas las cosas, y que es necesario precisar hacia qué región de ese *diagrama* imaginario cada individuo atrae las palabras que dice o escucha (1972b:116). Toda acción del hombre hacia o sobre algo está determinada previamente por sus experiencias anteriores relativas a ese algo. En este sentido, Ortega y Gasset constituye un claro antecedente del constructivismo que asegura que sobre la base de nuestra biografía creamos y modificamos nuestra identidad, la cual retocamos constantemente debido a la interacción que sostenemos con nuestro entorno y nuestros interlocutores; por tanto, el sujeto, para esta corriente, es un *constructor* activo de sus estructuras de conocimiento.

Como en el caso de la teoría orteguiana, para el constructivismo la evolución de un estado cognitivo a otro se realiza a partir de ciertas estructuras que nos son familiares a las que se asimilan otras nuevas (Morín 2000:74); lo anterior permite fijar y reacomodar conocimientos recientemente adquiridos y ampliar, con ello, nuestra visión del mundo.

Incorporamos lo desconocido a partir de lo conocido; reducimos lo ajeno a lo familiar. Esta operación que está cobrando hoy gran relieve en los estudios de la llamada hermenéutica analógica implica, igualmente, modificaciones en la forma en que nos acercamos y percibimos el universo. El proceso anterior rechaza, por tanto, la idea de una asociación mecánica de estímulo-señal y supone una transformación significativa en el sujeto que lo lleva a cabo; esta apreciación, por otra parte, está estrechamente relacionada con los tópicos ¿quién conoce? ¿qué conoce? y ¿cómo conoce?

2. *Sahagún: sujeto activo en la construcción de un testimonio cultural*

Respecto al primero de ellos que atañe a ¿quién conoce?, concretamente en el tema que en este artículo nos ocupa, respondemos que dentro del programa evangelizador de la orden franciscana, fray Bernardino de Sahagún, quien llegó a México tan sólo ocho años después de la Conquista, fue el autor de dos grandes proyectos paralelos y complementarios: una enciclopedia religiosa y una enciclopedia antropológica-lingüística, mismas que fue desarrollando con la ayuda de sus colaboradores indígenas desde la década de los años cuarenta hasta muy poco antes de su muerte, acaecida en 1590.

Afortunadamente contamos con diferentes versiones de algunas obras de ambos conjuntos que nos permiten reconstruir los sucesivos estadios de elaboración, y con ello advertir la progresiva forma en que el misionero fue conociendo al otro y evaluando también su labor evangelizadora. Con lo

anterior tenemos la posibilidad de ir identificando la manera en que el fraile fue aprehendiendo un universo inédito que tuvo que explicar en su enciclopedia antropológica, conocida como *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* desde los parámetros de su experiencia, desde su propio diagrama imaginario, como diría Ortega y Gasset.

Poseedor de una esmerada formación humanística que adquirió en la Universidad de Salamanca, una de las más reputadas de la época, acorde con las inquietudes renacentistas, ese ser activo, interesado en acercarse a lo diverso, valoró un gran cúmulo de manifestaciones que componían la ancestral cultura del hombre nahua quien se convirtió igualmente, desde el inicio de sus investigaciones, en sujeto activo de conocimiento. Así lo acreditan las recopilaciones que efectuó de la antigua palabra desde fechas tempranas, década de los cuarenta, y que constituyeron lo que sería posteriormente el Libro Sexto de su *Historia*, relativo a "la Rethorica y philosophia moral, y theologia". En estos discursos, de notable elocuencia, se pone de relieve la relación del hombre indígena con las fuerzas sobrenaturales que regían su cosmos, la que existía entre él y otros individuos de distintos estratos sociales, y también la sostenida con quienes integraban su esfera más cercana.

3. *Métodos y propósitos de la empresa sahaguniana*

Había que convertir al idólatra amerindio; ese fue el propósito del traslado de fray Bernardino de Sahagún al Nuevo Mundo y el objetivo de la magna obra que la orden a la que pertenecía le encomendó, de manera oficial, desde 1558. No obstante, este proceso de evangelización trataría de ser, desde la "perspectiva" sahaguniana, tan profundo como el que realizaría respecto al estudio de la cultura indígena. Me explico. Había que elaborar un conjunto de textos —sermones, evangelios, salmos, etc.— para conformar un complejo doctrinal en el idioma de los nuevos catecúmenos a fin de llevar a cabo con mayor eficacia la catequesis; pero ¿qué implicaba para Sahagún dicha tarea? Se trataba de poner al alcance de los naturales y de sus hermanos de orden la traducción de las obras que demandaba el programa religioso, lo cual se podría hacer de dos maneras; esto es, transvasar los signos lingüísticos de un sistema a otro o bien optar por la concepción de formas y contenidos a partir del idioma y la cosmovisión mexicanas en su función denotacional, pero también en sus im-plicaciones connotacionales. Este último fue el camino que el fraile prefirió seguir, como lo explica en el primer folio del *Sermonario*, redactado en 1540, el cual corrigió y aumentó en 1563: "Siguense vnos sermones de domjnjcas y Santos en lengua Mexicana; no traducidos de sermonario alguno sino

compues-to nuevamente a la medida y la capacidad de los indios" (Bustamante 1990:67).

Pero igualmente había que elaborar, por otra parte, una pormenorizada descripción de los distintos componentes de la cultura indígena que dispuso a la manera de las enciclopedias europeas, rindiendo con esto tributo a lo que él consideró, desde su *perspectiva* humanística, digno de preservarse y difundirse. Y esto nos conduce a la siguiente interrogante que atañe al ¿qué conoce? o quizá tomando en cuenta las restricciones que algunos estudiosos advierten en la comprensión de otras culturas ¿qué se intenta conocer?

Si retomamos la propuesta orteguiana sobre el *diagrama* imaginario y aplicamos el método de la hermenéutica analógica, que hemos considerado como un instrumento de análisis idóneo en este estudio, podemos asegurar que Sahagún, como otros autores que se dieron a la tarea de describir e interpretar el insospechado universo indomexicano, lo hicieron a partir de sus parámetros conceptuales. El franciscano estableció, de este modo, una relación entre los rasgos de la cultura ajena con los de otras semejantes a los propios, como se puede comprobar con los frecuentes procedimientos comparativos y atributivos que aparecen a lo largo de la narración, aunque algunos de ellos se resistieron a coincidir con las categorías occidentales preexistentes; esto es, se tuvo que enfrentar a lo que Villoro (1999:15-27) ha identificado como los "límites de la comprensión".

Advertidas estas restricciones para el pleno acercamiento a seres tan diferentes, podríamos afirmar que fray Bernardino inició su proceso de cognición desde fechas muy tempranas a su llegada al Nuevo Mundo, según lo acreditan los primeros manuscritos de sus trabajos, y concluyó prácticamente con su vida cuando, desalentado, aceptó la ineficacia de la labor misional.

Bernardino de Sahagún se propuso conocer a profundidad la cultura de los nahuas del altiplano central para lograr una evangelización más efectiva. Su trabajo pastoral y académico ocupó todo su tiempo y ello le permitió desarrollar ampliamente los dos complejos enciclopédicos que había planeado. Sahagún penetró en el mundo "natural" del hombre indígena que admiró y ensalzó. Esto lo podemos documentar en el prólogo a su *Historia general* donde dice: "Ansi están tenidos por bárbaros y por baxísimo quilate, como según verdad en las cosas de política echan el pie delante a muchas otras naciones…" (1979[1577]:Lib.I,f.2r). Pero también se internó en el "sobrenatural" al que frecuentemente condenó, como lo advertimos en el apendiz al Libro Primero[1] y en algunos comentarios que aparecen a lo largo de los Libros

[1] El "apendiz" del primer libro abarca desde el folio 24v al 41v. La columna de la izquierda que a lo largo del *Códice Florentino* aparece en castellano, está escrita ahora en latín hasta el

Segundo y Tercero. De este modo, nos dejó una detallada relación del universo nahua construida a partir de los seres míticos y naturales que regían el cosmos indiano, pasando por el estrato humano, hasta llegar a los mínimos componentes inorgánicos. Utilizó sus vastos saberes de hombre del Renacimiento para dotar a la poderosa cultura mexica de una estructura conceptual que la homologará a la de las grandes civilizaciones, permitiendo así al lector europeo un acceso más fácil a ella.

Ahora bien, con relación al tercer cuestionamiento que atañe a ¿cómo se conoce? podemos asegurar que en el caso de nuestro fraile lo pudo concretar a través del medio de expresión de aquellos a los que se propuso convertir, esto es, de la lengua mexicana a la que comparó en importancia con la de Virgilio y Cicerón, como leemos en el prólogo a su *Historia*; fue ésta el vehículo que le permitió el acceso al universo indígena, aunado al riguroso método de encuesta con el que decidió abordarlo, a fin de recabar sistemáticamente la información que requería.

Sahagún habló la lengua mexicana con pleno dominio, lo que le permitió una comunicación directa con sus encuestados, y también escribió en ella las obras necesarias para difundir el Evangelio entre los naturales, aunque esto no pudiera lograrse plenamente debido a que casi en su totalidad permanecieron inéditas por siglos. Con sus colaboradores indígenas —miembros de la élite quienes brindaron la información requerida en su minuta o cuestionario, y de sus alumnos y escribanos que lo auxiliaron en su tarea de recopilación y consignación del material— construyó el testimonio más completo sobre el México antiguo.

4. *Un proceso de construcción de contenidos en la 'Historia general'. Los dioses mexicas*

Veamos ahora comparativamente las características que presentan algunos manuscritos de la etapa inicial de su investigación efectuada en Tepepulco hacia 1558 con las concentradas en la última versión de su *Historia* conocida como *Códice florentino*, que concluyó en 1577.

---

folio 29r y corre paralela a la náhuatl. En este apartado, el fraile expone apasionadamente los nefastos efectos de la idolatría y la necesidad de "alumbrar" a los naturales con la luz de la iglesia católica. Hace un repaso de cada uno de los dioses mexicas, asegura que no es Dios más que el cristiano, y concluye su disertación con lo que él titula "Exclamaciones del autor" que a la letra dice: "O infelicíssima y desventurada nation que de tantos y de tan grandes engaños fue, por gran numero de años engañada, y entenebrecida: y de tan innumerables errores deslumbrada, y desvanecida […] y por la parte que me toca, suplico a vra divina majestad [se refiere a Dios], que después de aver quitado, todo el poder, al tirano enemigo: hagais que donde abundo el delicto, abunde la gracia" (Sahagún 1979[1577]:Lib. I, f.41v).

En los folios de lo que Francisco del Paso y Troncoso llamó *Primeros memoriales* o *Memoriales de Tepepulco* que reproducen las representaciones pictográficas propias de los códices pre y poshispánicos acompañadas de glosas explicativas en lengua mexicana, se aprecian claramente los gérmenes de la *Historia universal de las cosas de Nueva España,* como la denominó originalmente su autor,[2] y el señalado interés lexicográfico que resulta evidente en toda su producción. En estos textos preparatorios podemos encontrar, por ejemplo, listas de términos que no incluyen ninguna definición, como ocurre en el caso de los folios 268r y v en los que sólo se enuncian los objetos que se requerían en las casas de los dioses, o como les llama el religioso, los demonios.

Pero también en algunos apartados, como en el que antecede a esta escueta relación (1905[1565]:f.258r), aparecen ya detalladas referencias de los miembros que conformaban la jerarquía religiosa azteca; en primera instancia se enuncia el nombre del sacerdote, seguida de una explicación que varía en los semas que fray Bernardino decidió incluir en cada una de ellas respecto a su indumentaria, función y actividad.

Concretamente sobre el tema que en esta ocasión nos ocupa y que por razones obvias preocupó en especial al misionero, el de los dioses mexicas, tenemos que desde los primeros textos de la *Historia* se encuentra información relevante sobre sus constituyentes pictográficos y sus atributos. Recordemos que la obra de Sahagún contiene la relación más completa en este rubro y que incluso las referencias a algunas deidades como Xiuhtlati y Xilo, diosas de los artesanos de las plumas, únicamente se encuentran en ella (Olivier 2002:67).

Veamos el caso específico de *Tezcatlipoca*, "espejo que humea", cuyos encabezados dicen a la letra: *Tezcatlipoca inechichiuh* ("atavíos de Tezcatlipoca") e *Inic X parrafo ipan motenehua in tlein tlamiloya teteo* ("donde se dice lo que pensaban de los dioses") en los folios 261r y 270v respectivamente de los *Memoriales* de 1558–1560. En términos muy generales podemos señalar que ambas relaciones, especialmente la segunda, resultan esquemáticas; en esta última, sólo se proporcionan los atributos de la deidad enunciada con tres términos nahuas: el ser "inventor de cosas y hombres" y el de su consustancial naturaleza bélica, la cual, cabe señalar, comparte con Huiztilopochtli: *tlayocuya, teyocuya, teyauchioa.* (lámina 1)

[2] En el f.1r de los *Memoriales en español* aparece de esta forma el título que Sahagún dio a su obra, al igual que en el folio introductorio al *Códice de Tolosa*. Según Bustamante (1990:249), el título de estos *Memoriales* es de la máxima importancia porque es el único conservado en un manuscrito genuino y seguro de Sahagún.

Si comparamos esta muy somera caracterización sobre Tezcatlipoca con la que se incorpora en la versión final de la *Historia general. Códice florentino* tenemos que tanto en el apartado náhuatl como en la paráfrasis castellana de éste se observa un mayor desarrollo de los rasgos mencionados que se evidencia en su estructura narrativa (lámina 2).

En el manuscrito de Florencia se destaca su esencia omnipresente, "el qual andava, en todo lugar: en el cielo, en la tierra, y en el infierno … *noujian ynemjian: mictla, tlalticpac, ylhujcac*" (Sahagún 1979[1577]:Lib.I, f.1v) y se desarrollan aún más sus atributos guerreros "movja guerras, enemistades, y discordias: de donde resultavan, muchas fatigas, y desasosiegos: dezian que el mesmo, incitava a unos contra otros: para que tuviesen guerras": *Yn jquac nemja tlalticpac, iehoatl qujiotiajia, in teuhtli tlaçolli: cococ teupouhquj, qujteittitiaia, tetzala[n], tenepantla motecaia*…; se incluye otra forma, *necoc yaotl*, con la que se le denominaba también que el propio fraile traduce en la versión española como "sembrador de discordias". Además en esta última, como ocurre en la descripción de otras deidades, establece analogías entre el dios azteca y un numen romano, en este caso Júpiter, a fin de que los lectores europeos a quienes iba dirigido este texto pudieran relacionarla con una entidad conocida y cercana al referente en cuestión; concluye esta relación remitiendo a otros apartados del *Códice* donde trata aspectos relacionados con sus orígenes cosmogónicos y sobre sus propiedades, así como con los sacrificios y rituales ofrecidos en su honor.

Por lo que toca a las glosas nahuas que acompañan a la representación pictográfica de Tezcatlipoca, en la parte correspondiente a la indumentaria en los *Primeros memoriales* se destacan diez rasgos iconográficos, encabezados por el componente *tecpatzontli* "Cabellera de pedernales" piedras que, según León-Portilla (1992:116-117), constituyen uno de los rasgos distintivos de esta divinidad (lámina 3).

En este elenco preparatorio de Tepepulco, escrito sólo en lengua mexicana, se advierte una marcada tematización de los componentes del atuendo del dios respecto al lugar que le corresponden en su representación figurativa; el relieve comunicativo-semántico de dichas unidades se pone de manifiesto, por ejemplo, en los siguientes enunciados:

Tecpatzontli in icpac contlaliticac "cabellera de pedernales está colocada encima"
quetzalcomitl in quimamaticac "olla de plumas de quetzal, lleva a cuestas"

Estos elementos iconográficos propios de Tezcatlipoca, es importante señalar, no aparecen en el Libro Primero del *Florentino*, esto es, en la versión última de su obra, quizá porque el tercer código que la compone, o sea el pictográfico, que fue el último en quedar integrado, contenía dicha información. En efecto,

en las páginas preliminares del *Códice florentino* se incluyen seis folios con las representaciones de los dioses que componen el panteón azteca, entre los que están Tezcatlipoca; cabe mencionar que éstas se distancian de las que se encuentran en los *Memoriales* de 1558–1560 en cuanto a los trazos, más cercanos ya a los de las imágenes europeas (Martínez 1982:42).

5. ***Consideraciones finales***

En suma, la *Historia general* está compuesta por todos los manuscritos que fueron realizados durante tres décadas en la zona del altiplano central de México, desde las recopilaciones de 1547 de lo que se conoce como la "palabra antigua", las subsecuentes etapas intermedias de investigación, apoyadas interrumpidamente por su orden hasta la elaboración definitiva de 1577; cada uno de ellos constituye un eslabón único e irrepetible en el proceso de comprensión de una cultura insospechada a la que el franciscano admiró en numerosos sentidos, pero que en el plano religioso condenó sin reparo, como lo apreciamos en la amplia confutación que acompaña al Libro Primero.

Los propósitos lexicográficos de Sahagún fueron evidentes. Indagó los contenidos de cada palabra y los remitió a ese diagrama previo al que se ha hecho mención antes; fue afinando consecutivamente su interpretación acerca de los diversos componentes que integraban la cosmovisión mexica e integrándolos a la estructura narrativa de lo que sería su *Códice florentino* y en la que no pudo incorporar, por falta de recursos y tiempo, una pretendida tercera columna de escolios que formaría parte de toda su *Historia* (lámina 4); en ésta, como se aprecia en diecisiete folios que tenemos como prueba, se glosarían los términos nahuas a la manera del *Vocabulario* de Alonso de Molina (1571).[3]

[3] En un trabajo anterior (Máynez 2006), se estableció una comparación entre el *Vocabulario de la lengua castellana y mexicana y mexicana y castellana* de Molina de 1571 y los *Memoriales con escolios* de Sahagún. Este último procedió de la misma forma que aquél. Cuando de nombres sustantivos se trató, proporcionó la definición española pero, a diferencia de fray Alonso, inmediatamente después, y siguiendo a Nebrija, indicó la especificación "caso" y la forma como se compone con el prefijo pronombre en primera persona. Para indicar la categoría de adjetivos, Molina, por su parte, antepuso a la definición, de manera sistemática, el término "cosa": *Coxoconqui* "cosa seca y muy molida" y Sahagún lo hizo de la misma forma que aquél. Resulta importante señalar, así mismo que, en ocasiones, existe una correspondencia casi absoluta entre ambos frailes: por ejemplo:

Vocabulario de Molina: *tlaeçotilli* "cosa ensangrentada".
Memoriales de Sahagún: *tlaeçotilli* "cosa ensangrentada".

Pero otras, varía tanto la enunciación como la definición:

Vocabulario de Molina: *tenonotzaliztli* "amonestación, plática, reprehensión, sermón".
Memoriales de Sahagún: *tenonotzale* "persona que da buenos avisos" ca. notenonotzalecauh.

Para la comprensión integral del quehacer lexicográfico de Sahagún, se requiere realizar un exhaustivo análisis comparativo en el que se consideren todas y cada una de las voces con sus respectivas definiciones en náhuatl y español que el franciscano integró también en todos y cada uno de sus manuscritos; ése es justamente el trabajo al que pretendo abocarme.

REFERENCIAS

A. ***Fuentes primarias***

Molina, Alonso de. 1970[1571]. *Vocabulario en Lengua Castellana y Mexicana y Mexicana y Castellana.* Estudio preliminar Miguel León-Portilla. México: Porrúa.

Sahagún, Bernardino de. 1992[1560]. *Primeros memoriales.* Miguel León-Portilla, ed. *Ritos, sacerdotes y atavíos de los dioses.* México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Sahagún, Bernardino de. 1997[1560]. *Primeros memoriales.* Edición facsimilar Thelma Sullivan. 2 vols. Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press - Patrimonio Nacional y Real Academia de la Historia.

Sahagún, Bernardino de. 1905[1565]. *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España*. Edición facsimilar del *Códice matritense del Real Palacio.* Francisco del Paso y Troncoso. 3 vols. Madrid: Fototipia de Hauser y Menet.

Sahagún, Bernardino de. 1979[1577]. *Códice florentino. Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España. Ms .218–20 de la Colección Palatina de la Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.* 3 vols. México, Florencia: Archivo General de la Nación y Casa Editorial Giunti Barbera.

B. ***Fuentes secundarias***

Bustamante García, Jesús. 1990. *Fray Bernardino de Sahagún. Una revisión crítica de los manuscritos y de su proceso de composición.* México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Coll, César. 1997. *¿Qué es el constructivismo?* Argentina: Magisterio del Río de la Plata.

León-Portilla, Miguel. 1999. *Bernardino de Sahagún. Pionero de la antropología.* México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México & El Colegio Nacional.

López Solis, Jorge. 1998. "Analogía y teoría de la historia". *Diálogos con Mauricio Beuchot sobre la analogía.* Sanabria & Maratones, eds. 1998.105-127.

Mardones, José María. 1997. "Razón hermenéutica y razón simbólica. Los límites analógicos de la hermenéutica". Sanabria & Mardones, eds. 1998.25-47.

Martínez, José Luis. 1982. *El "Códice Florentino" y la "Historia General" de Sahagún.* México: Archivo General de la Nación.

Máynez, Pilar. 2002. *El Calepino de Sahagún. Un acercamiento.* México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México & Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Máynez, Pilar. 2006. "El proyecto lexicográfico de dos frailes españoles en México". *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl* 37.85-95.

Morín, Edgar. 2000. "Cultura y conocimiento". Watzlawick & Krieg, eds. 2000.73-82.

Nicolau D'Olwer. 1952. *Fray Bernardino de Sahagún (1499–1590).* México: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia.
Olivier, Guilhem. 2002. "El panteón en la *Historia general de las cosos de Nueva España*". *Bernardino de Sahagún. Quinientos años de presencia*, 61-81. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
Ortega y Gasset, José. 1972a. *¿Qué es filosofía?* Madrid: Revista de Occidente. (Colección El Arquero).
Ortega y Gasset, José. 1972b. *El hombre y la gente 1.* Madrid: Revista de Occidente. (Colección El Arquero).
Rosas, Ricardo & Christian Sebastián, eds. 2001. *Piaget, Vigotzki y Maturana. Constructivismo a tres voces.* Buenos Aires: Aique.
Sanabria, José Rubén & José María Mardones, eds. 1998. ¿*Tiene la analogía alguna función en el pensar filosófico?* México: Universidad Iberoamericana.
Villoro, Luis. 1999. "Sahagún o los límites del descubrimiento del Otro". *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl* 29.15-27.
Watzlawick, Paul & Peter Krieg, eds. 2000. *El ojo del observador. Contribuciones al constructivismo.* Barcelona: Gedisa.

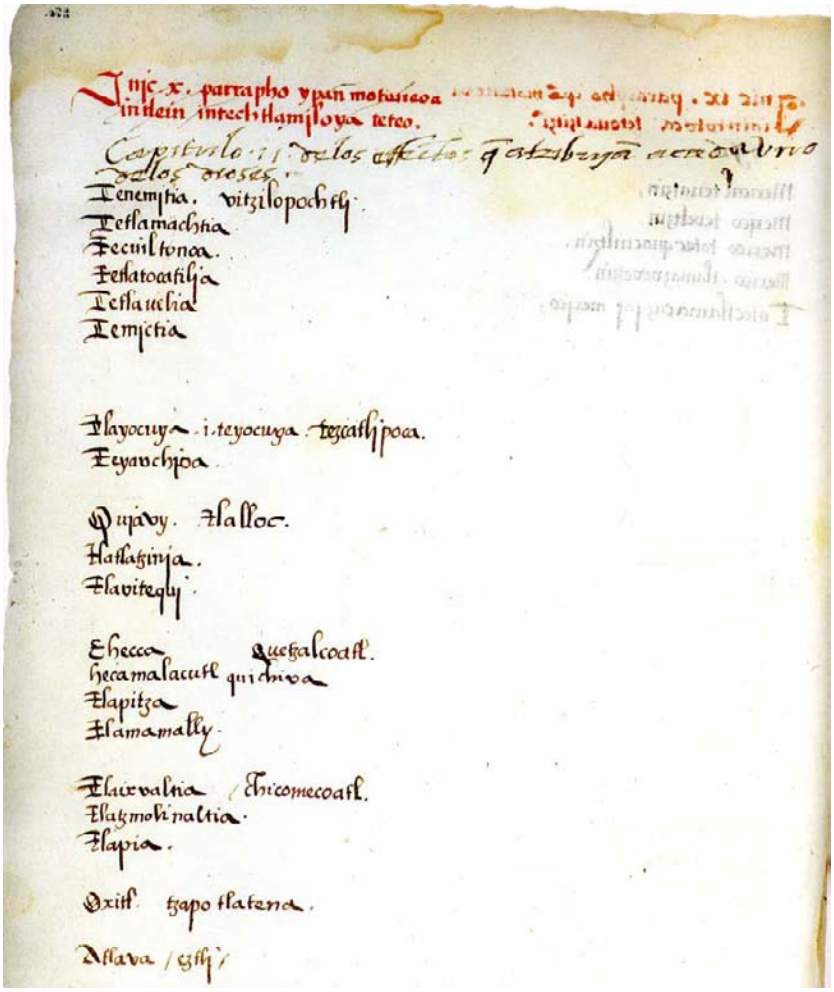


Lámina 1

Bernardino de Sahagún (1997[1560]). *Primeros memoriales*. Edición facsimiliar Thelma Sullivan. Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, Patrimonio Nacional y Real Academia de la Historia. vol. 1, f. 270v. Las reproducciones de los originales han sido facilitadas con permiso de la Biblioteca "Rafael García Granados" del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

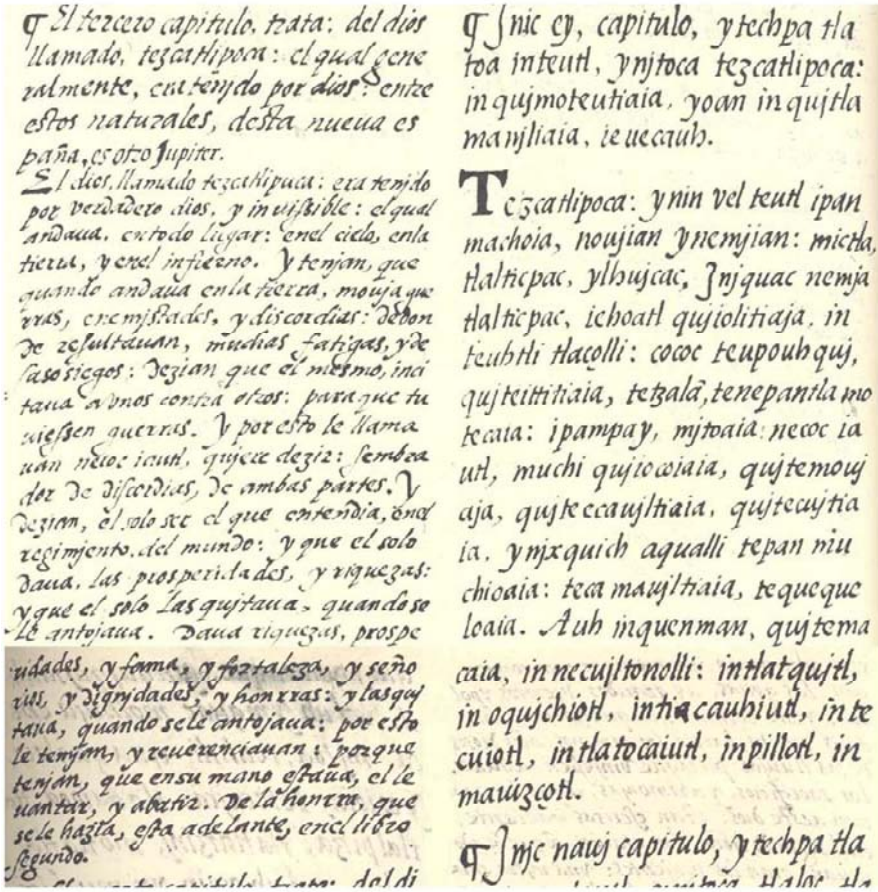


Lámina 2

Bernardino de Sahagún 1979[1577]. *Códice Florentino. Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España. Ms. 218-20 de la colección Palatina de la Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana*. Edición facsimilar. México, Florencia: Archivo General de la Nación y Casa Editorial Giunti Barbera. vol. 1, lib. 1 f. 1v. (Con permiso de la Biblioteca "Rafael García Granados").



Lámina 3

Bernardino de Sahagún (1997[1560]). *Primeros memoriales*. Edición facsimilar Thelma Sullivan. Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, Patrimonio Nacional y Real Academia de la Historia. vol. 1, f. 261r. (Con permiso de la Biblioteca “Rafael García Granados”).



Lámina 4:

Bernardino de Sahagún (1905[1577]). *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España*. Edición facsimilar del *Códice Matritense del Real Palacio*. Madrid: Fototipia de Hauser y Menet, vol. 6. f. 200. (Con permiso de la Biblioteca "Rafael García Granados").

THE TARASCAN LEXICOGRAPHIC TRADITION IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

CRISTINA MONZÓN
El Colegio de Michoacán, Zamora, México

RESUMEN

A lo largo de la segunda mitad del siglo XVI los frailes franciscanos y agustinos con el apoyo, como se mostrará aquí, de lexicógrafos indígenas producen tres diccionarios para la lengua tarasca cuyas características permiten hablar de una tradición lexicográfica particular: las entradas principales están conformadas por raíces desarrollándose bajo cada una el paradigma correspondiente. Las bases sentadas en 1559 con el *Vocabulario en lengua de Mechoacan* se analizarán en las subsecuentes obras haciendo hincapié en las innovaciones que los autores introducen tanto en la estructura de cada obra como en la selección del abc y del orden alfabético. Las influencias de otros autores tales como Alonso de Molina (c.1514–1585) y Ambrosio Calepino (1440–1510) contribuyen a la particularidad de esta tradición, ofreciendo un concepto diferente en la organización de vocabularios y diccionarios.

1. *Introduction*

In the second half of the sixteenth century, three dictionaries of the Tarascan language[1] were produced. In his *Vocabulario en lengua de Mechuacan* (1559), the French Franciscan friar Maturino Gilberti (c.1498–1585) devised some basic principles that determine the entries for the section that he included between the Tarascan-Spanish and Spanish-Tarascan vocabularies. In that section, the main headings for the entries are 'roots', and it was on the basis of these 'roots' that Gilberti went on to develop the paradigms of verbs, and also of certain nouns. This is the organizational principle that another Franciscan friar, Juan Baptista de Lagunas (c.1530–1604), would implement in the elaboration of his own Tarascan Calepino: the *Dictionarito breve y compendioso en la lengua de Michuacan*, published in the

[1] Tarascan was spoken in the state of Michoacán and surrounding areas. The language is still used in a smaller area in central Michoacán, Mexico.

Arte y Dictionario: con otras obras en lengua michuacana (1574). Another work entitled the *Diccionario grande de la lengua de Michoacan* (Anonymous 1991[16th century]), revealed the full development of Tarascan lexicography. A team, led on this occasion by an Augustinian friar (see Warren 1991:xxii), significantly increased the number of entries headed by roots and systematized the presentation of the paradigm by using sub-entries.

In this article, I propose to elucidate the evolution of this new lexicographic conception by considering the predecesor, Friar Alonso de Molina (c.1513–1579), highlighting the criteria that each author used in Tarascan dictionaries and tracing the trends that influenced the emergence of new approaches. The collaboration of Tarascan speakers in this endeavour will also be addressed.

2. *The identity of the authors*

According to the 'Prologues' of these *Artes*, *Diccionarios* and *Vocabularios*, they were considered the fruits of the dedicated efforts of some Franciscan or Augustinian friar, while the participation of indigenous speakers goes unmentioned. It would seem that the kind of specialized linguistic knowledge required would account for the absence of native speakers; though this contrasts strongly with the noteworthy participation of indigenous informants in works that reported on the history, traditions or social organization of New World peoples, as was the case of Nahua-speakers in Friar Bernardino de Sahagún's (c.1500–1590) *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*, or of Tarascan speakers in the *Relación de las ceremonias y ritos y población y gobierno de los indios de la provincia de Michoacán* (1977[1541]), attributed to Friar Jerónimo de Alcalá (Warren 1971, 2000).

The earliest mention of indigenous collaboration in linguistic works appeared in 1606, when Friar Juan Bautista reported that Hernando de Ribas, a native from Texcoco who attended the *Colegio de Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco*, had "aided Friar Alonso de Molina in elaborating the *Arte* and *Vocabulario*" of the Nahuatl language ("con su ayuda compuso el padre fray Alonso de Molina el *Arte* y *Vocabulario*...") (Molina 1970[1571]:xxx). It was this particular case that led to my inquiring into the possible participation of Tarascan speakers in the creation of the abovementioned *Diccionarios* and *Vocabularios*. The authorship of these works is highly relevant to any future interpretation of the data they contain. Hence, is it possible to discern in those *Diccionarios* and *Vocabularios* evidence of indigenous collaboration? With respect to the *Vocabulario en lengua de Mechuacan*, published in 1559 by Gilberti, the historian Martínez Baracs has suggested the participation of indigenous speakers, basing his argument on certain errors identified in the sections of the

text written in Spanish. He tells us:

> Gilberti retoma las ocho voces relativas al 'pecado' que Molina escogió de las quince que da Nebrija, e introdujo asimismo una pequeña errata, omitiendo el 'por' en "Pecado que se purga por sacrificio". Errores como éstos en los vocabularios son indicio de la participación de indios en su elaboración. (Martínez Baracs 1994:84)
>
> [Gilberti mentions the eight entries on 'sin' that Molina chose from the fifteen given by Nebrija, but introduced a minor mistake, omitting the 'by' in "sin that is cleansed *by* sacrifice". Mistakes such as these in the *Vocabularios* indicate the participation of Indians in their elaboration.]

Though omissions of this kind could well have been made by the authors themselves, the possibility that they were introduced by the typesetter cannot be totally dismissed; thus, they can hardly be considered conclusive and we need to look for stronger evidence. Let us consider then, for example, the entry on "corredor de mercaduría" ("market broker") in the Spanish-Tarascan section. When he copied the entries from Friar Alonso de Molina's *Vocabulario en la lengua castellana-mexicana* (1555), the translator-lexicographer clearly did not understand the meaning of this Spanish term, nor was he able to imagine what kind of person was being described in Nahuatl: "to sell something to people, the one that attracts people's attention towards the products, the one that corrects, reviews, rereads, repeats, recounts or reclaims a debt." It is obvious that he did not understand that in this context 'broker' refers to a person. Moreover, the activity involved was also unknown to him. He thus deduced from the previous entry – "corredor de casa" ("corridor in a house") – that "corredor de mercaduría" must have had something to do with the market, and so simplified his translation to "mayapequaro" which means "market". If Gilberti were in fact the only author and if we assume that there was no participation by a native speaker, then we would expect that as a European he would have understood the entry "corredor de mercaduria", which is "courtier" in French.[2]

Molina (1555:55v)	Gilberti (1989[1559]:284)
Corredor de casa ("corridor in a house")	Corredor de casa ("corridor in a house")
calmelactli	eromazquaro, hucahchuqua

[2] *Courtier*, m. celui qui s'entremet pour faire des ventes, des prêts d'argent, &tc. *Corredor, m; el que se entremete en las compras y ventas.* (Sobrino 1760:161); [one who acts as a middleman to make sales, or loan money, etc; Corredor: one who intervenes in purchases and sales].

Corredor de mercaduria (“market broker”) tetlacocoui itetlatennonochili, tlacxitocani[3]	Corredor de mercaduria (“market broker”) mayapequaro[4]

Table 1: *An error, evidence for indigenous participation in the* Vocabulario

Further evidence that suggests significant participation by one or more native speakers in the elaboration of the *Vocabulario* is found in the section on roots that appears between the Tarascan-Spanish and Spanish-Tarascan sections. The alphabetic order in this section differs from that of the Tarascan-Spanish section in the consonant C group:

Tarascan-Spanish section	a, C, e, h, y, m, n, o, p, qu(a) /qhu(a) /qu(e,i), s, T, v, x. C = c(a) /ch (a, e, u, o, u) /ç (a) /c (e, i) /ç (o, u) /c(o, u) /cu (e, i, ui, i) /c (u) T = t(a) /th(a) /tz(a) /thz(a) // t(e) /th(e) /tz(e) /thz(e) // t(i) /th(i) /tz(i) /thz(i) /ts(i) /ths(i) // t(o) /th(o) /tz(o) /thz(o) // t(u) /th(u) /tz(u) /thz(u)
Roots section	a, C, e, h, y, m, n, o, p, qhu(a)/qu(e), s, T, v, x. C= c(a,o,v)/ch(a,e,v)/c(o)/ /ç (a,u) /c (u) / tz(a)/ç(e)/ thz(e)/tz(e)/ ç(u) T = t(a) /th(a) // t(e) //th(i)/ t(i) /te//th(i,o,v)

Table 2: *Alphabetic order in the* Vocabulario

The inclusion of the graphemes <tz> and <thz> as members of the C group and their specific position beside <ç> suggest that authorship is not attributable to Gilberti, for two reasons:

1. In his *Arte de la lengua de Michuacan,* Gilberti gives a phonological description of the pronunciation associated with <tz, thz> with the same point of articulation (Monzón 2005), the difference being in the manner of articulation: Gilberti perceives <thz> as expelling

> el huelgo abundosamente del profundo del pecho por lo qual es menester fingir una aspiracion mas que a los otros de la primera regla. (Gilberti 2004[1558]:234).
>
> [the breath abundantly from the depths of the chest, thus making it necessary to simulate aspiration more than for those of the first rule.]

[3] I thank Dr. Karen Dakin for the analysis of Nahua terms in this entry: “*tetlacocoui* Agentive of Te:-tla-coco:huia -- to sell something to various people -- *itetlatennonochili*, -- the first *i* causes me some problems – but I think it is the agentive of te-tla-ten-no:chilia ‘he who calls/calls for the people with his lips for something (I think, basically, it is he who scolds one who sells), asin -te:n-e:hua ‘to hail with the lips is ‘to name, to promise’. *Tlacxitocani* ‘One who corrects, reviews, re-reads, repeats, re-counts or who claims a debt’”

[4] *Diccionario Grande* Spanish-Tarascan: Feria, mercado (...market) Mayapeto, mayapequaro, moyoxequaro.

referring here to <tz>. He also identifies <tz> as clearly differentiated from <ç>:

> REGLA PRIMERA
> ¶Los vocablos escritos con tza, tze, tzi, tzo, tzu significan de una manera y los que con ça, ce, ci, ço, çu de otra... (Gilberti 2004[1558]:64)
>
> [FIRST RULE
> Words written with tza, tze, tzi, tzo, tzu have one way of meaning while those with ça, ce, ci, ço, çu have a different one...]

2. In the Tarascan-Spanish section which comes first in the *Vocabulario*, Gilberti also established a clear distinction between consonants that begin with a grapheme similar to <c> –the C group– and those that begin with <t>, the T group as shown in table 2.

The phonological description and grouping criteria based on the similarity of grapheme forms in the Tarascan-Spanish section strongly suggest that Gilberti was not the only author of the section on roots, and provide evidence of the participation of a Tarascan speaker in the elaboration of the *Vocabulario*. It is certainly possible that such an indigenous lexicographer would not have assimilated the phonological description that Gilberti associated with the new graphemes, simply because he already knew how to pronounce them and thus failed to comprehend the criteria that underlie the alphabetic order that the friar used to differentiate between <tz> and <ç>. In fact, the Tarascan lexicographer's perception of these sounds is similar to the one presented by Molina, which is discussed in the next section.

In addition to the evidence just presented, it should also be noted that Tarascan speakers who apparently participated in the *Vocabulario* did not have a clear conception of the entire oeuvre. For example, when entrusted with copying and translating Molina's *Vocabulario* of 1555, they not only reproduced the Spanish entries of the Spanish-Nahuatl section but also copied the section that Molina added at the last minute under the heading: "Siguense algunos vocablos que despues de la ympression deste vocabulario se me han ofrecido" ["Here follow some words that after the impression of this *Vocabulario* appeared to me to be necessary".] I would argue that if it was Gilberti who created the Tarascan version, influenced by the *Vocabulario*, he would undoubtedly have incorporated the words of this addendum into the body of the Spanish-Tarascan section instead of just mechanically copying Molina's text, including the heading.

The participation of Tarascan speakers in the elaboration of the *Vocabulario en lengua de Mechuacan* is thus strongly supported by the authors apparent inability to understand the entry 'corredor de mercado', by the

mechanical copying of the Spanish-Tarascan section of the addendum, and by the alphabetic order given to <tz, thz> as members of the C group in the section on roots. Furthermore judging by the accuracy of the translation, one of the collaborators must have had an excellent knowledge of both Spanish and Nahuatl, as the writer often uses glosses in the latter language when making translations into Tarascan. This assertion is based on the observation of entries such as 'abrojo' or 'abrojo otro', which are differentiated in Nahuatl and Tarascan but not in Spanish. As is shown in the chart 'abrojo' corresponds to different terms in Nahuatl that are equated to a fewer variety of words in Tarascan:

Molina (1555:3r)	Gilberti (1989[1559]:202)
Abrojo ("comb bush") çacamulli, Especie de carda ("a kind of comb bush")	Abrojo ("comb bush") checameti.
Abrojo otro ("another kind of comb bush") chicalotl. {Yerua que lleua abrojos o espinas ("herb that has comb bushes or thorns")} /Hierba espinosa, espino ("thorny herb", "hawthorn")/	Abrojo otro ("another kind of comb bush") Idem
Abrojo otro ("another kind of comb bush") tlacatecolochicalotl {Espino o abrojo grande ("hawthorn", "large comb bush")} /Espina especie de cardo ("thorn", "a kind of thistle")/	Abrojo otro ("another kind of comb bush") Idem
Abrojo otro ("another kind of comb bush") quauitztli {Zarza o cierto abrojo ("blackberry bush or a kind of caltrop")} /Zarza, espina gruesa, especie de cardo ("blackberry bush", "thick thorn", "a kind of thistle")/	Abrojo otro ("another kind of comb bush") tzurumbeni [Çarça ("blackberry bush") Situni, tzurumbeni]
Abrojo grande que sale de tierra ("large comb bush that surfaces from the earth"), teocomitl. netzolli	Abrojo grande que sale de tierra ("large comb bush that surfaces from the earth") checameti paquez [Abrojo a manera de eriso, o arcarchofas que naçe en el suelo ("comb bush similar to a hedgehog, or artichokes that grow on the surface") Checameti paquez]
Abrojo otro de la tierra ("another kind of comb bush	Abrojo de la tierra ("comb

from this land") tlacatecoloxocouitztli. tlacatecolouitztli.	bush from this land") checameti terendapu tzurumu
{Otro genero de abrojo o espino ("another kind of comb bush or hawthorn")} tlacatecolo uitztli {Cierto abrojo o espino ("some kind of comb bush or hawthorn")}	
Abrojo otro ("another kind of comb bush") tzitzintlapatl.	Abrojo otro ("another kind of comb bush") tzurumu
{Abrojo ("comb bush")} /Especie de cardo ("a certain kind of caltrop")/	
	[Alcarchofa ("artichoke"). Checameti cupumuta.]

Table 3: *The use of Nahuatl for Tarascan translations*[5]

The evidence in this Table suggests very strongly that while drafting his *Vocabulario*, Gilberti benefited from the collaboration of a trilingual speaker, or perhaps of a team of people who spoke Tarascan, Nahuatl and Spanish, and who had been trained in the use of the orthographic conventions established by Gilberti himself.

Let us now consider the version of the *Diccionario grande de la lengua de Michoacán* edited by Benedict Warren, a two-volume work made up of manuscripts that are held in two different libraries in the United States. Warren states that the full text – written by one person with corrections by a second – is found in the Latin American Library at Tulane University, while the second manuscript was discovered at the John Carter Brown Library and is a partial copy of the first. There is evidence that it may have been copied by a Tarascan Indian, as Warren found several problems that led him to conclude that the copier of this second manuscript, "no entendió muy bien el español o copió el texto de un modo muy mecánico" ["did not understand Spanish very well, or copied the text in a very mechanical manner".] (Warren 1991:xv).

The author of the Tulane manuscript could have been, as Warren suggests, an Augustinian accustomed to writing primarily in Tarascan, who thus introduced errors in the Spanish glosses (Warren 1991:xvi-xxiii). However, the peculiarities of these errors suggest a different interpretation: the influence of the Tarascan canonic pattern and the absence of agreement throughout the two volumes may indicate that the author was indigenous. A detailed examination of the following four cases will illustrate this point:

[5] The sources of information for this chart are codified as follows: // Siméon (1977[1885]); {} Molina (1970[1571]); [] Anonymous (1991[16th century]).

a.- The Spanish adaptation to the final Tarascan word structure: nouns generally end in <i>,[6] as in,

Mandan domingo terupastani. Cada semani [sic]. Y sirue de uerbo.
Thazcuhpentstani, hahchutahpentspentstani. Abatirlos, ponerlos debaxi [sic] y los mas vltimos.
Apeteçer lo ajeni [sic]. Tzititspeni, atzititspeni.
Badajo de campana, lengua de campani [sic]. Tiamu tiringuequa.
Casarse el uaroni [sic], tomar mujer. Tembuhpeni. (Anonymous 1991[16th century])

b.- The difficulty in pronouncing voiced occlusives in a non-nasal context such as 'durarle' in:

Yon yquiuani. Turarle muncho el enojo. (Anonymous 1991[16th century])

c.- The need to avoid consonantal groups as in 'tigre':

Tsitsis puqui. Tigere [sic]. (Anonymous 1991[16th century])

d.- The absence of agreement in number and gender:

Equarequarangaritani. Señalarles muy bien el golpe de el açote en el rrostros [sic], o las rreglas en el papel.
Yquiquarecata himbo hatarahpeni. Hazerle estar descomulgados [sic].
Menudas piedra [sic]. Charaqui.
Ychaquahco. Vna sola persona desnudo [sic].
Póngani. Meter la mano en la tinajo [sic], olla, etc.
Mirar, a vna parte y a otro [sic]. Vahna vahnanahtsini ezcani, vahnonacuxani ezcani. (Anonymous 1991[16th century])

None of these alterations in the Castilian words could easily be attributed to a Spanish speaker; thus, the anonymous author most probably was a bilingual Indian, though one with an impressive knowledge of Spanish, who was entrusted by an Agustinian friar with the task of creating the entries in the *Diccionario grande* as it is known today.

The last work that I examine here is the *Dictionarito breve y compendioso en la lengua de Michuacan*, which was published in 1574 with the *Arte* under the title *Arte y Dictionarito con otras obras en lengua Michuacana*. Entries here frequently refer to the Europeans, as opposed to the indigenous people, 'we':

Catsicuni, quebrar hilo cintas, o sogas, o cabellos, Y aun tasajos porque les parece a los naturales que se semejan, o parecen a las sogas y por este tono dizen, o lleuan a los pedaços de carne que tambien nosotros llamamos bocado, aunque no se saque con la

[6] In none of the examples drawn from the *Diccionario grande* shall I report Warren's conventions to identify which words were taken from which manuscript, and which handwriting is responsible for the letters used, as this information is not relevant to the discussion at hand.

> boca... (Lagunas 1983[1574]:238-239)
>
> [Catsicuni, to break threads, straps or ropes, or hairs, and even pieces of meat because natives see them as similar to or having the appearance of ropes and in keeping with this comparison they refer to or take pieces of meat that we also call 'mouthful', though they are not extracted with the mouth...]

The sole author here is undoubtedly Friar Juan Baptista de Lagunas, who in his *Arte* justifies part of his interest in the lexicographic work undertaken by saying:

> Empero si alguno dixere, que para que escriuo lo que otros han tractado (si no hallaren algo de nueuo) respondere con Salustio, que para que sepan los que estan por nascer, que vuo en el mundo Salustio. Y con el otro que encendio el famoso templo de Diana en Epheso, que siendo malamente reprehendido del tal desatino, y preguntada la causa. Respondio, Que porque se dixesse del que hizo algo en el mundo. (Lagunas 1983[1574]:137)
>
> [However if someone were to ask why I write what others have already studied (if they should not find anything new), I would answer, as Salustio did, so that those who are yet to be born will know that Salustio existed in this world. And with the other one who set fire to the Temple of Diana in Ephesus, who upon being soundly reprehended for such a blunder and asked for the reasons (of his action), answered so that it would be said of him that he did something in this world.]

3. *The structure of the* **Diccionarios** *and* **Vocabularios**

The *Vocabulario en lengua de Mechuacan* by Friar Maturino Gilberti, is composed of three sections and an addendum. The intermediate section gives a short list of 92 roots that expands the corresponding derived verbs under each entry. In contrast to the other two sections, this one is quite short, containing only 388 verbs; while the first section gives 6,254 Tarascan-Spanish entries, the final, and largest, section in the *Vocabulario* has 13,668 Spanish-Tarascan entries, and the addendum presents an additional 123 Spanish-Tarascan terms. In all, the Spanish-Tarascan entries reproduce almost all those contained in Molina's 1555 *Vocabulario en la lengua castellana-mexicana* (Martínez Baracs 1994; Monzón in press), while the Tarascan-Spanish are a creation by Gilberti and his team since he did not inverted the Spanish-Tarascan entries.

I will focus here on the intermediate section of this extensive work since, as I attempt to show, it laid the foundations for the drafting of later dictionaries. Gilberti's team described its contents in the following manner:

> SIGVENSE CIERTOS VERBOS POR EL Alphabeto, a los quales algunos quieren llamar rayzes: porque parece que apartados los miembros, o para mejor dezir las seruiles quedara la rayz sin significar nada, como el tronco sin ramos: solamente dispuesto a producirlos... (Gilberti 1989[1559]:181)
>
> [The following contains certain verbs in alphabetical order, which some people wish to

call roots because it seems that, separated from the limbs or, better, from those that do service, the root will be left without meaning, like a trunk that has no branches, but is ready to produce them...]

Here, the authors mention two basic linguistic concepts around which their work will be organized: 'roots' and what they called 'serviles', better known today as affixes. The root, written in capital letters, heads each entry, as illustrated by the following example of the root *qhuarahpa*:

QHVARAHPA.

Esta rayz con .h. significa tender alguna manta petate, assi como qhuarahpatani tasta notero tahtziri, qhuarahpahpa, tiendala en el llano o en casa, qhuarahpahpapa yni, tiendala yo en el suelo en casa de manera que la vna pa es de la rayz que significa tender, y la otra pa significa el llano o dentro de casa, y la tercera pa significa imperatiuo de primera persona, qhuarahpangaritani tender en la pared qhuarahpahtsit ençima de alguna cosa, y sin .h. significa coger el trigo, vt quarani. (Gilberti 1989[1559]:190-191)

[QHVARAHPA.

This root with h. means to spread a blanket, mat, as in qhuarahpatani tasta notero tahtziri; qhuarahpahpa, "to spread it on the plain or in the house"; qhuarahpahpapa yni, "may I spread it on the floor of the house"; such that one of the -pa belongs to the root that means "to spread" and the other -pa means "plain" or "inside the house", and the third -pa refers to the first person imperative; qhuarahpangaritani, "hang it on the wall"; qhuarahpahtsit, "on top of something". And without h. it means "to harvest wheat", as in quarani.]

The roots in this section are chosen from among homophones – or quasi-homo-phones – that differ by the presence or absence of the glottal fricative represented by <h>. Thus, in the above quotation, the root *qhuara* with its aspirated velar occlusive is shown first, while at the end of the paragraph the author mentions *quara* identifying it as a root that lacks the aspirated velar occlusive. This rationale for selecting roots is one seldom encountered. In fact, in modern linguistics, most of the entries that Gilberti and the indigenous lexicographer interpreted as roots with an aspirated occlusive velar would be considered as the same root followed by a suffix, the first consonant of which is <h>. The opposition between, for example, *echu* and *echuh*, results from the presence of the space morpheme *htsi*, the higher area of a body, and *hcu*, ("hand") (Monzón 2004:119-197):

ECHV

Esta rayz sin .h. significa cosa ancha, assi como ma echuqua, vna tabla ancha o xicara: que dizen ma echuqua echuparani, poner alguna cosa, ancha, ancha a las espaldas en los tejados, echuquatani, ponerla en el suelo. etc. y con .h. significa poner alguna ancha encima de algo, vt echuhtsitani, echuhcupani, lleuar cosa ancha en la mano. (Gilberti 1989[1559]: 186)

[ECHV.

This root without h. means “wide object”, as in ma echuqua “a wide board or a large gourd”. They say ma echuqua echuparani, “to put something wide on the roof”; echuquatani, “to put it on the floor”, etc. And with h. it means “to put a wide object on top of something”, as in echuhtsitani, echuhcupani, “to carry a wide object in the hand”.]

However, the lexicographer also introduced some roots for which the criteria are not clear. In some cases, the intention seems to have been simply to illustrate the combination of suffixes, presenting the paradigm with particular emphasis on spatial morphemes:

PANGA.

Esta rayz significa derramar algo como mayz o trigo, rierra [sic], o piedras chicas, assi como panga**ua**cuzcani ahtziri, derramar en muchas partes, pangapamani, derramar en casa, panga**ua**tamani, en el campo panga**nche**tamani hazia arriba, panga**htsi**tamani, encima de alguna cosa, panga**ndu**rini, derramar con los pies, panczauatani, derramar de vna vez. (Gilberti 1989[1559]:189)

[PANGA.

[This root means “to spill something” such as corn or wheat or dirt or pebbles, as in panga**ua**cuzcani ahtziri, “to spill in many places”; pangapamani, “to spill inside the house”; panga**ua**tamani, “on a field”; panga**nche**tamani, “to scatter upwards”; panga**htsi**tamani, “to scatter over something”; panga**ndu**rini, “to scatter with the feet” panczauatani, “to spill in one swoop”.]

However, space morphemes are not always the criteria used:

CHAMA

Esta rayz sin .h. Significa hazer ruydo con las armas, assi como chamanchamamaspani, vel. chamamaspani, yr haziendo ruydo, chamanchamamasponi, vel. chamamasponi, venir haziendo ruydo, tambien es verbo por si chamanstani ymberaqua, deshazer la pared, chamaquarensti ymberaqua, deshizose la pared, y con .h. significa caerse la pared a desora. vt. chamahcamani, etc. (Gilberti 1989[1559]:184)

[CHAMA

This root without h. means “to make noise with arms”, as in chamanchamamaspani, vel. chamamaspani “to go about making noise”; chamanchamamasponi, vel, chamamasponi “to come making noise”. On its own, it is also a verb, chamanstani ymberaqua “to destroy the wall”; chamaquarensti ymberaqua, “he destroyed the wall”. And with h. it means “the wall falls down” vt. chamahcamani, etc.]

Only rarely are homophonous roots chosen:

SIRA.

Esta rayz tiene dos significados, el vno estar pegado algo con otra cosa, sirangurini estar pegado con otro, sirangarini estar pegado en la pared, y la otra significacion es herirse como quando el mismo se cae y se hiere en alguna parte assi como sirahtani, en los muslos, siranduni en los pies. Sirahcuni, en las manos. etc. (Gilberti 1989[1559]:191)

[SIRA.
This root has two meanings, one signifies “something glued against something else”. Sirangurini, “to be glued against something”; sirangarini, “to be glued to the wall”. And the other meaning is “to be injured” as when he falls and hurts himself somewhere, as in sirahtani, “on the thighs”; siranduni, “on the feet”; Sirahcuni, “on the hands”. etc.]

As these examples illustrate, the lexicographic presentation is based solidly on the concept of root as the means of establishing the entries, and on the concept of affixes or ‘servile’ syllables to develop the paradigm under each entry.

In the second lexicographic work published in that period, the *Dictionarito breve y compendioso en la lengua de Michuacan*, Friar Juan Baptista de Lagunas appropriated the paragraph format together with these two grammatical principles. However, he had a conception of ‘root’ and ‘servile syllables’ that is more accurate than the one used by Gilberti’s team. On the topic of the root, he wrote:

... son como fundamento, o vasas [sic] para edificar, o como rayzes aptas a produzir, o primeras posiciones ethymologicas. i. verdaderas, sobre quien se arman y edifican, o produzen el verdadero edificio, o ramos productiuos de la composicion en los verbos y nombres verbales y aduerbios, mediante los materiales de las Interposiciones... (Lagunas 1983[1574]:241)

[they are like a base or a foundation to build upon, or like roots ready to produce, or first and true etymological positions, on which are constructed and built or produced the true edifice or productive branches for the composition of verbs, verbal nouns and adverbs with the elements of the interpositions...]

Servile syllables thus were renamed, Lagunas baptized them as ‘interpositions’ and considered them the ninth part of speech, a theoretical innovation that was apparently questioned by other missionaries as expressed by Lagunas’ question:

Por que razon no seran partes particulares de la oracion, y se llamaran, Interposiciones? Empero llamenlas Interposiciones, particulas, o como quisieren. (Lagunas 1983[1574]: 172-173)

[For what reason should these not be particular parts of speech and be called ‘interpositions’? However they may be called, ‘interpositions’, particles or whatever.]

The similarities among the entries in the *Vocabulario* and *Diccionarito breve* can be appreciated by comparing the root ‘cumbv’. Not only is this the same root, but the examples in both works refer to ‘playground’ and the ‘face’. Here, Lagunas entered into a discussion with the *Vocabulario*. He commented on, and agreed with, Gilberti’s team’s opinion concerning the expression they used in a section that referred to ‘numerous swellings’, as can be seen in the words marked with italics in Table 4:

Gilberti (1989[1559]:183)	Lagunas (1983[1574]:275)
CVMBV Esta rayz significa como **montones**, o como las sepulturas que estan algo altas: assi como, cumbumuni. vel. **cumbuncumbunnanurani**, estar muchos montones en el **patio**, cumbucumburahcarati, en el llano o de otro de casa, **cumbuncumbunangariti .**vel. chucuinguangariti: assi como que tiene hinchazones en la **cara**, porque *si es vna sola: dizen carahpengariti.* et sic de aliis. [CVMBV This root means something like **heaps**, or like graves that are somewhat raised, such as cumbumuni vel **cumbuncumbunnanurani,** 'to have heaps in **the courtyard'**; cumbucumburahcarati, 'on the plain or in the house'; **cumbuncumbunangariti** vel chucuinguangariti, such as someone who has swelling on the **face**, because *if it is only one, they will say carahpengariti*. And so forth.]	KVMBV, significa chichones, o torondones, o **montones**, o altillos que sobrepujan en alguna parte. Kumbuhtsini, tener louanillos, o torondones en la cabeça. etc. **Kumbukumbunanurhani**, altillos en el **patio** que hazen las sepulturas. **Kumbukumbunangarhini**, en la haz o **rostro**. Empero *si es vno, o mas como no sean muchos dizen Kumbungarhini y no Carhahpengarhini* [KVMBV means lumps, or bruises, or **heaps**, or hillocks that arise from somewhere. Kumbuhtsini, 'to have welts or bruises on the head', etc; **Kumbukumbunanurhani**, 'hillocks in the **courtyard** made by graves'; **Kumbukumbunangarhini**, 'on the front or **face**'. However, *if it is one or more, as long as they are not many, they say Kumbungarhini and not Carhahpengarhini*]

Table 4: *Similarities between Lagunas and Gilberti*

In other entries, Lagunas limited himself to copying the root and its meaning, but differed in the rest of the information:

Gilberti (1989[1559]:188)	Lagunas (1983[1574]:387)
YERO. Esta rayz significa arrojar alguna cosa, assi como yerotazmani, arrojar a vna persona o vna piedra yerouatamani, arrojar alguna cosa o yeromamani ytsiro, arrojar alguna cosa qualquier , y si es cosa larga dizen vasamani, y si es ropa dizen yecxamani. etc.	YERO, significa arrojar alguna cosa en la parte, o hazia el lugar, o cabo que la Interposicion señalare. Yeròngarhini, arrojarse algo a alguno, como no sea cosa de ropa, hilo, o seda segun queda dicho. Yeròndítani, arrojarlo al rincon, o esquina de alguna cosa. Yerondutani, en los pies o a los pies de alguna cosa. etc.
[YERO This root means 'to throw something', as in yerotazmani 'to throw a person or a stone'; yerouatamani 'to throw something' or yeromamani ytsiro 'to throw any	[YERO, means 'to throw something in a place or towards a place or end point indicated by the interposition. Yeròngarhini, 'something or someone to throw itself or himself, as long as it is

object', and if it is a long object they will say vasamani, and if it is clothing they say yecxamani, etc.]	not clothing, thread or silk' as has been stated. Yeròndítani 'to throw it in the corner or nook of something'. Yerondutani 'at the feet or at the foot/bottom of something', etc.]

Table 5: *Contrasts between Lagunas and Gilberti*

In another case, Lagunas opened a new entry for a verb that Gilberti had included in the entry of another verb, as in the previous quotation, where *yexca* is mentioned under the root *yero*, while Lagunas created a new entry for *yecsa*:

> YECS, significa caerse, o arrojarse, o lançar de si alguna cosa de ropa seda, hilo, o algodon. etc. Yècauaczcani, o yècauàtani, lançar, o arrojar el enfermo de si la ropa. Yèczahtsitani arrojarla en la cabeça de otro, o en la cumbre de algo.Yecsangarhitani, en el rostro de otro, o en la haz de algo. Yecsaparhatani, en las espaldas de alguna cosa. Yecsanduta, a los pies. ¶ Yecsatani, caerse el pañizuelo, o cosa semejante. etc. (Lagunas 1983[1574]:386)
>
> [YECS, means "to fall" or "to throw oneself", or "to throw away some piece of clothing made of silk, thread or cotton", etc... Yècauaczcani, or yècauàtani "to throw away a sick person's clothing". Yèczahtsitani "to throw it on someone's head or on top of something". Yecsangarhitani "in someone's face" or "on the frontal part of an object". Yecsaparhatani "on the back of something". Yecsanduta "at the feet". Yecsatani "a handkerchief or something of the kind", etc.]

Lagunas might also open a new entry for the root without <h>, also mentioned by Gilberti; as in the entry *qhuarahpa*. Here, Lagunas not only modified the spelling, but also gave a completely different meaning than the one found in the *Vocabulario*: "And without h. it means "to harvest wheat", that is *quarani*".[7]

> QVARHA, Significa quebrar, o desgouernar alguna cosa a poder de fuerça, y sin golpe de piedra, palo, o martillo... y assi. Quarhahchani, quebrar el cuello de alguna vasija, o de alguna muñeca de flandes, o cosa semejante. Quarhanduni, los pies. Quarhahtani, el lado, o muslos... y desgouernado el cuerpo llamaran. Quarhahtacha... (Lagunas 1983[1574]:353)
>
> [QVARHA means "to break" or "dislocate something by strength and without a blow with a stone, stick or hammer"... like Quarhahchani "to break the neck of a vessel" or "of a Flanders's doll" or something similar. Quarhanduni "the feet". Quarhahtani "the sides or thighs"... and a body dislocation they will call Quarhahtacha...]

The interest in contrasting roots that are differentiated by the presence or absence of <h>, which is characteristic of the *Vocabulario*, is not found in the

[7] The verb quarani with the meaning "to harvest wheat" is composed by the root *qua* followed by the causative-instrumental suffix –ra. It cannot be equated to *quarha* because this root always combines with a space morpheme while in quarani no such suffix is present.

Dictionarito breve; though Lagunas' selection of roots is inspired by those cited by Gilberti's team:

Gilberti (1989[1559])	Lagunas (1983[1574])
Ahca	Acà
(Aca)	Ahca
Ahco	Ahco
Amba	Amba
---	Ambe
Ambo	Ambo
Anda	Andà
Anga	Angà
Ani	Ani
---	Aparhe
---	Aquarhe
---	Arha

Table 6: *Comparison of entries*

As table 6 shows, Lagunas increased the number of roots, presenting at least one hundred more than those in the *Vocabulario*. Although Lagunas followed Gilberti in giving mainly roots and their corresponding paradigm, his conception of the task at hand allowed him to introduce verbs that are related by semantic association in the same entry:

– synonyms:

> ERHE, EHE, CHACA vel. Tere, Significan reyrse. Y la differencia, vease en estos exemplos... (Lagunas 1983[1574]:292)
>
> [ERHE, EHE, CHACA vel. Tere mean "to laugh"; see the difference in these examples...]

– antonyms:

> KVETZA, significa ser pesada la parte, o la cosa que la Interposicion señalare, o estar agrauada con la tal pesadumbre. vt Kuetzapeni, ser pesada vna cosa. ¶ Cetemeni, ser liuiana. **Kuetzapehtsini. ser pesada la cabeça o cumbre Cetemehtsini, liuiana.** Kuetzapengarhini. ser el rostro y ojos pesados, o agrauados de sueño Kuetzapenduni, ser pesado el pie, o los pies. etc. (Lagunas 1983[1574]:282)
>
> [KVETZA means "that the part or object that the interposition indicates is heavy" or "to be afflicted" such as Kuetzapeni "that something is heavy". ¶ Cetemeni, "to be light". **Kuetzapehtsini. "the head or peak being heavy". Cetemehtsini, "light".** Kuetza-pengarhini. "the face or eyes being heavy" or "afflicted with sleepiness". Kuetzapenduni "the foot or feet being heavy" etc.]

By association of meaning:

> PHIRANI, y HVPICANI, son en algo semejante, y por esso los pongo juntos, y significan tomar, o descoger, o abrir, coger, asir, tener, o apretar alguna cosa... ¶

> Phicuni, Traer hazia si alguna cosa con las manos. i. Tomando, o asiendo, o allegar, o aplicarla hazia assi. [sic] Pihtsiquarheni, tomar, o aplicar algo para si. Phitzeni vel. quaneni, generalmente, tomar algo prestado. Phitzengani. vel. quanengani lleuar alguna cosa prestada. Phitzehpeni, tomar generalmente, o aplicarse algunas cosas. Empero, para pagar, o trocar qualquier cosa, mirese en el vocablo. Mayo. (Lagunas 1983[1574]:338-339)
>
> [PHIRANI, and HVPICANI, are similar in some respects and that is why I put them together. They mean "to take" or "to let go" or "to open", "to seize", "to grasp", "to have" or "to squeeze something"... Phicuni "to bring something toward oneself with the hands". that is "taking it, or seizing it or gathering or appropriating it". Pihtsiquarheni, "to take, or to appropriate something for oneself". Phitzeni vel. quaneni, in general, "to borrow something". Phitzengani. vel. quanengani "to take something borrowed". Phitzehpeni, "to take in general", or "to appropriate some things". However, for "to pay" or "to exchange anything" look up the word Mayo.]

By phonetic similarity of words:

> ERHE, EHE, CHACA vel. Tere, Significan reyrse. Y la differencia, vease en estos exemplos... ¶ Terequarheni. vel tereteremuni. vel. terentzquarheni, Reyrse generalmente. segun tenemos de costumbre ¶ Y aduiertase aqui porque no se engañen en que sera **Terequarheni. Reyrse y Tereni, podrirse,** el qual no terna. Terequarheti, sino tereti. i. pudriose. Terehtsini, podrirse la cabeça, o cumbre de algo... (Lagunas 1983[1574]:292-293)
>
> [ERHE, EHE, CHACA vel. Tere, means "to laugh". And see the difference in these examples... Terequarheni. vel tereteremuni. vel. terentzquarheni "to laugh in general" as we are used to. And note here so as not to be fooled, **Terequarheni. "to laugh" and Tereni "to rot",** which does not have Terequarheti, but tereti; that is. "it rotted". Terehtsini "to rot the head or top of something...".]

In addition, some of the entries included offer grammatical, dialectal or sociolectal information. Lagunas seldom made cultural commentaries, as when he wrote:

> Angà, significa cosa larga, o enhiesta... Angameni, estar de pies en el agua, o poner los tales beçotes, que el Rey ponia a los señores y valientes en la guerra, señalandolos con esta hydalguia, quasi por sustento, pilar, fauor y amparo de la otra gente plebeya. (Lagunas 1983[1574]:221-222)
>
> [Angà means "long object" or "erected"... Angameni 'to stand in water" or "to put on lip-rings" that the king put on the lords and the brave in war, distinguishing them with this symbol of nobility, almost as support, pillar, favor and protection of the plebe.]

In both his *Arte* and his *Dictionarito breve*, Lagunas strove to clarify and, when necessary, correct Gilberti's statements, as when he observed:

> con el dessear yo ayudar al padre Maturino con algun romance, que no alcanço, me salua. Porque cierto se le deue mucho. Y si este mi buen desseo, juntamente con mi trabajo, ha causado alguna vtilidad y prouecho en abreuiar, facilitar, y aclarar mas esta lengua, y ampliar algunos secretos della. Suplico humilmente no se tenga en menos el

trabajo tan grande de los que tanto se han macerado como mis antecessores. (Lagunas 1983[1574]:137)
[with my desire to help Father Maturino with some words in which he was not able, I am saved because we owe him so much. And if my good desire, along with my work, has been of some use and benefit in abbreviating, facilitating and clarifying this language more, and expanding on some of its secrets, [then] I humbly ask for you not to diminish the laborious works of those that have tormented themselves as my predecessors.]

Nonetheless, he also attempted to increase the information whenever he considered it necessary, as can be seen in the following table:

Gilberti (1989[1559]:185)	Lagunas (1983[1574]:285-286)
çARI Esta rayz significa echar llamas o lengua: assi como çarimariquarehati chuhpiri o çarimarini catamu .vel. çaritamoni: de manera que fuerça desta rayz es el modo de echar de las llamas o la lengua.	çarhi, Significa sacar la lengua las culebras, o biuoras. Y por este modo se entendera de las llamas muy delgaditas, y coladas por los muy pequeños resquicios que parescen lenguas de serpientes que se dan mucha priesa a las sacar, y tornar a meter. etc... çarhimarhini catamu, Sacar la lengua la culebra y no el perro. Cuenamarhini, El perro, o la persona, o qualquier otro animal que tenga la lengua ancha, a cuya similitud son tambien las llamas, etc...
[ÇARI This root means “to emit flames or [stick out] the tongue”, as in çarimariqua-rehati chuhpiri or çarimarini catamu. vel. çaritamoni: such that the strength of this root is the manner in which the flames or the tongue come out.]	[çarhi means “stick out the tongue, as a snake or viper”. And in this way one should understand the thin flames that come out of small gaps [and] resemble the viper’s tongue when it sticks it out rapidly and is then pulled back in. etc... çarhimarhini catamu, “to stick out the tongue, as the snake” [but] not the dog. Cuenamarhini, the dog, a person or any other animal that has a wide tongue which is also similar to flames, etc...]

Table 7: *Expansion in Lagunas’ work*

Let us now turn to the third work from the sixteenth century, a product of Benedict Warren’s editorial work, published in 1991 as the *Diccionario grande de la lengua de Michoacán*. This is a transcription and codification of information originally contained in two manuscripts that form a two-volume dictionary: a Spanish-Tarascan section with approximately 21,923 entries, and a Tarascan-Spanish section with around 27,000 entries. It is this second volume that will be examined here. In its organization, the criterion of roots is used once again. By using roots as headings in this way, the paradigm consists in listing each word in an independent entry, as seen in the following example of the root *quara*:

Esta rraiz, Quara- Quarahcu-, significa quebrar palo.
Quarahcuni, quaracuni. Quebrar, o quebrarse el brazo o quebrar palo. [Quaraxuni.]
Quarahcutani, quaracutani, quacutarani. Quebrarle el palo en el brazo.
Quarahchacuni. Quebrarle por el cuello.
Quarahchanini. Idem.
...
Quaramuni vandani. Dexar la platica.
Quaramutani. Quebrarle el palo en la boca.
Quarandentstani quahta. Caerse la cassa.
Quarandirani, qhuepe qhuepenandirani. Quebrarse el diente.
Quaranduni. Quebrarse el pie. (DG V.II 1991:467)

[This root Quara- Quarahcu- means “to break a stick”
Quarahcuni, quaracuni. “To break, or to break one’s arm” or “to break a stick” [Quaraxuni.]
Quarahcutani, quaracutani, quacutarani.“To break a stick on the arm”
Quarahchacuni. “To break it on the neck”
Quarahchanini. Idem.
...
Quaramuni vandani. “To leave the conversation”
Quaramutani. “To break the stick in the mouth”
Quarandentstani quahta. “The falling of a house”
Quarandirani, qhuepe qhuepenandirani.“To break one’s tooth”
Quaranduni. “To break one’s foot”.]

However, not all the words are classified under the heading of a root, as they may appear after a root paradigm in positions that reflect the alphabetic order employed. For example, after the paradigm of ‘quara’ we find the following entries:

¶Quarapahchacuni. Estar tendidaençima la manta.
Qhuarahpahchacurani, qhuarahpahchatani. Tender la manta porençima.
Qhuarahpahchucuni. Estar tendida debaxo.
Qhuarahpahchutani. Tenderla Tenerla debaxo.
Qhuarahpamani. Tenderla en el agua. (DG V.II 1991:467-468)

[¶Quarapahchacuni. “To be covered by the blanket”
Qhuarahpahchacurani, qhuarahpahchatani. “To have the blanket over”
Qhuarahpahchucuni. “To be spread under”
Qhuarahpahchutani. “To spread it under”
Qhuarahpamani. “To spread it in the water”.]

4. ***Alphabetic order***

The alphabetic order used for the Tarascan entries is different in each dictionary. The root section of Gilberti's *Vocabulario*, as mentioned in section II, separates itself not only from the Tarascan-Spanish section of the same oeuvre, but also from the other two dictionaries. Its alphabetical order is singled out by the presence of words with initial <tz> and <thz> in the mist of <c> and <ç> entries:

> c(a,o,v)/ch(a,e,v)/c(o)/ /ç (a,u) /c (u) / tz(a)/ç(e)/ thz(e)/tz(e)/ ç(u).

Gilberti native speaker collaborator agrees on this respect with Molina who in his Second Notice of the Prologue, in the section on *lengua mexicana y castellana* of his *Vocabulario*, printed in 1571 estates the following reflection:

> Y por no tener esta lengua (como he dicho) todas las letras del Abece, me parecia que tampoco estaua yo obligado a seguir totalmente el concierto que otros Vocabularios suelen lleuar, de poner los vocablos arreo, yendo en todas las primeras letras dellos atado al orden del Abece, y ansi quise sacar deste estilo algunos vocablos, entendiendo que otro lugar les seria mas acommodado y adaptado, como era tras la ça, poner ce. ci, ço. çu. y luego .cha.che.chi.cho.chu. Y assi mismo, porque el tza.tze.tzi.tzo.tzu (que se vsa mucho en esta lengua) va a la pronnnciacion de ça ce.ci.ço.çu, **quiselo poner junto con el en la letra .c**. (Molina 1970[1571], Aviso segundo del prólogo a la sección mexicano-castellano, negritas y cursivas mías)

> [And as this language (as I have said) does not possess all the letters of the alphabet, I felt that I was not obliged to follow the agreement that other vocabularies usually [use] in putting all terms in order considering the first letter of each as established by the alphabet. So I wanted to extract some terms from this style in the understanding that a different position would be better suited and adapted, as in putting ce, ci, ço, çu, after ça, and then cha, che, chi, cho, chu. And in this same manner, because tza, tze, tzi, tzo, tzu (which are heavily used in this language) are pronounced in the manner of ça, çe, çi, ço, çu, **I wanted to put them together with the letter <c>**]

The alphabetical order of the root section was not reproduced in the Tarascan dictionaries. However Lagunas in his *Dictionarito breve* took a similar position with respect to the relationship between pronunciation and grapheme, thus he orders the entries beginning with an aspirated occlusive, <k>, close to the non-aspirated occlusive, <c>:

> a, c, ch, ç, k, e, h, m, n, o, p/ph, qu/qhu, s, t(a,e,i,o,) /th(a,e,i,o,u) /thz(e,i) /tz(i,u) /ts(i)/ths(i), v, x, y

On the other hand the consonantal group <t, th,tz, thz,ts, ths> receives identical treatment but to the Tarascan-Spanish section of Gilberti's work where the order of consonants are paired in twos, <t> and <th> first, followed by <thz> and <tz>, and ending with <ts> and <ths>, allowing a certain intermixing of consonants of each pair. However Lagunas' presentation is not

very systematic as the table of contents shows. The list starts with the pair of aspirated and non-aspirated consonants, <t, th>, ending with the word Thipì. Follows then the pair <thz, tz> momentarily interrupted by the previous pair. After the word Tzihue, begins the pair <ts, ths>:

Thihcui	Tirhìma
Thiàni.	Tirhìhta.
Th...	Thziti
Tingà.	Tzità.
Thipi.	Tziti
Thipì.	Thithixe,
Thzirà,	Tzihue,
Tzurhè	Tsitsiqui.
Thirà.	Tsicarhi.
Thirenphi.	Tsicui
Tirhì.	Thsingui
Thirì,	Thzinà,
Thirù	Thzincz. (Lagunas 1983[1574]:402)

In addition to these consonants Lagunas also had to decide on the order of the aspirated consonants that he identified as <ph> and <qhu>. The pattern observed here undoubtedly takes from the logic applied to the consonants that begin with T with respect to the grouping of aspirated and non-aspirated consonants:

– *The voiceless velar occlusives*:

The Latin and Spanish orthographic convention of <qu> before <a>, <e>, <i>, is imposed on the non-aspirated velar, thus two alternatives are found in front of the vowel <a>: <ca> and <qua>. Before <e> and <i>, there is an exclusive use of <qu>. On the other hand, the aspirated velar <ku> or <qhu> will be used before these three vowels. The entries are thus ordered as follows: first <qu> and <qhu> before <a>, then <qu>, <qhu> before <e>. Hence, <qu>, <qhu> before <i> will finish the list, though in a few cases <qh> is found before <i>.

– *The voiceless bilabial occlusive*:

As in the case of the previous grapheme, <qu> and <qhu>, the order of presentation of the non-aspirated <p> and the aspirated <ph> depends on the vowel that follows. Before each vowel, the graphemes <p> and <ph> are intermixed.

Let us now turn our attention to Volume II of the *Diccionario grande*. The Tarascan-Spanish section partially follows Gilberti's order since our native authors separated <ch> and moved it to the end of the chain:

Gilberti: c(a) /ch (a, e, u, o, u) /ç (a) /c (e, i) /ç (o, u) /c(o, u) /cu (e, i, ui, i) /c (u)

Anonymous: c (a) ç(a, e) c(e, i) ç(o, u) c(o,u) cu (ua, ue,e, i, ua, ui), c(u) ch

With respect to the entries that begin with T, the *Diccionario grande* identifies the same pairs as Gilberti's: <t, th>, <tz, thz> and <ts, ths>, however here they are treated as totally distinct, unrelated groups. Their alphabetic position is determined by the second consonant thus ts/ths precedes t/th which in turn is followed by tz/thz in between this two last pair of graphemes are inserted the consonants <v> and <x> which in the abc come always before <z>:

ts(i)/ths(i), t(a,e,i, o,u)/th(a,e,i, o,u), v, x, tz(a,e,i,o,u)/thz(a,e,i,o,u)

For the aspirated and non-aspirated <p> and <q>, the *Diccionario grande* includes only entries in which these consonants precede the vowel <a> with the order being the same as that used by Lagunas:

p(a)/ph(a)/p(a,e,io,u) qu(a)/qhu(a)/qu(a, e, i/y)

Aside from these criteria for establishing the order of entries, the *Diccionario grande* presents sufficient data to reveal how the order internal to the word is applied. The root –as was also the case in the *Vocabulario* and *Dictionarito breve*– is examined carefully with respect to the alphabetic order, although the letters that follow the first two syllables, which usually constitute the root, are not organized in alphabetical order. For example, in the entry for the root *arore*, the words are organized according to the letters found in the first suffix. Thus, the spatial morpheme -ndu (1) is followed by a word containing the spatial morpheme *-ngari* (2); however, in these words the second morpheme is not taken into account in the alphabetic ordering, thus <m> in (1a) precedes <c> in (1b). The logic here is to present first the intransitive verb followed by the transitive one:

1a Arorendumani	Herirse en el pie. ("To injure one's foot")
1b Arorenducuhpeni	Herillos en el pie. ("To injure someone's foot")
2a Arorengarimani	Herirse en el rrostro de pasada. ("To injure one's face while moving"
2b Arorengaricuhpeni	Herirlos allí. ("To injure them there [on the face]")
3 Arorehpeni	Herirlos ("To injure them")
4 Arorequareni	Herirse a si mesmo ("To injure oneself"). (DG V.II 1991:49)

Another alternative of alphabetic organization is found in the *Diccionario grande*, where roots with similar meanings but slight differences in pronunciation are treated under the same heading. In cases such as 'cumbi' and 'cumbu', for example, each entry presents both roots combined with the same suffixes:

Esta rraiz, Cumbi-, vel Cumbu-, significan tener altillos, tolondrones, hinchazones en la parte señalada.

Cumbihcarani, cumbuhcarani.	Auer torromotes, altillos, y borujones en la cassa.
Cumbihcuni, cumbuhcuni.	Tener hinchazones en las manos.
Cumbundudurani, cumbindurani.	Tener hinchazones en las piernas.
Cumbun cumbunahcarani.	Auer munchos altillos dentro de cassa.
Cumbun cumbunangarini.	Tener munchos baros por el rostro.
Cumbun cumbunanurani.	Auer altillos, torromotes en el patio...

(DG V.II 1991:109)

[This root, Cumbi-, vel Cumbu-, means "To have bumps, bruises, swellings on the indicated area"

Cumbihcarani, cumbuhcarani.	"To have 'torromotes',[8] hillocks and bumps in the house"
Cumbihcuni, cumbuhcuni.	"To have swellings on the hands"
Cumbundudurani, cumbindurani.	"To have swellings on the legs"
Cumbun cumbunahcarani.	"To have many bumps inside the house"
Cumbun cumbunangarini.	"To have many pimples on the face"
Cumbun cumbunanurani.	"To have hillocks and 'torromotes' in the courtyard".]

The orthographic conventions used reflect each writer's capacity to identify and differentiate sounds (Monzón 2005). However we must also consider the possibility that such differences are the result of dialectal variation. Lagunas did ask himself which variant he should record, and states in his *Arte* that what he recorded was the speech of nobles from Tzintzuntzan and Patzcuaro (Lagunas 1983[1574]:105-106). Gilberti apparently had nothing to say in this regard. In the absence of a comparative study of these two lexicographic works, it could be argued that given the lack of significant differences in the data recorded by the two authors, and Gilberti's interest in educating the nobility of the Tarascan Empire (Monzón 2007), the speech registered in the *Vocabulario* is that used by the nobility of Tzintzuntzan and Patzcuaro. Thus, the absence of graphemes that differentiate phonemes, particularly the aspirated and retroflex tap, must be interpreted as the result of Gilberti's incapacity to perceive certain sounds and not as a dialectical difference.

Clearly the *Diccionario grande* is registering the speech of a different community, since it shows conservative structures: an intervocalic aspiration for the variant recorded in the *Dictionario grande* corresponds to an aspirated consonant in the speech of the nobility (Monzón 2000):

[8] The word 'torromotes' has not been found in dictionnaries.

Diccionario Grande	*Vocabulario y dictionarito breve*
Paha tocar, palpar [DG V.II 1991:384]	Phaarhani, Escripto con aspiracion, que significa palpar, o tocar la parte que la Interposicion señalare. (Lagunas 1983 [1574]:323-324) Paaqua. Tacto. (Gilberti 2004[1558]:138), (Gilberti 1989[1559]:536)
Poho punzar.[DG V.II 1991:444]	Phondicuni, meter los dedos en el, o en los oydos de alguna cosa. (Lagunas 1983 [1574]:325) Pômani poner la mano en el agua (Gilberti 1989[1559]:112)
[Paha "to touch, to feel something on someone"]	[Phaarhani, Written with aspiration, it means "to feel something on someone" or "to touch the part that the interposition indicates"] [Paaqua. "Touch"]
[Poho "to stab".]	[Phondicuni, "to insert a finger in the ear or ears of an object".] [Pômani "To introduce the hand into the water".]

Table 8: *Conservative forms in the Tarascan language*

The particularities of the Tarascan variant recorded in the *Diccionario grande* make it clear that it did not come from Tzintzuntzan or Patzcuaro. Its origin could be in any one of the following communities which were attended by Augustinian friars in the sixteenth century, since they were the organizers of this project:

> Tiripitío (1537), Tacámbaro (1538), Valladolid (1548), Yuriria (1550), Cuitzeo (1550), Huango (1550), Charo (1550), Ucareo (1555), Jacona (1555), Copándaro (1556), Patzcuaro (1571)... Zirosto (1576), Chucándiro (1577), Tingambato (1581), San Felipe de los Herreros (1595), Tzacán (1595), Undameo (1595), (Navarrete 1978:14).

The dialectical differences do not suggest that the orthographic conventions used are insufficient, as for Gilberti the authors might underdifferentiate, but in this case as a result of the education received, using a more simplified system than the one devised by Lagunas.

5. ***Sources of inspiration***

The criteria of root and servile syllables that structure the *Vocabulario* and influenced the lexicographic works of the sixteenth century, as mentioned previously, are owed to Friar Alonso de Molina. In particular, the term 'servile syllable' was one that Molina coined and understood perfectly, as can be appreciated in the analysis of Latin that he offered to illustrate its

implementation, in contrast to the traditional grammatical analysis that had been used in Europe since Medieval times and in later centuries:

> Y para entender esto mas claramente pongamos aqui vn exemplo, en la lengua latina, para que por el podamos entender mejor en la lengua Mexicana, quales sillabas son las sieruas, o seruiles. Ex. amo. amas. amat. La rayz deste verbo es amo, en la qual rayz, tomada ella por si, nunca se pone alguna sillaba seruil, mas luego despues de la dicha rayz se ponen las letras, o sillabas seruidoras, por las quales se conoce la diferencia de las personas, de los modos, de los tiempos, de los numeros, y la calidad de los verbos, asi como diziendo amas, amat porque amas, tiene esta letra seruil s. por la qual se conoce, que es de la segunda persona del indicatiuo modo del tiempo presente, y del numero singular. Y lo mismo se ha de dezir desta diction amat. por quanto la letra t. es seruidora: porque denota que el verbo es de la tercera persona del indicatiuo modo, del tiempo presente y del numero singular... (Molina 1945[1571]:Segunda parte 30r-v)

> [And to understand this more clearly, let us give here an example in Latin in order to better understand which syllables are the serviceable or servile syllables in the Mexican language. Example: amo, amas, amat. Here the verb root is amo, to this root, taken by itself, a servile syllable is never added. However, after this root, letters or servile syllables are added so as to know the different persons, modes, tenses, numbers and verb qualities, as when one says amas, amat, because amas, has this servile letter <s> which indicates that it is the second person in the indicative mode, present tense and singular in number. The same can be said of the enunciation amat, given that <t> is a servile [letter] since it denotes that the verb is in third person, indicative mode, present tense and singular in number...]

This exemplification of serviles in Latin, published in the second part of the *Arte de la lengua mexicana y castellana* in 1571, is undoubtfully the result of a prolonged reflection, the seeds of which had already been sown in the *Vocabulario en lengua mexicana y castellana* of 1555. Though these terms are not used in this early publication, the concepts of ‘root’ – ‘substance’; ‘servile’ – ‘particle’ are certainly present:

> Auiso quarto
> Porque es muy necessario para vsar bien de los verbos y de los nombres verbales que dellos salen, saber qual es la substancia del verbo, y qual es el propio nombre o particulas que se le anteponen... (Molina 2001[1585]:10)
> Exemplo. Nitetla, cuilia: tomar algo a alguno, la substancia del verbo es, cuilia, y el pronombre y particulas son, nitetla... (Molina 2001[1585]:11)

> [Fourth Notice
> Because it is very necessary to make good use of verbs and the verbal nouns from which they come [and] to know what the verbal substance is and what the proper noun or particles are that are added at the beginning...
> Example: Nitetla, cuilia “to take something from someone”. The substance of the verb is cuilia; and the pronoun and particles are nitetla...]

Judging by the dates of publication –between 1555 and 1571– Molina either coined or adopted the terms ‘root’ and ‘servile’. The *Vocabulario en lengua de Mechuacan* shows that by 1559 these terms were already in use by someone, not identified, as stated in the *Vocabulario*, in the introduction to the root section. We will never know to whom it is referred to, but it may well have been Friar Molina.

Another element that indicates that Molina may have been the source of inspiration and training for such an indigenous lexicographer is the particular alphabetic order used in the section on roots. As we have said, the inclusion of words with initial <tz> or <thz> between those entries with <ç> is peculiar to Gilberti’s work; however, it would not have attracted anyone’s attention if this section had been elaborated under Molina’s supervision given his statement in the Second Notice of the Prologue, in the section on *lengua mexicana y castellana* of his *Vocabulario* (Molina 1970[1571]).

It may well be that in 1555 Molina gave serious consideration to intertwining these two graphemes, since “tza, tze, tzi, tzo, tzu... are pronounced in the manner of ça, çe. Çi, ço”. If this were indeed the case, then the order in the Tarascan root section could be explained.

The teamwork, or collaborative effort, that resulted in the creation of the *Vocabulario* does not allow us to discern whether it was an indigenous lexicographer who conceived the section on roots that had such a profound impact on the Tarascan lexicographic tradition, but this is highly likely given that the peculiarities of this section do not reflect the criteria established by Gilberti in his *Arte*, nor do they show similarities to the entries in the Tarascan-Spanish and Spanish-Tarascan sections of the *Vocabulario* that implemented Gilberti’s phonological analysis.

Some sixteen years later, Lagunas published his *Dictionarito breve*, in which he takes the root and paradigm as criteria, but attempts to present them within a prestigious format devised by the well-known author, Calepino. Lagunas wrote:

> y podrase llamar Dictionarito, porque el auctor (para mas prouecho de los estudiantes) sigue en el orden y modo del Ambrosio Calepino. Aunque en el orden de las letras es imposible en sta [sic] lengua, por los distinctos significados. (Lagunas 1983[1574]:204)
>
> [and it could be called a Small Dictionary, because the author (for the benefit of the students) imitates the order and manner of Ambrosio Calepino. Though in the order of letters it is impossible to do this in this language, given the different meanings.]

To claim the influence of Calepino in the *Introduction* but not mention Gilberti strikes one as somewhat peculiar, since Laguna selected roots as the headings for his entries, just as Gilberti and his team had done in his section on

roots. If, as we have indicated up to now, Lagunas was inspired by the *Vocabulario* to create his *Dictionarito breve*, then how are we to understand the influence of Calepino that he claimed?

In book 10 of his "Al sincero lector", ("To the sincere reader") Bernardino de Sahagún, who left extensive ethnographic writings on the Nahuatl world, described Calepino's work, arguing clearly that it was impossible to create a similar work for an indigenous language:

> Calepino sacó los vocablos y las significaciones de ellos, y sus equivocaciones y metáforas, de la lección de los poetas y oradores y de los otros autores de la lengua latina, *autorizando* todo lo que dice con los dichos de los autores, el cual fundamento me ha faltado a mí, por no haber letras ni escritura entre esta gente; y así me fué imposible hacer Calepino. (Sahagún 1969:31-32)
>
> [Calepino took the terms, their meanings and their ambiguities and metaphors from the lessons of poets and orators and from other authors in the Latin language, supporting every statement he makes with what those authors said, a foundation that is missing [in my work], because there were no letters or writings among those people, and thus it has been impossible for me to elaborate a Calepino.]

Sahagún considered that creating a Calepino required:

> todas maneras de hablar, y todos los vocablos que esta lengua usa [el nahuatl], tan bien *autorizados y ciertos* como lo que escribió Virgilio, y Cicerón, y los demás autores de la lengua latina (Sahagún 1969:32)
>
> [all the different manners of speech, and all the terms that this language [Nahuatl] uses as well authorized and certain as what Virgilio and Cicero, as well as other authors in the Latin language, wrote]

Thus the difference between the Calepino and the *Dictionarito breve* is enormous, especially in regard to their respective considerations of the works of renowned authors, as described by Sahagún. Lagunas must have been aware of this problem and thus looked for an alternative that might make up for the absence of renowned literary works in the indigenous culture. His solution, I suggest, was to consider *autoritas* as equivalent to etymology, such that if indeed it was the writings of Latin poets, orators and other authors that 'represented' the 'good use' of language, then it was etymology that would allow us to discover the true meaning of words, as he wrote:

> … la Ethimologia: que es vna sciencia que trata del *verdadero origen de las diciones* (Lagunas 1983[1574]:24, cursivas mías)
>
> [Etymology, which is a science that is concerned with the true origin of words]

Lagunas believed that by substituting etymology for 'renowned' authors he would be able to create a lexicographic work that would be 'loyal' to Calepino's, since etymology constituted a solid base that was just as reliable as

'*autoritas'* in terms of ensuring that no corruption would be introduced into the terms and their meanings. Furthermore, the discursive format of the entries in the *Dictionarito breve* is similar to Calepino's, but clearly different from that of Nebrija's *Vocabulario*, where a Spanish or Latin term is translated into Latin or Spanish, respectively. Finally, the languages used by Calepino – Latin with quotations in Latin or Greek – are replaced in the *Dictionarito breve* by Tarascan and Spanish, an unavoidable language shift in the elaboration of new lexicographic works designed to benefit speakers in the New World. From this perspective, it seems plausible to postulate that Lagunas was also acquainted with the *Regio 1502* that was on the shelves of the library of the Colegio de Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco.[9]

The third lexicographic work, the *Diccionario grande*, was probably produced by Tarascan native speakers under the auspices of an Augustinian friar. It is clear that in his Tarascan-Spanish volume these indigenous authors did not simply copy the entries from the other two works described herein, since the translations he offers do not always coincide with those from the *Vocabulario* or the *Dictionarito breve*. Furthermore, the number of entries is significantly greater. However, the similarities in the way in which the *Diccionario grande* and the *Dictionarito breve* handle their entries – each one presenting a root or related roots that serve as the basis for the development of the paradigm – do suggest that Lagunas' work may have been the source of inspiration.

6. ***Conclusion***

The importance and extension of the 'Tarascan Empire', coupled with the strong evangelical interests of the Franciscan and Augustinian orders, meant that the Tarascan language was given an important role in Spain's colonial empire. Two of those Franciscan friars, Maturino Gilberti and Juan Baptista de Lagunas, are recognized for their grammatical and lexicographic studies of Tarascan during the period of evangelical consolidation that followed on the heels of the Conquest. Their pioneering works were later complemented by the two volumes of the *Diccionario grande de la lengua de Michoacán*, produced in the late sixteenth century, which continue what we could well consider a sequence in the synthesis and incorporation of the preceding lexicographic works. Of these three oeuvres, two were the result of the collaboration between a Spanish friar and indigenous lexicographers who spoke Tarascan, Spanish

[9] Manuel Galeote (2005:404), citing Mathes 1982 and Hernández y León Portilla 1990, reports that the *Dictionario calepino* (Regio 1502) was found in the library of the *Colegio de Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco*; an affirmation based on inventories from 1572 and 1574.

and Nahuatl, while only one, the *Dictionarito breve,* is the work of one sole author, the Franciscan friar Juan Baptista de Lagunas.

The section on roots from the *Vocabulario en lengua de Mechuacan* began the lexicographic tradition in Tarascan, as those roots became the main entries upon which the entire corpus of Tarascan dictionaries was organized. Under each one of these headings, the authors developed the paradigm that revealed their knowledge, not, perhaps, always conscious, of the morphology of the language or, as it was called in that period, of the 'serviles', 'servidoras' or 'interposiciones'. The content of these three books can be summarized as follows:

1. The *Vocabulario español-latín* by Antonio de Nebrija filtered through Friar Alonso de Molina's work, left a profound imprint on the Spanish-Tarascan section of Friar Gilberti's *Vocabulario en lengua de Mechuacan*. The *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana* (published in 1555), is inspired by Nebrija's work, but Molina eliminated some entries and expanded others with words that reflected the needs of the *Mexican* language and culture. The careful copying of all the entries from the 1555 publication, a task probably done by indigenous lexicographers who we believe assisted Gilberti, included only a few modifications of the Molina original. Some entries were eliminated and a few new ones added. Nonetheless, the copying of entries was by no means simply mechanical, as the Tarascan translations emerge from a thorough consideration of the meaning of both Spanish and Nahuatl glosses. The authors here show their great dexterity in the handling of these two languages, as well as of Tarascan. The elaboration of the Tarascan-Spanish section reveals a unique form of lexicographic management: Gilberti and his collaborators did not simply invert some of the Spanish-Tarascan glosses but mainly introduced a large number of Tarascan terms. However, it was the small compendium of roots based on concepts found in Molina that would prove to have such a great impact on his successor, Friar Juan Baptista de Lagunas.

2. Lagunas drafted his modest *Dictionarito breve* in the style of Calepino, an indication of his yearning to make the information more accessible, and of his desire to insure that his name would not be lost to posterity. As was characteristic of Gilberti's work, Lagunas also took Tarascan roots as his entries, and then went on to develop the verbal and substantival paradigms in a discursive fashion. His claim to a Calepino is based on the parallelism that he perceived between *autoritas* – an element not present in the indigenous tradition as Sahagún clearly stated – and etymology, an approach that is especially effective for the study of Tarascan, given its characteristic and extensive use of suffixes, which were identified by Lagunas. He called them 'interpositions', in contrast to Molina's

serviles, and assigned them a place in grammar as the ninth part of speech.

3. The final lexicographic work of the sixteenth century, the *Diccionario grande de la lengua de Michuacán*, remained an unpublished manuscript. The indigenous individuals who drafted it had clearly consulted the works of their predecessors and, moreover, their basic training in the art of writing reflects a strong influence of the orthographic system developed by Gilberti, though this did not prevent them from utilizing, though only infrequently, the conventions <rh> and <ph>, that Lagunas had introduced. The form of Tarascan recorded in this manuscript is rather conservative, but its correspondence to a specific geographical community has not yet been established. The format of the Tarascan-Spanish volume was inspired by Lagunas' *Dictionarito breve*, though the authors did not copy its entries.

REFERENCES

A. ***Primary sources***

Alcalá, Jerónimo de. 2000[c.1540]. *La Relación de Michoacán*. Ed. Moisés F. Mendoza. Zamora, Michoacán: El Colegio de Michoacán, Gobierno del Estado de Michoacán.

Anonymous. 1977[1541]. *Relación de las ceremonias y ritos y población y gobierno de los indios de la provincia de Michoacán.* Transcripción de José Tudela, estudio preliminar de José Corona Núñez. México, D:F.: Balsas Editores.

Anonymous. 1991[16th century]. *Diccionario Grande de la lengua de Michuacán.* Introducción, paleografía y notas de J. Benedict Warren. Tomo I: *Español-Tarasco*, Tomo II: *Tarasco-Español*. Morelia, Michoacán: Fimax Publicistas.

Covarrubias, Sebastián de. 1998[1611]. *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española según la impresión de 1611, con las adiciones de Benito Remigio Noydens publicada en la de 1674*. Edition prepared by Martín de Riquer. Barcelona: Alta Fulla.

Gilberti, Maturino. 1989[1559]. *Vocabulario en lengua de Mechuacan.* Morelia: Fimax.

Gilberti, Fray Maturino (2004)[1558]. *Arte de la lengua de Michuacan compilada por el muy Reverendo padre fray Maturino Gylberti.* Transcripción, edición y notas de Cristina Monzón. Zamora, Michoacán: El Colegio de Michoacán and Fideicomiso Teixidor.

Lagunas, Juan Baptista de. 1983[1574]. *Arte y Dictionario: con otras obras, en lengua Michuacana. Co[m]puesto por el muy R.P Fray Iuan Baptista de Lagunas, Praedicador, Guardian de Sanct Francisco, de la ciudad de Guayangareo, y Diffinidor de la prouincia de Mechuacan, y de Xalisco.* México: Casa Pedro Balli. Introducción histórica con apéndice documental y preparación fotográfica del texto por, J. Benedict Warren. Morelia, Michoacán: Fimax Publicistas.

Molina, Fray Alonso de. 2001[1555]. *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana.* A facsimile of the manuscript from the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, published as *Aquí comienca un Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana*. Ed. Manuel Galeote. Málaga: Universidad de Málaga.

Molina, Fray Alonso de. 1970[1571]. *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana y*

mexicana y castellana. Estudio preliminar de Miguel León-Portilla. México, D.F.: Editorial Porrúa.
Molina, fray Alonso de. 1945[1571]. *Arte de la lengua mexicana y castellana*. Facsimil del original facilitado por D. Antonio Graiño. Madrid. Edición Cultura Hispánica.
Nebrija, Antonio de. 1979[1492]. *Diccionario Latino-Español*. Estudio preliminar por Germán Colón y Amadeu-J. Soberanas. Barcelona: Puvill.
Nebrija, Antonio de. 1989[1495?]. *Vocabulario Español-Latino*. Madrid: Real Academia.
Sahagún, Fray Bernardino 1969[16th century]. *Historia General de las cosas de Nueva España*. Ed. Ángel María Garibay. Libro 10, cap.XXVII. México, D.F.: Porrúa.
Siméon, Rémi. 1977[1885]. *Diccionario de la lengua nahuatl o mexicana, redactado según los documentos impresos y manuscritos más auténticos y precedido de una introducción*. Translation by Josefina Oliva de Coll. México: Siglo XXI Editores.
Sobrino, François. 1760. *Dictionnaire Nouveau des langues francoise et espagnole; Plus ample et plus exact, qu'aucun de ceux qui ont paru jusqu'à present; tiré des plus savans auteurs françois…* Sixth Edition, Considerably augmented and newly corrected, vol. 2. Bruxelles: Chez Henri-Albert Gosse & Comp.[agnie] Libraires et Imprimeurs.

B. ***Secondary sources***

Galeote, Manuel. 2003. "Alonso de Molina, el Nebrija de las Indias: su labor lexicográfica". *Boletín de Filología* (Chile) 39:399-412.
Martínez Baracs, Rodrigo. 1994. "Vocabulario en lengua de Mechuacan (1559) de fray Maturino Gilberti como fuente de información histórica". Paredes, ed. 1994.67-162.
Monzón, Cristina. 1999. "Tradition and Innovations in Sixteenth-Century Grammars of New Spain". Nowak, ed. 1999.31-51.
Monzón, Cristina. 2000. "La representación ortográfica de las consonantes aspiradas del tarasco en la obra gramatical de los frailes: una reconstrucción histórica (Siglo XVI)". *Los gramáticos de Dios: las raíces de la lingüística descriptiva en la Nueva España.* Organized by Thomas Smith-Stark. México, D.F. El Colegio de México. (forthcoming).
Monzón, Cristina. 2004. *Los morfemas espaciales del p'urhépecha; significado y morfosintaxis*. Zamora, Michoacán: El Colegio de Michoacán.
Monzón, Cristina. 2005. "Tarascan Orthography in the Sixteenth Century: The Franciscan sources of inspiration and their analysis". Zwartjes & Altman, eds. 2005.65-88.
Monzón, Cristina. 2007. "La semilla misionera: una historia de la grafía en documentos de amanuenses tarascos durante el siglo XVI". Schrader-Kniffki & Morgenthaler García, eds. 2007.179-903.
Monzón, Cristina (in press). "El primer vocabulario tarasco (siglo XVI)". II Conference in Honor of Leonardo Manrique. INAH. Eds. Muntzel & Barriga.
Navarrete, Nicolás P. 1978. *Historia de la Provincia agustiniana de San Nicolás de Tolentino de Michoacán*. Vol I. México, D.F.: Editorial Porrúa.
Nowak, Elke, ed. 1991. *Languages Different in All Their Sounds... Descriptive*

approaches to indigenous languages of the Americas 1500 to 1850. Münster: Nodus.
Paredes Martínez, Carlos, ed. 1994. *Lengua y etnohistoria purhépecha. Homenaje a Benedict Warren*. Morelia: Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidalgo.
Schrader-Kniffki, Martina & Laura Morgenthaler García, eds. 2007. *Romania en interacción: Entre historia, contacto y política. Ensayos en homenaje a Klaus Zimmermann.* Frankfurt am Main & Madrid: Vervuert & Iberoamericana.
Warren, Benedict. 1971. "Fray Jerónimo de Alcalá: Author of the *Relación de Michoacán*?" *The Americas* 27.307-326.
Warren, Benedict. 1991. "Introducción". Anonymous. 1991[16th century].ix-xxvii.
Warren, Benedict. 2000. "Fray Jerónimo de Alcalá, autor de la Relación de Michoacán". Alcalá. 2000[c.1540].57-77 (primary sources).
Zwartjes, Otto & Cristina Altman, eds. 2005. *Missionary Linguistics II / Lingüística misionera II. Orthography and Phonology. Selected papers form the Second International Conference on Missionary Linguistics, São Paulo, 10-13 March 2004*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

UPDATING AND ANALYZING FATHER CHIROUSE'S (1821–1892) LUSHOOTSEED WORD LIST

DERYLE LONSDALE
Brigham Young University

RESUMEN

Eugene Casimir Chirouse fue misionero Oblato francés que trabajó intensamente con las tribus salish de la parte del noroeste de los EEUU y del suroeste de Canadá (Mary Louise 1932). Pasó varios anõs entre los indios en Tulalip (estado de Washington), hablantes de lushootseed y de otras lenguas de la familia salish. Chirouse recabó abundante información sobre el lushootseed y tradujo algunas obras de la doctrina católica a esa lengua. Ahora la lengua está seriamente amenazada porque quedan pocos hablantes nativos. Aunque existe hoy una considerable cantidad de documentación sobre el idioma (e.g. Bates et al. 1994), los escritos de Chirouse agregan mucha información sobre el estado que guarda la lengua durante la época en que él vive en Tulalip. Esa información incluye diversas formas nominales indocumentadas anteriormente sobre artefactos, fenómenos de la naturaleza, y objetos culturales. Aun más importante es un inventario importante de verbos sin atestar que ofrecen perspectivas sobre las prácticas culturales, cotidianas, y religiosas. Como el lushootseed es una lengua muy rica morfológicamente (Lonsdale 2003), la formación de palabras resulta muy interesante.

Este trabajo examina algunas de las 200 palabras que figuran en los manuscritos de Chirouse (Chirouse sin fecha). Se analizan algunos factores ortográficos, léxicos, morfológicos, y culturales. Se trata de la conversión de esas palabras del puño y letra de Chirouse a la ortografía moderna americanista. Algunas de esas palabras aún existen y no ofrecen sorpresas mayores, otras no son ampliamente conocidas, y algunas siguen siendo un misterio (por lo menos para el presente autor). Se presentan unas matrices que señalan la conversión de los signos utizados por Chirouse en sus transcripciones léxicas, y que bien puede servir a otros estudiosos para que cotejen de los manuscritos de Chirouse con los de sus contemporáneos. En particular, serán de mucha ayuda para el estudio de los nombres propios.

1. ***Biographical sketch of Chirouse***

Eugène Casimir Chirouse was born on May 8, 1821 at Bourg-de-Péage, France (near Lyons). In 1836 at age 15 he resolved to become a priest and to labor in the Far West of America, and offered himself to the ministry at nearby Romans-sur-Isère. From 1836–1841 he studied college at Crozat, Valence. He took perpetual vows at Marseilles on August 15, 1844, but was not ordained at that time.

In 1847 Chirouse traveled to America in the company of four other Oblates, leaving on February 4 and sailing on the ship Zuric from Marseilles to Le Havre and New York, landing on April 2 after a particularly treacherous passage in which the captain remarked "Every devil in hell is out against us this trip!" From New York they continued on to Montreal. From Montreal they traveled to St. Louis, from whence they were dispatched to the Pacific Northwest. They traveled in a 50-wagon train on the Oregon Trail. Chirouse entertained the travelers at night with his accordion.

During the autumn of 1847 they arrived at Ft. Walla Walla. There Chirouse was made a subdeacon on December 26, 1847 and ordained to the priesthood on January 2, 1848, the first such ordination in what would become Washington state. He was subsequently stationed at St. Rose's Mission, Walla Walla diocese. His work among the Yakimas there was interrupted by flare-ups in tensions between the whites and the Indians. As late as 1853 he and a fellow Oblate were the only whites to permanently live in Yakima Valley. At the close of 1856 his charge there ended and he left the area for Oblate headquarters in Olympia.

In 1857 the headquarters were moved to Victoria, BC leaving Chirouse as the only cleric to minister to all of the Puget Sound Indians. In September of that year he arrived at Tulalip and began working primarily among the Snohomish Indians and administering four other reservations within his parish. He opened a school, served as a U.S. Indian agent, built several chapels throughout the area, trained an acclaimed choir, and would often make trips to Vancouver Island. Chirouse's influence among the tribes at Tulalip was substantial. He lived among the people, eating the same food, working alongside them, and learning their languages. Having already gained a high level of competence in Chinook Jargon (a trade language used throughout the area) and Yakima (a language in the Sahaptin family), he studied Snohomish and translated prayers and parts of the Bible into the language; he also compiled a Snohomish dictionary, grammar, and several word lists. In 1866 he administered last rights to Chief Seattle, and presided over his requiem mass. Chirouse was a signatory to three treaties, and in one incident shouting out his

name stopped an impending attack. He had several nicknames including "Good Old Father", "The Apostle of Tulalip", and "The Apostle of the Puget Sound Indians". Indeed, time was often reckoned by his arrival: "a long time ago, before Father Chirouse came" versus "not so long ago, since Father Chirouse came."

In 1877 the Oblates announced Chirouse's transfer to Canada, where he would serve out the remainder of his life. The tribes at Tulalip initiated a petition to block his transfer, and intended to take it to the Pope until they were dissuaded. From 1878 to 1891 he worked throughout the Fraser Valley, the Okanogan, and points in between. He also made a handful of trips back to Tulalip, where he was always received joyously. In 1891, 400 Indians celebrated his last visit among them. Chirouse suffered a paralyzing stroke late in December 1891 and died in May 1892. He is buried on the banks of the Fraser River in an Oblate cemetery in Mission, B.C. (Gaeng 2007).

2. *Lushootseed and its dictionaries*

Lushootseed is a Central Coast language of the Salish family. It is spoken along the Puget Sound and is highly endangered, with only a few remaining first-language speakers. The native name for the language, of relatively recent origin, is the word *dxʷləšucid* meaning approximately "the language that is understandable". The general term encompasses several language/dialect areas that are all related but not always easy to differentiate. Today's so-called "northern dialect" groups together the Snohomish, Skagit, and Suiattle-Sauk dialects, whereas the "southern dialect" comprises Skykomish, Snoqualmie, Suquamish, Duwamish, Muckleshoot, Puyallup, Nisqually, and Sahewamish.

The language, as is the case for all Salish languages, has very rich phonetic and morphological systems. Vowels are relatively straightforward whereas the consonantal system is complex. Word structure is strikingly complicated with several classes of prefixes, suffixes, and clitics, six patterns of reduplication, and lexical suffixes. The usually simple roots undergo extensive inflection and derivation. The lack of verb conjugations or nominal declensions in the classical sense renders Latin/Greek paradigm-based approaches to description mostly useless in describing the language.

Two major dictionaries have been published (Hess 1976; Bates et al. 1994), the latter largely an update of the former. Recent work on digitizing the dictionary content has made possible the research for this paper. Two pedagogically oriented informal descriptions of the language have been produced, but there is no extensive grammar (though one is in preparation, directed by Hess).

Chirouse was a long-time student of the language and left behind extensive documentation. This was a daunting task, given the considerable cultural and linguistic distance between English or French versus Lushootseed speakers.[1] The notes he took about the Snohomish dialect, and the grammar that derives from them (Chirouse undated) comprise the bulk of extant observations and contain many interesting insights into the language. The focus of the rest of this paper is the Chirouse word list (henceforth CW) that he collected in preparation for his grammar. The manuscript, which includes CW, has some 1,400 lexical items analyzed to some degree.

3. *Updating the orthography*

In his notes, Chirouse recorded words in a writing system popular for the time among Oblate and perhaps also Jesuit missionaries. It was eventually replaced by a more linguistically consistent writing system. In particular, the modern orthography currently used for Lushootseed was developed in the latter half of the twentieth century by the noted Lushootseed linguist Thom Hess. As with the rest of the Salish languages, its writing system is largely based on the Roman alphabet with several characters borrowed from IPA. For example, <ʔ> represents a glottal stop, <q̓ʷ> a glottalized, labialized voiceless uvular stop, and <dᶻ> a voiced alveolar affricate. Part of the work described in this paper, then, involves updating the words from CW into the modern orthography. This is not a trivial process, as Chirouse's conventions differ, sometimes markedly, from the current writing system. For the work reported here 190 nouns and 106 verbs from CW were chosen to be analyzed. Table 1 shows sample English words from CW in the left column, Chirouse's transcription in the middle column, and the suggested corresponding modern form.

salamander	*Dĕdē-drāi*	*dədicx̌ay̓*
robin	*Rhwă-khēkh*	*sk̓ʷəqiq*
bat (mammal)	*kŏb-kŏbāyūs*	*qəbqəbayus*
sandy land	*Sgwēs-tălōm*	*sgʷistalb*
grasshopper	*Tĕt-ke-lārhĕd*	*t̓(i)t̓x̌əlaʔx̌əd*
to make mats	*Ŏtlā-gŭb*	*ʔuʌ̓agʷəb*
to insult	*Krhā-bătz*	*q̓x̌abac*
lynx	*pchēm*	*p̓č̓əb*

Table 1: *Sample Chirouse word list entries showing English gloss and transcription, along with posited modern orthographic form.*

[1] When the linguist Ken Hale (1934–2001) was asked which language, in his opinion, differs the most from Indo-European languages, he cited the Coastal Salish languages (Matthewson & Davis 2005).

Some noteworthy differences are readily apparent. First, CW includes diacritics over the vowels. Presumably this indicates a two-way (or possibly three-way) distinction of vowel length, with the breve indicating a short vowel, a macron indicating a long vowel, and an undiacritized vowel having perhaps medium length or unremarkable length. No such variation is apparent in the language's orthography today, except perhaps for geminate vowel sequences in some roots and in onomatopoeic or otherwise expressive speech.

Representing word boundaries is problematic in any polysynthetic language, and this is true for Lushootseed when studying CW. Chirouse includes hyphens inside words, though they are used somewhat inconsistently and their exact significance remains unclear.

Lushootseed consonants are rich in secondary articulation, for example glottalization (indicated today with an apostrophe) and labialization (indicated with a raised w). These are not represented in any systematic way in CW; for example, in Table 1 some instances of labialized /g/ are spelled in CW as <g>, and others as <gw>.

Given this starting point in the mapping between CW transcriptions and the modern orthography, it is now possible to pursue a more systematic study of the discrepancies between the two. For the purposes of this paper, the 296 selected examples were analyzed and, where possible, converted to modern orthography as reflected in the Lushootseed Dictionary (Bates et al. 1994), henceforth LD. The next section discusses some properties of the nouns in CW.

4. *Nouns in CW*

The nouns in CW can be categorized into several classes:

1) *exact matches with LD data*:
   The CW form maps exactly to LD headwords, derived forms, or words used in Lushootseed examples.
2) *conjectured forms surely or probably mappable to LD data*:
   The CW form is closely related to some LD form(s), but unlike the above case there is no exact correspondence with LD entries.
3) *conjectured forms possibly mappable to LD data*:
   The CW form is not closely related to any LD form(s), but could possibly map to LD entries given certain (relatively) plausible assumptions.
4) *conjectured forms not mappable to LD data*:
   The CW form has no obvious relationship to any LD forms, but could be related to forms observed or attested elsewhere.
5) *forms that still remain unsolved (at least to this author).*

The CW form has no attestations elsewhere, no plausible known cognates, and no obvious mapping to any other word.

Each class is surveyed in turn in the following subsections.

4.1 *Exact matches with LD data*

There were a considerable number of nouns that produced exact matches with nouns in the LD data. In such cases the mapping between CW and LD was quite straightforward, so most examples will not be mentioned here. However, some warrant examination because of interesting lexical, orthographic, or morphological properties.

Consider these straightforward matches, presented according to semantic class.

- CW gives several different words for God including the commonly encountered *šəq siʔab* (lit. 'sky+nobleman') and *dukʷəbəɬ* (lit. 'changer, transformer'). CW also lists an additional term less commonly encountered and not specifically mentioned in LD as pertaining to deity: *dəxʷsyayus* (lit. 'hard worker'), glossed in CW as "creator".
- CW uses the same Lushootseed word for 'wolf (little)' and 'fox', though LD gives a separate word for the latter.
- CW and LD mismatch in glossing the same words for members of the mink family: CW gives 'marten' where LD gives 'mink'. Also, CW gives 'weasel' where LD gives '(pine) marten'.
- Many bird names are attested, and several of them are glossed differently in CW and LD. Table 2 shows several examples. Whether these terms are synonymous is a possible topic for further study by a specialist.

Chirouse (CW)	*Lushootseed Dictionary (LD)*
large bustard	snowgoose
French duck	mallard
grebe, also hooped duck	medium-sized sawbill
red-throated diver	common loon
erne	widgeon
water hen	silver diver, kind of grebe
water hen (little)	hell diver

Table 2: *Examples of glossing differences between CW (left) and LD (right) for some birds.*

4.2 *Forms derivable from LD*

The second type of CW entry involves terms that are probably related to LD; the correspondence is usually fairly obvious and usually involves minor differences such as the addition or dropping of affixes or clitics (e.g. the

nominalizing prefix or aspectual markers). A few interesting examples follow to illustrate this category.

CW records several terms for natural phenomena that fall into this category. The word for 'comet' is *Āms-chōps-chōssĕn* which could conceivably map to two possible modern forms: *ʔabsčups sčusəd* literally meaning 'has+fire+star', or rather perhaps to *ʔabsčupč̓ sčusəd* which literally means 'has+tail+star'. The CW term for the Milky Way is *Srŭtlāgwăb* which probably maps to *sxʷəťagʷəb* meaning 'falling+middle'. The CW term for 'lightning' is *Skwēkwād*, which maps to *sx̌ʷikʷad(iʔ)* and means 'blaze+ear/sound'. Note that in this case the final vowel + consonant are dropped in the updated form; it is not uncommon for the final syllable to drop in this environment, namely at the end of a lexical suffix (a bound lexical morpheme common to Salish languages).

CW words for directions are also interesting. The word for 'north' is *Tul-stess-sselarhad*, updated as *tuľsťəsilaxad* literally 'from+cold+begin+side'. Similarly, the CW word for 'northeast' is *Tul-durskwel-selarhad*, updated as *tul'dxʷs- q̓ʷəlisilaxad*, literally 'from+place+warm+begin+side'. Both of these usages are supported by the climatic situation of Lushootseed territory. In each case, the CW terms, though not found in LD in exactly the same form, can be derived or inferred from information given in LD.

Religious terms presented Chirouse some challenge. Many terms were borrowed from French via Chinook Jargon: *liǰub* for 'the devil' (from Fr. 'le diable'), *lakopilmasio* for 'confirmation', *lapletis* for 'the priesthood' (from Fr. 'la prêtrise'), etc. On the other hand, sometimes the lesser used strategy of compounding was employed to create new religious terms.

About these Chirouse wrote:

> It is easy to get the name of anything you can hear, touch, or point out to an Indian, but in order to make him understand […] anything belonging to religion, it is necessary to invent new words, to compose expressions after the rules of compound words already existing. (Mary Louise 1932)

The Lushootseed term – a compound – that he records for 'saints' is *Tōl shĕrk skāyu*, updated here as *tuľ šəq skayuʔ* (which literally means 'from+sky +dead').

Some names for animals (primarily non-native) are also derived via compounding: *Tlā-dāi-kwest* corresponds to *sɬaday qʷist* which literally means 'female+bovine' and which CW glosses as 'cow'. A similar form is the word for 'calf': *Sbeb-da-akwest* in CW, *sbibəda? qʷist* in modern writing, which means literally 'young+bovine'. The word for 'mare' is *Tlā-dai-stekhe* (in CW), updated as *sɬaday stiqiw* which means 'female+horse'. Finally, the

colorful CW word for ‘bull’ was listed as *Ams-ba-ched*, mapped to today's *absbačəd* meaning literally ‘has+testicles’.

4.3 *Possibly derivable from LD*

Some words in CW are possibly mappable to forms in the LD, though the connection is speculative or tentative, and so further follow-up work is required. These words are interesting because they appear not to be treated by LD. A few cases are documented in this section.

Several terms for natural phenomena fall in this category. For example, CW gives for ‘storm’ the term which updated would be *ʔuxʷəxʷiẇil* (loosely ‘it whistled a little’). The CW word for a southwest wind is *čaʔčkʷ*, which could be based on the root for ‘seaward’, plus a reduplication pattern. This would fit the geographic orientation of the Lushootseed-speaking territory, on the western slope of the Cascade Mountains and throughout the Puget Sound area. Another interesting CW word is *Chē-kwel* glossed as ‘mud’. Assuming an updated form of *čiƛʷil*, which LD glosses as ‘become narrow, (as of a road or river)’, the word would thus appear to be related to the root *čiƛʷ* which LD glosses as ‘caulk’. Though these relationships are plausible for the term at hand, the relationship feels weaker than for those in the previous subsection.

An even more opaque term is the CW word for peninsula, *Tshēr-gwās*. This word, if mapped properly to *čəxgʷas*, would mean literally ‘half+half’. Seeking information to refute or support these posited new forms would help restore many items of ‘lost’ vocabulary to today’s usage.

4.4 *Not in LD*

A handful of CW words do not appear in LD or, apparently, any other Lushootseed print sources. Some are straightforward since they are clearly loanwords from English. For example, the CW words for monkey, mule, and goat are borrowed directly from English (with some orthographic modification).

Other words not in LD are not borrowings from English. With some research, though, their connection with other Salish languages can be tentatively established. It is possible that these words were borrowed across Salish languages; alternatively, it is possible that the speakers Chirouse consulted spoke more than one dialect or language and supplied words from elsewhere to fill lexical gaps in Snohomish.

For example, CW gives the word *kōtsrh* glossed as ‘larck’ [*sic*]. The absence of such a word in Lushootseed resources prompted a wider search. In a dictionary for Upper Chehalis (another Coast Salish language of the Tsamosan

group), Kinkade (1999) lists an entry (number 1587) with an apparently cognate root headword, and which is glossed as 'lark (Western Meadowlark)'. Based on this information a plausible Lushootseed form would be *qʷəcxa?*, though loss of the long final vowel remains to be explained.

A similar situation arises with the CW word *pălŏx* for 'pig'. A more common term in Lushootseed texts is *kəšu*, a borrowing from French ('cochon') via Chinook Jargon. However, Kinkade (2004) gives a similar word in his dictionary for the Cowlitz language, another Tsamosan Coast Salish language. He lists *p̓ələkʷqas* glossed as 'pig', based on the root *p̓ələkʷ* meaning 'dig up, root up'. If this conjecture is correct, the loss of the lexical suffix -*qas* remains to be explained.

A third example is the CW word *păl-pālshed* glossed as 'ground squirrel'. A plausible related root is listed by Mattina (1987) in his dictionary of Colville-Okanagan, a Southern Interior Salish language. There he includes an entry for the root *pl̓*, glossed as 'gopher, mole', though Mattina's term uses the lexical suffix for 'land' instead of the one for 'foot' which Chirouse clearly uses; nor does reduplication occur in Mattina's examples, though it appears in the CW word. The modern Lushootseed word would presumably be *pəl̓pal̓šəd*.

In summary, the noun forms that Chirouse lists fall along a continuum that ranges from completely familiar terms known in the language today to terms that seem to have no other attestation than their appearance in CW. Updating these terms and verifying the posited forms will help introduce or support several hundred terms into the current language.

5. *Verbs*

Though not as numerous as nouns in CW, the verbs are interesting and also informative. They particularly give insight into cultural practices and daily life. In fact, Chirouse prefaces his list of verbs with a parenthetical admonition: "The following verbs express some of the principal wild Indian habits (as they are to be well remembered)." Many of the verbs are recorded twice, with different levels of precision in the gloss and the transcription.

Verbs can be found in CW that fall into all of the categories enumerated above for nouns. Some are completely familiar, though now updated orthographic forms exist as a result of this work. Some are clearly related to LD terms, and some can only be tentatively associated with LD data. Several do not seem to be related to any information from LD but might be cognate with verbs in related languages. Finally, many verbs remain a total mystery.

Consider the CW verb *Te'waw-tsid* glossed as ‘to caress or fawn a child’. Though only one questionably relevant LD entry exists, Kuipers (2002:106) in his dictionary of Salish etymology, gives a Proto-Salish root **taw* for ‘child, young person’. This leads to the modern conjectured form *təwawcid*.

Of more interest here than the orthographic updates to these verbs are their glosses; a sampling shows verbs that mean ‘to run a quill through the nostril, for ornament’, ‘to flatten the head of a baby’ (a cultural practice among the Salish), ‘to make immodest signs with two fingers’, ‘to blow on a sick to frighten the evil spirit’, ‘to louse a friend and eat the lice, to share one's love’ and ‘to take a steam bath underground’. Dozens of such verbs, many of which are not apparently attested elsewhere today, shed light on many cultural and everyday practices.

6. *Orthography*

At this point it should be clear that there is not always a completely direct and deterministic pairing of symbols used by Chirouse in his CW transcriptions, and the modern orthography. This section explores some of the differences between these two systems.

It has already been noted above that CW uses various diacritics over the vowels, and also hyphenation, whereas both of these conventions are not manifested in the modern system. Another difference is that Chirouse uses capital letters, but modern Lushootseed does not use any.

Other mismatches are more interesting. Between Chirouse's era and today the language underwent a substantial shift whereby most nasals have become corresponding stops. Hence the word for ‘bobcat’ in Table 1 ends in *-m* in CW but in *-b* today.

The most pervasive difference to deal with, though, is inconsistency in the phonetic transcription conventions used by Chirouse. His choice of symbols, while not arbitrary, displays considerable variation; this is true particularly of vowels as well as some coronal and dorsal consonants.

In order to better understand and document these transcription mismatches, the mappings for 70 random exact/close CW-LD noun matches were scrutinized and quantified. Some of the results are summarized in the tables that follow.

Table 3 shows mappings for the three forms of the vowel *a* in CW for these words. The long version (annotated with a macron) and the unadorned version both map to five different modern vowels (or vowel/glottal sequences). The short *a* (with the breve diacritic) maps to three different combinations, and is also deleted twice (represented by the null form Ø).

CW \ LD	a	ʔə	ʔa	ə	aa	aʔ	ø
a	7	1		3	1	2	
ā	15	6	2		1	3	
ă	5			9		3	2

Table 3: *Matrix comparing mappings involving forms of the vowel* a *(CW vs. LD)*

Table 4 shows that versions of the CW vowel *e* are slightly less variable in their mappings, that forms of *i* are even better behaved, and that *y* is completely deterministic in its correspondence with modern *y*.

CW \ LD	ə	ʔə	i	iʔ	y	yʔ	ø
e	6	1	5				2
ĕ	13		2	1			3
ē	6		1				
i			4	1	1	1	
ĭ			1				
ī			1	1			
y					6		

Table 4: *Matrix comparing mappings involving some vowels (CW vs. LD)*

From Table 5 it is evident that coronals (in particular palatal and alveolar fricatives and affricates) also demonstrate some variability, though generally less than the vowels do.

CW \ LD	s	ss	č	š	čš	c̆	c	c̆
s	39	1						
ss	6						1	
tch			1					
sh	1			7	1			
ssh				2				
ch			9			6		
ts							1	2

Table 5: *Matrix comparing mappings involving some coronals (CW vs. LD)*

Table 6 shows that dorsal consonants (velars and uvulars), however, do exhibit a wide range of correspondences. For example, the CW letter *k* maps to six different consonants in the modern orthography. Conversely, the modern voiceless velar stop *q* is represented in CW in four different ways. Also

noteworthy is the pervasive use in CW of the symbol *r* for these dorsal sounds; this belies the French origins of Chirouse—and indeed of his colleagues—who used this symbol widely for velars and uvulars since their *r* in French would have had this place of articulation.

LD / CW	k	k̓	kʷ	k̓ʷ	q	q̓	qʷ	q̓ʷ	xʷ	x̌	x̌ʷ
rh					1		1		2	15	2
k	4	2	2		6	4	3				
kŭ	1										
rk					3						
kw			4				2				1
r									1		
kh					6		2				
rw											1
rhw				1					1		3
wh									1		

Table 6: *Matrix comparing mappings involving some dorsals (CW vs. LD)*

Though this analysis is preliminary and random, it demonstrates how variable the CW-LD mappings can be and hence the difficulty of positing modern forms without some deliberation. As more correspondences are analyzed and the table cells filled in with more data, it will be possible to use statistical or machine learning methods to more automatically generate possibilities for further scrutiny in an appropriately informed manner.

7. ***Conclusions***

It is clear that Chirouse's contribution to knowledge of the Lushootseed language was substantial and timely. He passed on valuable lexical, linguistic, and cultural knowledge, even through his simple word lists. It is also evident from the inconsistencies and variations that transcription of the language was a daunting task for Chirouse. Viewed through today's orthography, the mappings are not deterministic and lead to great variability in possible interpretation.

The current effort is meant to prompt further work into documenting the language at the time of Chirouse's ministry. Possible future work can include eliciting forms from native speakers to find out whether the putatively lost words are in fact still known. More research into extant text corpora could also locate other attestations of these words. Ongoing attempts are focused on deploying searchable text corpora of Lushootseed documents for online consultation, and on linking these words with other online lexical resources.

It would also be interesting to compare the CW with Jesuit documentation. The Oblates and Jesuits, while engaged in similar work, sometimes used

slightly different materials, methods, and techniques. The resultant different perspectives might lead to insights helpful for analyzing CW, and indeed for working with early documents in other languages of the area. For example, many Oblates and Jesuits kept extensive documentation on Chinook Jargon also. There is even evidence that Chirouse and his companions, during their transatlantic journey, studied Chinook Jargon materials recorded by another missionary, Paul Durieu. Conventions used in those documents could prove insightful for Lushootseed, and vice-versa.

Boulet's (undated) catechism in Snohomish is based largely on Chirouse's notes; updating that work to modern Lushootseed orthography would lead to further insights and more statistics along the line of those reported here.

In conclusion, this work has sought to bring to light several vocabulary items that were attested in Chirouse's works but rarely if ever seen since. A wide range of possible mappings has emerged from the empirical study of correspondences as they are posited, and the associated statistics will prove helpful in resolving difficult cases. As these forms are posited in the updated orthography, they should be verified, disseminated, and used to help unravel similar secrets contained in other texts beyond Chirouse's word list. In documenting a highly endangered language such as Lushootseed, every word counts.

REFERENCES

Bates, Dawn, Thom Hess & Vi Hilbert. 1994. *Lushootseed Dictionary.* Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press.

Boulet, Jean Baptiste (Compiler). 1879. *Prayer Book and Catechism in the Snohomish Language*. Tulalip, W.T.: Tulalip Mission Press.

Chirouse, Eugene Casimir. (undated). A Short Method to Learn the Snohomish Indian Language in 14 lessons, University of California Berkeley Bancroft Library ms. P-B 86.

Gaeng, Betty Lou. 2007. "Eugene Casimir Chirouse, The apostle to the Indians of Puget Sound: Conclusion". *The Sounder* 21.4. Lynnwood, WA: Sno-Isle Genealogical Society.

Hess, Thom. 1976. *Dictionary of Puget Sound Salish*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press.

Kinkade, M. Dale. 1991. *Upper Chehalis Dictionary*. Missoula, MT: University of Montana Occasional Papers in Linguistics, No. 7.

Kinkade, M. Dale. 2004. *Cowlitz Dictionary and Grammatical Sketch*. Missoula, MT: University of Montana Occasional Papers in Linguistics, No. 18.

Kuipers, Aert. 2002. *Salish Etymological Dictionary*. Missoula, MT: University of Montana Occasional Papers in Linguistics, No. 16.

Lonsdale, Deryle. 2003. “Two-level Engines for Salish Morphology”. *Proceedings of the Workshop on Finite-State Methods in Natural Language Processing*, 35-42; Budapest: European Association for Computational Linguistics.

Mary Louise, Sister (Nellie Sullivan). 1932. *Eugene Casimir Chirouse, O.M.I., and the Indians of Washington* . Master's thesis, Seattle, WA: University of Washington.

Matthewson, Lisa & Henry Davis. 2005. *Topics in the Syntax and Semantics of Salish*. Linguistic Society of America Institute Course (July 2005), Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology,

Mattina, Anthony. 1987. *Colville-Okanagan Dictionary*. Missoula, MT: University of Montana Occasional Papers in Linguistics, No. 5.

THE VOCABULARY OF THE *LENGUA DE MAYNAS*
MS. EGERTON 2881 OF THE BRITISH LIBRARY

ASTRID ALEXANDER-BAKKERUS
University of Amsterdam
Amsterdam Center for Language and Communication

RESUMEN

El manuscrito Egerton 2881 de la British Library (Londres) data del comienzo del siglo XIX. El autor del manuscrito es anónimo. En los folios 7 y 40 recto se encuentran las siguientes observaciones:

folio 7 r. : "Es del vso del V.P. Fr. Eusebio Arias";
folio 40 r. : "Pertenesco al P. Fr. Eusebio Arias".

Esas dos indicaciones dan lugar para suponer que Fray Eusebio Arias sea el autor del manuscrito. Sin embargo, es más verosímil que el texto provenga de una otra fuente y que Fray Eusebio Arias lo haya transcrito de uso personal.

El manuscrito contiene una descripción del quechua tal como fue hablado en Maynas, provincia de Quito en Ecuador, y consta de tres partes:

(i) una gramática concisa de la lengua de los habitantes indígenas de Maynas: 18 folios: f. 1 recto – 17 verso;
(ii) un vocabulario castellano – quechua: 58 folios: f. 18 r. – 75 v.;
(iii) una doctrina christiana: 4 folios: 76 r. – 79 v.

Como podemos constatar, el vocabulario castellano quechua, con 58 folios y más de 3000 entradas, forma la mayor parte del libro.

Al final del siglo XVIII, Juan de Velasco (1727–1792), historiador y lexicógrafo famoso, ha hecho dos vocabularios de la lengua 'peruano-quitense': 'Vocabulario A', teniendo unas 3,000 entradas; y 'Vocabulario B' de 1,450 ítemes (Romero Arteta 1964:xxxiv). El 'Vocabulario A', de lo cual solamente conocemos la primera página y el índice, se perdió. El 'Vocabulario B' fue publicado por Romera Arteta en 1964. El 'Vocabulario A' y el vocabulario del manuscrito *Lengua de Maynas* se parecen el uno al otro en la medida en que ambos contienen un mismo número de entradas, y que ambos más o menos datan del mismo tiempo. Para poder formarnos una idea del contenido del vocabulario perdido ('Vocabulario A'), compararemos el léxico de *Lengua de Maynas* con el 'Vocabulario B' y analizaremos las correspondencias y las diferencias entre los dos léxicos.

No obstante, es probable que tanto el vocabulario de *Lengua de Maynas* como el 'Vocabulario B' se remonten a fuentes clásicas y más antiguas. Para examinar si el autor del manuscrito *Lengua de Maynas* y Juan de Velasco han usado modelos clásicos, también incluiremos el diccionario español – latín de Antonio de Nebrija (c.1441–1522), publicado en 1516, y los diccionarios castellano – quechua de Domingo de Santo Tomás (c.1499–1570), publicado en 1560, y otro de González Holguín (1560–1620), publicado en 1608, en nuestra investigación comparativa lexicográfica.

1. ***Introduction***

The British Library ms. Egerton 2881 is a paper *in-quarto* volume with a vellum cover. It has not been published as yet. Father Eusebio Arias, a Franciscan friar, is supposed to be the author of the manuscript. However, it is possible that Father Eusebio Arias is not the author of the text, that the text comes from another source, and that he transcribed it for his own use. Eusebio Arias was born in Ecuador. We do not know when he was born, but we do know that he got his training for the priesthood in the College of Ocopa (Peru), and that he took holy orders in Tarapoto (North Peru) in 1823. Arias could have written the manuscript before his appointment in Tarapoto, or thereafter. Anyway, the manuscript probably dates from the beginning or the first half of the nineteenth century.

The *Lengua de Maynas* manuscript (*LM* henceforth) contains a description of Quechua as it was spoken in Maynas, viz. the province of Quito (Ecuador). It consists of three parts:

(i) Arte de Lengua de Maynas: a compact grammar of the language spoken by the indigenous inhabitants of Maynas, the province of Quito;
(ii) Vocabulario del Castellano al Indico: a Spanish – Quechua vocabulary;
(iii) Doctrina Christiana: a Christian doctrine.

The Spanish – Quechua vocabulary forms the greater part of the language description: 58 folios, and it runs to over three thousand items, arranged according to the order of the Spanish alphabet.

At the end of the eighteenth century, Juan de Velasco (JV henceforth), a famous Jesuit historian and lexicographer, wrote two vocabularies of the 'lengua Peruano-Quitense':

(i) a 'Vocabulario A', possibly written in 1787, and containing some 3,000 words (Romero Arteta 1964:xxxiv);
(ii) a 'Vocabulario B' of 1,460 words, written after the 'Vocabulario A'.

The former is lost. Only the first page and the index are known (Romero Arteta 1964:xxxiv). The latter, published by Romero Arteta in 1964, is at the Archives of Alcalá de Henares in Spain and it is possible that Eusebio Arias copied JV's first lexicon before it was lost. Both the 'Vocabulario A' and the *LM* lexicon

contain a similar number of items and approximately date from the same period. We shall make a comparison between the *LM* lexicon and the vocabulary published by Romero Arteta, in order to examine the correspondences and the differences between both dictionaries. This can shed light on how the lost vocabulary may have looked.

However, it is also possible that both JV and Arias fell back on older, authoritative, Spanish – Quechua lexicons, such as the Spanish – Quichua lexicon written in 1560 by Domingo de Santo Tomás (c.1499–1570), and the Spanish – Quichua vocabulary by González Holguín (1560–1620), published in 1608.

In addition, it is also quite probable that all the lexicographers mentioned above modelled their vocabularies after the work of Antonio de Nebrija (c.1441–1522), the author of the *Gramática de la Lengua Castellana*, and the first non-Latin dictionary: *Vocabulario español – latino*. The former is published in 1492, the latter in ca. 1495. Nebrija's books were a smash hit, and they served as a copy for many other non-Latin grammars and dictionaries.

In this article, we shall also take a quick glance at the Castilian Quechua dictionaries by Santo Tomás (ST henceforth) and González Holguín (GH hereafter), and at the Spanish – Latin vocabulary by Nebrija (AN hereafter).

2. *Vocabulary of the LM manuscript*

As stated, the vocabulary of *LM* consists of more than 3,000 items: 3,005 to be precise. Most of the items are verbs. A great many of the nouns and adjectives occurring in the wordlist are words derived from verbs. The vocabulary also contains pronouns, adverbs or adverbial adjuncts and a few interjections. This arrangement, a large number of verbs and (adjectival) nouns, plus a certain quantity of non-derived adverbs, may reflect the fact that verbs and nouns are the most important word classes in Quechua, and that adverbs form a relatively small class. Interjections form a closed small class. The verbs are not represented in the infinitive form in *-y*, but, like Latin verbs, in the first person singular form of the present indicative, in *-ni*.

The lexicon comprises 22 sections: A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, Y/I, J, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, V, X, Z. Separate sections for the letters U and Y are missing. They are included in the sections V and I, respectively. In the manuscript, the symbols <u> and <y> are notational variants of <v> and <i>, respectively. Both symbols <u> and <v> represent a high back vowel [u] as well as a voiced labio-dental fricative [v] and a voiced bilabial stop [b], and both <i> and <y> represent a high front vowel [i] as well as a palatal approximant [j]. Conversely, the vocabulary does have a separate section Z. Grapheme <z>

symbolizes an alveo-dental fricative [s], which normally is represented by the symbols <c>, before *i* and *e*, and <s>. Nevertheless, section Z is not included in the sections C (before i and e) and S.

The words are arranged alphabetically. However, this order is not strictly kept. For instance, the first seven items of section A are as follows:

abarcar, ò abandonar	“to encompass, or to abandon” (?)	instead of: abalanzado
abrazado	“embraced”	abalanzarse, asirse
abalanzarse, asirse	“to pounce upon”, “to grab hold of”	abandonar
abalanzado	“pounced upon”	abarcar ò abandonar
abaxarse	“to lower oneself”	abatir, humillar
abatir, humillar	“to tear down”, “to humiliate”	abatirse, humillarse
abatirse, humillarse	“to give in”, “to humiliate oneself”	abaxarse
abandonar	“to abandon”	abrazado

In the Quechua translations there is an overlap of items, viz. one Quechua word covering several Spanish concepts. It indicates that the difference of meaning between the Spanish words at issue does not exist in Quechua. The following survey gives an example of a Quechua verb, noun and adverb, representing different Spanish concepts:

Quechua	Spanish
mancharini	admirar (“cause surprise”), espantarse (“to be shocked/ frightened”), maravillarse (“to be astonished”), turbarse (“to be upset/ out of sorts”)
maqui	mano (“hand”), muñeca (“wrist”), puño (“fist”)
viñailla	a cada paso (“with each step”), a menudo (“often”), continuamente (“constantly”), eternamente (“perpetually”)

Obviously, the different Spanish items, translated by one single word in Quechua, semantically are not far apart from each other. They all belong to the same semantic field. The ones covered by the Quechua term *mancharini* apparently belong to the domain of “awe”. The “mano – puño” collection is concerned with the concept of “hand”, from the joint to the fingertips. The items resumed by the word *viñailla* express “sequence of time”. Some nouns with several Spanish connotations seem to have the value of a classifier or a generic term. For instance, the noun *caspi*, meaning “árbol” (“tree”), “madera” (“wood”), “palo” (“stick/ stake”) and “vara” (“twig/ branch”) in Spanish, may be a generic name for “timber”. Generic names or, rather, classifiers are not unusual phenomena in Amerindian languages.

The other way round, one Spanish word covering different Quechua concepts hardly, ever occurs:

conejo de la tierra	*cuy* (“guinea pig”) *viscacha* (“a kind of vole”) (*Lagostomus maximus*)

Spanish concepts for which the Quechua speakers of Maynas did not have an equivalent are:

(i) translated by means of a periphrase:

desagradecido (“ungrateful”)	*allinraicu sagrata cutipani* (“return something bad for something good”)
imagen (“image”) (of holy persons, saints)	*christianopac muchana* (“something adored by Christians”)
incesto (“incest”)	*aylluhuan sagra rurashca* (“something bad done with a kinsman/ kinswomen”)
prohibir (“to prohibit”)	*ama runachun camachini* (“I order: ‘He may not do it’!”)
reprender (“to reprimand”)	*ama rurachun nishpa añani* (“'I burst out saying: ‘He may not do it’!”)

(ii) adopted as loan words:

castigar (“to punish”)	*castigani*
despedir (“to see someone off”, “to dismiss”)	*despedicuni*
espejo (“mirror”)	*espejo*
freír (“to fry”)	*frirani*
hierro (“iron”)	*fierro*

Quechua items for which the Spanish did not have an equivalent, such as interjections, are translated periphrastically:

allani	coger todo genero de raiz (“to gather all sorts of roots”)
anay!	Ay! Quejandose (interjection of lamentation or complaint)
ananay!	Ay! quejandose de dolor (interjection of pain)
susurini	adormecido tener algun miembro (“to have a limb which is asleep”)
tucyac	boton de flor que empieza à abrir (“a bud which is just about to open”)

Loan words borrowed from Quechua have not been found in the lexicon. In the lexicon also occur a few Spanish items, such as ‘caparrosa’ (“sulphate”), ‘cascaxal’ (“gravel bed”), ‘cautivar’ (“capture”), ‘perdiz grande’ (“big partridge”), without a Quechua translation.

3. *JV’s ‘Vocabulary B’, published by Romero Arteta*

In 1964 Romero Arteta published an annotated transcription of the manuscript of JV’s second wordlist, the so-called ‘Vocabulario’ or *Vocabu-*

lario de la lengua índica, a Spanish – Quechua vocabulary. Alongside the annotated transcription, the publication contains a long introduction (1964:iii-xxxv), and a facsimile of the manuscript. In the introduction, Romero Arteta mentions that JV's first wordlist, 'Vocabulario A', had the following title: *Vocabulario de la lengua Peruana-Quitense, llamada del Inca, escrita por el Presb. Juan de Velasco*. This lost dictionary had 94 pages of 192 x 139 mm., *in-quarto*, of which two pages were not numbered. JV's second dictionary is a small *in-octavo* of 24 pages (95 x 145 mm.) and it contains 1,460 words. Not surprisingly, since nouns and words are the most important word classes in Quechua, most of the words written down by JV are verbs, nouns, nouns derived from verbs, and adjectives, also derived from verbs. With a few exceptions in *-y* (infinitive), such as *manchachi*: 'amenazar' ("to threaten") and *munanai*: 'antojarsele algo' ("for something to be yearned for"), the verbs are represented in the first person singular form in *-ni* (present indicative). The dictionary also contains pronouns, adverbs, adverbial adjuncts and some interjections. In the annotations, Romero Arteta gives us useful information about phonetic changes. In a number of cases he also indicates whether the word in question is Peruvian or Ecuadorian Quechua, and, if from Peru, in which part of the country the word comes from: North, South, East or West.

JV's vocabulary comprises a large number of small sections: A-B, A-C, A-D, etc. (A ante B, A ante C, A ante D, etc.); B-A, etc.; C-A, etc.; D-A, etc,; E-A, etc.; F-A, etc.: G-A, etc.; H-A, etc.; J-A, etc.; I-L, etc.; L-A, etc.; LL-A, etc.; M-A, etc.; N-A, etc.; O-B, etc.; P-A, etc.; Q-U, etc.; R-A, etc.; S-A, etc.; T-A, etc., T-R-A, etc.; U vocal UL, etc.; V-A, etc.; X-A, etc.; Y-A, etc. (Such an arrangement, viz. 'A ante B', etc. is also found in the vocabularies by ST and GH, see 5.1). In V's vocabulary, the sections U and Y are not intercalated into the sections V and I, respectively; section J comes before section I; and a separate section Z is missing. Unlike the author of the *LM* manuscript, JV does draw a distinction between the representation of a high front vowel [i] and a palatal glide [j], and between the symbolization of a high back vowel [u] and a voiced fricative [v]/ voiced bilabial stop [b]. The sounds [i] and [j] are symbolized by <i> and <y>, respectively, and [u] and [v]/ [b] by <u> and <v>, respectively. In addition, JV has two separate sections of words with a *muta cum liquida* ("unvoiced stop + liquid") beginning, in this case, an unvoiced alveo-dental stop /t/, followed by an alveolar trill /r/: T-R-A and T-R-E.

A number of sections contain only one or two items. The alphabetical order within the sections of JV's lexicon is generally consistent, with the exception of a few cases:

teta (“breast”)	instead of:	tejer
tejer (“to weave”)		teta

As in the vocabulary of the *LM* manuscript, we also find some overlaps in JV’s second lexicon, such as the Quechua word *caspi* covering the Spanish concepts of ‘madera’ (“wood”), ‘leña’ (“firewood”), ‘palo’ (“stick/ stake”), ‘tabla’ (“plank/ board”), and ‘vara’ (“twig/ branch”). Other examples of such overlaps are the following:

causachini	resuscitar (“to resuscitate”, sustentar (“to maintain”)
misqui	dulce (“sweet”), miel (“honey”)
simi	boca (“mouth”), labio (“lip”), lenguaje (“language”), palabra (“word”), vocablo (“word”)
yacu	agua (“water”), río (“river”), xugo “juice”)

The word *causachini* (< *causa* “live”-*chi* ‘causative’-*ni* ‘first person singular’) litterally means “I cause (someone) to live”, hence the overall meaning “to bring back to life”, “to keep alive”, expressed by the translations “resuscitate” and “maintain”. The translation of *misqui* indicates that the people of the Quito region used honey as a sweetener. Like *caspi*, *simi* may also be a generic name: for ‘speech’ in this case. The word *yacu* (“water”) also seems to have such an umbrella-like function.

Spanish overlaps, viz. one Spanish translation for different Quechua items (see Spanish ‘coneja de tierra’ meaning both *cuy* (“guinea pig”) and *vizcacha* (“vole”) in section 2) have not been found.

In JV’s word list, periphrastic translations of Spanish items have also been encountered. However, such translations are rare and often occur with Spanish words belonging to the semantic field of religion:

almuerzo (“breakfast”)	*pacari micuy* (“morning food”)
fiel (“believer”)	*christiano runa* (“a Christian man”)
limosna (“alms”)	*Diosraicu cusca* (“something loved by God”)
mártir (“martyr”)	*Diosmanta guañusca* (“someone who has died for God”)
sermon (“sermon”)	*Diospac simi* (“God’s word(s)”)

Words borrowed from Spanish also occur rarely:

alma (“soul”)	*anima*
azotar (“to whip”; azote (“whip”)	*azutini; azuti*
bendito (“blessed”)	*bendicisca*
caracol de bocina (“conch shell trumpet”)	*corneta*

In the following case the Quechua speakers adopted the Spanish concept for which they did not have an equivalent by means of an onomatopoeic expression:

carpintero (“carpenter”) *llac llac*

Spanish periphrases of Quechua concepts unknown to the Spanish also occur in JV's lexicon:

churichicuni	adoptar hijo o hija, el varón (“to adopt a child, by a man”)
cipini	ahogar apretando el cuello (“to suffocate by squeezing the throat”)
huahachicuni	adoptar hijo o hija, la mujer (“to adopt a child, by a woman”)
pactani	alcanzar lo que está en alto (“to reach something which is up high”)
llama	carnero de la tierra (“sheep of the land”)
rocoto	agi grande de la tierra (“big hot pepper from this land”)
tarini	alcanzar al que va delante (“to catch up to someone who is up-ahead”)

Like in the *LM* ms., words borrowed from Quechua have not been encountered. In Romero Arteta’s transcription only one Spanish word, the item ‘arrepentirse’ (“to please”), is not translated into Quechua, and the Quechua translation of the word ‘agradar’ (“to regret”) is represented partially: as *Cu … chini*. In parentheses Romero Arteta mentions that the translation of ‘arrepentirse’ is missing: (“No hay traducción”). It is likely that the missing graphemes of *Cu … chini* were illegible. The facsimile of JV’s vocabulary shows that the manuscript is sometimes hard to read.

4. *The vocabulary of LM and ‘Vocabulario B’ by V, dissimilarities and resemblances*

When we compare the *LM* vocabulary with the lexicon by V, the following differences strike the eye:

(i) in the *LM* lexicon, the sections are indicated by means of a capital: A, B, C, etc., JV indicates his word sections by means of the designation: A - B, etc. or C ante L, etc. In the *LM* dictionary, words beginning with the graphemes <y>, <ll>, and <u>, respectively representing a palatal glide [j], a palatal lateral [l^y], and a high back vowel [u], are intercalated into the sections I, L, and V, respectively. This is not the case in JV’s lexicon. Those items are placed in the chapters Y-…, LL-…, and V vocal, respectively. JV also has a separate section for words beginning with *muta cum liquida*, which in *LM* are ranged under chapter T;

(ii) in the lexicon by V, the alphabetical order is generally better kept than in the one of *LM*, see the remarks about the alphabetical order in section 2 and 3;

(iii) the vocabulary by JV is concise, notwithstanding the fact that it has a lot more word sections than that of *LM*. ‘Vocabulario B’ has fewer overlaps, fewer Spanish and Quechua periphrases and fewer Spanish loan words than the

lexicon of *LM*. (However, that was to be expected, since the former contains fewer items than the latter);

(iv) in the *LM* vocabulary, the Quechua translation of a number of Spanish items does not correspond with the translation of the same items in 'Vocabulario B'. The following survey gives some examples of Spanish words which are differently translated in both vocabularies:

Spanish item	*LM*	JV
abarcar	*ucllani*	*marcani* ("to encompass")
abil	*ancha yachac*	*allicachac* ("skilful, competent, smart")
ablandar	*hucuchini*	*nucuchispa llambuyachini* ("to soften something")
		lluchcayachini ("to plane")
acepillar	*llacllani*	*chahuapi* ("outside")
afuera	*hahuaman*	*quillarin* ("to emit light, moon or stars")
alumbrar, la luna o estrellas	*llipiachini*	

(v) in the *LM* lexicon, a number of Quechua items are written with <sh>, assumedly representing a palatal fricative, which in the vocabulary by JV are written with <s>, assumedly symbolizing an alveo-dental fricative:

LM	JV
shuc ("one")	*suc (< huc* in GH (1952 [1608]:196-199)
shuti ("name")	*suti*
-shca ('perfective nominalizer')	*-sca*
-shpa ('nominalizer, same subject')	*-spa*

The assumption of the digraph <sh> representing a palatal fricative, is based on the following observations:

(i) according to Calvo Pérez (2005:142), ST also distinguished a palatal fricative, which he represented by means of the grapheme <x>: "[…] hay que interpretar que <x> […] en DST parece referirse al fonema /š/ […]" ("It seems that <x> refers to the phoneme /š/ in DST") (DST = Domingo de Santo Thomás); Calvo Pérez furthermore mentions that a palatal fricative is symbolized by double s in the grammar of Torres Rubio, 1619: "Aquí se percibe que la ortografía -ss- responde a ese último sonido" ("Here we perceive that the spelling -ss- corresponds to the latter sound"), viz. /š/ (Calvo Pérez 2005:149);

(ii) Dedenbach-Salazar (1993:14), remarks in her transcription of an eighteenth century grammar of Ecuadorian Quechua: "[…], este autor sólo usa {sh}/ {sch} […], y dice explícitamente que se pronuncia como la {sch} alemana […]" ("[…] this author only uses {sh}/ {sch} […], and he explicitly

says that it is pronounced as a German {sch}"); and, in a note: "Levinsohn, (1976:7), dice que la /sh/ del quichua ecuatoriana siempre es /s/ en Inga" ("Levinson (1976:7), says that /sh/ of Ecuadorian Quechua always is /s/ in Inga");

(iii) Muysken (1977:9) also distinguishes a palatal fricative in modern Ecuadorian Quechua, which he also symbolizes by means of the digraph <sh>.

Since both dictionaries represent Quechua as it was spoken in the Quito region, the distinction 'palatal [š] versus non-palatal [s]' may suggest that the language has changed phonetically through the years, that *s* [*-palatal*] has changed into *s* [*+palatal*], and that the representation of the language in the *LM* ms. is more recent than the one in JV's vocabulary. However, both dictionaries date from the same period. They should therefore represent the same language usage. It is possible that JV deliberately choose to write down an older, more conservative and 'correct' usage of the language. (In the vocabulary by ST and GH, the Quechua word for 'assi' is *sina/ hyna* and *hina*, respectively.

Apart from the differences mentioned above, both vocabularies essentially have a lot in common:

(i) although the compilers of both dictionaries started at first from Spanish concepts, both included a great number of characteristic Quechua concepts in their vocabularies, such as, names of clothing: *anaco* ("kind of skirt or coat used by indigenous women") (*LM*), names of animals: *llama* (*LM* and V), and names of vegetables: periphrases for different sorts of maize (*LM*), or different sorts of pepper (V); and concepts like *auca*, meaning cruel, enemy, opponent, tyrant, traitor (*LM* and V). See also the different Spanish translations for one Quechua item and the Spanish periphrases in section 2 and 3, and the items in (ii) below;

(ii) the *LM* vocabulary resembles JV's wordlist. When we take the difference in orthography and the inconsistent alphabetical word order into account, a number of word sections begin and end alike, viz. with the same entries. For example, both word lists open with the word 'abarcar' ("to encompass", "to carry off"); in both vocabularies the sections F, H, L, M, X begin with the items 'falsa/ falso' ("false"), 'hablar' ("to speak"), 'labio' ("lip"), 'mazamorra' ("a dish made of maize"), 'xabon' ("soap"), respectively; and in both vocabularies the sections A, D, J, Ll, V, X end with 'ayuntamiento de caminos' ("crossroad"), 'dura/ duro' ("hard"), 'juzgar' ("to judge"), 'llovioso/ lluvia' ("rainy/ rain"), 'vuestra' ("your's [second person plural]"), 'xugo/ xugoso' ("juice/ juicy"), respectively. What's more, alongside the items mentioned above, *LM* and 'Vocabulario B' share a lot of the same entries, i.e. concepts identically described:

ablandar remojando	"to soak"
abrirse el mais cocido	"to open, cooked maize"
abrirse de grietas pies/ las manos o pies de grietas	"to crack open, feet or hands, or feet with cracks"
acordar(se) o traer a la memoria	"to remind", "to remember"
alcansar lo deseado	"to achieve one's goal"
alfiler con que prenden (las indias)	"a pin used by Indian women for fastening"
amancebarse el hombre	"to live together, the man"
amancebarse la muger	"to live together, the woman"
andar descaminado/ perdido de camino	"to go astray"
apedrear (con) granizo	"to hail"
carnero de la tierra	"llama"
cazuela en que tuestan (mais)	"pan to roast corn"
clara agua (o qualquier cosa que lo sea)	"clear. water (or anything which is like that"
cola de animal	"tail"
cuesta arriba	"uphill"
cuesta (de) abajo	"downhill"
dar gracias	"to thank"

5. ***The Spanish – Latin vocabulary by AN, and the Spanish – Quechua vocabularies by ST, GH, LM, and JV: a brief comparison***

5.1 *Sections*

The *Diccionario español - latino* by AN comprises 25 sections: A, B, C, CH, D, E, F, G, H, I, L, LL, M, N, Ñ, O, P, Q, R, S, T, U, V, X, Z. It has a separate section for words beginning with *ch, ñ, ll*, and *u*. (In the vocabulary of the *LM* manuscript, these words are ranged under the sections C, N, L, and V, respectively. In JV's vocabulary, words beginning with the symbols <ch> and <ñ> also are intercalated into the chapters C and N, respectively). Sometimes, the alphabetical order is not maintained. According to Macdonald (1973:vi), this 'orden alfabético imperfecto' ("imperfect alphabetical order") is due to the fact that derived words are listed under the stem of the word at issue: 'sufrir' ("to endure", "to suffer"), 'sufrimiento' ("affliction", "sorrow"), 'sufrido' ("resigned", "suffered"), 'sufrible' ("endurable").

The Spanish – Quechua lexicon by ST has some 115 sections: A ante B, A ante C, A ante D, etc. Contrary to AN, ST did not make separate sections of words beginning with the graphemes <ñ> and <u>. He ranged them under the chapters N and V, respectively, like the author of the *LM* manuscript did. In ST lexicon, there is also a section Ç with words beginning with the symbol <ç>. In ST' lexicon, the alphabetical order of derived words listed under a main word is also 'imperfect': 'abominar' ("to abominate"), […], 'abominable' ("abo-

minable"). GH arranges his words as ST does: A ante B, B ante A, etc. In his Spanish – Quichua vocabulary, he ranges them under 24 chapters: A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, L, LL, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, U vocal VL, V, X, Y, Z, distinguishing a vocalic V from a consonantal V, like AN. Unlike AN, he omits the sections of items beginning with the digraph <ch> and the grapheme <ñ>. Those items are ranged under the sections C and Ñ, respectively (cf. the *LM* vocabulary and JV's dictionary). GH's alphabetical order of derived words, listed under a main entry, also is inconsistent: 'denegrido' ("blackened"), 'denegrerse' ("to blacken").

Only JV has a TR section. (For alphabetical inconsistency in his lexicon, see section 3).

The different chapters occurring in the vocabularies by AN (N), ST (T), GH (H), JV (V) and *LM* (M) are shown in Table 1, where a small letter is used to indicate the different sections/ chapters.

When we compare the beginnings and the endings of the sections contained in AN's dictionary with those in the *LM* vocabulary, it appears that many sections open and end the same way. For instance, in both lexicons chapter C/ CH opens with the items 'cabal' and 'cabaña' ("exact/ complete", "hut") and closes with 'chupar' ("to suck") and 'chupadura/ chupado' ("drunken woman/ slim"); chapter E, H, LL, and P begin with the lemmas 'ea (pues)' ("let's go!", "come on!"), 'hablar' ("to speak"), 'llaga' ("plague"), 'pacer el ganado' ("to graze the cattle"), respectively; section LL ends with the words 'lluvia/ lluvioso' ("rain/ rainy"); and the beginning and ending of chapter X are the lemmas 'xabon' ("soap") and 'xugo/ xugoso' ("juice/ juicy"), respectively. In addition, many similar beginnings and endings, observed in both dictionaries mentioned above, as well as in 'Vocaburio B' (cf. the similar beginnings and endings of the *LM* vocabulary and JV's dictionary in section 4), also occur in ST' and GH's lexicon. For instance, the items 'ea (pues)' ("let's go!", "come on!"), 'hablar' ("to speak"), 'labio' ("lip"), 'llaga' ("plague"), 'saber' ("to know"), 'xabon' ("soap"), which in the *LM* ms. and in 'Vocabulario B' open the sections E, H, L, LL, S, X, respectively, and 'dura/ duro/ durar' ("hard"/ "to last"), 'gustar' ("to please"), 'lluvia/ lluvioso' ("rain/ rainy"), 'xugo/ xugoso' ("juice/ juicy"), which close the sections D, G, LL, X, respectively, are as such also encountered in the dictionaries by ST and GH.

	N	T	H	V	M
a	+	+	+	+	+
b	+	+	+	+	+
c	+	+	+	+	+
ç	-	+	-	-	-
ch	+	+	-	-	-
d	+	+	+	+	+
e	+	+	+	+	+
f	+	+	+	+	+
g	+	+	+	+	+
h	+	+	+	+	+
i	+	+	+	+	+
j	+	-	-	+	+
l	+	+	+	+	+
ll	+	+	+	+	-
m	+	+	+	+	+
n	+	+	+	+	+
ñ	+	-	-	-	-
o	+	+	+	+	+
p	+	+	+	+	+
q	+	+	+	+	+
r	+	+	+	+	+
s	+	+	+	+	+
t	+	+	+	+	+
tr	-	-	-	+	-
u	+	-	+	+	-
v	+	+	+	+	+
x	+	+	+	+	+
y	-	-	+	+	-
z	+	+	+	-	+

Table 1: *Chapters occurring in the vocabularies*

5.2 *Word classes*

In the Spanish – Latin vocabulary by AN, as in the Spanish – Quechua dictionaries by ST, GH, V, and the author of the *LM* vocabulary, the majority of the items are verbs and nouns. In the colonial vocabularies, this may be due to the fact that nouns and verbs are the most important word classes in Quechua. However, it is very well possible that the colonial lexicographers modelled their lexicon after AN's vocabulary, and that this is the reason why nouns and verbs so overwhelmingly occur in their dictionaries. Another point in common between AN's lexicon and the colonial dictionaries is that the translated verbs are not represented in the infinitive form, but in the first person

singular form of present indicative. This form is followed by the ending of second person singular in AN's lexicon and in the one by the author of *LM*.

In contrast with the dictionaries by the colonial authors, where non-derived adjectives and adverbs occur to a small extent, adjectives and adverbs do occur frequently in AN's lexicon. This may be due to fact that in Spanish, adjectives and adverbs form an open class, whereas in Quechua, adjectives and adverbs form a rather small, closed category. In AN's lexicon, adjectives are followed by the specification 'cosa' ("thing"): 'buena cosa' ("good thing"). This is specification, after adjectives, is also found in the dictionaries by ST, GH, and the author of *LM*. In JV's vocabulary, the indication 'cosa' ("thing") occasionally occurs after adjectives.

Pronouns and interjections are found in all the dictionaries mentioned above. Remarkably, with regard to the personal pronouns, only first and third person singular are found in the vocabulary by AN. Second person singular also is omitted in the dictionary by ST and in the *LM* dictionary. ST and the *LM* author include a first person inclusive, *ñucanchic*, and exclusive, *ñucaycu*, which is an unknown phenomenon in Spanish. GH distinguishes five first persons plural: 'nosotros mismos' ("ourselves"), 'nosotros dos' ("the two of us"), 'nosotros juntos' ("we all"), 'nosotros solos' ("only we", "we alone"), 'nosotros el vno al otro' ("we mutually"). JV only distinguishes a first person plural inclusive. Third person plural is missing in all the dictionaries, except in the one by GH. Regarding the possessive pronouns, we find only first person singular and second person plural in the dictionaries by AN, ST, V, and the author of *LM*. In the vocabulary by GH, possessive pronouns do not occur.

Since Quechua languages do not have articles, these words are absent in the colonial dictionaries. Quechua does not have prepositions either. Spanish prepositions are translated by means of a noun and a case marker.

5.3 *Entries*

Many of the entries occurring in the vocabulary by AN also occur in the ones by ST, GH, V, and the author of *LM*, (see, for instance, the similar endings and beginnings of sections in section 5.1). The corresponding lemmas often occur with the same specifications and descriptions as those in AN's work. For example, the lemmas 'alcansar lo deseado' ("to achieve one's goal"), 'apedrear con granizo' ("to hail"), 'andar perdido de camino' ("to go astray"), 'cola de animal' ("tail"), 'dar gracias' ("to thank"), encountered in the dictionary by AN, are also found in the vocabularies by GH, ST, V, and the author of *LM* (see also the specification 'cosa' ("thing") after adjectives).

Periphrases also occur often in the lexicon by AN as well as in those by the colonial writers.

The dictionaries by AN, ST and GH are rather extensive, compared to those by JV and the author of *LM*. In their lexicons, the compilations of words belonging to the same semantic field also are more elaborated than the compilations encountered in JV's and the *LM*'s dictionary. For example, in the vocabularies by N, ST, and GH, we respectively find six, ten, four, three, and three items, related to the concept 'boca' ("mouth"); and nine, seven, twenty, five, and zero items, respectively, referring to the concept 'amigo' ("friend").

N and the colonial writers also have in common that they not only start from Spanish, the translated language, but also, the other way round, from the language of the translation, viz. the language into which these items are translated. In other words, the language of the translation influences their corpus of Spanish items. It contains Spanish periphrases of Latin or Quechua concepts for which there are no equivalents in Spanish, and which have to be explained in Spanish. The fact that the language of the translation influences the corpus of Spanish items also is why articles, for instance, are absent in the colonial dictionaries. Since Quechua does not have articles, Spanish articles cannot be translated into Quechua, and can be left out.

So, alongside the similarities mentioned above between the work of AN, on the one hand, and the colonial vocabularies, on the other, there is the difference that the corpus of Spanish entries of the former is influenced by Latin, that of the latter by Quechua. Another distinction is that AN's Spanish – Latin vocabulary actually starts from Latin, and that his Spanish entries appear to be translations of the Latin items into which they are translated, whereas the colonial lexicographers only partly start from Quechua. Most of the Quechua translations in fact are conversions of Spanish concepts, and only a part of their Spanish entries are periphrases of Quechua concepts. The differences between AN's entries and those of the colonial lexicographers, due to the influence of Latin and Quechua, respectively, on these items, are the following (see also the differences regarding word classes in section 5.2):

(i) typical Graeco-Roman concepts, such as 'sacrificio de cien bueyes' ("sacrifice of hundred oxen"), 'sacerdote de Bacco' ("priest of Bacchus"), and names of typical Mediterranean plants, such as 'oliva' ("olive"), occurring in AN's 'Vocabulario B', are not found in the colonial lexicons;

(ii) vice versa, culture-bound concepts, such as 'alfiler con que prenden las Indias' ("a pin used by Indian women for fastening"), 'camiza de Yndio' ("Indian shirt"), 'calzado de Yndio' ("Indian footwear"), found in the colonial lexicons, do not occur in AN's vocabulary;

(iii) items related to numerals rarely occur in the colonial vocabularies, whereas in N's lexicon the semantic field of numerals is very elaborated, due to the large amount of Latin words and expressions which can be derived from a numeral. The numeral 'eight', for example, occurs with 45 items in N's book. In the lexicons by ST, GH, V, and LM, 'eight' occurs with four, zero, two, and zero entries, respectively;

(iv) in AN's dictionary, the languages at issue, Spanish and Latin, are close relatives. Spanish has evolved out of Latin, so that the Spanish items more or less refer to the same concepts and have approximately the same cultural load as the Latin ones. Therefore, in the vocabulary by AN, a 'one to one' translation often is possible, and there are no overlaps, viz. one Latin word covering several Spanish concepts or, vice versa, one Spanish word for several Latin concepts;

(iv) in the colonial lexicons, on the other hand, Spanish is translated into a completely different, non-related language, so that there are many Spanish and Quechua words for which Quechua and Spanish, respectively, do not have an equivalent. A 'one to one' translation is not possible in such cases. The colonial dictionaries, therefore, contain more periphrases than the lexicon by AN does.

6. ***Conclusions***

The *LM* vocabulary and the one by JV do resemble each other. Therefore, it may be possible that Fray Eusebio Arias, the supposed author of the *LM* ms., made a somewhat modified, adapted transcription of JV's first lexicon. In his transcription he obviously replaced <s> by <sh>, left out some items and changed the Quechua translation of a number of items. Another possible explanation of the resemblance between the *LM* vocabulary and 'Vocabulario B' may be that both authors had used the same source or model in order to compose their own dictionary.

This source may have had his origins in the second half of the sixteenth century (ST) or the beginning of the seventeenth century (GH). The similarity between the vocabularies by ST and GH on the one hand, and the eighteenth century vocabularies on the other hand, i.e. the fact not only sections look alike, but also the majority of the entries themselves (same words, identical definitions and specifications), is remarkable. The dictionaries by ST and GH are comprehensive and well thought-out. Therefore, it is quite possible that ST and GH became such authorities on the field of Quechua dictionaries that their vocabularies set the tone and served as a model for later writers of Quechua vocabularies.

However, this source may also have had his origins in the *Vocabulario de Romance en Latín* by AN. AN's vocabulary and the colonial lexicons look alike. They have the same organization (an inconsistent alphabetical order, same beginnings and endings of sections, and same entries), and the same intention (clarifying, or partly clarifying, another language through Spanish). The differences between AN's lexicographic work and that of colonial lexicographers is mainly due to the fact that AN's starting point is Latin, whereas the point of departure of the colonial writers in part is Quechua. The entries of the former translate, define or describe Latin concepts, whereas those of the latter partly are translations or periphrases of Quechua concepts.

In conclusion we can say that, in JV's vocabulary and in the *LM* lexicon, the organization/ framework and part of the Spanish entries may have been taken from AN, and that the filling-in of the framework, viz. the Quechua related items, may have been taken from ST and GH. It is worthwhile to examine to what extent the authors of the *LM* vocabulary and 'Vocabulario B' went back to ST, GH, and AN.

Appendix. Vocabulario A: a tentative reconstruction in broad outlines

We know nothing about the lost 'Vocabulario A', except that it has been written by JV himself before he wrote 'Vocabulario B'/ *Vocabulario de la lengua índica*, and that it comprises some 1,540 entries more than the latter. Since both 'Vocabulario A' and 'Vocabulario B' are from the same hand, we may assume that the former is similar to the latter, and that the symbolization of the Quechua sounds in the former must be similar to that in the latter. This means, for instance, that:

(i) the digraph <sh>, possibly representing a palatal fricative, does not occur in 'Vocabulario A';

(ii) 'Vocabulario A' probably comprises a lot of small A-B (A ante B), A-C, A-D, etc. sections, including a *muta cum liquida* section TR;

(iii) it has a separate section U 'vocal', V, I, and Y for words beginning with [u], [v]/ [b], [i], and [j], respectively;

(iv) a section Z possibly is missing (see chapter 3);

(v) most of the entries are verbs, (derived) nouns, and derived adjectives;

(vi) verbs are represented in the first person singular form in *-ni* (present indicative).

Since 'Vocabulario A' has more than twice as much entries as 'Vocabulario B', it is likely that it also has more than twice as much of the same sort of items as the latter has. Anyhow, the corpus of items of 'Vocabulario A' should include more nouns, verbs, adverbs, interjections, Quechua overlaps,

borrowings from Spanish, periphrastic translations of Spanish concepts, Spanish periphrases of Quechua concepts, and, maybe, more onomatopoeic expressions than 'Vocabulario B' (see section 3).

As stated in 5.4, the *LM* vocabulary and JV's 'Vocabulario B' do resemble each other, and it may be possible that the former is a somewhat modified transcription of JV's 'Vocabulario A'. However, we have also seen that both the *LM* vocabulary and 'Vocabulario B' may have been modelled after the dictionary by AN, and after the ones written by ST and GH. Therefore, it is possible that, in line with these lexicons, in 'Vocabulario B':

(i) the alphabetical order is not consistent;

(ii) adjectives are followed by the indication 'cosa' ("thing") ;

(iii) the arrangements of entries resemble N's, ST's, and GH's organization of items (same beginnings and endings of sections);

(iv) the entries themselves are similar to N's, ST's, and GH's lemmas.

'Vocabulario A' probably also will have:

(i) a first and third person singular pronoun (also encountered in V's second lexicon, and in the *LM* vocabulary);

(ii) a first and second person singular possessive pronoun (also found in 'Vocabulario B', and in the *LM* dictionary). A third person plural pronoun is omitted in the lexicon by N and ST (and in 'Vocabulario B' and the *LM* dictionary), and it probably also is omitted in 'Vocabulario A'.

In addition, since 'Vocabulario B' is a colonial, Spanish – Quechua, dictionary, it is likely to proceed along the lines laid down by its colonial predecessors, ST and GH. 'Vocabulario B' presumably also contains:

(i) a second person singular pronoun (also occurring in V's 'Vocabulario B' and in GH's vocabulary);

(ii) an exclusive first person plural pronoun (also listed by ST, GH, and the author of *LM*).

Since the word class of articles is missing in Quechua, 'Vocabulario B' is unlikely to contain articles.

Examples of corresponding entries are shown in the following overviews. Overview 1 and 2 respectively present a synoptic survey of the words 'ablandar' ("to soften") and 'blando' ("soft"), plus their respective derivations, as occurring in the different vocabularies. A survey of the entries contained in Section X, the last common section of the vocabularies by AN, ST, GH, JV, and the author of *LM*, closes the sequence of overviews. The surveys only show a very small part of the entries that the vocabularies have in common, and that also may occur in the lost 'Vocabulario A' . (The order of the entries in the overviews below, is the same as that in the respective dictionaries).

Overview 1: ‘ablandar’ (“to soften”) plus derivations

	AN	ST	GH	JV	*LM*
ablandar lo duro (“to soften something hard”)	+	+	+	+	-
ablandadura (“softener”)	+	+	-	-	-
ablandar (“to soften”)	-	-	+	-	+
ablandar remojando, humedeciendo (“to soften by moistening”)	-	-	+	+	+

The first two items occur in AN’s lexicon, the last two entries have been taken from the *LM* vocabulary. In addition to these lemmas, fourteen more items referring to the concept ‘ablandar’ (“to soften”) occur in the vocabulary by GH. These fourteen entries have been omitted in the survey above.

Overview 2: ‘blando’ (“soft”) plus derivations

	AN	ST	GH	JV	*LM*
blando al sentido de tocar/ tacto (“it feels soft”)	+	+	+	+	+
blandura (“softness”, “weakness”)	+	+	-	-	-
blandamente (“softly”, “weakly”)	+	+	+	+	-
blanda cosa (con halagos) (“flattery”)	+	+	-	-	-
blandear esgrimiendo/ la lança (“to brandish, to break a lance”)	+	-	+	-	-
blandear (torciendo lo duro/) (“to submit by contorting something”)	+	+	-	-	-
blanda (cosa al comer como pan reciente) (“something soft, like fresh bread”)	-	-	+	-	+
blando hazer (ablandar) (“to soften”)	-	-	+	+	-
blando de coraçon (“tenderhearted”)	-	-	+	+	+

The first six items have been taken from the lexicon by AN, the last three entries have been encountered in GH’s dictionary. GH lists four more items concerning the word ‘blanda’ (“soft”) in his dictionary. We have left out these items.

Overview 3: Section X

	AN	ST	GH	JV	*LM*
xabon (“soap”)	+	+	+	+	+
xabonero (“seller of soap”)	+	-	-	-	-
xabonera yerva (“soapwort”)	+	-	-	-	-
xaquima de bestia (“headband”)	+	+	+	-	-
xaquima echa (“drunkenness”)	-	+	-	-	-
xara (mata conocida) (“a kind of rose”)	+	-	+	-	-
xarafe (de medicina)/ xaravi (“cough syrup”)	+	-	-	-	+
xarafe para gomitar (“vomitive”)	+	-	-	-	-

xaramago yerva (“a sort of plant”)	+	-	-	-	-
xeme medida (“measure”)	+	+	+	-	-
xenabe o mostaza (“mustard plant”)	+	-	-	-	-
xerga (o sayal) (“serge”)	+	-	+	-	+
xergon (“pallet”, “straw mattress”)	+	-	-	-	-
xeringa (“syringe”)	-	+	+	+	+
xeringar (con xeringa) (“to syringe with a syringe”)	-	+	+	-	+
xibia (pequeña) (pescado) (“squid”)	+	+	-	-	-
xibion para plateros (“sepia for silversmiths”)	+	-	-	-	-
ximia o mona (“female ape”)	+	-	-	-	-
xugo (“juice”)	-	+	+	+	-
xugo de guisado caldo (“gravy”)	-	-	+	-	-
xugosa (cosa) (“juicy”)	+	+	+	-	+

On the basis of the data above, we venture that ‘Vocabulario A’ may have had the following outlines:

(i) ca. 3,000 entries arranged into a lot of small sections: A-B, […], Y-U;

(ii) a corpus of Spanish entries in an inconsistent alphabetical order;

(iii) a great number of nouns and verbs; a number of (derived) adjectives, adverbs, adverbial adjuncts, and interjections; one or two onomatopoeic expressions;

(iv) a first, second and third person singular pronoun, a first person plural inclusive as well as exclusive, and a first person singular and second person plural possessive pronoun;

(v) a number of Quechua overlaps, and of Spanish and Quechua descriptions/ periphrases of culture-bound concepts;

(vi) similar arrangement of entries and similar entries as encountered in the vocabulary by AN and in the colonial vocabularies.

JV’s ‘Vocabulario A’ is likely to have the same entries as his ‘Vocabulario B’. In addition, the corpus of lemmas of ‘Voc. A’ may have included the items that, according to the three overviews above, most of the dictionaries (viz. more than two) have in common, and that also occur in the vocabulary by JV:

ablandar	“to soften”
ablandar lo duro	“to soften something hard”
ablandar remojando	“to soften by moistening”
blanda cosa	“something soft”
blandamente	“softly”, “weakly”
blando al sentido de tocar/ tacto	“it feels soft”
blando de coraçon	“tender hearted”
xabon	“soap”
xaquima de bestia	“headband”

xaravi	"cough syrup"
xeme medida	"a sort of measure"
xerga (o sayal)	"serge"
xeringa	"syringe"
xeringar (con xeringa)	"to syringe with a syringe"
xugo	"juice"
xugosa (cosa)	"juicy"

REFERENCES

Anonymous. 18th century. Lengua de Maynas. The British Library, ms. Egerton 2881.

Calvo Pérez, Julio. 2005. "Fonología y ortografía de las lenguas indígenas de America del Sur a la luz de los primeros misioneros gramáticos". Zwartjes & Altman, eds. 2005.137-170.

Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz, Sabine, ed.. 2004. *Una gramática colonial del quichua del Ecuador. Transcripción e interpretación de un manuscrito del Archivo Histórico Nacional de Colombia.* Bonn: Universität Bonn.

González Holguín, Diego. 1952[1608]. *Vocabulario de la lengua general de todo el Perú llamada lengua qquichua o del Inca*. Lima: Francisco del Canto. Raúl Porras Barrenechea Lima. Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos.

Levinsohn, Stephan H. 1976. *The Inga Language*. The Hague & Paris: Mouton.

Macdonald, Gerald J. 1973. *Antonio de Nebrija. Vocabulario de Romance en Latín. Transcripción crítica de la edición revisada por el autor (Sevilla, 1516).* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Muysken, Pieter. 1977. *Syntactic Developments in the Verb Phrase of Ecuadorian Quechua.* Lisse: Peter de Ridder Press.

Nebrija, Antonio de. 1516. *Vocabulario de Romance en Latín*. Sevilla: Johannes Varela.

Romero Arteta, Oswaldo. 1964. "Introducción", *Llaqta* 20.iii-xxxv (see Velasco).

Santo Tomás, Fray Domingo de. 1951[1560]. *Lexicon, o vocabulario de la lengua general del Perú*. Valladolid: Francisco Fernandez de Cordoua. Raúl Porras Barrenechea, ed. Lima: Edición del Instituto de Historia.

Velasco, Juan de. 1964[c.1787]. *Vocabulario de la lengua índica*. Quito: Instituto Ecuatoriano de Antropología y Geografía y Biblioteca Ecuatoriana "Aurelio Espinosa Pólit", *Llaqta*, no. 20.

Zwartjes, Otto & Cristina Altman, eds. 2005. *Missionary Linguistics II/ Lingüística misionera II. Orthography and Phonology. Selected Papers from the Second International Conference on Missionary Linguistics, São Paulo, 10-13 March 2004.* Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

LEXICOGRAFÍA IMPLÍCITA EN TEXTOS DEL PADRE JESUITA FERNÃO CARDIM

MARIA FILOMENA GONÇALVES
Universidade de Évora
CLOTILDE DE ALMEIDA AZEVEDO MURAKAWA
Universidade Estadual Paulista

ABSTRACT

The pedagogical production of the Portuguese missionaries focused on three major areas, namely 'grammar', 'catechism' and 'dictionary'. However, in other types of works, there were also forms of metalinguistic activity meaningful to missionary linguistics. For instance, although travel narratives and descriptions of exotic nature had different aims from those of lexicons, they show a number of similarities with dictionaries, allowing them to possess some implicit lexicography.

This study analyzes a specific text – *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil* (*Treaties of the Land and People of Brazil*) by Father Fernão Cardim (1540/1548?–1625), a Jesuit missionary in Brazil – aiming at describing both the typology of definition and the linguistic processes which draw Cardim's text closer to lexicography. Furthermore, it also aims at showing that the descriptive definitions of exotic plants and animals go beyond the linguistic domain, thus constituting a true paralexicographic exercise.

1. *Planteamiento*

Es sabido que la producción pedagógica de los misioneros se repartió por la trilogía 'gramática, diccionario y catecismo', conforme testifican las muchas obras publicadas en distintas lenguas europeas entre los siglos XVI y XVIII. Aunque no puedan inscribirse, en rigor, en el tercer género de aquella trilogía, las descripciones de la naturaleza exótica (fauna y flora) hechas por los misioneros en el ámbito de sus cartas y otros escritos, cuando se analizan a la luz de los principios de la lexicografía, asumen cuando menos una dimensión paralexicográfica (Verdelho 1995:293). El objetivo de este trabajo es identificar y describir los procedimientos (meta)lingüísticos que acercan los *Tratados* de Fernão Cardim a la práctica lexicográfica. Tal característica suele pasar

inadvertida tanto en los estudios de Lingüística Misionera como en los trabajos metalexicográficos. Sin embargo, las tradiciones lexicográficas europeas (Alvar Ezquerra 2002:51-84; Hernández 1996) se beneficiaron mucho de las narraciones de los misioneros, ya que en ellas encontraban los lexicógrafos, además de las definiciones adecuadas a los nombres de referentes exóticos, las citas necesarias a la contextualización de las nuevas unidades léxicas, y, en lo que se refería a nombres indígenas, los misioneros funcionaron como autoridades lexicográficas a medida que esas palabras, además de ser materia lexicográfica especializada – véanse los vocabularios de indigenismos con el vernáculo europeo correspondiente (Barros 2008) –, engrosaban los diccionarios monolingües de lenguas europeas, entre ellas la portuguesa y la castellana. Aunque en los textos de los misioneros no hubiera la intención de sistematicidad que presidía a la producción de vocabularios bilingües (por ej. tupi – portugués o portugués – tupi), lo cierto es que la presencia de algunos principios teóricos de la lexicografía, en especial la existencia de definiciones (lingüísticas o enciclopédicas) de los referentes desconocidos o nuevos para el hombre europeo, cuando menos corresponde a una lexicografía implícita. De ella se tiene muestra cabal sobretodo en la descripción de la fauna y de la flora brasileñas realizada por Fernão Cardim en la obra hoy conocida como *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil*, cuyo análisis puso de manifiesto la dimensión lexicográfica y hasta enciclopédica de una parte de los textos cardinianos. Añádase que la comprobación del paralelismo entre los procedimientos (meta) lingüísticos de Cardim, al definir referentes nuevos, y los mecanismos lexicográficos es de suma importancia si se tiene en cuenta que la tradición lexicográfica bilingüe del portugués (latín – portugués y viceversa), iniciada a mediados del siglo XVI (Verdelho 1995; Verdelho 2002:17-19) de la mano de Jerónimo Cardoso (1508–1569), se desarrollaría mientras Cardim estaba en Brasil, lo que configura la hipótesis de que la definición cardiniana no fuera una originalidad suya, sino una práctica antigua, heredada y transnacional. Definido el objetivo y sus presuposiciones, importa situar el misionero y los *Tratados* en su contexto.

2. *Fernão Cardim: misionero, naturalista y lexicógrafo*

Fernão Cardim nació en Viana do Alentejo, villa situada a unos 25 Km de Évora, Portugal, en los años cuarenta del siglo XVI, aunque hay testimonios contradictorios con respecto a la fecha exacta de su nacimiento (1540 o 1548). El apellido ‘Cardim’ quedaría asociado a la Compañía y al Colegio del Espíritu Santo, Universidad de Évora desde 1559, puesto que en esta institución, además de Fernão, estudiaron tres hermanos suyos, dos de los cuales, Lourenço

Cardim e Diogo Fróis, también fueron seguidores de San Ignacio de Loyola. Según información del propio Fernão Cardim, su hermano Lourenço murió al ser atacada la armada en la que viajaba hacia Brasil.

El autor de los *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil* ingresó en la Compañía entre los años 1556 y 1566. Su trayecto fue el habitual entre jesuitas: además del obligado Latín, estudió Gramática, Humanidades, Retórica, Griego, Filosofía y Teología. Aún en Portugal, ejerció como ministro del Colegio de Évora y adjunto del maestro del noviciado de los Jesuitas en Coimbra. Nombrado secretario del Visitador Cristóvão de Gouveia (1542–1622) en 1582, acompaña a éste en su viaje a Brasil en marzo del año 1583, desembarcando en Bahía de Todos los Santos en Mayo del mismo año. Según sus relatos y otros testimonios de la época, hasta 1590, además de la capitanía de Bahía, recorre las de Ilhéus, Porto Seguro, Pernambuco, Espíritu Santo, Río de Janeiro y San Vicente (después São Paulo). Fue Rector del Colegio de la Bahía, primero entre 1590 y 1593, y, después, entre 1607 y 1625 (Cardim 1925:14-21). Durante dos años (1596–1598) ejerció como rector del Colegio de San Sebastián de Río de Janeiro. Entre otros cargos y misiones que testifican la importancia del padre Cardim se resalta su elección como Procurador de la Provincia de Brasil en Roma, en donde permanece durante tres años. Concluida esta misión, cuando regresaba a Brasil, en un ataque de corsarios ingleses a la embarcación en la que viajaba, Cardim y sus compañeros son capturados, encarcelados en Londres y despojados de todas sus pertenencias, entre ellas el baúl en el que el padre jesuita guardaba los papeles originales de la obra hoy conocida como *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil*. Liberado en 1604, vuelve a tierras brasileñas en donde es Provincial hasta 1609, cargo desde el cual dirige la conversión de los indígenas, en particular de los carijós o guaranís, en la Laguna de los Patos (Azevedo 1997:13). Pero el Pe. Cardim también se notabilizó, además, por haber escrito sobre la vida y la acción misionera del Padre José de Anchieta (1534–1597), contribuyendo a la inmortalidad del famoso jesuita de origen canario.

La curiosa historia editorial de los *Tratados* es consecuencia precisamente del encarcelamiento de Fernão Cardim, ya que, habiendo escrito este padre en repetidas ocasiones al marqués de Salisbury para que éste intercediera en su liberación (Azevedo 1997:13), los papeles del jesuita portugués acabarían en la Biblioteca de la Hartfield House, propiedad de dicho marqués. Eso explica que los *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil* hayan salido a la luz, por primera vez, en lengua inglesa y sin constar el nombre del misionero portugués. En efecto, en 1625, año en que Cardim moría en Brasil, el inglés Samuel Purchas publicaba *A Treatise of Brasil, written by a Portugall which had long lived there*, el

libro séptimo de la obra titulada *Purchas, His Pilgrimes.* Sin ninguna mención al jesuita portugués, aquel tratado sobre Brasil es atribuido a Manuel Tristão, jesuita enfermero del Colegio de Bahía, cuyo nombre aparecía al final del manuscrito después de unas recetas medicinales. Del manuscrito original, de puño y letra del padre Cardim, y que hasta hoy supuestamente se encuentra en Inglaterra, no se tiene noticia de que haya sido consultado por ninguno de los editores de los textos cardinianos que están recogidos en un apógrafo en la Biblioteca Pública de Évora[1] (BPE, Cod. CXVI/ 1-33). Desconocidos hasta 1847, los textos hoy designados como *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil* presentan tres partes: 1) Do princípio e origem dos Índios do Brasil e de seus costumes, adoração e cerimonias; 2) Do clima e da terra do Brasil e de algumas cousas notaveis que se achão assi na terra como no mar; 3) Informação da missão do P. Cristóvão de Gouveia às partes do Brasil, ano de 83 ou Narrativa epistolar de uma viagem e missão jesuítica. Esta última parte salió a la luz, en portugués, en 1847, gracias a Francisco Adolfo Varnhagen (1816–1878), quien parece haber traducido al portugués la edición inglesa (1625) que fue republicada en 1906. Después de la de Varnhagen, los textos del padre Cardim registraron varias ediciones parciales (1851, 1860, 1881, 1893, 1919), en revistas históricas o geográficas. Sólo en 1925 saldría una edición completa de los *Tratados* publicada en Río de Janeiro por Baptista Caetano, Capistrano de Abreu y Rodolpho Garcia, quienes fijaron el texto mediante la colación de la edición en lengua inglesa, la edición portuguesa de la tercera parte (1847) y el apógrafo de Évora, lo que les permitió restituir al Padre Cardim la autoría del texto. Según informa Capistrano de Abreu, el manuscrito de Évora no fue consultado directamente. Es a partir de la edición de 1925,[2] cuando el texto cardiniano se conoce como *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil*, suscitando desde entonces el interés de historiadores, antropólogos y naturalistas.

La parte de los *Tratados* que se reviste de mayor importancia para la lingüística misionera es sin duda la misma que ha atraído la atención de los

[1] Aunque Fernão Cardim había nacido en la región y estudiado en el Colegio de la Compañía de aquella cuidad del Alentejo, se ignora cómo el manuscrito apógrafo del códice CXVI/ 1-33 (fols. 1 al 98v) habrá llegado a la Biblioteca Pública de Évora, creada en el año 1805. La copia es prácticamente limpia o definitiva, con pocas correcciones, en letra regular y estilizada, apareciendo dos supuestas firmas del Padre Cardim, de las cuales tan sólo una pudiera ser la del jesuita portugués.

[2] A pesar de las correcciones textuales en ella realizadas, no son pocas ni insignificantes las diferencias entre los textos editados y la copia manuscrita de Évora, motivo por el cual se justifica plenamente una edición diplomática, facsímil y actualizada de los *Tratados* de Fernão Cardim. En la edición de 1997, la historiadora portuguesa Ana Maria Azevedo reproduce las lagunas de la edición de 1925, añadiéndole un lapsus textual que consiste en la omisión de un ave (*araruna*), cuya descripción aparece tanto en el manuscrito como en el texto de 1925.

investigadores de la fauna y de la flora brasileñas: "Del clima y la tierra de Brasil y de algunas cosas notables que se hallan así en la tierra como en el mar" (*Do clima e da terra do Brasil e de algumas cousas notaveis que se achão assi na terra como no mar*, Cod. CXVI/1-33, fols 13r-33v). Basado en el contacto directo con referentes nuevos o desconocidos, en aquel texto el misionero exhibe sus dotes de fino observador del reino animal y vegetal, usando fórmulas lingüísticas que nos permiten visualizar lo descrito casi sin necesidad de dibujo. Sus definiciones no son lingüísticas, sino extralingüísticas, pues tienen carácter descriptivo o *mostrativo*. A juzgar por la cantidad y calidad informativa, tales definiciones de animales como de plantas son fruto de la observación y experiencia directas, puesto que describen las características observables en el referente para así definirlo. Si por una parte esta riqueza descriptiva permite situar al jesuita portugués entre los naturalistas pre-lineanos (Grenand 1995; Seixas 2003), por otra parte, los mecanismos lingüísticos a los cuales recurre Cardim lo aproximan a la práctica del lexicógrafo.

En efecto, al ser Cardim uno de los primeros en describir la naturaleza brasileña en lengua portuguesa – antes de él están los testimonios de Pêro Vaz de Caminha (c.1450–1500), del Padre José de Anchieta (1534–1597) y de Pêro de Magalhães de Gândavo (?–1576) –, su mirada atenta sorprende por los detalles subrayados, que no serían captados por otros misioneros y naturalistas posteriores.

Sin embargo, dada su formación, el padre jesuita conocería sin duda fuentes antiguas en materias naturales (zoología y botánica), sobre todo la obra de Dioscorides (s. I d.C.), relativa a la medicina, o la de Plínio, el viejo (23 d.C.–79 d.C.), *Naturalis Historiae Libri* (37 vols.), sin olvidar tanto las obligatorias *Etimologías* isidorianas como los bestiarios y herbolarios antiguos y medievales. Por las fechas de su viaje a Brasil (1583), es posible que Cardim haya conocido los *Coloquios dos simples e drogas de Índia* (1563), publicados en Goa por el doctor García de Orta (1499?–1568) y difundidos en toda Europa gracias a la traducción latina realizada por Charles de l'Ecluse o Clusius (1525–1609). Los *Coloquios* de García de Orta también conocieron una versión castellana publicada por el médico portugués Cristóvão da Costa (c.1525–1593), bajo el título de *Tractado de las drogas y medicinas de los indios orientales (*1578), habiéndole sido añadidas ilustraciones. Si las referencias anteriores son hipótesis, no queda duda de que Cardim conocía la *Historia medicinal de las cosas que se traen de nuestras Indias Occidentales* (1574), puesto que el nombre de su autor, Nicolás Monardes (c.1493–1588), es citado por el jesuita portugués. Vale la pena resaltar que la lectura de obras de medicina, farmacopea o botánica era por entonces imprescindible a la super-

vivencia de los misioneros en medio extraño y hasta adverso, motivo por el cual tales tratados estarían presentes en la memoria de Cardim, y quizás eso explica que al jesuita portugués le fueran familiares fórmulas y mecanismos descriptivos de productos exóticos usados en obras del género naturalista.

Caracterizada por la admiración del europeo que contacta con realidades tan insólitas y variopintas, la mirada de Cardim asocia lo extraño a lo desconocido (Seixas 2003:21-38), manifestando dificultad en nombrarlo, en reducirlo a los nombres del universo de los referentes naturales conocidos, experiencia que se traduce en el constante sentimiento de perplejidad delante de la grandiosidad natural del territorio brasileño, tal como hiciera Magalhães de Gândavo al comentar que "Sam tantas & tam diuersas as plantas, fruitas & heruas que ha nesta prouincia, de q̃ se podiam notar muitas particularidades, que seria cousa infinita escreuelas aqui todas & dar noticia dos effectos de cada hũa meudamẽte" (Gândavo 1984[1576]:15). Sin embargo, a ejemplo de muchos otros misioneros de los siglos XVI y XVII, de Cardim no podría esperarse más que una descripción de la naturaleza por "género próximo", ya que una verdadera clasificación del mundo vegetal y animal tan sólo sería posible para quienes, como el sueco Carl von Lineu o Lineus (1707–1778), ya poseían los datos de expediciones científicas realizadas desde finales del siglo XVII. En efecto, pese a las similitudes detectadas por el padre Cardim entre plantas y animales de Brasil y ciertos elementos naturales de Portugal y de España (léase Península Ibérica), tal comparación, por ser meramente descriptiva, no asume un verdadero valor taxonómico de lo descrito, ya que la observación de semejanzas y de diferencias entre dos mundos naturales tan distintos estaba al servicio de una eficacia descriptiva que consistía en trazar o pintar un animal o una planta de forma detallada, para así ponerlo delante de los ojos del lector.

No se olvide que el texto del misionero jesuita se destinaba en primera mano a los miembros de la Compañía, informándoles sobre las condiciones de la misión en Brasil. Señálese, además, que tales descripciones del nuevo mundo, producidas en contexto de apostolado, no tenían el objetivo sistemático y específico de los relatos de un viaje científico como los que después llevarían a los naturalistas europeos a tierras brasileñas, aspecto que no desvaloriza la acuidad descriptiva patente en el texto de Fernão Cardim, sino todo lo contrario.

3. *Lexicografía implícita en los Tratados de Cardim*

En presencia de realidades exóticas, desconocidas en Europa, la necesidad de darlas a conocer lleva al intento de definir unidades recortadas del mundo tangible por el léxico de una lengua, práctica que requiere estrategias y proce-

dimientos, tanto lingüísticos como metalingüísticos, semejantes a los inherentes a un diccionario. De hecho, definir es una actividad que acciona la lengua y la metalengua en simultáneo, lo que justifica por sí mismo el interés que los textos de los misioneros encierran para el lingüista, ya que ellos, al describir referentes nuevos, trataban de definirlos.

Objeto de varias disciplinas lingüísticas, sean más teóricas o más prácticas – por ej. la lexicología, la lexicografía, la terminología o la semántica –, en la definición se cruzan problemas que van de la sinonimia a la fraseología, sin olvidar la morfología o la sintaxis (Medina Guerra 2003b:138). De acuerdo con la naturaleza del metalenguaje utilizado, la definición de una palabra o unidad léxica en el diccionario puede desarrollarse de dos maneras: definición propia o parafrástica e impropia o metalingüística. A la primera clase pertenecen, por una parte, las definiciones hiperonímicas (también llamadas aristotélicas), porque son incluyentes, ya que indican el antes referido "género próximo", añadiéndole diferencias específicas, y, por otra parte, las definiciones sinonímicas y las antonímicas. Basada en la naturaleza del definido o *definiendum* y en la información aducida (el definidor o *definiens*), en la definición metalingüística caben explicaciones que pueden ser enciclopédicas (reales, i.e. remiten para el terreno extralingüístico), ya que permiten visualizar el referente, pero además pueden ser igualmente definiciones lexicográficas: unas describen el objeto; las otras, nominales, explican las palabras (Porto Dapena 2002:268-270; Haensch 1982:18-19).

Aplicados estos datos de la lexicografía teórica a los *Tratados* de Cardim, en especial al *corpus* constituido por definiciones de referentes de la naturaleza exótica, parece evidente que tales definiciones se inscriben en el ámbito de una "lexicografía misionera", aunque sea más bien una lexicografía implícita, ya que el jesuita se debate con el problema del "nombrar" (Dias 1996) y definir algo nuevo o desconocido, cuestión lexicológica y semántica a la cual se enfrenta no sólo la lexicografía, al insertar las unidades en la macro y microestructura del diccionario, sino también el hablante cuando se encuentra con una situación comunicativa que le exige pasar del nombre a la definición, experiencia que en el siglo XVI sería todo un reto, dado lo insólito de innombrables realidades exóticas.

Eso explica que en las definiciones del padre Cardim se encuentren muchas expresiones de sorpresa y desconcierto delante de animales y plantas extraños a los ojos de un europeo, lo que acarrearía la mitificación de la naturaleza brasileña, pronto convertida en lugar edénico (Seixas 2003), paraíso terrenal que escondía no pocos peligros: monstruos marinos, gran cantidad de insectos, y, sobre todo, reptiles, animales que, por la repugnancia y el miedo que causa-

ban, merecieron de Cardim gran atención y minucia descriptiva, plasmadas sobre todo en abundante adjetivación. Ya antes se subrayó que las narrativas de los misioneros cumplían la función de informar a los padres que fueran a Brasil, lo que de por sí mismo justifica que su mirada se haya detenido en aspectos quizás irrelevantes para el lector actual, aunque ni a éste le pasaran despercibidos aspectos lingüísticos que corroboran la superlativización de la naturaleza brasileña. De ello es buen ejemplo la cantidad y variedad de los adjetivos, muchos de ellos en el grado superlativo:

(1) *Anapúru*. Este papagaio é *formosíssimo*, e nele se acham quase todas as cores em *grande perfeição* (Cardim 1997:86).
(2) *Ajurucuráo*. Estes papagaios são *formosíssimos* [...] em cima do bico umas poucas penas de azul muito claro, que lhe dão *muito lustre, e graça* (Cardim 1997:86).
(3) *Mandioca.* Outra farinha se faz biscoitada […] esta é sobre todas *alvíssima, e tão gostosa, e mimosa* que não faz para quem quer (Cardim 1997:112).
(4) *Jararaca*. Ha outra *Jararacopéba* é *peçonhentíssima* (Cardim 1997:81).
(5) *Guigranheéngetá*. Este pássaro é do tamanho de um pintassilgo, [...] e barriga de um amarelo *finíssimo* (Cardim 1997:88).

Sumada a la intención de describir el referente en su exacta dimensión física, la observación directa explicará, asimismo, el recurso a los diminutivos, cuya frecuencia es de señalar en los *Tratados* de Cardim, como demuestran los ejemplos siguientes:

(6) *Coral branco.* Acha-se muita pedra de coral branco debaixo do mar; nasce com as *arvorezinhas* toda em folhas e canudos (Cardim 1997:146).
(7) *Iapú*. Este pássaro [...] na cabeça tem três *penachozinhos,* que não parecem senão *cornitos* quando os levanta (Cardim 1997:87).
(8) *Tareroquig.* Também esta erva é único remédio para câmaras de sangue: as raízes todas retalhadas, os ramos muito *delgadinhos*, as folhas parecem de alfavaca, as flores são vermelhas, e tiram algum tanto a roxo (Cardim 1997:122-123).

Al igual que en la práctica lexicográfica, para Cardim definir suponía organizar una paráfrasis semánticamente correspondiente a la entrada, puesto que el misionero estableció entre ésta y la definición una relación de tipo sinonímico, adoptando varios procedimientos definitorios propios del diccionario, que son manifestación de la lexicografía implícita plasmada en los *Tratados* del jesuita, y muestran la relación entre lengua y metalengua. Si la definición es un elemento intrínseco a la lexicografía, aún lo es más el orden alfabético, ya que el diccionario es, por antonomasia, un vocabulario o listado que se caracteriza por tener un orden prefijado, de todos conocido, con pequeñas variaciones entre las lenguas occidentales. Aparte de tan relevante marca estructural, el diccionario se distingue, asimismo, por ser un texto de doble lectura: vertical además de horizontal. La primera es posible gracias al citado

orden alfabético y a las formas de resaltar las entradas (mayúsculas, subrayado, cursiva, negrita, títulos, etc); la segunda permite el acceso a la información aducida con respecto a la entrada. El artículo lexicográfico puede organizarse en campos o paradigmas, aunque alguna lexicografía teórica identifique dos aspectos esenciales: el sujeto o tópico, que es la entrada propiamente dicha, y el predicado, es decir, la definición (Porto Dapena 2002: 182-194).

Si es verdad que Cardim no sigue el criterio alfabético, no es menos cierto que muchos son los puntos de contacto entre la práctica lexicográfica y el texto cardiniano. En efecto, en cuanto a la nomenclatura – el listado de animales y plantas – Fernão Cardim adopta claramente procedimientos lexicográficos como el destaque visual (gráfico) de las unidades que son presentadas como si de un título se tratara. Es evidente que Cardim (o el copista de su texto) era ya consciente de las ventajas que la legibilidad de la entrada suponía para el lector, motivo por el cual incluye títulos bien destacados, funcionando como cabecera del artículo, según se observa en los siguientes ejemplos:

(9) Das Cobras que andam na terra, & não tem peçonha (Cardim 1997:79).
(10) Das aves que há na terra, e dela se sustentam (Cardim 1997:84).
(11) Das árvores de fruto (Cardim 1997:92).

El enunciado que figura debajo de cada entrada suele ser, en la mayoría de los casos, la definición del referente desconocido por medio de otro conocido en Europa, sobre todo en la Península Ibérica o, de manera específica, en Portugal. Según la lexicografía teórica (Dubois 1971), una de las formas de definir la entrada es presentar la descripción del referente tal cual éste es percibido en el léxico, fórmula plenamente reflejada en el ejemplo (12), en el cual la definición se confunde con la descripción del referente nombrado por la unidad léxica.

(12) *Iapú*. Este pássaro é do tamanho de uma pêga, o corpo de um preto fino, e o rabo todo amarelo gracioso; na cabeça tem três penachozinhos, que não parecem senão cornitos quando os levanta; os olhos tem azuis, o bico muito amarelo, é pássaro formoso, e tem um cheiro muito forte quando se agasta; são muito solicitados em busca de comer, não lhes escapa aranha, barata, grilo, e são grande limpeza de uma casa, e andam por elas como pêgas, não lhes fica cousa que não corram; é perigo terem-no na mão, porque arremetem aos olhos e tiram-nos (Cardim 1997:87).

En efecto, el “ave” es definida mediante descripción de sus características fisícas (tamaño, color, etc.), encontrándose, además, un “género próximo”, la “pêga”.

Aunque no pueda establecerse una tipología rigurosa de los paradigmas incluidos en los artículos del padre Cardim, sí es posible identificar algunos campos cuya frecuencia es significativa en el *corpus* cardiniano: nos referimos al paralelo entre el nombre portugués y el nombre indígena, del cual resultan

equivalencias semejantes a las realizadas en los vocabularios bilingües con que se establecían correspondencias entre una lengua indígena y la lengua portuguesa, y viceversa. Perteneciente al ámbito del "nombrar", este ejercicio de acercamiento interlingüístico entre el vernáculo románico y la lengua exótica, además de apuntar hacia la lexicografía bilingüe, se reviste de suma importancia como fuente para el estudio de la variación lingüística en el espacio brasileño. Así sucede siempre que Fernão Cardim aduce una o más formas indígenas para el mismo animal o la misma planta, acrecentando entonces datos relevantes para el trazado de la historia del multilingüismo brasileño, como testifican los siguientes ejemplos:

(13) Veado. Na lingua brasilica se chama *Sugoaçu*. (Cardim 1997:63).
(14) *Guigrajúba*. Chama-se este pássaro *Guigrajúba*, sc. pássaro amarelo. (Cardim 1997:87).
(15) *Guainumbig*. Destes passarinhos há várias espécies, sc. *Guaracigá*, *sc.* fruta do sol, por outro nome *Garacigoba*, sc. cobertura do sol, ou *Guaracigaba*, sc. cabelo do sol. (Cardim 1997:88).

Sin embargo, la dimensión verdaderamente lexicográfica de las entradas cardinianas se manifesta en la existencia de un *definiendum* y de un *definiens*, es decir, una voz que será definida y otra que la define, relación en la cual se descubre una verdadera tipología de la definición, puesto que los referentes nuevos, a falta de clasificaciones más científicas, son clasificados por medio de hiperónimos, es decir, por inclusión de términos particulares (hipónimos) en otros más generales. Así, para el mundo vegetal la clasificación de las unidades es hecha mediante las voces *árvore*, *fruta/fruto*, *pinheiro, figueira, raiz, erva, cardo, cana, legume* y *raiz*, que funcionan como hiperónimos porque en cada especie Cardim resaltaba características genéricas, observadas directamente, a ejemplo de lo que hizo García de Orta en la India (Murakawa 2003). El padre jesuita presenta los siguientes hiperónimos: *animal, ave, porco montês, bugio, cobra, cão, papagaio, pássaro, passarinho, peixe, tartaruga, marisco, caranguejo, ostra, mexilhão, búzio, lagarto, cágado* e *mosquito*. La información contenida en el hiperónimo suele ser complementada por la enumeración de características específicas tanto de los animales como de las plantas, cuyas propiedades son identificadas mediante la comparación con un "género próximo", es decir, por similitud con referentes conocidos de los destinatarios del texto, introduciendo detalles que, en virtud de su especificidad, hoy cabrían más en un diccionario enciclopédico que en el diccionario de lengua, si bien éste suele contener definiciones híbridas. En lo que concierne el mundo vegetal, en los *Tratados* de Cardim el género próximo atiende a características como el tamaño, el color, la forma, el sabor, el olor o la textura de los

referentes descritos, pudiendo incluir también a la función o utilidad del referente.

Como si de una definición híbrida se tratara, en la microestructura de los artículos lexicográficos del padre Cardim se identifica con nitidez un campo lingüístico (el que señala el significado o da una palabra equivalente) y un campo enciclopédico, cabiendo en éste la enumeración de las características específicas del referente, sea por medio de su descripción física, sea por comparación con referentes de la Península Ibérica, o por ambas. Debido a esta dimensión enciclopédica, el texto de Cardim refleja la actitud del misionero y "naturalista" en los siglos XVI y XVII.

Asentado en los datos antes aducidos al respecto de la microestructura lexicográfica y de sus supuestos teóricos, el análisis del *corpus* relativo a la fauna y la flora brasileñas trajo a la luz una tipología de definición tanto para los animales como para plantas. Apoyada en fórmulas descriptivas y discursivas que se destinaban a resaltar las propiedades específicas de los referentes, esa tipología pone de manifiesto aspectos de la lengua y del estilo del propio Cardim y de su época, como se puede concluir de los ejemplos reunidos en Cuadro 1.

Aparte de las características físicas indicadas arriba, también la función o la utilidad de animales y plantas cabían en la descripción detallada de sus propiedades tanto comestibles como medicinales o curativas, información que además de reflejar el objetivo del texto, refuerza la vertiente enciclopédica de los artículos lexicográficos presentes en los *Tratados* de Fernão Cardim. La descripción funcional suele ser introducida por expresiones como "é bom para comer" ("es bueno para comer"), "é remédio para" ("es remedio para"), "serve para" ("sirve para"), "dele se faz" ("de él se hace"), "é boa para" ("es buena para"), "não é boa para" ("no es buena para") (definición exclusiva), "faz-se em" ("se hace en"). Véanse los ejemplos:

(16) *Cayapiá*. Esta erva é pouco que é descoberta, *é único remédio para* peçonha de toda a sorte, maxime de cobras, e assi se chama erva de cobra, e é tão bom remédio como unicórnio de Bada, pedra de bazar ou coco de Maldiva. *Não se aproveita dela* mais que a raiz, que é delgada, e no meio faz um nó como botão; esta moída, deitada e, água e bebida mata a peçonha da cobra; também *é grande remédio para* as feridas de frechas ervadas, e quando algum, é ferido fica sem medo, e seguro, bebendo a água desta raiz; também *é grande remédio para as febres*, continuando-a e bebendo-a alguma manhãs; cheira esta erva à folha de figueira de Espanha.

(17) *Erva santa*. Esta erva *serve muito para várias enfermidades*, como feridas, catarros, e, principalmente *serve para* doentes da cabeça, estômago e asmáticos.

Aspecto	“ser” “ser como” “parecer-se com…” “parecer de…”	1. *Amoreatí*. Este peixe se parece com o peixe sapo [...]. 2. Estas *pacas* são como leitões e há grande abundância delas [...]. 3. *Azula*. Este marisco é como um canudo de cana [...]. 4. Estas são antas [...] parecem-se com vacas e muito mais com mulas [...]. 5. *Coatí*. Este animal é pardo, parece-se com os texugos de Portugal [...]. 6. *Purá*. Este peixe se parece com arraia [...]. 7. Parece-se este peixe com os atuns de Espanha, assim no tamanho, como nas feições, assim interiores como exteriores [...]. 8. *Preguiça.* [...] são muito feios, e o rosto parece de mulher mal toucada [...].
Aspecto	“ter ... como”	*Coati.* Este animal [...] têm dentes como porcos javali de Portugal [...].
Aspecto	“um género de”	*Uçá* é um género de caranguejo que se acham na lama, e são infinitos [...].
Tamaño	“ser maior que”	*Macucaguá*. Esta ave é maior que nenhuma galinha de Portugal [...]. *Jaguarucú*. Este animal é maior que nenhum boi [...].
Tamaño	“ser mais pequeno”	*Sarigüê*. Este animal se parece com as raposas de Espanha, mas são mais pequenos [...].
Tamaño	“ser do tamanho de”	*Sarigüê.* Este animal [...] são [...] do tamanho de gatos [...].
Tamaño	“ser tamanho como”	*Gatos bravos.* [...] alguns são tamanhos como cães.
Olor	“cheira a”	1. *Sarigüê.* [...] cheiram muito pior a raposinhos que as mesmas de Espanha, [...] 2. *Gibóia.* [...] é de notável grandura, cheira tanto a raposinhos que por onde quer que vai que não há quem a sofra.
Color	“tirar a ...”	*Aquigquig*. (*bugio*) [...] nasce às vezes um macho tão ruivo que tira a vermelho [...].
Sabor	“ser de”	*Peixe-boi* [...] e de muito bom gosto, ora seja salgado, ora fresco; e mais parece carne de vaca que peixe.

Cuadro 1: *Animales. Definición descriptiva por género próximo*

Para la flora sirva de ilustración en el Cuadro 2:

Aspecto	“ser” / “parecer de, com”	1. *Tareroquig.* [...] as folhas parecem de alfavaca, as flores são vermelhas, e tiram algum tanto a roxo [...]. 2. *Guaraquigynha*. Esta é a erva moura de Portugal [...] 3. *Curupicaigba*. Esta árvore parece na folha com os pecegueiros de Portugal [...]. 4. *Camará.* Esta erva se parece com silvas de Portugal [...]. 5. *Caraguatá*. Este Caraguatá é certo género de cardos [...]. 6. *Igcigca* (árvore). [...] assim mais parece anime do que almecega, e é tão dura e resplandecente [...].
	“da feição de”	7. *Araticu* (árvore) [...] dá uma fruta da feição e tamanho de pinhas e cheira bem, tem arezoado, e é fruta desenfastiada. 8. *Maracujá.* [...] dá uma fruta redonda como laranjas, outras à feição de ovo, uns amaralos, outros pretos [...].
	“não ser tão”	9. *Muitos Lirios*, não são tão finos, nem tão roxos como os dos reino, e alguns se acham brancos. 10. *Pinheiro*. [...] as pinhas não são tão compridas, mas mais redondas e maiores [...]. 11. [...] os pinhões não são tão quentes, mas de bom temperamento e sadios.
	“nem ser … nem”	12. *Pacoba*. Esta é a figueira que dizem de Adão, nem é árvore, nem erva, porque por uma parte se faz muito grossa, e cresce até vinte palmos em alto [...].
	“ter”	13. *Malvaísco*. [...] tem umas flores do tamanho de um tostão, de um vermelho gracioso, que parecem rosas de Portugal.
	“ser de” / “ser do compri-mento” / “altura de”	1. *Cupaigba*. É uma figueira commumente muito alta, direita e grossa [...]. 2. *Erva viva*. Estas ervas são de boa altura [...]. 3. Jaçapucaya. Esta árvore é das grandes e formosas desta terra [...]. 4. *Aiabutipgta*. Está árvore será do comprimento de cinco, seis palmos; é como amêndoas [...].
	“tamaninos como”	5. *Mangues*. (árvore). Nestes mangues há um certo gênero de mosquito que se chamam *Manguis*, tamaninos como piolhos de galinhas

Tamaño		[...].
	"crescer … como"	6. *Timbó*. São umas ervas maravilhosas, crescem do chão como cordões até o mais alto dos arvoredos onde estão, e alguns vão sempre arrimados à árvore como era [...].
	"do tamanho de"	7. *Araticú* é uma árvore do tamanho de laranjeira, e maior [a folha parece de cidreira, ou limoeiro; é árvore fresca e graciosa [...].
	"não ser"	8. *Ambaigba*. Estas figueiras não são muito grandes [...].
Color	"ser"	*Janipaba*. Esta árvore é muito formosa, de um verde alegre [...].
Olor	"ser"	1. *Erva que dorme*. Esta erva se dá cá na Primavera, e parece-se com os Maios de Portugal [...]. O cheiro é um algum tanto farto, e dá umas flores graciosas, mas não cheiram muito. 2. *Naná*. [...] a fruta é muito cheirosa, gostosa, e uma das boas do mundo [...].
Sabor	"ser" / "ser mais"	1. *Ombu* [...] as raízes desta árvore se comem, e são gostosas e mais saborosas que a balancia [...]. 2. *Aipo*. Esta erva é o próprio aipo de Portugal [...] é mais áspero, e não tem doce ao gosto como o de Portugal [...].
Textura	"ter"	*Naná*. [...] tem as folhas, mas não tão grossas e todas em redondo estão cheias de uns picos muito cruéis [...].

Cuadro 2: *Mundo vegetal*

(18) *Camará*. Esta erva se parece com silvas de Portugal: coze-se em água, e a dita água *é único* para sarnas, boubas, e feridas frescas, e quando as feridas se curam com as folhas de figueira de que se disse no título das árvores, se lava a ferida com a água desta erva, cuja flor é formosíssima, parece cravo amarelo, e vermelho, almiscarado, e *destas se fazem ramalhetes* para os altares.

(19) *Peixe boi.* […] *faz-se dele* muita manteiga; é muito gostosa, e *para cozinhar e frigir* peixe, para a candeia *serve muito, e também para* mezinhas, como a do porco; é branca e cheirosa; nem tem cheiro de peixe [...].

Por último, es de señalar que sobre todo gracias a las definiciones de palabras indígenas – indigenismos o americanismos (Percival 1992) – los *Tratados* de Cardim apuntan ya hacia la constitución de un léxico propiamente brasileño (Nunes 2002), aspecto no menos relevante para la Lingüística Misionera que atañe a la lengua portuguesa.

4. *Conclusión*

El análisis del *corpus* y la aplicación de los principios teóricos y prácticos de la lexicografía a las descripciones de la fauna y de la flora brasileñas realizadas por el padre Cardim, a ejemplo de tantos otros misioneros, además de su gran riqueza en datos lingüísticos, demuestra que el texto del jesuita portugués, aunque difiere, en cuanto al género, del diccionario de lengua, se inscribe en una lexicografía implícita, a la vista de los procedimientos lingüísticos y metalingüísticos utilizados por Fernão Cardim.

A pesar de haber prescindido del orden alfabético, el misionero aplica dos técnicas que lo acercan al lexicógrafo: parte de un hiperónimo para clasificar el referente del mundo real (animal o planta) en la lengua, pero se asienta asimismo en la naturaleza del *definiendum* o definido, al describirlo según lo veía en la realidad brasileña. A la finura narrativa y descriptiva del misionero portugués se añade el incipiente intento de clasificar la realidad desconocida por medio de una definición descriptiva.

Desde el punto de vista de la Lingüística Misionera, además del valor testimonial de la observación directa del "nuevo mundo", merece la pena subrayar la plusvalía de esta clase de textos misioneros en la medida que en ellos son aplicados saberes metalingüísticos asociados a la gramática y al diccionario, dos de las herramientas esenciales en el proceso de "gramatización" que atravesaba toda Europa en los siglos XVI y XVII, y cuya acción se extendería a las lenguas extraeuropeas, proyectándose asimismo en textos no canónicos como las descripciones del mundo natural.

REFERENCIAS

Alvar Ezquerra, Manuel. 2002. *De antiguos y nuevos diccionarios del español*. Madrid: Arco.

Auroux, Sylvain, ed. 1992. *Histoire des idées linguistiques*. Vol. 2 : *Le développement de la grammaire occidentale.* Liège: Mardaga.

Azevedo, Ana Maria. 1997. "Introdução". Fernão Cardim. 1997. *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil.* Transcrição do texto, introdução e notas, 7-60. Lisboa: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses.

Barros, Cândida & Antônio Lessa, eds. 2008. *Diccionario da Lingua Geral do Brasil que se falla em todas as Villas, Lugares, e Aldeas deste vastissimo Estado, escrito na Cidade do Pará, Anno de 1771*. Belém: Universidade Federal do Pará.

Cardim, Fernão. 1925. *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil*. Ed. Baptista Caetano, Capistrano de Abreu & Rodolpho Garcia. Rio de Janeiro: Editores J. Leite & Cª.

Cardim, Fernão. 1997. *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil*. Transcrição do texto, introdução e notas por Ana Maria Azevedo. Lisboa: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses.

Cortesão, Jaime. 1967. *A Carta de Pêro Vaz de Caminha*. Obras completas de Jaime Cortesão, XIII. Lisboa: Portugália Editora.
Dias, Denise Gomes. 1996. "Os nomes de Caminha para as coisas do Brasil". Mattos e Silva, ed. 1996.225-285.
Dubois, Jean & Claude Dubois. 1971. *Introduction à la lexicographie: le dictionnaire*. Paris: Larousse.
Freitas, Tiago & Amália Mendes, eds. 2004. *Actas do XIX Encontro Nacional da Associação Portuguesa de Linguística.* Lisboa: Associação Portuguesa de Linguística.
Gândavo, Pero de Magalhães de. 1984[1576]. *História da Província de Santa Cruz a que vulgarmente chamamos Brasil*. Lisboa: Luís Rodrigues. Edição fac-similada. Nota prévia de Francisco Leite de Faria. Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional.
Grenand, Françoise. 1995. "Nommer la nature dans un contexte prélinnéen: les Européens face aux Tupi du XVIe siècle à la première moitié du XVIIe siècle". Troiani et al., eds. 1995.15-28.
Haensch, Günther, Lothar Wolf, Stefan Ettinger & Reinhold Werner. 1982. *La lexicografía. De la lingüística teórica a la lexicografía práctica*. Madrid: Gredos.
Hernández, Esther. 1996. *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana de Fray Alonso de Molina*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
Mattos e Silva, Rosa Virgínia, ed. 1996. *A Carta de Caminha: Testemunho Linguístico de 1500*. Bahia: Editora da Universidade Federal da Bahia.
Medina Guerra, Antonia María, ed. 2003a. *Lexicografía Española*. Madrid: Ariel.
Medina Guerra, Antonia María. 2003b. "La microestructura del diccionario: la definición". Medina Guerra, ed. 2003a.127-146.
Murakawa. Clotilde de Almeida Azevedo. 2004. "Processos lexicográficos em obras portuguesas do século XVI". Freitas & Mendes, eds. 2004.607-613.
Nunes, José Horta & Margarida Petter, eds. 2002. *História do saber lexical e constituição de um léxico brasileiro*. São Paulo: Humanitas-Pontes.
Percival, W. Keith. 1992. "La connaissance des langues du monde". Auroux, ed. 1992:2.226-238.
Porto Dapena, José-Álvaro. 2002. *Manual de técnica lexicográfica*. Madrid: Arco.
Seixas, Maria Lucília Barbosa. 2003. *A natureza brasileira nas fontes portuguesas do século XVI. Para uma tipologia das grandezas do Brasil*. Viseu: Passagem Editores.
Troiani, Duna et al., eds. 1995. *La "découverte" des langues et des écritures d'Amérique. Actes du colloque international, Paris, 7-11 septembre 1993.* [=*Amerindia. Revue d'Ethnolinguistique amérindienne*, vols. 19-20.]
Verdelho, Telmo. 1995. *As origens da gramaticografia e da lexicografia latino-portuguesas*. Aveiro: Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica.
Verdelho, Telmo. 2002. "Dicionários portugueses. Breve história". Nunes & Petter, eds. 2002.15-64.

EL *CALEPINO ILOCANO* (c.1797) DEL P. VIVAR
INNOVACIONES LEXICOGRÁFICAS Y POLÍTICA TRADUCTORA*

REBECA FERNÁNDEZ RODRÍGUEZ
Universidad de Valladolid

ABSTRACT

There is a general lack of knowledge in the Spanish-Philippine linguistic sources. My aim in this paper then is to present the works written on Ilocano by the Augustinian friars from the sixteenth until the nineteenth century, with particular focus on the late seventeenth-century manuscript work by Pedro de Vivar (1731–1771), *Calepino ilocano o vocabulario de romance en iloco* (1797). I particularly focus on the selection of entries and translation strategies and the originality of his work, which includes maxims, proverbs, imprecations and riddles. I also briefly describe Francisco López' (died in 1631) grammar, *Arte de la lengua iloca* (1627) in order to establish Vivar's sources. As there are not many studies in this field, I include a bit of background information in order to situate the language and these works in time and space.

1. *Introducción*

Existe muy poca información sobre el campo de la historiografía hispano-filipina y, de acuerdo con Sueiro (2003:8), el panorama es desalentador pues falta todavía un estudio que recoja los aspectos más generales de este campo de investigación; si bien los estudios de carácter parcial son cada vez más numerosos. Por el contrario, desde hace varias décadas los estudios de lenguas amerindias se suceden sin pausa, aunque es verdad que todavía quedan muchas obras por rescatar y reeditar. El principal objetivo del presente estudio es presentar las obras que los frailes agustinos escribieron en y sobre ilocano en los siglos XVI-XIX, en especial en un vocabulario manuscrito de finales del siglo XVIII recopilado por el padre agustino Pedro de Vivar (1731–1771), *Calepino ilocano o vocabulario de iloco en romance* (1797). Asimismo,

* Agradezco los comentarios vertidos y la ayuda proporcionada por los Dr. Joaquín García-Medall y Otto Zwartjes durante la redacción y revisión del presente artículo; así como el apoyo y la ayuda institucional de la Universidad de Ámsterdam y, especialmente, de ACLC.

describiremos brevemente el *Arte de la lengua iloca* (1627), gramática compuesta por el también agustino Francisco López (murió en 1631). No son las únicas obras ilocanas, si bien sí las más importantes por haber sentado las bases de futuras ediciones, así como por haber sido objeto de estudio durante más de dos siglos. Existen dos trabajos anteriores muy notables, la traducción al ilocano de la *Doctrina Christiana* del cardenal italiano Roberto Bellarmino (1542–1621) que López publicó en Manila en 1621 —fecha extraída del *Calepino ilocano*— y el *Thesauro* (ca 1700) redactado por el agustino José Carbonel (1665–1711) y corregido por fray Miguel Albiol (murió en 1710) que nunca se imprimió, como indica Vivar en el prólogo, pues contaba con numerosos errores.

> Este seg[un]do lo trabajo, y publico con nom[bre] de *Thesauro* el r[everendo] p[adre] pred[icador] jub[ila]do fr[ay] Joseph Carbonel, emendado, y añadido por el padre fr[ay] Miguel Alviol, ministro del pue[blo] de Batac; pero ningun impreso, y todos llenos de erratas, y confusiones, yà sea por la impericia, e idiotismo de los amanuences yndios, ò ya porque cada uno añadia, y quitaba en el, lo que le parecia mejor a su antojo, y a su capricho.[1] (Vivar 1797:9)

Finalmente, trataremos de situar a los autores y a sus obras en la historia de la lingüística hispánica en el archipiélago filipino. Téngase en cuenta que el *Calepino ilocano* ha permanecido manuscrito hasta nuestros días, si bien existen varias versiones basadas en esta obra (Carro 1849, 1888). La mayoría de los misioneros se interesaron por las lenguas que se hablaban en las provincias en que ejercían su ministerio y por eso aludían a la doctrina gramatical de los autores que les precedían o a sus coetáneos debido a la proximidad entre estas lenguas y a la lejanía con las romances, de lo que eran plenamente conscientes. Por tanto, determinaremos las fuentes de las que bebió Vivar, principalmente López pero también del franciscano Pedro de San Buenaventura (murió en 1627) y del agustino Alonso de Méntrida (1559–1637). Describiremos además el vocabulario centrándonos en la selección de entradas y en la teoría de la traducción.

1.1 *Geografía*

La Región de ilocos se encuentra en el noroeste de la isla de Luzón, una de las más extensas del archipiélago filipino. Actualmente se divide en Ilocos norte, Ilocos sur, La unión y Pangasinán pero durante el reinado español a los tres primeros se añadía Abra. Se considera que los ilocanos descienden de los malayos que emigraron y colonizaron el noroeste de las islas en torno a 1.600

[1] Todas las transcripciones son fieles reflejos de la grafía de los autores aun a pesar de contener errores ortográficos.

a. C. (Diamond 2007:391). A los ilocanos también se les denomina *samtoy*, que es una contracción de la oración ilocana *saö mi ditoy* ("nuestra lengua aquí"). La región es conocida debido al cultivo de arroz y a las fuertes mantas de algodón[2] que los españoles solían emplear como velas en los navíos (Blair 2007[1903–1909]:182).

1.2 *Historia*

El explorador portugués Fernando de Magallanes (1480–1521) partió de España en 1519 y llegó al archipiélago filipino en 1521. El objetivo del viaje había sido descubrir la ruta que unía el océano Pacífico con el Atlántico. La Corona española también pretendía abrir una ruta de comercio de la especiería mientras que la Iglesia católica quería salvar las almas de todos aquellos pueblos. El archipiélago no se exploró de manera profunda hasta la llegada del explorador español Ruy López de Villalobos (1500–1544), quien dio nombre a las Filipinas en honor del futuro rey Felipe II (1526–1598) en 1543 (Sueiro 2003:38). Sin embargo, la colonización y verdadera conquista no comenzó hasta la llegada de Miguel López de Legazpi (1502–1572) el 13 de febrero de 1565. Le acompañaban cuatro frailes agustinos, entre ellos, el antiguo marino, Andrés de Urdaneta (1508–1568) que sería el responsable del descubrimiento del viaje de regreso o tornaviaje.[3] Los primeros seis años de conquista, a pesar de ser pacífica, resultaron muy difíciles debido a la escasez de alimentos (Gutiérrez 1992:35), a las frecuentes invasiones de corsarios y piratas asiáticos y a las reclamaciones del ejército portugués sobre el archipiélago filipino (Sueiro 2003:32). Legazpi primero se asentó en Cebú para después trasladarse a la isla de Luzón, donde fundó Manila como capital del archipiélago el 24 de junio de 1571 y Villa Fernandina como la capital de la Región de ilocos unos meses después. Unos años más tarde llegaron otras órdenes religiosas: franciscanos (1578), jesuitas[4] (1581), dominicos (1587), y agustinos descalzos o recoletos a principios del siglo XVII (Albarrán 1992:195). Estas se dividieron las regiones y las lenguas con el fin de que cada orden no contase con más de cuatro

[2] Solían pagar asimismo sus tributos en mantas pues los españoles las apreciaban en gran medida debido a que eran más baratas y más fuertes que las que se fabricaban en España (Blair 2007[1903–1909]:182).

[3] Primera expedición que cruzó el océano Pacífico de oeste a este y que inauguraría la ruta que, desde Filipinas, permitía llegar a América y, posteriormente, realizaría el Galeón de Manila durante 250 años.

[4] En 1767 Carlos III mandó expulsar del territorio español a los jesuitas, decreto que en Filipinas entró en vigor un año más tarde. Su expulsión en 1768 dio paso a los franciscanos y favoreció la presencia de los dominicos que habían llegado en 1587. Franciscanos y recoletos se repartieron las tierras que hasta entonces habían evangelizado los jesuitas.

lenguas y de que cada misionero aprendiera al menos dos lenguas: el tagalo, *lingua franca*, y otra (Gutiérrez 1992:71).

1.3 *Situación lingüística de la región*

El archipiélago filipino cuenta con unas 8,000 islas y cientos de grupos étnicos, lenguas y dialectos. Estos fueron los principales problemas que se encontraron los conquistadores. Colín (1900[1663], I:58) afirmaba que los frailes no podían cruzar de un lado al otro de un río y comunicarse con la población pues las diferencias en la pronunciación eran muchas. Sin embargo, todas las lenguas del archipiélago filipino pertenecen a una sola familia: la austronesia. El lingüista jesuita Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro (1735-1809) recogió las siguientes lenguas:

> He aquí su número, como me lo ha enviado mi dignísimo paisano el señor abate don Bernardo de la Fuente, inteligente de las lenguas tagala y bisaya, el qual me ha dado pequeños diccionarios, y no pocas noticias gramaticales de estas dos lenguas. El, en carta de Faenza escrita á 5 de enero de 1784, me dice así: "En la isla de Luzón se hablan los siguientes dialectos: I. En Manila, la capital, y en sus contornos, el tagalo. II. En Camarines el camerino, que es una mezcla del tagalo con el bisayo de Samar. III. El pampango. IV. El pangasinán. V. El Ilocos. VI. El zambale, que es propio de los montañeses. VII. El cagayan. VIII. El maitin (esto es, el negro), que se habla por los negritos que habitan en lo interior de las montañas. Todos estos lenguajes son dialectos del tagalo, y entre algunos de ellos hay no poca diferencia. El camerino podrá llamarse más bisayo que tagalo. (Hervás y Panduro 1979[1784], vol. 2:32-33)

Las lenguas filipinas poseen una tipología y una gramática muy diferente de las lenguas europeas. Son lenguas aglutinantes que presentan numerosas similitudes entre si como la reduplicación de sílabas para expresar el plural, el reducido número de vocales o la estructura de la oración. La distancia entre los asentamientos y las escasas relaciones que tenían dificultaron el aprendizaje y la enseñanza de las lenguas. Sin embargo, los misioneros consiguieron imponer varias lenguas francas en las distintas regiones para facilitar la tarea y reunir a la población en asentamientos más extensos.

2. *Lexicografía filipina*

Existen muy pocos estudios sobre la lexicografía bilingüe en el archipiélago filipino (Sueiro 2003; García-Medall 2004; Quilis 1997). Sin embargo, son obras muy completas y con descripciones exhaustivas, que se basan principalmente en las obras del gramático español Elio Antonio de Nebrija (1441–1522) así como también en otros vocabularios amerindios, especialmente, del náhuatl del franciscano Alonso de Molina (1513–1585). Molina introdujo numerosos términos indígenas en su vocabulario que más

tarde llegarían a Filipinas debido a que las islas dependían política y administrativamente de Nueva España y al Galeón de Manila que traía productos hasta el momento desconocidos por parte de los filipinos. El *Calepino ilocano* es una excepción; pues encontramos influencias del diccionario multilingüe *Calepino*, del agustino italiano Ambrogio Calepino (1440–1510), en cuanto a la distribución de la obra y la inclusión de ejemplos de uso y fraseología.

Se desconoce al autor de la primera obra escrita sobre una lengua filipina; si bien, sabemos que la primera obra impresa fue el *Arte y reglas de la lengua tagala* (1610) del franciscano Francisco Blancas de San José (1550–1614), seguida del *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala* (1613) de San Buenaventura y del *Arte de la lengua pampanga* (1621) del agustino Francisco Coronel (murió en 1630). La primera obra impresa en lengua ilocana fue la *Doctrina Christiana* (1621) de López y en 1627 se imprimió por primera vez una gramática en dicha lengua, *Arte de la lengua iloca*, del mismo autor. Lamentablemente, hubo que esperar más de un siglo para ver impreso un vocabulario en dicha lengua.

Los vocabularios hispano-filipinos tiene muchos aspectos en común pues los misioneros consultaban las obras que tenían a su alcance en el momento de compilar sus obras. Dado que a su llegada a las islas Filipinas, los españoles no encontraron más que unos pocos y breves escritos en bambú, los misioneros recogieron datos lingüísticos de la tradición oral filipina. La metodología era muy sencilla aunque su dificultad era enorme, a pesar de verse asistidos por indígenas. Los niños acudían por las mañanas y los adultos por la noche (Galende 2004:70). Algunos vocabularios son realmente complejos y precisos, verdaderas obras etnográficas que, en ocasiones, representan la única fuente de conocimiento de una época y una cultura determinada.

Algunos autores (Villoria Prieto 1997:124; Sueiro 2003:80), citando a Pérez,[5] afirman que el agustino Pedro de la Cruz Ávila (murió en 1617),[6] del que apenas sabemos nada, escribió el primer vocabulario en ilocano alrededor de 1600. Sin embargo, no hemos encontrado ni en la obra de López ni en la de Vivar mención alguna a este fraile ni a su obra. Sabemos que Francisco López publicó el primer arte ilocano, *Arte de la lengua iloca*, en 1627. Se reimprimió en los años 1792, 1793 y 1895 con algunas adiciones y correcciones. Otros gramáticos agustinos (Carro, Marcilla) han explicado en sus prólogos que la tomaron de base para sus obras. Las fuentes nos indican que existieron muchos vocabularios anteriores a la compilación de Vivar, si bien todos parecen haber-

[5] El agustino Elviro Pérez (1901:36) cita a De Castro (Sueiro 2003:80).

[6] Natural de León, ordenado en Salamanca en 1559, desarrolló su labor pastoral en Filipinas desde 1590 (Sueiro 2003:80).

se perdido. López escribió un vocabulario español-ilocano pero su prematura muerte le impidió escribir la parte ilocano-español, tarea que llevó a cabo el agustino Carbonel con la denominación de *Thesauro* (c.1700) y que Albiol corrigió, como se ha mencionado anteriormente. Desgraciadamente, el *Thesauro* contaba con numerosos errores por lo que los principales de la Orden de San Agustín deciden encomendar a Vivar la compilación de un nuevo vocabulario. Vivar, que apenas había vivido unos años en la Región de ilocos y no conocía la lengua con profundidad, repartió las letras del abecedario entre los misioneros más doctos en la lengua para que corrigieran las definiciones del *Thesauro* y añadieran lo necesario. El ejemplar estudiado es una copia basada en la compilación de Vivar pero reorganizada por el agustino Andrés Carro (1733–1806). En 1849 y 1888 se imprimiría sendas versiones editadas por otros agustinos.

3. **Arte de la lengua iloca *de Francisco López (1627)***

3.1 *Biografía de Francisco López*

Desconocemos el lugar y la fecha de su nacimiento. Sin embargo, sabemos que estudió en la ciudad de Alcalá de Henares (España) y que llegó a las islas Filipinas en julio de 1598. Desde 1617 hasta 1629 fue maestro y examinador de la lengua ilocana en Bantay, Pavay y Laoag. Castro (1954[1780]:102-103) fecha su muerte en 1631.

3.2 Arte de la lengua iloca

La primera gramática ilocana que se publicó fue la de Francisco López en 1627. Cuenta con 181 folios numerados divididos en dos libros: el primero explica la morfología y las diversas categorías gramaticales mientras que el segundo trata del verbo y sus composiciones. Asimismo, al principio se encuentran unos veinte folios sin numerar que contienen las licencias de publicación del prelado y el prior, seguido de un poema en latín con su correspondiente traducción en ilocano dedicado al autor y unas palabras dedicadas a los lectores. López explicó que seguía la obra de Nebrija incluso cuando había demasiadas diferencias entre las dos lenguas.

> Aunque idioma de estas lenguas, es muy diferente del de la lengua latina, con todo eso en quanto fuere posible, nos conformaremos con el metodo de la arte de Antonio de Lebrixa, por ser la por donde los mas de los religiosos que vienen a estas islas, han estudiado el latin: i asi hallaran mas claridad, y facilidad en aprender esta lengua, con solo leer por si esta arte, aunque no tenga maestro, que viva voce se la explique. (López 1628:8)

Además, declaró que había cotejado su obra con las que otros misioneros habían compuesto para otras lenguas filipinas y así pudo resolver dudas pues

las lenguas de las islas se asemejaban entre sí. Empleó el latín y, en raras ocasiones, el hebreo para explicar la gramática ilocana.

> En esta lengua se usa nombrar la simplicidad o el abstracto de la cosa que es causa de admiracion, ora sea con composición ora sin ella, al modo de la lengua hebrea, que en el primer psal[mo] en lugar de (beatus vir) dice (beatitudines viri) asi en yloco v.g. imbag piman ti gasat ti tao adi imanugut iti tulag dagiti nadaoel, etc. o bondad de ventura la del hombre que no consintio en el consejo de los malos. El uso es facil. (López 1628:66)

4. ***Calepino ilocano o vocabulario de iloco en romance***

4.1 *Biografía de Pedro de Vivar*

Pedro de Vivar nació en Logroño en 1730. Se incorporó a la vida religiosa en 1750 en el Hospicio agustino de Sto. Tomás de Villanueva, México. Llegó a las islas Filipinas en 1752 y dos años más tarde se le encomendó la misión de los igorrotes de Tanglo y Benguet. Desde 1757 hasta el momento de su muerte en 1771 misionó en varios pueblos de la Región de ilocos (Hernández 1998: 59).

4.2 *Biografía de Andrés Carro*

Nació en Pedrosa del Príncipe en la provincia de Burgos en 1733. Desde 1762 hasta 1792 misionó en la Región de ilocos, donde fue prior vocal, visitador de la provincia, examinador sinodal del obispado de Nueva Segovia y prior ministro de Masingal. Compuso y revisó varias obras lexicográficas sobre la lengua ilocana, aunque sus impresiones son póstumas. Falleció en Manila en 1806 (Vela 1931:625).

4.3 Calepino ilocano

El *Calepino ilocano* se basa en las obras precedentes de López pues hemos comprobado que parte de las breves nociones gramaticales que ofrece el vocabulario han sido extraídas de la *Arte de la lengua iloca*. Sin embargo, toma su nombre de la obra *Dictionum Interpretamenta* (1502) de Calepino, diccionario multilingüe que sirvió de base para diversos vocabularios pues proporcionaba garantías de ser una obra completa y exhaustiva. Resulta curioso que a diferencia de López que sí mencionaba a Nebrija y Blancas de San José, Vivar solo haga referencia a López, Carbonel y Albiol en cuanto a antecedentes, aunque también mencione al padre Ribera o insigne Pacheco. Del padre Ribera no indicó ni orden ni obra mientras que de Pacheco afirmó que era el autor de una obra titulada *Divertimentos eruditos*. Asimismo, al igual que López recordaba la ayuda facilitada por el ilocano Pedro de Bucaneg,

> ... no olvidando tampoco a d[on] Pedro Bu[ca]neg, que en gloria sea; pues (ingenue fateor) que a el se deve lo mas y mejor assi de esta obra como de la Doctrina de Belarmino. (López 1628:6)

En el prólogo del *Calepino ilocano* se agradecía la colaboración de ocho principales.

> Para todo lo qual me han ayudado y valido, ocho algunos principales de este pueblo de Magsinĝal y con especial el capitan don Juan Pablo de Tholentino, cavallero de barangay, de d[ic]ho pueblo, por ser inteligente lo bastante de la lengua castellana. (Vivar 1797:37-38)

Sin embargo y a pesar de todo, creemos que, debido al hecho de que todos los frailes que misionaban en las islas debían conocer al menos el tagalo, Vivar pudiera comparar el *Vocabulario de lengua tagala* (1613) de Pedro de San Buenaventura para resolver sus dudas.

4.4 *Autoría del* Calepino ilocano

El título de la obra indica que el autor de la misma es Pedro Vivar, aunque fuera un mero compilador pues no llevaba más de tres años administrando en lengua ilocana. El prólogo, por el contrario, sugiere que su autor fue Carro, quien misionó en la Región de ilocos durante treinta años y fue prior en Masingal, de donde procedían los indígenas que ayudaron en la corrección del vocabulario.

> Lo que yo hè notado en treinta años de ejercicio con estos humanos ylocos, y lo que siempre he oido a varios padres graves es que la pronuncian bien los indios, aunque muy suavemente. (Vivar 1797:17)

Castro (1954[1780]:276), a pesar de todo, recoge lo siguiente:

> Este [Vivar] fue quien perfeccionó y puso la última mano al *Bocabulario Ilocano*, que se trajo a Manila para imprimirse, pero no tuvo efecto porque se perdió la ciudad en las guerras del enemigo inglés, en 1762. Están todos en mi poder y en mi librería particular, con muchos otros manuscritos que mi curiosidad y estudio ha recogido en los viajes.

4.5 *Estructura del* Calepino ilocano

La obra se encuentra dividida en cuatro secciones sin numerar: introducción, prólogo, notas y vocabulario. La introducción, titulada *A los muy reverendos padres ministros evangelicos de la provincia ylocana assi seculares, como regulares salud Jesucristo, que es la verdadera salud*, cuenta con ocho folios a una columna. Seguidamente se sitúa el prólogo de veintiséis folios a una columna que contiene información gramatical de manera muy resumida —numerales, prosodia, sonidos, etc. La tercera sección cuenta con un solo folio dedicado a las notas donde el autor resumió ciertas características del

vocabulario: la fecha de las licencias, la estructura y el uso de los acentos. Aquí Vivar añade que no empleó el *baybayin* ofrecido por López por estar en desuso.

> Aunque nuestro sabio, y venerable maestro de la lengua fr[ay] Francisco López, se esmero tanto en fassilitarme la escritura ylocana, por las razones que da en su Vocabulario de Romance en Yloco: pero no obstante, oy dia no se usa esto, yà porque los yndios se acomodaron a n[uest]ros carácteres, y yà porque los superiores lo han prohivido totalm[ente], con justisimos motivos, y el principal a mi ver es, que los conquistados, deven usar la lengua de los conquistadores, como nos suceda à nosotros con el romance, que nos dejaron los romanos. (Vivar 1797:10)

Finalmente, se sitúa el vocabulario ilocano-español que cuenta con 8,040 entradas. Comienza en el folio 38 y termina en el folio 762. Una de las primeras diferencias que se encuentran con respecto a otros diccionarios filipinos es la dirección de las lenguas, pues únicamente incluye la parte que comienza por la lengua indígena, a diferencia de los vocabularios de la época, que solían contener las dos partes como el *Bocabulario de lengua bisaya, hiligueyna y haraia de la isla de Panay y Svgbu y para las demas islas* (2004 [1637]) de Alonso de Méntrida. Los vocabularios hispano-filipinos de la época solían tener cerca de 16,000 entradas en total, teniendo en cuenta ambas partes, español-lengua indígena y lengua indígena-español. El *Calepino ilocano* representa la conclusión de las obras de López, arte y vocabulario español-ilocano pues los misioneros, al igual que Nebrija, consideraban la obra y el vocabulario como un todo necesario para la comprensión de la lengua.

El *Calepino ilocano* ha permanecido manuscrito hasta el momento a pesar de contar con las licencias de publicación pertinentes en 1761, debido probablemente a tres razones: la prematura muerte de su autor, la bancarrota de la Corona española y la insurrección de algunas provincias del norte de Luzón. Dado que una de las reglas de la Orden de San Agustín es la de continuar y mejorar la labor de los predecesores, otro agustino, Andrés Carro introdujo ciertos cambios en la obra de Vivar. Este agustino añadió nuevos términos, incluyó refranes, sentencias y adivinanzas, que Vivar había recogido en apéndices, en las palabras correspondientes; además de modificar los caracteres del *baybayin* para asemejarlos a los de la *Doctrina Christiana* de López.

> Ya estaba este Calepino ylocano dispuesto, y con licencias necesarias para darle a la imprenta, el año de mil setecientos y setenta, y hasta setenta y uno, y setenta y dos las fechas de las licencias, por lo q[ue] no haviendo tenido aun efecto dicha impresión, se ha mejorado y aumentado el d[ic]ho Calepino ylocano, con otros muchos terminos, y los refranes, ò adagios, al principio, tenia en un folio, con las adivinanzas, ò cosicosa q[ue] decimos, se han puesto en letra, q[ue] corresponde señalando en la margen, refran si es refran, adivinanza si es adivinanza, ò cosicosa, sentencia si es alguna sent[encia], para facil hallazgo del curioso. (Vivar 1797:35)

Se puede afirmar que Vivar compiló el vocabulario mientras que Carro lo renovó reorganizándolo y añadiendo nuevos términos. Creemos que el Calepino ilocano, por tanto, data de ca. 1797 pues es la última fecha mencionada en las definiciones y que hace referencia a los sucesos de las islas.

> Bingraò. P.P. escarabajuelo, insecto pequeño, à manera de pulgon, que daña mucho, las plantas; este año de 1797: ha hecho mucho daño, en los arrozales, y dicen los viejos reservados, que no han visto hay semejante, plaga, v[éase] aplat. (Vivar 1797:200)

El vocabulario ilocano es muy original y completo. Durante más de dos siglos fue la base y el modelo de los diccionarios de dicha lengua. Asimismo, hemos estudiado la copia coordinada por Andrés Carro, pero editada por otros dos agustinos, que se encuentra en la Universidad de Michigan y que data de 1849. La redacción es muy diferente, simplificada en algunos casos; al tiempo que la ortografía es más consistente.

> A, a. Estas dos, parece que es nuestro modillo de responder: ay verás, l, pues por que no, l, ay tal. Brabo vestido te has echado oy: que brabo que sales, p.e. a, a, q.d., ay veràs, pues q. pensabas (etc.) a mira el art[iculo] ut supra. (Vivar 1797:38)

> A a. Estas dos equivalen a nuestro modillo de responder: ahí veras, l, pues porque no? Hay tal? Brabo vestido te has puesto hoy: y responda OO, esto es: ahí veras; pues, que pensabas? (VUM[7] 1849:1)

Contiene nuevos ejemplos en las definiciones.

> 1 Regla. Las dicciones compuestas de dos partes de silabas semejantes y seguida, son de acento p.p. daàn, bacù, boà, caàg, daàr, ... (Vivar 1797:24)

> 1ª. Las dicciones de cuatro letras que en medio tienen dos vocales semejantes y seguidas son de acento (P.P.) v.g. dàan, bàai, bòot, etc. (VUM 1849:10N/A)

Incluye la descripción del alfabeto prehispánico —*baibayin*[8]— que López había escrito a pesar de que en el momento de la publicación del vocabulario ya no se empleaba y en muchos casos los hablantes lo desconocían. Creemos que su inclusión se debe a cuestiones históricas y etnográficas, así como para la comprensión de la *Doctrina Christiana* en ilocano (1621) de López, que era una versión bilingüe español-ilocano, pero con el ilocano escrito en *baibayin*.

---

[7] Vocabulario Universidad de Michigan.

[8] Sistema de escritura filipina silábico, procedente de Java (Indonesia). Cuenta con catorce consonantes y tres vocales. Prácticamente todas las lenguas filipinas lo empleaban; si bien los símbolos variaban en función de la destreza del amanuense. Los misioneros lo incluían en muchas de sus obras a pesar de que en el siglo XVII se extinguió. Actualmente existe un movimiento de recuperación (Santos 1996).

La estructura del vocabulario ilocano de Vivar es alfabética (A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, U)[9] y es muy parecida a la de Méntrida (2004[1637]) (A, B, C, CH, D, E, F, G, H, Y consonante, I vocal, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, V ante alias, V ante alias líquida). Vivar diferenciaba entre Y consonante e I vocal pero, a diferencia de Méntrida, incluye las entradas en el mismo epígrafe. Tampoco consideraba la CH mientras que Méntrida sí lo hace. Quizá se debía a que no existía palabra alguna que comenzara por esas dos consonantes. Téngase en cuenta que el dígrafo romano CH representa un solo sonido africado que no existe en ilocano. Nótese también que Vivar no empleaba ni la K ni la W, así como tampoco incluyó un epígrafe NG a diferencia de lo que ocurre en los diccionarios ilocanos modernos (Rubino 2000) cuyo orden es A, B, C, D, E, G, H, I, K, L, M, N, NG, O y U, P, R, S, T, W, Y. Vivar, por el contrario, sí diferenciaba entre O y U, a pesar de que, únicamente, representaba una variación de lo que era una sola vocal en el sistema fonológico del *baybayin*. Las ideas del agustino representan en este momento un cambio importante en la actitud de los misioneros en relación con la enseñanza del español a los indígenas. Afirmaba que carecía la lengua iloca de la letra C y que todo se pronunciaba mediante K pero debido al hecho de que a él le parecía extraño para un hispanohablante lo eliminaba en la grafía y la sustituía por la C, habitual en español.

> Tambien carece esta ydioma (y no le hace falta ninguna) de las letras C, G bastando sola la K por tener ella su pronunciacion dura, igualmente en todas las vocales v. g. ka, ke, ki, ko, ku por motivo de ser nuestros entre insueta y extraña dicho K sustituimos en su lug[ar] las dos letras C, G de la manera que veras en este Calepino. (Vivar 1797:17)

En los diccionarios ilocanos actuales no hay entradas que comiencen por C, F, Q y U pero sí por K, NG, W e Y. Creemos que se debe a que los términos que Vivar recoge para F y Q eran hispanismos, que en la actualidad se pronuncian probablemente con /p/ y /k/ respectivamente. Las variaciones en las vocales también son muy importantes. Sorprendentemente, Vivar no incluyó un epígrafe independiente para el dígrafo NG /ŋ/, un sonido distintivo de las lenguas tagala e ilocana, entre otras. Solo le dedicó un párrafo en el prólogo a diferencia de San Buenaventura (1613) y Méntrida (1637) para el tagalo y el bisaya, respectivamente, quienes incluyeron un acento gráfico <^> sobre la G. Todos los vocabularios anteriores al *Calepino ilocano* representan dicho sonido de la siguiente manera: <ĝ> o <Ĝ>, al igual que Vivar que, a pesar de identificar el sonido con <ng> le añade el acento<^> para distinguirlo de las consonantes n y g. Schachter (1987:939) afirma que, actualmente, tal dígrafo

[9] Sin embargo, Vivar no siempre es consistente y en ocasiones, sitúa palabras que no comienzan por la letra del encabezamiento. Quizá se deba a la falta de espacio y organización.

no se emplea en el sistema de representación gráfica de ninguna lengua filipina. Conviene recordar que los misioneros distinguieron su valor fonético en estas lenguas y por eso, "inventaron" un determinado dígrafo que emplearon tanto San Buenaventura, Méntrida, López y Vivar como muchos otros.

> Tiene este ydioma en caracter especial à el que no tenemos correspondientes, y llamamos gangoso, el q[ue] no aciertan a pronunciarlo algunos por que conciben que se pronuncia N y G como se escrive, y en la verdad ni es una letra ni am-/bas juntas, sino otro elemento diverso, y una sola letra consonante, que se pronuncia assi: por la boca en postura de la boc[a]l; que hiere este elemento, ò es herida de él y trata sola de pronunciar aquella vocal, mas ha de ser echando, q[ue] con mas fuerza, que lo ordinario, el aliento, por las narices: de suerte que sea gangosa la pronunciacion, y assi saldrà sin hacer quenta de primeros, q[ue] como pusieron Ng pudieron poner otra letra. Para distinguir este elemento de las dos letras n y g se pone ensima esta tilde ^ assinĝ en este Calepino, y en la pronunciacion, se debe distinguir, para no errar. Damos este elemento su lugar despues de la N, que assi lo hacen los tagalos, pampangos y visayas. (Vivar 1797:19)

El misionero trató de establecer los sonidos ilocanos de acuerdo con el sistema gráfico hispánico, a partir del alfabeto romano, pero no lo consiguió de manera correcta y se dieron ciertas imprecisiones como las que hemos visto anteriormente. De todas maneras, el *Calepino ilocano* es muy innovador en cuanto a la ortografía empleada, pues introduce la tilde o acento gráfico en la redacción española. Creemos que el hecho de introducir la tilde para señalar la sílaba tónica de la palabra se debía a las reglas ortográficas que se estaban imponiendo en el español en el siglo XVIII a través de la Real Academia Española desde 1714.

> ... tambien hè procurado que vayan en esta nueva edicion todos los terminos acentuados ... (Vivar 1797:24)

Debemos mencionar aquí la oclusiva glotal /ʔ/, denominada 'cortadillo', que distinguía los significados de las palabras.[10] Los misioneros fueron muy innovadores en este punto pero el sistema gráfico se ha ido simplificando desde 1898 y ahora ya no se señala mediante guión. Sin embargo, el metalenguaje

[10] Sería interesante estudiar el mismo fenómeno en los diccionarios modernos. Los copistas de Méntrida para el Bisaya en el siglo XVII, concretamente en 1637, escribieron la oclusiva glotal mediante un guión. Actualmente ya no se emplea en el sistema gráfico de las lenguas filipinas (Rubino 2000:xxxv). El ilocano, a diferencia de otras lenguas filipinas, no posee la consonante q y, por tanto, no la emplea para señala la oclusiva glotal. The glottal stop only occurs germinate accross morpheme boundaries: agaC-ʔarak [agaʔʔá:rak] 'smelling of alcohol'. Stops are unaspirated and, in final position, unreleased. The voiceless velar stop is pronounced quite far back and tends towards slight fricativization before vowels. Unlike in Tagalog, glottal stop does not phonematically appear word-finally (Rubino 2005:377).

empleado, cortadillo, en lugar de 'saltillo', constituye un elemento realmente innovador.

> Algunos terminos, de este ydioma, piden para su legitima pronunciacion, parada ò detencion entre sus silabas, de modo q[ue] parecen dos diciones, a los quales llam[an]-se terminos de cortadillo v.g. tan-òc, sin-ào, cur-ab, cating. Los que piden esta parada, despues de consonante, la hacen arrimandose esta a la vocal antecedente, sin herir a la siguiente vocal v. g. pues-ac, digo, pues no fue, como y con la distincion, que en castellano digo, pues alaba-ya. Lo[s] que piden esta parada despues de vocal, lo hacen realçando sobre ella, sin comunicarla con la seguiente vocal ò consonante, v. g. bao-as, barning. A este modo de pronunciacion se reducen los terminos, q[ue] tienen de consonantes en medio de las q[ue] una se pronuncia adjunta a la vocal antecedente, y otra hiriendo a la vocal siguiente v. g. callai-sa-y annong, (etc.) como tambien los terminos sincopados v. g. mad-lao, yb-can, atpan, datngen. (Vivar 1797:22-23)

4.6 *Entradas en el* Calepino ilocano

El vocabulario ilocano, al igual que sus antecedentes filipinos, es una obra lexicográfica donde las entradas son raíces y sus derivados, hispanismos y americanismos. El vocabulario tagalo-español (1613) de San Buenaventura resultó ser muy innovador en este aspecto. No fue el único. También el vocabulario bisaya-español (1637) de Méntrida o el vocabulario pampango (1732) del agustino Diego de Bergaño (1690–1747), entre otros, empleaban raíces como entradas. Esta característica es muy diferente de la mayoría de diccionarios amerindios donde se emplean palabras complejas en lugar de morfemas simples. Se puede afirmar sin duda que las obras lexicográficas de las lenguas filipinas realizadas por los misioneros forman parte, junto con el diccionario de tarasco de Lagunas (1578),[11] de los modernos diccionarios morfológicos de las lenguas aglutinantes.

Las entradas del *Calepino ilocano* son principalmente raíces o morfemas simples. Tras la entrada se encuentra una abreviatura para señalar la ubicación del acento, esto es, P.P. —penúltima producta— cuando el acento se sitúa en la penúltima sílaba o P.C. —penúltima correcta— cuando el acento se sitúa en la última vocal de la palabra. Estos acentos son iguales en tagalo y en bisaya.

> Penultima producta, que cifra assi: p. p. se dice todo termino, cuya penultima vocal se pronuncia recalcando en ella, y como alargandola, a la manera que nosotros pronunciamos consiego quiero – campàna – hombre – cavàllo – tierra – pantano, (etc.). Penultima correcta, que cifra assi p. c. se dice todo termino, cuya ultima vocal, se alarga, pronunciandose con fuerza, que parece se detiene, y recalca en ella a la manera q[u]e nosotros pronunciamos, los preteritos amò siguiò, estimò, volò, cogiò, culpò. (Vivar 1797:24-25)

[11] Comunicación personal del Dr. Zwartjes.

Sin embargo, los acentos cambian de lugar, siempre a la siguiente vocal, cuando se forman con las composiciones en o an.

> Toda raiz de p. p. compuesta con las composiciones en an mudan su acento a la siguiente vocal v. g. qita, p. p. quitaèn, quitan. Lo mesmo sucde con las raices de p. c. pero se exceptuan saplit, ablàt, p. c. que lo conservan en su lugar. (Vivar 1797:25)

No incluyó el autor información etimológica o metalenguajes en las explicaciones; si bien, otra innovación reside en el empleo de una cruz <+> para sustituir la entrada en el cuerpo de la definición y así ahorrar espacio. Los estudiantes de la lengua tenían que aprenderla mediante el uso, por lo que el autor añade derivados de la palabra principal y remite al *Arte* para comprender el uso de sufijos, infijos y circunfijos. Algunas entradas sí informan de la procedencia del término desde otras lenguas filipinas.

> Bàcud. P.P. estacada, ò corral, se hace con palos, ò cañas puntiagudas, llaman paèd. P.C. à esta tal estacada, assi hecha llaman en algunos pueblos de la Amianan (paguer P.C.) y su de esta tal estacado assi hecha, le añaden a aquel texido de cañas puntiagudas en forma de ojas de espada, y que es defensa, para las embestidas, y entradas de los ygorrotes, llaman pacris, P.C. = Yt: + àbatò; muro, ò muralla de ciudad, cerca de cal, y canto. (Vivar 1797:150-151)

Vivar sí empleó el latín en funciones prácticas, esto es, para dirigir al lector a otra entrada o para introducir nueva información.

> 4. Regla. C se muda en Q quando hiere por composi[cion] a la *e*, 1.*i*. v.g. *àbac, abàqen*, *canèn, quinàn*, como tambien la Q se muda en C quando pierde el herir, v. g. *quessày, macsày*, esto es segun nuestra escritura. Vid[e] n. 5 pero no sucede segun su carácter: assi tambien segun nuestro modo, en las pasivas de *en*, *an*, siendo pers[ona] agente la particula, yo vosotros, se pierde la *n*, de las composiciones, v. g. *quitaèyo*, imàtanganjo, v[éase] el Arte lib[ro] 2 pag[ina] 340. *. 20. (Vivar 1797:29-30)

También lo empleaba en los ejemplos pero en menor medida que López en la gramática pues este último introducía oraciones en latín para explicar las reglas gramaticales. El latín también se empleaba como codificador moral en cuanto a la definición de términos sexuales o genitales, de manera que solo las comprendieran los misioneros. El vocabulario no incluye muchas explicaciones gramaticales[12] pero sí información etnográfica. No mencionó el género y el número en las entradas. Sin embargo, Vivar estableció que las entradas eran femeninas pues describían la cosa. En ilocano, al igual que en otras lenguas filipinas, muchos hispanismos entraron en plural a pesar de considerarlas singular –*alomigas*. Vivar no estableció regla alguna para la cuantificación.

[12] En dichas ocasiones recomienda leer el *Arte de la lengua iloca* (1627) del agustino Francisco López o hablar con los indígenas.

La estructura no siempre es correcta pues en muchas ocasiones se producen circularidades. Una entrada dirige a otra y esta, a su vez, a otra, etc. El problema reside en que a veces el autor olvidó incluir una de las palabras de la cadena.

> Ab-ab. P.P. Beber de brunces; um +; en, bocanada de cualquiera cosa, v. g. danùm à sangca +, bocanada de agua. V[éase] ammini. (Vivar 1797:39)

> Àbui. P.P. Yncitar animando à otro con palabras, ù obras, sea en cosas buenas, ò malas, unde + anna ti padana nga tào iti daqès, invita a su proximo à cosas malas: i + iti naimbag, qèt madi; dixijele à cosas buenas, y no admite, la direccion. V[éase] agus, para los chiqueos. (Vivar 1797:44)

> Agus. P.P. Corriente de rio; ayus, significa lo mismo, pero con la diferencia de que ayus, sirve tambien para arroyo, fuente ù otra qualquiera corriente de agua, unde, agay-ayus, es aquel paso, peligroso, q[ue] hay entre Santa; y Narvacan, por los muchos manantiales de agua, que tiene v[éase]/ peg-gues. (Vivar 1797:55)

En este último ejemplo se hace referencia a *peg-gues* pero esta palabra no aparece ni como entrada ni en el cuerpo de las explicaciones, como tampoco lo hace *ammini* del primer ejemplo. De hecho, la primera parte del vocabulario está muy bien organizada y de manera precisa pero a medida que las páginas van pasando, el autor se relajó con respecto a la estructura y al orden de las palabras.

El vocabulario ilocano no toma solo su nombre del multilingüe *Calepino*; también su microestructura. El *Calepino* se basaba en los ejemplos de los clásicos (Kishimoto 2005:213), el vocabulario ilocano se basa en los textos religiosos y, de este modo, incluye numerosos ejemplos de uso; además de refranes, adivinanzas y sentencias. Sin embargo, existen algunas diferencias. El vocabulario ilocano solo emplea el latín en las citaciones clásicas y en el metalenguaje remisivo y elimina las citas y nombres propios de las entradas. Un hecho innovador en términos tipográficos, que introduce Carro, es la señal en el margen izquierdo del folio a la altura en la que se encuentra ya sea el refrán, la sentencia o la adivinanza para así facilitar su localización.

Vivar incluyó más de setenta refranes ilocanos, con su correspondiente castellano. En aquellos casos en los que existía equivalente latino, lo añadía.

> Lusùlos. P.P. ag + escusarse, l, renunciar; ò descabullirse de su lugar. Ref[ran] yt, dinapai rebbèng, qet ag +, pacalaan baddùt. El escusarse antes de la ocacion, esculparse. Excusatio non petita, àcusatio (etc.). (Vivar 1797:443)

Manifiestan los refranes ilocanos, defectos físicos y biológicos —enfermedad, muerte— o actitudes socialmente reprobables —ira, avaricia.

> Alanà. P.C. um + ti carayàn. Viene el rio medio de avenida. Refran: No carayàn ti um +, mangngalap ti aggongonà a rio rebuelto, ganancia de pescadores. (Vivar 1797:62)

> Pàrit. P.P. di mai + no hacer cado de la pensa, que espone por (etc.) l, maparit; + an; pinaritan, sobre que se pone la pena; ag + el publicarla, v. g. + an dagiti agpapagay, publiquen pena para que en destroyendolos (etc.) cosa redada, que no se haga por alguna razon += el miedo, guarda la viña. Ref[ran] yti ames iti dusa ti maca + iti taò; l, ti bantay ti mula vedo Dios à Adan el comer del arbol de la vida. Pinaritan ti apotaio a Dios (etc.). (Vivar 1797:516)

En cuanto a las adivinanzas, Vivar escribe el original ilocano, seguido de la solución en español. En ningún momento, ofrece la traducción de la adivinanza.

> Bulding. P.C. tuerto de un ojo, que le falta; tener nube en un ojo, busà Adivinanza: natay adi icutcut, cadua qet ti nabiag, acacuycuyog, el tuerto. (Vivar 1797:222)

> Onas. P.C. caña dulce; la zibera, ò granjas despues de esprimida, o sang, cañaveral de cañas dulces, in + an, por ser puestas de proposito véase cauayàn, véase ùnas, que es otra cosa trapiche dadapilan, azucar, tagapulùt. Adiv[inanza] ania ti parsua a iti matanat paganacanna. La caña dulce. (Vivar 1797:481)

El agustino recogió más de cuarenta sentencias a lo largo del vocabulario. La mayoría está en ilocano, si bien solo una pequeña parte va seguida de su traducción española. Suelen hacer referencia a términos religiosos —hechos de las Sagradas Escrituras, pecados, martirios; a acciones negativas —muerte del padre, tristeza— y; a recursos moralistas.

> Baroconĝ. P.P. pecho generalmente, de homb[re] o de animal. Sentencia, auan ti naimbag à idaton, à cas iti nadalùs a +. (Vivar 1797:188)

> Ammò. P.C. panaca + sabiduría, ò conocimiento de alguna cosa, +en, +an, paca + an, pang + an (etc.), sentencia no cayatmot masiribcat, + en +, asinocà, si quieres ser sabio conocete a ti mismo = Yt, pedir liz[encia] alpaca + àcpayta (etc.), yt, ladino en la lengua. (Vivar 1797:81)

Es un vocabulario muy rico en cuanto se refiere a insultos, amenazas y afrentas. De acuerdo con García-Medall (2006:60) las afrentas son "informaciones lingüísticas que atentan contra la imagen del receptor hasta causar rechazo". Suelen estar sometidos a parámetros formales de rutinación y se refieren a receptores humanos. Las manifestaciones kinésicas, así como la entonación condicionan estos actos de habla. Es importante diferenciar entre los insultos ilocanos y las manifestaciones tagalas y bisayas. Los primeros no hacen referencia a la familia cuando insultan a diferencia de los últimos (García-Medall 2006:62). Sin embargo, las lenguas filipinas comparten varias maneras de insultar: deseo de muerte violenta o de destrucción, deformidades físicas y suciedad genital.

> Ngày. P.P. l, ay, mag-anca, como estas bueno, qet sicà + y tu véase el Arte, yt + otro que tal naulpitca eres un bellaco. Resp[uesta] quet sicangay tu eres otro que tal. (Vivar 1797:466)

> Ammud. P.C. termino al maldicion, que se oye entre estas gentes, maam + anca, ay te mueras antes que yo, véase cgmud- que es especie de veneno que usan los gentiles. (Vivar 1797:82)

> Bilaò. P.P. bum +, + àn ti taò; burlarse de alguno, p[or] desprecio diciendo; na a à, hacerle ocico, descubriendo el labio nil + an. (Vivar 1797:198)

Vivar pensaba que los futuros misioneros debían conocerlos para así poder defenderse en caso de que los naturales hicieran uso de las imprecaciones, tales como deseo de muerte violenta,

> Gam-ud. P.C. alcanzar en dias à alguno, ò no, diac na + an ti apoc adaddùman; no conoci à algunos de mis abuelos, maldicion; diac naammudan; l, dica nalacaman ti muclam, no alcanzes à gozar tu sementera naam ammudaca (Amianan) plegue à Dios que te mueras antes que yo en razon de mal, nalacamac ti Analco iti ulpitna, alcance mi hijo en maldades, antes que muriese, vi, experimente, que mi hijo era villaco. (Vivar 1797:346-347)

> Lebbèc. P.C. lebbeqèn, moler, ò majar cosas menudas, como pimienta, clavo, (etc.), moler, haciendo arina, que es majando el arroz limpio; media hora llaman *, ag +, maldicion, molido seas, nalbèccà, medio molido, di nalbèc; piedra, ò (etc.), sobre que machacamos algo, paglebcàn, véase mecmèc. (Vivar 1797:417)

Problemas o deformidades físicas o falta de higiene en el cuerpo, especialmente en los genitales.

> Bucsit. P.C. barriga; casta ti + co, maldicion q[ue] se esta un; barri-godo de barriga hinchada, ò gorda, ò idropio +an, guri-denĝ. (Vivar 1797:212)

> Capuer. P.P. suciedad del miembro viril; (idest, semen) dicen por afrenta; a la muger dizen, bangetmo; = algalla de gato + ti musang, véase qissit. (Vivar 1797:256)

Asimismo, Vivar ofrecía manifestaciones kinésicas para que los misioneros las reconocieran y las neutralizaran.

> Bàyog. P.P. señal que uno tiene, para que otra no labre en aquello tierra + an ti talònen; esto es en cada pog-onĝ, que es nuda en el zacate, para señal; bum +ti; na, señalar la cosa alta como escritorio (etc.), que se levanta la caveza, para verlo; na; l, = enriseado monte; im + à olom, imam (etc.) (v[éase] bantày, degdèg) maldicion, colgada de alto, (etc.). (Vivar 1797:162)

De esta manera, los frailes podían entenderlos y encontrar una respuesta adecuada a la situación y evitar que los indígenas se mofaran de ellos. Resulta curioso comprobar que a diferencia de lo que ocurre con las imprecaciones, existe muy poca información sobre las expresiones de cortesía en el vocabulario. Este hecho implica que la sociedad ilocana estaba muy jerarquizada y que los misioneros no necesitaban facilitar la comunicación ni las relaciones sociales.

Asimismo, los ilocanos como los tagalos y los bisayas gustan de hablar de manera irónica, esto es, de significar diferente o de manera contraria a lo que han expresado.

> Saàni. P.P. ag +, hablar por ironia, + an; ironia + hablar decir algo por ironia, na +atao, que habla mucho por ironia véase qennà, paracraqit. (Vivar 1797:593)

> Sairo. P.P: panairo, tentacion del demonio; l, tentacion del demonio o de otro panairo; +en; tentador, manairo, tentar como demonio à persona manairo: tentar desmintiendo para sacar verdad + en, pa +(pasayroc) (·) an, decir algo por ironia ag (+) à agsao, l, agpacabbaào à agsao, véase saani. (Vivar 1797:606)

4.7 *Estrategias léxicas y traductológicas. Hispanismos y americanismos*

En la época colonial española la Inquisición española y las autoridades eclesiásticas examinaban las traducciones hacia las lenguas indígenas para así evitar tergiversaciones religiosas. Los misioneros que viajaban a Filipinas debían pasar de tres a seis meses en Nueva España donde aprendían las estrategias lingüísticas y traductológicas. El *Calepino ilocano* introdujo numerosos hispanismos y americanismos tanto en entradas como en las explicaciones. Vivar pensaba que los conquistados debían hablar la lengua de los conquistadores como había sucedido en la península ibérica en el tiempo de los romanos. En los siglos XVII y XVIII los estudiosos y los religiosos pensaban que algunas lenguas eran más importantes y más puras que otras y por tanto, solo unas pocas elegidas podían expresar las palabras de Dios. No todos pensaban igual; López defendía el valor de las lenguas indígenas:

> Porque las lenguas son al talle de las monedas que ay algunas que siendo sola una piesa vale tanto como muchas de otra especie v. g. un peso tanto como quatro bintines, l, como ocho reales sencillos, etc, y asi suele en una lengua haver una palabra que en otra lengua es fuerça decirla por muchas v. g. en yloco (agú lum) significa (estarse en casa i no salir al sol de proposito, por emblanquecerse) nag sanĝ sanĝoan, hombre que tiene todavia padre i madre vivos, etc. (López 1628:40)

Partiendo del razonamiento anterior no es difícil determinar que el misionero no tenía problema alguno en introducir hispanismos en ilocano. Principalmente hacían referencia a términos religiosos (‘bendición’, ‘comulgar’, ‘confesar’); animales (‘cabayo’, ‘baca’, ‘toro’); frutas y verduras (‘coles’, ‘ubas’). Los americanismos, que se usaban desde, al menos, comienzos del siglo XVII, hacían referencia a aquellos productos que llegaban con el Galeón de Manila procedentes de Nueva España (‘chile’, ‘chocolate’, ‘papaya’, ‘atole’, ‘mais’) tanto del náhuatl como de las islas caribeñas.

También encontramos en las definiciones, nunca como entradas, nombres propios españoles y judeocristianos como Santa Maria Virgen, Pedro, Juan, Andres, Francisco, Alonzo, Jesus, Jesus Nazareno, Padre Costales, David,

Joab, Jerusalem, Santo Thomas, San Nicolas, Pablo, Santa Clara y Goliath procedentes del mundo religioso. Vivar, siguiendo las ideas de su orden (Bueno 2005:18), no los tradujo. La inclusión de hispanismos correspondía a dos estrategias pues se proporcionaba los términos adecuados para la evangelización y la traducción y se introducía nuevas realidades soportadas por un discurso gramaticalmente correcto en ilocano.

La idea de que no todas las lenguas podían expresar las palabras de Dios se había extendido por América y Filipinas. Muchos misioneros no aceptaban que todas las lenguas pudieran expresar diferentes conceptos y realidades (Aarvig Paulsen 2004:62). Sin embargo, los misioneros criollos intentaron demostrar que sus lenguas sí podían expresar los conceptos religiosos tan bien como el latín o el español. Algunos incluso recordaban que el mismo debate se había establecido décadas atrás sobre la superioridad del latín sobre el español (Kirkhusmo Pharo 2007:51). Desde el siglo XVI los misioneros introdujeron hispanismos religiosos en las lenguas filipinas pues evitaba confundir los términos paganos y religiosos. La inclusión de los hispanismos y americanismos en las lenguas filipinas y amerindias correspondía también al interés pedagógico y didáctico de las órdenes religiosas.

Las nuevas palabras suponían nuevos conceptos y nueva *realia* en las culturas filipinas y especialmente en la ilocana. Sin embargo, el empleo de palabras extranjeras en las expresiones implicaba que aquellos indígenas que no comprendieran el español se sintieran diferentes de los pocos españoles que poblaron el archipiélago. Los neologismos fueron la solución a una necesidad evangélica pero también una manera de identificar la cultura extranjera a través de las palabras. Rafael (1993:40) explica que en ocasiones los filipinos repetían las oraciones cristianas sin entender una palabra de lo que decían. Este mismo autor critica el procedimiento pues lo considera una estrategia de traducción inapropiada que provocaba tensiones lingüísticas indeseadas debido a que la traducción de los textos religiosos no implica la transferencia de conceptos.

> For translation always involves not only the transfer of meaning between languages but also the conversion of the written text of Christianity into a voice that would, in penetrating the ear of the listener, initiate its own voiced assent to the truth of God. (Rafael 1993:42)

Rafael también establece que los misioneros distinguían entre palabras con equivalente indígena y palabras intraducibles —principalmente términos religiosos.

> Translation is designated as a passage to conversion; conversion, in turn, underwrites the indefinite running on of translations. It is perhaps for this reason that artes and vocabularios continued to be written and republished in the Philippines until the last decades of Spanish rule. (Rafael 1993:29)

> The missionaries ensured the position of Castilian as an indispensable mediator of linguistic transfers analogous to the Spanish priest as the exalted broker in the transactions between God and his converts. (Rafael 1993:35)

Se entiende que los misioneros tuvieran que introducir nuevos términos pues la cultura y las situaciones eran muy diferentes, tanto de la península como de Nueva España. El agustino Diego de Bergaño fue uno de los primeros misioneros en dedicar algunos párrafos a la traducción en su *Arte de la lengua pampanga* (1732). Establecía que había que traducir por el sentido como había hecho otro agustino, San Jerónimo (342–419) pues pensaba que la traducción literal, palabra por palabra, podía cambiar el significado. Sin embargo, dudaba de la legitimidad para introducir hispanismos y por tanto, prefería el uso de perífrasis y expresiones metafóricas (Aarvig Paulsen 2004:62).

López en su gramática ilocana explica sus estrategias de traducción que puso en práctica cuando tradujo la *Doctrina Christiana* (1621) al ilocano. Ejemplificó las comparaciones precedentes con la ayuda del ilocano. Sus ejemplos muestran que cada lengua tiene unas realidades lexicalizadas específicas que la traductología denominada actualmente *realia*. Sin embargo, él también traducía *ad sensum*.

> Considerar que en iloco no se puede decir por este modo y asi buscar el circumloquio mas allegado al mismo sentido, que eso es lo que pide la traduccion de una lengua en otra, decir la raçon que en el concepto i sentido sea la misma aunque en las palabras sea muy diferente, como dice s[an] Hieronimus, en la epist[ola] Ad Pammachium, de optimogenere interpretandi. (López 1628:40)

Vivar, por el contrario, no trató de la traducción explícitamente. Prefería la introducción de hispanismos y americanismos, lo que ya representa una estrategia de traducción en sí misma. Se produce, por tanto, en el siglo XVIII, un cambio ideológico que supone que los conquistados han de aprender la lengua de los conquistadores, frente a la política declarada del siglo XVII de aprendizaje de lenguas bárbaras para la evangelización de los paganos. Los ejemplos del vocabulario de Vivar casi nunca van seguidos de una traducción, ni libre ni literal, a diferencia de López, que siempre traducía los ejemplos y en ocasiones ofrecía dos versiones. Vivar consideraba que una manera de aprender la lengua era esforzándose en la traducción y en la búsqueda del significado de las palabras pues los estudiantes tendrían que hacer uso tanto del arte como del vocabulario para llegar a una comprensión completa.

5. ***Conclusiones***

Hemos pretendido presentar dos de las obras más importantes que existen sobre el ilocano y que se compusieron durante el régimen español en el archipiélago filipino, *Arte de la lengua iloca* (1627) y *Calepino ilocano* (1797),

de los agustinos Francisco López y Pedro de Vivar, respectivamente. El vocabulario, que únicamente incluye la combinación ilocano-español, resulta muy innovador en cuanto al metalenguaje: cortadillo para denominar a la oclusiva glotal y los acentos penúltima producta y penúltima correcta. Dado que el vocabulario bebe del *Calepino* políglota, la inclusión de ejemplos de uso, refranes, sentencias y adivinanzas, convierten esta obra filipina en una excepción. Esta característica lo diferencia de los vocabularios de San Buenaventura para el tagalo (1613) y de Méntrida para el bisaya (1637). Sin embargo, podemos afirmar que el *Calepino ilocano* es tan importante y preciso como estos últimos, pues todos permanecieron como la base de consulta lexicográfica en el aprendizaje de dicha lengua durante varios siglos.

Los obras de las lenguas filipinas del siglo XVIII se basaban en la elección léxica del gramático Nebrija pero evolucionado en América, donde se introdujeron nuevos términos. Los lexicógrafos y gramáticos de las islas Filipinas también comparaban y estudiaban los vocabularios y las artes de otras lenguas filipinas para así establecer rasgos comunes y poder resolver cuestiones que podrían plantear problemas a la hora de aprender las lenguas. Asimismo, debido a la semejanza entre las lenguas filipinas, aglutinantes, y la distancia tipológica con las romances o el latín, los misioneros seguían una estructura tradicionalmente establecida, que les permitía aprobar el examen de la Inquisición y evitar así malentendidos religiosos y culturales.

REFERENCIAS

A. ***Fuentes primarias***

Bergaño, Diego. 1732[1860]. *Bocabulario de pampango en romance, y diccionario de romance en pampango. Compuesto por el M. R. P. lector fr. Diego Bergaño, de el Orden de los hermitaños de N. P. San Agustin, examinador synodal de este Arzobispado, diffinidor de esta provincia del Santissimo Nombre de Jesus y prior del convento de San Pablo de Manila*. Manila. [BNE[13] R4362.]

Blancas de San José, Francisco. 1610[1997]. *Arte y reglas de la lengua tagala por el padre f. fray Francisco de S. Ioseph de Orden de S. Domingo Predicador General en la provincia de N. Señora del Rosario de las Islas Filipinas en el partido de Bataan. Thomas Pinpin Tagalo*. Estudio y edición de A. Quilis. Madrid: Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional, Ediciones de Cultura Hispánica. [BNE R32904.]

Carbonel, José & Albiol, Miguel. c.1700. *Thesauro*. (perdido)

Carro, Andrés. 1849[1888]. *Vocabulario de la lengua ilocana, trabajado por varios religiosos del Orden de N. P. S. Agustin, coordinado por el M. R. P. Predicador Fr. Andrés Carro, y últimamente añadido y puesto en mejor orden alfabético por dos religiosos del mismo orden. Primera edición. Manila: Establecimiento tipográfico*

[13] BNE: Biblioteca Nacional española.

del Colegio de Santo Tomás, a cargo de Don Manuel Ramírez. Manila: Manuel Ramírez. [AFV[14] R/32815]; Universidad de Michigan: http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=philamer;idno=AQG9882.0001.001

Castro, Agustín María de. 1954[1780]. *Misioneros agustinos en el extremo oriente 1565–1780*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo.

Cruz Ávila, Pedro de la. c.1600. *Arte , vocabulario y catecismo ilocano*. (perdido)

López, Francisco. 1627. Arte de la lengua iloca. Manila. [British Library C58.d25. 002258224.]

López, Francisco. 1628. Arte de la lengua yloca compuesto por el padre Fr[ay] Francisco López del orden de N[uestro] P[adre] S[an] Aug[usti]n con las licencias de los Superiores en Manila en la Compañía de Jesús por Raym[un]do de Peñafort. [Ms Biblioteca PP. AA. Valladolid.]. [1792, 1793, 1895]. [AFV *R24845.]

López, Francisco. 1621. *Libro á naisuratán ámin ti bagas ti Doctrina Cristiana nga naisúrat iti libro ti Cardenal á Agnagan Belarmino, Ket ináon ti P. Fr. Francisco Lopez padre á S. Agustin, iti Sinasan toy. Impreso en el convento de San Pablo de Manila por Antonio Damba i Miguel Seixo. Año de 621. Manila*. Manila: Convento de San Pablo. (AFV)

Marcilla y Martín, Cipriano. 1895. *Estudio de los antiguos alfabetos filipinos, por el R. P. Fr. Cipriano Marcilla y Martín, agustiniano, cura párroco de Batar (Ilocos Norte)*. Malabon: Tipolitografía del Asilo de Huérfanos. [BNE 1/47179.]

Méntrida, Alonso. 2004[1637]. *Vocabulario de la lengua bisaya, hiligueina y Baraya de la isla de Panay y Sugbú y para las demás islas. Edición y estudio del Dr. Joaquín García-Medall en 2004*. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid. [1818, 1841, 1894]/ [AFV *R 27040.]

San Buenaventura, Pedro. 1994[1613]. *Vocabulario de lengua tagala. El romance castellano puesto primero. primera, y segunda parte por fr. Pedro de San Buenaventura, inútil e indigno religioso franciscano descalzo. Dirigido a D. Ivan de Silva cavallero del orden de Santiago governador y capitan general de estas islas, y presidente de su Audiencia y Chancillería Real. Con licencia impreso en la noble villa de Pila, por Thomas Pinpin, y Domingo Loag tagalos. Año de 1613*. Valencia: París & Valencia. [AFV *R133644.]

Vivar, Pedro. 1797. Yloco en romance compuesto por diferentes padres ministros antiguos, diestros en este idioma y últimamente corregido, y añadido segun lo que ahora se uso y de ultima mano, por el padre fray Pedro Vivar, de la orden de nuestro gran padre san Agustin, ministro en esta provincia, visitador, que ha sido de ella, examinador synodal de este obispado de Nueva Segovia y prior vocal del comvento de Bantay. (ms) [AFV *R 24694.]

B. ***Fuentes secundarias***

Aarvig Paulsen, Kristine. 2004. *Los problemas de la traducción y principios traductológicos en la lingüística misionera hispánica (siglos XVI-XVIII): Un estudio comparativo entre la gramática del quechua de Ivan Roxo Mexia y Ocon y la gramática*

[14] AFV: Biblioteca de los PP. Agustinos Filipinos de Valladolid (España).

del pampango de Diego Bergaño. Oslo: Universidad de Oslo. [Tesis de licenciatura.]
Albarrán González, Benigno. 1992. "Producción filológica española en Filipinas: (1565-1898)". *Estudios humanísticos: filología* 14.193-202.
Blair, Emma Helen. 1903-1909 [2007]. *The Philippine Islands* 28. Charleston: BiblioBazaar.
Bueno García, Antonio. 2005. "Reflexión sobre la traducción de los PP. Agustinos. Apuntes para una teoría de la traducción monacal". Bueno García & Álvarez Seco, eds. 2005.1-28.
Bueno García, Antonio & Oliver Álvarez Seco, eds. 2005. *Traducción monacal. La labor de los agustinos desde el Humanismo hasta la época Contemporánea*. Soria: Universidad de Valladolid (formato electrónico).
Comrie, Bernard. 1997. *The World's Major Languages*. London & Sydney: Croom Helm.
Delgado, Juan José. 1892. *Historia general sacro-profana, política y natural de las islas del poniente llamadas Filipinjas por el padre Juan José Delgado de la Compañía de Jesús*. Manila: imp. del Eco de Filipinas de D. Juan Ataide. [BNE R32858.]
Colín, Francisco. 1663[1900]. *Labor evangélica, ministerios apostólicos de los obreros de la Compañía de Jesús. Fundación y progresos de su provincia en las islas Filipinas. Madrid: Reeditada por Pablo Pastells*. Barcelona: Imprenta y litografía de Heinrich y compañía, 3 vols. (BNE R/32827 V.1; R/32828 V.2; R/32829 V.3)
Diamond, Jared. 2007. *Armas, gérmenes y acero*. Barcelona: Random House Mondadori.
Galende, Pedro. 2004. "Evangelización, cultura y expansión". Morales, ed. 2004.67-81.
García-Medall, Joaquín. 2004. "Notas de lexicografía hispano-filipina. El vocabulario de lengua bisaya, hiligueyna y Baraya de la isla de Panay y Sugbu y para las demas islas, de Fray Alonso Méntrida". Zwartjes & Hovdhaugen, eds. 2004.179-200.
García-Medall, Joaquín, ed. 2006. *Fraseología e ironía. Descripción y contraste.* Lugo: Axac.
Gutiérrez, Lucio. 1992. *Historia de la iglesia en Filipinas*. Madrid: Mapfre.
Hernández, Policarpo F. 1998. *The Augustinians in the Philippines*. Makati: Colegio San Agustín.
Hervás y Panduro, Lorenzo. 1979[1784]. *Catálogo de las lenguas de las naciones conocidas y numeración, división y clases de estas según la diversidad de sus idiomas y dialectos.* Madrid: Ediciones Atlas. [BNE R/100620 V.1; R100621 V.2; R100622 V.3; R100623 V.4; R100624 V.5; R100625 V.6.]
Kirkhusmo Pharo, Lars. 2007. "The Concept of 'Religion' in Mesoamerican Languages" *Numen* 54.28-70.
Kishimoto, Emi. 2005. "The adaptation of the European polyglot Dictionary of Calepino in Japan: Dictionarium Latino Lusitanicum, ac Iaponicum (1595)". Zwartjes & Altman, eds. 2005.205-224.
Morales, Alfredo. 2004. *Filipinas, puerta de Oriente. De Legazpi a Malaspina*. Madrid: Seacex.

Pérez, Elviro. 1901. *Catálogo bio-bibliográfico de los religiosos pertenecientes a la Provincia del Smo. Nombre de Jesús de Filipinas, desde su fundación hasta nuestros días*. Manila: College of Santo Tomas Press.

Rafael, Vicente L. 1993. *Contracting Colonialism. Translation and Christian conversion in Tagalog society under early Spanish rule*. Durham & London: Duke University Press.

Rubino, Carl. 2000. *Ilocano Dictionary and Grammar*. Honolulu: University of Hawai Press.

Schachter, Paul. 1987. "Tagalog". Comrie, ed. 1987.936-058.

Sueiro Justel, Joaquín. 2003. *Historia de la lingüística española en Filipinas (1580-1898)*. Lugo: Axac.

Vela, Gregorio de Santiago. 1931. *Ensayo de una biblioteca iberoamericana de la orden de san Agustín.* El Escorial: Imprenta del monasterio.

Villoria Prieto, Carlos. 1997. *Un berciano en Filipinas: Alejandro Cacho de Villegas*. León: Universidad de León.

Zwartjes, Otto & Even Hovdhaugen, eds. 2004. *Missionary linguistics [I]/ Lingüística misionera [I]. Selected papers from the first international conference on missionary linguistics, Oslo, 13-16 March 2003.* Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Zwartjes, Otto & Cristina Altman, eds. 2005. *Missionary linguistics [II]/ Lingüística misionera [II]. Selected papers from the second international conference on missionary linguistics, Sao Paulo, 10-13 March 2004.* Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

ASPECTS OF THE STRUCTURE OF ENTRIES IN THE EARLIEST MISSIONARY DICTIONARY OF TAMIL

GREGORY JAMES
Language Centre, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology

RESUMEN

El diccionario tamil más antiguo existente y publicado por los misioneros es el *Vocabvlario Tamvlico* tamil-portugués de Antão de Proença, e impreso en 1679 en Ambalakat, Kerala, en el sur de la India. Esta obra constituye una versión condensada del original, ya que los manuscritos que perduraron apenas han comenzado a ser estudiados. La intención de de Proença no fue sólo la de proporcionar un vocabulario del tamil extraído de fuentes nativas y misioneras, sino la de ofrecer une obra de referencia acerca de la cultura y la religión dominante de los tamiles. Las comparaciones de las entradas en los manuscritos con las de la publicación de 1679 revelan el grado en que estas últimas fueron abreviadas: todos los textos proporcionan amplia información acerca de antropología, astrología, botánica, cocina, historia, mitología y la religión de los tamiles, demostrando de esta manera el amplio conocimiento de los misioneros al respecto y la profunda asimilación que tenían de estos campos del conocimiento.

1. *Introduction*

The earliest dictionaries of Tamil prepared by European missionaries in southern India and in Sri Lanka (Ceylon) are no longer known to be extant. According to Georg Schurhammer (1977:308), the first European to learn to write Tamil was the Jesuit, Henrique Henriques (c.1520–1600), "the first grammarian of the spoken dialect … also the first lexicographer" (Rajamanickam 1971:523),[1] who is known to have begun a bilingual (?Tamil–

[1] Henriques was from a family of "christiani nuovi", that is, converts from Judaism, reportedly "di mediocra dottrina e buona vita" ("of average education but living a goodly life") (Lancilotto 1887[1548]:62). He himself gives credit for early study of Tamil to his colleague Paulo de Valle (?–1552), who, he claims, wrote a grammar of the language in c.1549, an eventually enlarged version of which was meant to be printed but was never completed (Henriques 1887[1549]:93).

Portuguese) lexicon "cum interpretatione facili et ad gentis ingenium accommodata" ("with easy translations adapted to the level of the people") in about 1549 (Goa 1887[1549]:120),[2] and possibly another in the 1590s (Rajamanickam 1972:173), but no identified copies are known. The earliest extant dictionary appears to be the *Vocabulario lusitano–tamulico* (MS M35, State Central Library, Panaji) ascribed to Balthasar da Costa (c.1610–1673), Superior of the Madurai Mission from 1649 to 1656[3]; this was apparently printed in c.1680 in Ambalakat (Shaw 1987:entry 01723), but no copy is known. The first extant publication in missionary lexicography in Tamil remains the Tamil–Portuguese *Vocabvlario Tamvlico* (Ambalakat, 1679) by Antão de Proença (1625–c.1666).

2. *Antão de Proença:* Vocabvlario Tamvlico *(1679)*

De Proença acknowledges that his opus owes much to the work of his predecessors, and he gives special credit to Ignacio Bruno (1585–1659), copies of whose apparently monumental lexicon, *Vocabularium Tamulicum* (Sommervogel 1895:col.1241), have not survived. The unique copy of de Proença is in the Vatican Library[4]; a facsimile was published in 1966 by the University of Malaya. A manuscript, dated 1685, was noted in 1903 by Julien Vinson (1843–1926)[5] also in the Vatican Library; I have located two in the State Central Library in Panaji (MSS M34 and M38), and another, M37, *Vocabulario Thamulico Luzitano*, dated 1750, "composto, e augmentado" ("put together and enlarged") by Domingos de Madeyra (1685–175?), which retains

[2] Toward the end of 1549, Henriques wrote that he had intended preparing a confession manual with a glossary but that his other tasks, including translations of Jesuit doctrinal works into Tamil, prevented him fulfilling his plan (Henriques 1887[1549]:94).

[3] The Jesuit presence in southern India was dominated by the Portuguese. The British East India Company acquired land along the south-eastern coast in 1639, near São Tome, a Portuguese port since 1522. The construction of Fort St George, now within the city of Chennai (Madras), was begun in 1640; the Anglican St Mary's church was completed in the fort in 1679 (cf. Master 1911 [1675–1680]). However, the British were perceived by the Portuguese neither as a threat to, nor as an opportunity for, their enterprise: they were merely irrelevant and irreligious traders, and their language an inconsequential accretion on the linguistic patchwork of Asia. The days of British India and the demise of Jesuit (and other Roman Catholic) influence and of Portuguese as the continental lingua franca were not far off, however …

[4] I have discovered some stray leaves (ff. 66–73) bound in with an anonymous Portuguese–Malayalam glossary in MS Varia 55 (615), ff. 1a–8b in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Rome.

[5] Professor of Hindustani and Tamil at the École Nationale des Langues Orientales in Paris from 1886, and a noted expert on Basque language and culture.

much of de Proença's text.[6] Here, I consider some of the entries in the 1679 publication with their correlates in the earliest of these manuscripts, MS M34, which is dated 1670.[7]

In his preface "ao leitor pio e zeloso" ("to the pious and zealous reader"), which occurs only in the printed version, on unnumbered pages, de Proença explains some of the features of his compilation. Firstly, his choice of the order of entries, which does not follow the traditional order of the Tamil syllabary:

> Pensamento tiui [*sic*], de escreuer toda esta obra em caracteres lusitanos, inxerrĩdo os Tamulicos, no q̃ os nossos nã podem exprimir … Porem como com este modo acodia sò a o dezejo de perguiçosos; & naõ a curiosidade dos, que desejaom saber o modo de escreuer quaesquer palauras nas proprias letras, naõ dey lulugar [*sic*] a estes pensamentos … Porem nem de todo deixei, nem de todo segui este intento, porque escreuendo tudo em caracteres Tamulicos, siguo à ordẽ das letras, como se estiuesse escrito nas lusitanas; & assì com letras Tamulicas venho a siguir ò Alfabeto lusitano. (de Proença 1966[1679]:Ao leitor, 4th page)

> [I had thought of writing this whole work in Portuguese characters, putting the Tamil ones in for the sounds ours cannot express … But, since in this way I would merely be giving in to the lazy, and not encouraging the interest of those who wish to know how to write any word with the proper letters, I did not give way to these thoughts. … However, I neither abandoned nor altogether followed this intent, because while writing everything in Tamil characters, I adopt the order of the letters as if they were the Portuguese ones, and so even by using Tamil letters I manage to follow the Portuguese alphabetical order.[8]]

His dictionary was conceived in this way at an early stage, since the manuscripts also follow this 'Portuguese' order of entries. His reasoning was that his work was for Europeans, for whom he devised his user-friendly look-up format:[9]

> Quanto â ò sair da ordem natural Tamulica, respõdo, que nam faço este pera Tamuis, se nam pera Lusitanos, cuja ordem natural hê â, que siguo: (de Proença 1966[1679]:Ao leitor, 5th page)

---

[6] Further examples are MSS Indien 221–222, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris; and MS 146-A-14, Biblioteca da Sociedade de Geografia, Lisbon.

[7] The compilation took place over the preceding years. Cf. the entries at விரொதகிறி (*virotakiṟi*); mod. விரோதிகிருது (*virōtikirutu*), the 45th year in the Tamil sixty-year cycle, "O 45 anno dos 60. destes, sera 1670" ("Year 45 of their 60, which will be 1670"), and நள (*naḷa*), "O 50 anno dos 60 destes, foy o nosso de 1676" ("Year 50 of their 60, this was our 1676").

[8] The translations throughout are mine; they differ slightly from those by Edgar Knowlton and Xavier Thani Nayagam in the forematter of the 1966 facsimile.

[9] Cf. Klöter's (2007:203) remark on a seventeenth-century missionary grammar of Southern Min that "the author had to consider the expectations of the language learner who would approach Southern Mĭn from the angle of the European languages he was familiar with and the European tradition of language learning".

> [As for my deviating from the natural Tamil order, my answer is that I am not writing this for Tamil people, but for Portuguese, for whom the natural order is the one I follow.]

On meeting a Tamil word, a missionary could look it up according to the relation of sound and symbol, without having to learn the Tamil graphic order.

This strategy was not adopted by later missionary lexicographers of Tamil. The most influential, Costanzo Beschi (1680–1747), whose Tamil–Latin (1827[1742]), Portuguese–Latin–Tamil (1742), French–Tamil (c.1744) and Tamil–French (1744) works circulated widely in manuscript during the late eighteenth and early nine-teenth centuries, was to argue for the retention of the Tamil order for dictionary entry, by analogy with the conventions of Arabic, Greek and Hebrew. This line of reasoning de Proença had, however, explicitly rejected, on account of "o embaraço, e uariedade de letras tam cõtrarias, e barbaras a nossa pronuçia, que hâ no Tamul" ("the confusion and variety of letters, so outlandish and contrary to our pronunciation, as there are in Tamil") (de Proença 1966[1679]: Ao leitor, 5th page).

The second feature de Proença highlights is his headword selection, from Bruno's dictionary; Henriques' Tamil hagiography, *Flos Sanctorum* (1967[1586]); and the Tamil devotional writings of Roberto de Nobili (1577–1656) and Manuel Martins (?1597–?1656); as well as from native compositions and his own twenty years' experience and contacts among Tamil speakers:

> Prometto significaçoens mais germanas, pollas tirar dos liuros, aonde sepercebe melhor â energia, & força dellas, & nas outras ajudandome da consulta de homens doutos. Prometto mais pureza nas palauras, por que faço este, no Reyno, aonde saõ mais selectas, & puras; como tambem por tirar as mais dellas dos liuros sobreditos, á onde sò se achaõ palauras escolhidas, das quaes em qualquer conuersaçaõ graue se pode vsar. Aduirto porêm, que naõ prometto tanta copia de palauras, que esgota alingoa Tamul (pois os liuros em prosa de que so se podem tirar, as que seruem pera â pratica, saõ tam raros). (de Proença 1966 [1679]:Ao leitor, 2nd page)

> [I promise more apposite equivalents, because I have taken the words from books, where their expressiveness and force can better be made out. For other words, I have profited from discussions with learned men. I promise a greater purity in the words because I am writing this in the Kingdom (of Madura) where they are the choicest and the purest, and also because I have taken most of them from the books I have mentioned, in which are found only the best chosen words, which can be used in any manner of serious conversation. However, I caution that I do not promise such a

> richness of vocabulary as to exhaust the Tamil language (as books in prose, from which alone one can take the words which serve for practical use, are so rare)][10]

After these explanations, and the *nihil obstat* and *imprimatur* certificates from three of his superiors, the provincial procurator, and two prosecutors of the Inquisition of Goa, declaring that the dictionary contained nothing "contra nossa sancta Fè, e bons costumes" ("against our holy Faith and good conduct"[11]), it is surprising to find in the dictionary so many entries referring to Hindu canonical religious and historical works, in particular, the ancient Sanskrit epic, *Ramayana*.

Most interesting, however, are the discrepancies between the entries in the manuscript and printed versions: the whole text was evidently considerably pruned for publication, and the first candidates for omission seem to have been the encyclopaedic entries dealing with Hinduism. De Proença's original was a mine of information — admittedly somewhat muddled in places — on Hindu deities and personages, and the stories associated with them in the epics, but it was no doubt felt for reasons of politics and religion, as well as of economy, that these detailed cultural entries should be condensed.

This is a dictionary for non-native learners, constructed according to the target users' perceived needs, incorporating a quick-reference mechanism (alphabetical order), headwords giving incremented forms, Portuguese glosses for the Tamil lexis, and cultural and historical information — albeit abridged in the final version.

3. *Entry structure (1): Derivatives*

The structure of the entries in de Proença's *Vocabvlario Tamvlico* does not follow a fixed pattern, and there are several variations depending upon the nature of the headword. To take just the entries from the first page, at letter அ (*a*):

---

[10] Thani Nayagam (1964:119) noted that nevertheless de Proença did include many colloquialisms, both Brahmin (Grantha) and "words peculiar to the usage popular among 'inferior' social classes and the rural population".

[11] The phrase "bons costumes" refers to behaviour which follows the traditional standards of societal mores. It is interesting to note that although the reviewers of the dictionary, as well as the Inquisitorial examiners, were selected for their known expertise in Tamil, the only parts of the work which actually appear in Tamil are the headwords — hardly sources of doctrinal or moral deviance. The preface, and explanations within the entries, are written in Portuguese, with occasional phrases in Latin. See also James (2007b).

	MS M34 (1670)	*Published edition (1679)*
அப	cousa baldada.	Cousa baldada.
அபபொழுதுபொககிறது	Gastar o tempo baldadam[te]	Gastar o tempo baldadamente.
அபதூறு	Infamia.	Infamia.
அபபததியம	Quebra do Regimento. no comer.	Quebra do regimento, no comer.
அபகரிககிறது	Furtar.	Furtar.
அபகரிபபிககிறது	Fazer Furtar	Fazer furtar.
அபகரிபபு	Furto.	Furto.
அபகரிசச	c. Furtada ou: que furtou.	Cousa furtada, ou que furtou.
அபகரியாத	c. naõ furtada ou q̃ naõ furtou.	Cousa naõ furtada, ou que não furtou
அபகரிககல	Acçaõ de furtar.	Acçaõ de furtar.
அபகரிககிற	c. furtada, ou q̃: naõ [*sic*] Furta.	Cousa furtada, ou que furta.
அபகரிககுகை	o Furtar.	O furtar.
அபகடம	Engano, que se: urde no animo.	Engano, q̃ se urde no animo.
அபகாம	Disfauor. (de Proença 1670:55)	Disfauor. (de Proença 1966 [1679]:f.1r)
[அப	*apa*	something useless
அப்பபொழுதுபொக்கிறது	*appapoẓutupokkiṛatu*	to waste time uselessly
அபதூறு	*apatūṛu*	disgrace
அப்பத்தியம்	*appattiyam*	breaking one's fast
அபகரிக்கிறது	*apakarikkiṛatu*	to steal
அபகரிப்பிக்கிறது	*apakarippikkiṛatu*	to make steal
அபகரிப்பு	*apakarippu*	theft
அபகரிச்ச	*apakaricca*	sth. stolen, or one who stole
அபகரியாத	*apakariyāta*	sth. not stolen, or one who did not steal
அபகரிக்கல்	*apakarikkal*	the act of stealing
அபகரிக்கிற	*apakarikkiṛa*	sth. stolen, or one who steals
அபகரிக்குகை	*apakarikkukai*	stealing
அபகடம்	*apakaṭam*	guile, concocted in the mind
அபகாரம்	*apakāram*	ill-treatment.]

Just in this extract, we can identify eight headwords derived from a single root, அபகரி (*apakari*), which, according to the *Tamil Lexicon* (1982[1924]:88) is from Sanskrit, with the sense in Tamil of "to seize by violence, snatch away, plunder, abduct". Each of the headword derivatives is reasonably predictable. Despite Schiffman's (n.d.:1) claim that in Tamil "derivational morphology … seems universally to be inherently unpredictable and unproductive", he does admit (*ibid*.:5), for instance, that the deverbal nominals listed, viz. those in -ப்பு (*-ppu*), -அல் (*-al)* and -கை (*-kai*), are among the ones which "are quite regular,

and one could easily generate a complete set of these nouns from all the verbs in the lexicon, and native speakers of Tamil would accept them all".

Traditionally, it was not the base of the verb that was the main citation form, but the present verbal noun: thus அபகரிக்கிறது (*apakarikkiṟatu*) "thieving", identical to the neuter third person singular, present tense.[12] The equivalent is given as the infinitive *furtar*, the traditional citation form in Portuguese, although not a direct translation of the Tamil. (This of course is similar to conventional Latin/ Portuguese cross-citation: e.g. Lat. *furor*, lit. "I steal" = Port. *furtar*, lit. "to steal".)

The second headword in the set is the causative, one of whose regular affixes is the infix -ப்பி- (*-ppi-*) before the tense marker: அபகரிப்பிக்கிறது (*apakarippikkiṟatu*) "making (s.o.) steal" (cf. Arden 1942[1891]:237; Schiffman 1999:76).

The third headword is the deverbal (abstract) noun, a regular derivation with the nominalising suffix -ப்பு (*-ppu*): அபகரிப்பு (*apakarippu*) "theft". Such nouns are "only names for the action; they have no verbal force" (Arden 1942[1891]:224).

Then follows அபகரிச்ச (*apakaricca*) "something stolen", or "one who stole". This is a form of the past positive relative participle, in effect a verbal adjective. The Portuguese equivalent is given not on the Latin model of the masculine adjective, but as *cousa* "something" + feminine adjective, a convention used in early Portuguese interlingual dictionaries, especially the editions of *Dictionarium Latinolusitanicum et vice versa Lusitanicolatinum* (Lisbon, 1592[1562]) by Jeronimo Cardoso (?–1569), in the tradition of Antonio de Nebrija (1441–1522).

The next headword is a derivational formation of the negative relative participle by the suffix -ஆத (*-āta*): அபகரியாத (*apakariyāta*) "something not stolen" or "one who did not steal". In modern Tamil, this would be regularly formed on the stem *apakarikk-* > அபகரிக்காத (*apakarikkāta*); the variant in -யாத (*-yāta*) is an older form found in certain verbs, and is still in use in formal writing[13]: it is the form described in Arden (1942[1891]:232).

---

[12] Or the neuter singular participial noun "frequently used as [a] verbal noun[…] expressing the action of the verb" (Arden 1942[1891]:219). The first adoption of the base form (rather, the singular imperative, which is usually homonymous) as a "primary" for headword citation was in *A Comprehensive Tamil and English Dictionary* (Madras, 1862), by Miron Winslow (1789–1864), who served in Sri Lanka and India for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

[13] I am grateful to Dr A. Dhamotharan for elucidating this for me; and to S. Ramakrishnan for drawing my attention to a survival of the *-yāta* form in spoken Tamil, in the proverb அடியாத மாடு படியாது (*aṭiyāta māṭu paṭiyātu*) "The bullock that is not beaten will not obey".

The headword following is another deverbal nominal, formed by suffixing -ல் (-l) (< அல் [-*al*] to the infinitive. This formation, அபகரிக்கல் (*apakarikkal*) "the action of stealing", would have had a more widespread function in the sixteenth century than nowadays, when its most frequent use is with the auxiliary ஆம் (*ām*) (< ஆகும் [*ākum*], third person neuter singular future positive of ஆ [*ā*] "become") to express permission (cf. Arden 1942 [1891]:222-223, 245).

The seventh headword is the present positive relative participle, regularly formed by suffixing -அ (-*a*) on the present tense stem: அபகரிக்கிற (*apakarikkiṟa*) "something stolen", "one who steals" (cf. Arden 1942[1891]:203-205).

The final headword is the third deverbal noun, given as formed with the suffix -கை (-*kai*) அபகரிக்குகை (*apakarikkukai*), but more correctly with -க்கை (-*kkai*): அபகரிக்கை (*apakarikkai*) "stealing". This verbal noun "is most generally used … to express time in which an action takes place" (Arden 1942 [1891]:221).

Schiffman (n.d.) shows that there is a cline of abstractness in Tamil verbal nouns, and de Proença's Portuguese equivalents in each case certainly do appear to reflect similarly related shades of sense, and a desire to differentiate them. Schiffman (*op.cit.*:7-8) suggests that the greatest "nouniness" attaches to the -ப்பு (-*ppu*) forms; and appropriately de Proença's equivalent for அபகரிப்பு (*apakarippu*) is the abstract noun, "furto" ("theft"). Forms in -கை (-*kai*) have more of a verbal flavour: de Proença signifies an awareness of this by translating his அபகரிக்குகை (*apakarikkukai*) aptly with a nominalised infinitive in Portuguese, "o furtar" ("stealing"). Forms in -அல் (-*al*), proposes Schiffman (*op.cit.*:7), "are closer to the verbal end of the scale": de Proença's rendering of அபகரிக்கல் (*apakarikkal*) as "acçaõ de furtar" ("the act of stealing") explicitly focuses on the element of action.

In Tamil, the principal parts of the verb are the present, past and future tense forms; all other forms are morphophonemically derived from one or other of these.[14] For அபகரிக்கிறது (*apakarikkiṟatu*) "thieving", de Proença gives only the tensed nominal in the present (the past is formed with -த்த்- (-*tt*-), அபகரித்தேன் (*apakarittēṉ*) "I stole", the future with -ப்ப்- (-*pp*-), அபகரிப்பேன் (*apakarippēṉ*) "I shall steal": this is the pattern of the eleventh conjugation in

[14] Cf. Asher (1985:177): "The main element of unpredictability in … the verb is the form of the markers of tense, in that morphological as well as phonological conditioning is involved. To account for these … factors, Tamil verbs have been classified into anything from two (Asher 1966) to thirteen groups [*Tamil Lexicon*] depending on the extent to which complex rules of phonological conditioning are acceptable."

the *Tamil Lexicon* classification). However, for some other verbs, he states the past and future forms at the head of the entry: cf.

> அதககிறது . கினென . குவென. Botar o comer a huma parte da boca, pera falar, item ingulir sem mastigar, como velho, item meter medo. (de Proença 1966[1679]:f.2r)
>
> [*atakkiṟatu – kinen – kuven*. To put one's food at one side of one's mouth, so as to speak; to swallow without chewing, like an old man; to frighten.[15]]

Just the abbreviated derivational and inflectional affixes are given here (akin to the adjectival '*bonus*, *-a*, *-um*' citation-type in Latin), representing அதக்கினேன் (*atak-kinēn*) "I gulped", the past, and அதக்குவேன் (*atakkuvēn*) "I shall gulp", the future, respectively (viz. the *Tamil Lexicon*'s fifth conjugation). Though the headword is a nominal, the past and future desinences given are first person tense forms.

In the entry in MS M34, this grammatical information is missing:

> அதககிறது. Botar o comer a' huã p^{e} da boca p^{a} fallar. itẽ ingolir ingroladam^{te} sẽ mastigar como velho. Item meter medo. (de Proença 1670:57)
>
> [*atakkiṟatu*. To put one's food at one side of one's mouth, so as to speak; to swallow without chewing, sputteringly like an old man; to frighten.]

At some stage, a decision was taken by the editors of the printed version—not de Proença, presumably, since by this time he had passed away — to incorporate principal parts, but not all verb entries have them.

It can be seen that derivational suffixes play an important part in Tamil morphosyntax. For this reason, many are often listed as headwords, and we find certain ones in this role in the dictionary, e.g.

> ஆக Propter, com datiuo, junto com os nomes substent: acabados em, am fallos aduerbios, vt சகிறமமாக. ordenadamente. o mesmo aqualquer outro nome, item nas contas, o q̃ dizemos em, soma, [*sic*] ou por tudo vt
> ஆணபளீகளநாலுபெணபிளீகளபததுகுளநதைகளுசுயாகபபதொனபதுமொ homes 4. mulheres 10, meninos da mama 5. por todos saõ 19 pessoas. (de Proença 1966[1679]:f.24r)
>
> [*āka* On account of + dative, joined to nouns ending in *-am*; adverbials, such as *cakiṟam-amāka*, in an orderly manner;
> the same with any other noun; in reckoning, what we say in total, or in all, as in
> *āṉpiḷḷaikaḷnālupeṇpiḷḷaikaḷpattukkuḷantaikaḷañcuyākappattoṉṟatumo.*
> Four men, ten women, five children, nineteen people in all.]

ஆக (*āka*) is a bound postpositional affix, which Beschi (1738[1728]:32) analyses as the grammaticalised infinitive of ஆ (*ā*) "become". De Proença

[15] Cf. *Tamil Lexicon* (1982[1924]:70): "அதக்கு-தல் … 1. To grind, rub in the hand, press softly, soften, as fruit; … 2. To cram in the mouth, as betel, as a monkey its food; … 3. To subdue, subject, control …"

treats it as a separate lexeme, and does not associate it with his headword ஆகிறது (*akiṟatu*) "Ser, fazerse" ("to be, to become"). See James (2007a:179). The *Tamil Lexicon* (1982 [1924]:203), at ஆக (*āka*), accepts the derivation from ஆ (*ā*) "become", and identifies two part-of-speech functions for it: *particular* ("For the sake of, for the purpose of, with கு [*ku*] of the dat[ive]")—de Proença's "Propter, com datiuo" ("on account of + dative")—and *adverbial* ("On the whole, amounting to"), which de Proença details not only as a separate sense ("em, soma, ou por tudo" "in total, or in all") but also as syntactically distinct from the affixal usage.[16]

4. *Entry structure (2): Cultural lexis*

Inevitably, the inclusion of Tamil cultural vocabulary for which there were no — or for which de Proença could not find any — Portuguese equivalents caused some difficulty, and he resorted to a variety of strategies depending on the nature of the entry. In some cases, we find a realistic explanation, e.g.

> பஞசமாபாதகன. Peccador, por antonomasia, quẽ comete todos os sinco peccados graues, què estes contam, a saber, matar uaca, beber uinho, matar bramane, furtar dinheiro, ir com a molher de guru. (de Proença 1966[1679]:f.101v)
>
> [*pañcamāpātaka*n̲ Sinner; antonomasically, one who commits the five heinous sins, which they hold to be: killing a cow, drinking wine, killing a Brahmin, stealing money, and going with the wife of a guru.]

The 'five capital vices' are cited more abstractly by the French botanist and missionary, Johann Peter Rottler (1749–1836),[17] in *Dictionary of the Tamil and English languages* (2000[1839]:264) as murder, theft, drinking intoxicating liquors, lust or carnal desire, and falsehood; Winslow (1998[1862]:710) gives the 'five heinous sins' as murder, lust, theft or fraud, drinking intoxicating liquor and "abuse of the guru".[18] De Proença's list is slightly more culture-specific; he includes killing a cow as a separate sin, and murder is confined to the killing of a Brahmin.

Another form of explanation was the illustrative context, which de Proença could use for items which were not culturally specialised, but of whose appropriate equivalent term in Portuguese, if there was one, he was unaware, e.g.

---

[16] Arden (1942[1891]:287) identifies this as an idiomatic usage of the infinitive; cf. English *making* in the same sense.

[17] Rottler travelled extensively in southern India and reported on the flora there, identifying many previously unknown species (Rottler 1803; Matthews 1993).

[18] Cf. *Tamil Lexicon* (1982[1924]:2409): "killing, lying, stealing, drinking and abusing one's guru".

பிறிவுசசாறன. O que uai tomar a diuida, que se diuia a outrem, vg. Pedrò deue a Paulo 10. fanoens, e Paulo deuia a Francisco 5. e pera Paulo pagar a Francisco, manda, que va ter com Pedro, e que lhe de 5.; o tal Francisco fica sendo பிறிவுசசாறன. de Paulo. (de Proença 1966 [1679]:f.120v)

[*piṟivuccāṟaṉ* One who takes a debt owed to another: e.g. Pedro owes Paulo 10 fanams[19] and Paulo owed Francisco 5; for Paulo to pay Francisco, he asks Francisco to contact Pedro to give him the 5: thus, Francisco is Paulo's *piṟivuccāṟaṉ*.]

The relationship here is one of 'cessionário' ("assignee") and to explain it, de Proença resorted to a homely situation as an illustration. For his target users, he cites the exemplar enactment with Portuguese, not Indian, players.

Where there was no Portuguese word, because the item was not known in Europe, he adopted a vague explanation with a superordinate; two examples, in the domain of food:

ஆபபம. Hum modo de bolos, ou abs. paõ (de Proença 1966[1679]:f.12v)	அதஸா. Huma fruita pera caril. (de Proença 1966[1679]:f.2v)
[*āppam* A kind of cakes, or without bread]	[*ataḷai* A fruit for curry.]

For அப்பம் (*appam*), the *Tamil Lexicon* (1982[1924]:85) gives the primary sense as "Round cake of rice flour and sugar fried in ghee", and a secondary one of "Thin cake, wafer, bread": the first is a typical southern Indian sweet; the second refers to light wheat- or rice-flour pancakes (*hoppers*: *Hobson-Jobson q.v.*). The sense of அதஸா (*ataḷai*) is given as "Species of bitter luffa", i.e. probably *L. acutangula* (L.) Roxb., or Chinese okra, whose seeds are used medicinally as an emetic.

5. ***Entry structure (3): Botanical terms***

Many botanical terms occur in the dictionary, often not identified. The majority cited are used as ayurvedic or other herbal remedies. Typical entries are:

அபை. Hum modo de planta.	அழிஞசி. Hum arbusto.	ஆததிமாம. Huma aruore.
(de Proença 1966[1679]:f.13r)	(de Proença 1966[1679]:f.6v)	(de Proença 1966[1679]: f.28v)
[*appai* A kind of plant.]	[*aẓiñci*. A shrub.]	[*āttimaram* A tree.]

The *Tamil Lexicon* (1982[1924]:88) gives the equivalent of அப்பை (*appai*) as "Indian laburnum" (*Cassia fistula* L.)[20], the pulp of whose fruit is used as a laxative. The form அழிஞ்சி (*aẓiñci*) does not occur in the *Tamil Lexicon*, which

[19] A fanam was a small gold or silver coin long in use in southern India. See *Hobson-Jobson* at *fanám*; the first English citation (*fanan*) in the *Oxford English Dictionary* dates from 1555.
[20] Rottler (2000[1834]:60): "அப்பை [*appai*]… *a tree*: Cassia *L.*"

cites (*ibid*.:163) அழிஞ்சில் (*aḻiñcil*) "sage-leaved alangium … *Alangium lamarckii*"[21], whose fruit is an item of food in southern India. ஆத்திமரம் (*āttimaram*) is identified, as ஆத்தி (*ātti*) (*ibid*.:224), as common mountain ebony (*Bauhinia racemosa* Lam.)[22], a popular remedy for ulcers, tumours and skin conditions.

Sometimes de Proença is less sparing with identificatory information, as in e.g.:

> அசொகு. Huã aruore, que dà flores uermelhas. (de Proença 1966[1679]:f.23r). [*acoku* A tree which gives red flowers.]
>
> ஆலமாம. Huma aruore grande de folhas largas, que dos ramos lança raizes. (de Proença 1966[1679]:f.25r). [*ālmaram* A large tree with broad leaves, which puts out roots from its branches.]
>
> ஆசு. Serta aruore, que tem as folhas como èra, que os gẽtios adoraõ, e chamaõ, aruore de pagode. (de Proença 1966[1679]:f.14r). [*aracu* A certain tree, which has leaves like ivy, and which the heathens worship, and call the pagoda tree.]

The first example here refers to the Ashoka tree (*Saraca indica* L.),[23] which has bright orangered flowers, and is used extensively in ayurvedic medicine, particularly as a uterine sedative and tonic. The second example is the banyan (*Ficus bengalensis* L.),[24] whose branches release shoots that, in turn, take root and form new trunks. The third is the peepul, or bo tree (*Ficus religiosa* L.),[25] sacred to both Hindus and Buddhists, said to be the tree under which the Buddha attained enlightenment. Its leaves are of a distinctive shape, cordate with an extended tip—de Proença's comparison with ivy is apposite.

---

[21] Rottler (2000[1834]:95): "அழிஞ்சில் [*aḻiñcil*] … *a tree*: Alangium decapetalum *L*."

[22] Rottler (2000[1834]:127): "ஆத்தி [*ātti*] … *a tree*: Bauhinia tomentosa *L*. It is used in medicine and for domestic purposes, and the flowers are presented to the gods, principally to சிவன் [*civan*]."

[23] Rottler (2000[1834]:17): "அசோகம், அசோகு [*acōkam*, *acōku*] a high, pyramidal tree: Uvaria longifolia *L*."

[24] Rottler (2000[1834]:138): "ஆல், ஆலமாம், ஆலவிருக்ஷம் [*āl*, *ālmaram*, *ālvirukśam*]; the Banian tree: Ficus bengalensis *L*."

[25] Rottler (2000[1834]:71): "ஆசு, ஆசமாம் [*aracu*, *aracamaram*]: … *a tree*: Ficus religiosa *L*." *Hobson-Jobson* at *bo tree* gives two synonyms in seventeenth-century Sri Lankan English usage: *pagod-tree* and *God-tree*; cf. at *peepul* a reference to the synonym *Devil's tree* in southern India at the same period.

6. *Entry structure (4): Astrological terms*

In addition to the sometimes bald, sometimes more informative, entries, whose utility for neophyte missionaries is not always immediately patent, we find some technical lexis, for example of Vedic astrology, also of dubious practicality, e.g.:

> அசுபதி. Huma estrella na cabeça de Arias. (de Proença 1966[1679]:f.23r).
> [*acupati* A star in the head of Aries.]

அசுவதி (*acuvati*), or அச்சுவினி (*accuvi<u>n</u>i*) is Ashwini, the first of the twenty-seven 'lunar mansions' (*nakshatras*) of the Vedic zodiac, this one equivalent to the first thirteen degrees of Aries; the star may be Hamal (α Arietis), the brightest in the constellation, on the right of the head of Aries.[26]

> அனுஷம. Huma estrella cor scorpionis. (de Proença 1966[1679]:f.10v)
> [*a<u>n</u>uśam* A star, the heart of Scorpio.]

அனுஷம் (*a<u>n</u>uśam*) is Anurada, the seventeenth *nakshatra*, corresponding to Scorpio; the star may be Dschubba (δ Scorpii), the middle of the tristellar chain of the head of the constellation of Scorpius.[27] (The heart is marked not by Anurada, but by Antares [α Scorpii], still in the astrological sign of Scorpio, but in the Vedic mansion of Jyeshta, the eighteenth *nakshatra*.)

As well as for astrological terms, Latin is used for doctrinal explanations—which could have been given in Portuguese one supposes, but whose Latin phraseology was probably more familiar to the compiler(s) and the target users, e.g.

> சததிஸவரிசம. Tactus per unionem animæ cum corpore prout. distinguitur a cõtactu diuisibili duarum partium. (de Proença 1966[1679]:f.225[1]v)
>
> [*cattisvaricam* Touch through the union of the soul and the body, distinguished from contact of the two parts separately.]

This headword is formed from Sanskrit, no doubt by de Nobili, and probably refers to St Thomas Aquinas' (c.1225–1274) theory of the simultaneous unity and diversity of Christ: His 'hypostasis', the union of soul and body, as opposed to His two 'natures', human and divine.

---

[26] Rottler (2000[1834]:15): "அசுவதி [*acuvati*] … the first of the 27 constellations of the Hindoos … This constellation, they say, resembles the head of a horse; the name is given to six stars in the ram's head: or it comprehends both the horns of the ram, two stars in the base of the greater Triangle, one in the left foot of Andromeda, and the others thereabout …"

[27] Rottler (2000[1834]:107): "அனுடநாள், *or* அனுஷம் [*a<u>n</u>uṭanāḷ, a<u>n</u>uśam*]; the 17th constellation of the Hindoos."

7. *Entry structure (5): Taboo terms*

From the sublime to the ignominious, Latin also serves as the (fairly explicit) metalanguage where the vernacular would feel too direct and too coarse, e.g.:

> கைபபிழிலாடுகிறது. Manibus pollutionem procurare. (de Proença 1966[1679]:f.146v)
> [*kaippiḻilāṭukiṟatu* to engage in manual defilement.]

> ஊமபுகிறது. Verbum turpe, infamem oris, & uirilium actionem signans. (de Proença 1966 [1679]:f.198v)[28]
> [*ūmpukiṟatu* a foul word, signifying the sullying of the mouth and an act of the male organ.]

> அலகுல. Verenda mulieris, modesté. (de Proença 1966[1679]:f.4v)
> [*alkul* female genitalia, *with restraint*.]

The *Tamil Lexicon* does not include the first headword (nor does Rottler); at the second (*ibid*.:496), there is no suggestion of the repugnance more than hinted at in the Latin explanation (the sense is given simply as "to suck"); and at the third (*ibid*.:140), the text is as circumspect as de Proença's, glossing அல்குல் (*alkul*) as "*Pudendum muliebre*".[29]

The mere mention of indecency seems to dictate the desire for a linguistic veil. In this entry, for example, the need for the Latin annotation is hardly transparent, as the equivalent is plainly given in Portuguese:

> அகடுகிறது. Escarrapacharse, præcipué in actione turpi. hoc verbũ inter turpe, et honestum numeratur … (de Proença 1966[1679]:f.4r)

> [*akapaṭukiṟatu* To splay oneself, especially in an obscene act: this word is counted between indecent and respectable]

However, there was one word, with its derivatives, which was considered so lewd as not even fit to be seen in print — yet it seems that the missionaries were expected to know it! In addition to giving Latin rather than Portuguese equivalents, de Proença resorted to the innovative expedient of digraphia for the taboo Tamil headwords, encoding in both scripts simultaneously, mixing Tamil and Latin letters in the same word, presumably so as not to cause

---

[28] De Proença prefers a rather formal explanation to a direct translation: perhaps he did not know the appropriate word: *fellare*, as used by Martial (AD 40–c.102). Rottler (2000[1834]:247) gives no translation: "ஊம்புகிறது [*ūmpukiṟatu*]; … *a very obscene action*."

[29] Rottler (2000[1834]:86): "அல்குல் [*alkul*]; ... vulva, an *immodest* term". The *Tamil Lexicon* has twenty-seven headwords with the sense of "*pudendum muliebre*". The first two of the headwords discussed here do not occur in Winslow (1998[1862]); for the third, cf. the definition at அல்குல் (*alkul*) (*ibid*.:43): "A woman's buttocks, the circumference between the hip and the loins …"

offence to any literate Tamil speakers who might see the page and/or to forestall any accusations of impropriety on the part of the missionaries[30]:

ஒli fornicator, turpissimè cum seq̃.	[*oẓi* fornicator, extremely foul, as the rest
ஒlqm. actus, turpis.actus, turpis.	*oẓkam* the act, *foul*
ஒlcradu, habre [*sic*] rem cũ fæmina.	*oẓkiṛatu* having relations with a woman[31]
ஒlqui. quòd. ஒlili. ஒlcam. fornicatio.	*oẓki*, also *oẓi*, *oẓkam* fornication
ஒluaṭ. Fornicator.	*oẓvaṭi* fornicator]
(de Proença 1966[1679]:f.93v)[32]	

The graphic hybrids are composed of Tamil syllabic symbols with Latin letters: thus, for *oẓi*, ஒ (*o*) + *li* > ஒli; and for *oẓvaṭi*, ஒ (*o*) + *lua* + ட (*ṭi*) > ஒluaṭ. See Plate 1. These forms are not confined to the publication: ஒli, ஒlqm, ஒlqradu, ஒlqam and ஒluaṭ also occur in MS M34 (de Proença 1670:210). Evidently, however, the novel camouflage came within the bounds of nothing "contra nossa sancta Fè, e bons costumes" ("against our holy Faith and good conduct"), and passed muster with the Inquisitorial censors.

8. *Entry structure (6): Explanatory entries*

De Proença is less opaque and more usefully informative with respect to certain artefacts or events of cultural interest and importance, e.g. a talisman:

> ஆலததி. Huma torcida aceza posta em arros, e a safaraõ pera tirar olhado com எடுகிறது. tirar olhado. (de Proença 1966[1679]:f.25r)
>
> [*ālatti* A burning wick dipped in rice and saffron, to ward off the evil eye[33]; with *eṭukiṛatu*, to ward off the evil eye.]

---

[30] Even in the late nineteenth century, in as explicit a book of sexual mores as that by Jacobus X (1893), French words considered unfit to be seen in print were rendered in Greek letters. Similarly, the name of Christ often appears in Greek, with Latin inflections: e.g. the motto of the Jersey family, Sohier de Vermandois is STELLA XPI DVCE ("With the star of Christ as guide"), where XPI is an abbreviation for *Χριστός* ("Christ"), with -I the Latin genitive ending (cf. Gheusi 1892:200).

[31] The Latin is contextually appropriate: *rem habere cum* ("to have dealings with") is a legal term, but found in classical comedy (e.g. in Plautus [fl. 3rd cent. BC] and Terence [fl. 2nd cent. BC]) to describe the relationship between a man and a courtesan (Adams 1982:203).

[32] This series is set in the *Ol-* section, which includes *ol*, *oḷ* and oẓ, the last, ஒழ்- (*oẓ-*), with the Latin letter *l* representing the Tamil voiced retroflex fricative. Cf. *Tamil Lexicon* (1982 [1924]:616), where the root consonant is the voiced retroflex lateral given for the related Kannada verb, and the Tamil vowel, ஓ (*ō*): "ஓ[6]; -த்தல் ō-, *ll v. tr.* [K. *ōḷ.*] Lit., to be of one mind, transf., to copulate" — NB: not the same sense as *fornicate*. Cf. *ibid.*:621, "ஓடியம் [*ōṭiyam*] … Obscenity, ribaldry".

[33] Cf. *Wikipedia* (8th August, 2008): "The evil eye is a belief that the envy elicited by the good luck of fortunate people may result in their misfortune. ... In some forms, it is the belief that

The *Tamil Lexicon* (1982[1924]:246) provides a short explanatory definition: "Light, etc., waved before an idol or important personage" with a cross-reference to ஆரத்தி (*āratti*), where the longer entry still makes no mention of protection against the evil eye:

> 1. One of sixteen acts of worship, consisting in the waving of a light or lighted camphor before an idol; … 2. The waving of light, or water mixed with saffron, or saffron-coloured food-balls, before important personages such as a newly wedded couple, a ruler, or a spiritual head, in processions or on other auspicious occasions … (*Tamil Lexicon* 1982 [1924]:241)

Rottler (2000[1834]:133) gives at ஆதி (*ārati*) "(*which is right for* ஆலத்தி [*ālatti*], *and* ஆலாத்தி [*ālātti*]; *which is common*) an offering of lights to a deity, or of water, turmerick, and chunam, on marriages, or such like festivities to prevent the bad effects of evil looks". And Winslow (1998[1862]), at ஆலாத்தி (*ālātti*), includes in his first sense the notion of holding off the evil eye:

> The ceremony of waving lighted camphor, to avert the blight of the eyes of unlucky persons, on marriage or other special occasions; also in front of the idol, after the procession, before it is taken into the temple. The term is applied both to the light, &c. waved, and the waving … (Winslow 1998[1862]:73)

Rottler's and Winslow's dictionaries (and other, earlier missionary ones[34]) were used as reference sources by the compilers of the *Tamil Lexicon*, so the omission is surprising — unless, perhaps, they did not accept the missionaries' interpretation.

Occasionally, the Tamil headword is vaguer than the Portuguese equivalent given. This is especially so where the referent is an import into India, e.g.

> அபிரஞ்சகக்காசு Venezeano, moeda (de Proença 1966[1679]:f.2r)
>
> [*apirañcakkācu* Venetian, money]

This refers to the gold sequin, or ducat, a coin widely circulated in India, where it was known as a 'Venetian' (*Hobson-Jobson*, *q.v.*). The Tamil form here is a compound of அபரஞ்சி (*aparañci*) "refined gold" + காசு (*kācu*) "coin".[35]

---

some people can bestow a curse on victims by the malevolent gaze of their magical eye. The most common form, however, attributes the cause to envy, with the envious person casting the evil eye doing so unintentionally." See Elworthy (2004[1895]).

[34] But not de Proença's, because the sole known printed copy was not brought to light until 1954, and the related manuscripts lay unidentified until only very recently. See Thani Nayagam (1964), James (2000:132). The manuscripts held in Goa, under Portuguese administration at the time of the compilation of the *Tamil Lexicon*, were not accessible to the team of lexicographers working in Madras, in British India.

[35] The *Tamil Lexicon* (1982[1924]:1359) gives the word for "Venetian sequin or ducat" as சாணாரக்காசு (*cāṇārakkācu*).

There are, in addition, some entries which appear at first sight to be somewhat difficult to interpret:

> அசகசாநதாம. Differẽça inter ouẽ & Elefantem: ex ajam, ouelha, & gajam, elefante. entam differença … (de Proença 1966[1679]:f.22r)
>
> [*acakacāntaram* The difference between a sheep and an elephant, from *ajam* sheep and *gajam* elephant, thus, difference.]
>
> அாபபு. Qualquer erua, que fas despedir o aseite da cabeça. (de Proença 1966[1679]:f.14r)
> [*arappu* Any herb which rids the head of oil.]

But de Proença got them right! In Rottler, we find:

> அசகசாந்தாம் [*acakacāntaram*]; … as different as a sheep from an elephant, widely different … (Rottler 2000[1834]:12)
>
> அரைப்பு [*araippu*]; 1. any thing which is ground;; 2. stuff to rub upon the head for cleaning the hair … (Rottler 2000[1834]:81-82)

and in the *Tamil Lexicon*:

> அசகசாந்தரம aca-kacāntaram, *n* < *aja* + *gaja* + *antara*. Wide disparity, as between a goat and an elephant. (*Tamil Lexicon* 1982[1924]:26)[36]
>
> அரைப்பு araippu, *n* Substances used for removing the oil with which the body had been smeared … (*Tamil Lexicon* 1982[1924]:138)

9. ***Entry structure (7): Religious lexis***

Hinduism receives special attention in de Proença's dictionary. Surprisingly, among those items which designate aspects of Hindu literature and culture, one which might have been expected to elicit a comment is merely glossed over:

> அணுமாணம. Morte da M. junta com ò marido. (de Proença 1966[1679]:f.10r)
>
> [*aṉumaraṇam* The death of a woman with her husband.]

This refers to suttee,[37] or the immolation of a widow on her husband's funeral pyre. Although the Portuguese in Goa had banned this rite early in the sixteenth century (Afonso 1995), it subsisted throughout India. De Proença's entry does not expose the reality of the practice, possibly so as not to draw attention to it.

---

[36] The equivalent English expression is "chalk and cheese".

[37] Thompson (1928). In Portuguese, *sati*, a word de Proença may have thought unclear without an explanation. Indeed, he uses very few Indo-Portuguese words: three examples are *jagra* (Anglo-Indian, *jaggery*) "(palm) sugar", *nele* (A-I, *nelly*) "paddy" and *rumal* (A-I, *roomaul*) "kerchief" (*Hobson-Jobson*, *q.v.*).

Indeed, although he includes a number of headwords which refer to personages or locations mentioned in ancient Hindu texts, the entries are generally fairly sparse, e.g.

> அயொததி. Huma cidade. (de Proença 1966[1679]:f.4r). [*Ayotti* a city.]
>
> அதிகாயன Hum, dos filhos de Rauanan; (de Proença 1966[1679]:f.3r)
> [*Atikāyan* one of the sons of Ravanan]
>
> அகலி. M. do penitente Goundamen. (de Proença 1966[1679]:f.3r)
> [*Akali* wife of the penitent Gautama.]

In the manuscript, on the other hand, much more ample information is given, which was edited out for the publication:

> அயொததி. Hua' cid^{e} corte do Rey Tizadaren Pay de Ramen aonde este tãbem Reynou depois de uĕcido a Gigante Rauanen. (de Proença 1670:61)
>
> [*Ayotti* A city, the court of King Dasaratha, father of Raman, where the latter also reigned after having conquered the giant Ravanan.]

This is Ayodhya, once known as Oudh, a city in the modern Indian state of Uttar Pradesh. In the Ramayana, Rama's father, Dasaratha, was king of Kosala, whose capital was Ayodhya. For the sake of his father's honour, Rama went into exile for fourteen years, accompanied by his wife Sita, and his brother Lakshmana. Sita was kidnapped by Ravana, king of Lanka, and during the ensuing war, Rama slew Ravana with Brahmastra, the destructive divine weapon,[38] and eventually returned to reign in Ayodhya.

> அதிகாயன Hum dos filhos de Rauanen q̃ nas guerras deseu Pay se offerecio asair contra Ramen; mas depois ficou degolado por Lacxumanen, eseu exercito destruido. (de Proença 1670:58)
>
> [*Atikāyan* One of the sons of Ravana, who, in his father's wars, offered to go out against Rama; but later had his throat cut by Lakshmana and his army destroyed.]

Atikaya was the son of Ravana and his second wife Dhanyamalini. He went into battle on his father's side, against Rama. Atikaya had been granted invincible armour by Brahma, the god of creation, but he was killed by Lakshmana, again with Brahmastra, the only weapon to which the armour was not resistant.

> அகலி Molher do penitente Gaundamen q̃ pilla traicaõ q̃ fez a seu marido cõ o Deos Devendiren foi amaldiçoada pello mesmo marido a q̃ estiuesse cõuertida em lagẽ em hũ dezerto; athi q̃ depois de m^{tos} mil annos nascesse Ramẽ e lhe puzesse os pes

[38] Brahmastra has often been likened to a nuclear missile; some have even suggested it was one. The possibility that the weapons described in ancient Indian literature were nuclear was recognised by J. Robert Oppenheimer (1904–1967), a Sanskrit scholar, but most remembered for his work on the first atomic bomb.

encima: o qual pẽ depois posto resucitou Agali. e cõuertida outra ues em molher …. (de Proença 1670:59)

[*Akali* Wife of the penitent Gautama; who, for betraying her husband with the God Indra, was cursed by this same husband, who changed her into a rock in a desert; many thousands of years later Rama came forth, and he put his feet on it; which revivified Ahalya and turned her once again into a woman ....]

Ahalya was the wife of Gautama Maharishi. After an affair with Indra, the god of war and weather, she was cursed to be turned into a stone, but was later transformed into a woman once again by Rama and Lakshmana, who touched the stone with their feet.

Other laconic entries in the 1679 publication are even more greatly contrasted with the manuscript.

அரிகாபுததிான. Harigara putren: hũ idolo filho de Xiuan. (de Proença 1966[1679]:f.14v)

[*Arikaraputtiran* An idol, son of Shiva.]

This entry, on Hariharaputhiran, son of Shiva and Vishnu (the supreme being, in a female manifestation), was edited down from a 180-word entry in the manuscript version.

அருணன. Cocheiro do sol, oqual tinha mil maõs, e nenhũ pê. (de Proença 1966 [1679]:f.15v)

[*Aruṇan* Coachman of the sun, who has a thousand hands and no feet.]

Here the reference is to Aruna, the legless driver of the seven-horse chariot of the sun, Surya. In the manuscript, the text is some 120 words long.

அக்ஷசகுமாான. Hum filho do Gigante Ramanan, aquem mandou o pay prender ao bugio. (de Proença 1966[1679]:f.23v)

[*Akśacakumāran* A son of the giant Ramanan [*sic*], who commanded him to capture the monkey.]

The assumption here is that the reader will know which monkey is being referred to. This was not the intention of the original compiler: the entry is an abbreviation of the manuscript text of some one hundred words, where the word following “bugio” (“monkey”) indicates that the referent is Hanuman, the monkey-god. Its omission was possibly an oversight on the part of the editors. The manuscript text begins:

அக்ஷதகுமாான. hum filho do Gigante Rauanen, aquem mandou o Pay prender ao Bugio Anumon … (de Proença 1670:94)

[*Akśatakumāran* a son of the giant Ravana, who commanded him to seize the monkey Hanuman …]

The entry refers to Akshayakumara, whose father, Ravana, sent him against Hanuman's army. His warriors were routed, and Akshayakumara was killed by Hanuman.

> அனுமான. Hum Deos bogio &c: (de Proença 1966[1679]:f.10r). [*Anumāṉ* A monkey God etc.]

The corresponding manuscript entry on Hanuman runs to some 475 words in three columns.

What is significant here is not only that de Proença was obviously aware of many Hindu customs and practices, as well as of the events and characters in the *Ramayana*, but that he chose to list so many of the proper names in his dictionary.

Only a few Christian usages also appear, e.g.

> அககியானி. H. ou m. ignorante, está este nome jà imposto aos gntios [*sic*].
> இவனகிறிஸதுவஞெ அககியானியொ. hé este christaõ, ou gentio. (de Proença 1966[1679]: f.13r)
>
> [*akkiyāṉi* An ignoramus, man or woman, this noun is now applied to pagans. *ivaṉkiṟistuvaṉo akkiyāṉiyo* Is he a Christian or a pagan?]

The illustrative example is added to demonstrate the novel lexical contrast. The *Tamil Lexicon* gives the simple equivalent "heathen", with the diastratic label *Chr*[istian], and a cross-reference to the synonym, அஞ்ஞானி (*aññāṉi*)

> 1. Person without spiritual knowledge; … 2. Non-christian, pagan; …*Chr.* (*Tamil Lexicon* 1982[1924]:38)

However, even the word கிறிஸ்துவன் (*kiṟistuvaṉ*) "Christian" itself does not occur as a headword in de Proença's dictionary—at *kiṟi-*, what we find rather, among other entries, is one for *Krishna*, worshipped by many Hindu devotees as the eighth incarnation of Vishnu, and whose name in Sanskrit means 'dark' or 'black'; he is often depicted with blue skin:

> கிறிஷணன H. preto he nome proprio de Vixnu. (de Proença 1966[1679]:f.150r)
> [*kiṟiśṇaṉ* A dark man, this is a particular name of Vishnu]

10. ***Entry structure (8): A special case***

One entry is worthy of mention on its own: that concerning the holy five syllables of the Saivite invocatory mantra, *namasivaya* (see Anon. 1851)[39]:

> பஞசாகஷாம. Sinco letras postas em certa figura, que arremedã a o corpo humano, em que se fũda toda a siẽcia dos jogues. (de Proença 1966[1679]:f.102r)

[39] Cf. *Tamil Lexicon* (1982[1924]:2414): "பஞ்சாட்சரம் … *n*. pañcāṭcaram . < *pañcāk ṣara.* 1. The five-lettered mantra whose presiding deity is Šiva, viz., *na ma ci vā ya* ".

[*pañcākśaram* Five letters positioned in a particular pattern, representing the human body, on which is based the whole science of the yogis.[40]]

This laconic and uninformative entry is an abbreviation of a much longer original explanatory paragraph, accompanied by a line diagram (Plate 2)—the first extant example of a pictorial illustration in a Tamil dictionary (James 2000:98)[41]:

பஞசாக்ஷாம. Sinco letras postas em certa figura, que {*areme*} da ao corpo hum[a]n {o *em q̃*} se funda toda as{*iencia dos jo*}gues. He desta {*so*}rte. Aletra e dizem estar nofim do espinaço dabanda de baixo ea hi dizem estar o deos Brumã. Aletrra ம poem nabexiga, eahi dizem estar o dś Vixnu. Alet ra சி poem no estomago ao:nde saco[…] o comer eahi dizẽ es:tar odś Xiuen. Aletra வ po:é nos bojes aonde sefas ar**{***espiraçaõ e a hi dizem estar o D*^{s} *Srayaruven. A letra* ய *poem nos olhos, aonde se ajuntaõ as especias vizuais, e a hi dizem estar o D*^{s} *Vayraven. Estas sinco letras todas formaõ o nome de Xiven* நமசிவாயம. *Finalm*^{te} *poem na testa o* அ, *a onda esta a potencia intelletiva; eahi dizem estar a p*^{a} *cauza q̃ chamaõ Xâdâruvam. O p*^{o} *quadro reprazenta as cadeyras: os sinco* [...] *a bexiga. o p*^{o} *triangulo a barriga;* […]*dros o peito. Emcima a cabeça: o* ஓ, *q̃ cerca tudo reprazenta a pelle. o* உ *q̃ corsa de alto a bai xo, reprazenta oespinhaço. Aletra O so*[…] *a cabeça por particular inapoziçaõ dos jogues* […] *desorte q̃ começando do* அ *da testa, fica* அழ *arâ: começando do* க *fica* கர் *garâ: ambos nome de Vixnu. As letras* அ, *e* உ *de fora dividem varias opinioẽs, q̃ nesta material ha; por q̃ huns ademitẽ estas letras no corpo; outros nos elementos. V.* உளஞசமையம, *et* பிறசமையம. *Ao carto vem a* [?*fer tra do*] *as potencias, q̃ hã no corpo humano: sc. uirtus generativa: expulsiva, decoctiva, respirativa, sensetiva, r. illuminativa, e intelletiva.***}**

[*pañcākśaram* Five letters positioned in a particular pattern, representing the human body, on which is based the whole science of the yogis: in this way: <diagram> They say the letter *na* is from the spine to the end of the body and there they say is the god Brahma. They place the letter *ma* on the abdomen, and there they say is the god Vishnu. They put the letter *ci* on the stomach, where […] the food, and there they say is the god Siva. They put the letter *va* on the […] where breathing takes place, and here they say is the God [?]Rudra. The letter *ya* they place on the eyes, added to the visual faculties, and here they say is the God [?]Vayu. These five letters together form the name of Siva *namacivāyam*. Finally, they put the *a* on the head, the source of

[40] Cf. Nunez (1887[1548]:40): "Os pobres que ha entre elles se chamam os Joges, homens que elles teem por sanctos, e lhe fazem zombaria e dizem que são sanctos, pois de sua propria vontade andam a peregrinar pelo mundo. Estes Joges tem rei sobre si e lhes da muita esmola de tudo o necessario, e quanto mais rotos andam, por mais sanctos os teem". ["The poor among them are called yogis, men whom they consider holy, and who talk nonsense to them but tell them they are holy and then go wandering everywhere as they wish. These yogis lord it over everyone, and are given alms and every necessity; and the more tattered the state they go around in, the holier they are taken to be".]

[41] Here, in plain text, from MS M34 (de Proença 1670:224); with lacunae reconstructed from MSS M38, p. 186 {in *italics*} and M37, pp.129-130 **{**in *italics***}**. Illegible or missing text is indicated by […].

> intellectual power; there they say is the first cause, which they call [?]Sadasiva. The initial rectangle represents the haunches; the five […] the bladder; the first triangle, the stomach; the […]s, the chest. On the head, *o*, which encloses the whole, represents the skin; *u* running from top to bottom represents the spine. The letter O […] the head by a particular inappositeness of the yogis […] in such a way that beginning from the *a* on the head, gives *aẓa*; from *k*, *kara* – both the name of Vishnu. There are divided opinions over the outer letters *a* and *u* in this material: some ascribe these letters to the body, others to the elements. See *uḷañcamayam*; and *piṛacamayam*. On the diagram can be seen […] the powers in the human body: thus, the virtue of generation, evacuation, digestion, respiration, and illuminative and intellective perception.]

Some things here are right, but overall the text is very muddled, and in places difficult to understand, despite the illustrative supplement, because of the lack of contextualisation. A reader would need to have a certain amount of specialist knowledge before making sense of the content here, and one may wonder therefore really what use this kind of tangle would have been to the neophyte missionaries for whom it was prepared.

11. ***Renvoi***

De Proença's work was thus designed not merely as a dictionary of Tamil vocabulary, but also as an introductory reference on Hinduism for Christian missioners. The censors, even those of the Inquisition, saw nothing wrong with this, as far as it was confined to objective description — but they were adjudicating only the bowdlerised version. The earlier manuscripts contain a good deal more information than found its way into print. Indeed, the Inquisition was very wary about any interposition in the final publication of material which had not been sanctioned. In the forematter is reproduced the text of a despatch, dated 10th November, 1679, from Lopo Aluerez [Álvares] de Moura and Francisco Delgado e Mattos (c.1633–?), prosecutors of the Inquisition of Goa, to Ioaõ [João] de Magalhens SJ, from whom they had requested an *imprimatur* reference on the text, requiring him to certify that the printed proof conformed to the manuscript original he had been asked read. This is followed by the text of a note of 30th November, from de Magalhens to the Supreme Tribunal of the Inquisition, confirming that the proof print version did indeed correspond to the manuscript. Only then was the final licence to reproduce multiple copies granted (on 6th December).

De Proença's entries reveal something of early missionary achievements in learning not only about the Tamil language, but also about many aspects of Tamil culture. We find in the definitions and explanations evidence of, albeit fairly superficial, knowledge of, for example, anthropology, astrology, botany, cookery, history, mythology, popular culture, religion and zoology. Although the Jesuits had little sympathy with the beliefs of those they were aiming to

win over, the whole is presented dispassionately, and shows one way of how they tackled the 'discovery' of Hinduism.[42] Dare one read into the absence of overt censorious comment in de Proença's work a sneaking regard for some of the ancient learning of the Hindus, a gentle anticipation of Orientalism?

REFERENCES

A. ***Primary sources***

Beschi, Costanzo. 1738[1728]. *Grammatica Latino-Tamulica, Ubi de Vulgari Tamulicæ Linguæ Idiomate* கொடுந்தமிழ் *dicto ad Usum Missionariorum Soc. Iesu*. Trangambariae [Tranquebar]: Typis Missionis Danicæ.

Beschi, Costanzo. 1742. Vulgaris Tamulicæ linguæ dictionarium, pars secunda, in qua Lusitanis vocibus Latine explicatis vulgaris idiomatis Tamulica verba adjunguntur. MS Add. 26110, British Library, London.

Beschi, Costanzo. 1744. Dictionaire tamoul-françois pour expliquer le tamoul vulgaire avec vne préface ou sont plusieures regles qu'il faut sçavoir avant de faire vsage du dictionnaire. MS Or. 1308, British Library, London.

Beschi, Costanzo. c.1744. Petit dictionaire françois tamouil composé par le Reverend Pere Constat Beschi Missionaire de la Compagnie de Iesv. dans le Maduré avec l'aide du Tamouil Francois suffisant pour pouvoir s'enonçer sur tout. MS Or. 1308, British Library, London.

Beschi, Costanzo. 1827[1742]. Vulgaris Tamulicæ Linguæ Dictionarium Tamulico–Latinum additis in præfatione aliquot regulis necessario prælegendis. MSS Add. 26110 & Eur D 104, British Library, London. (*Dictionarium Tamulico–Latinum additis in præfatione aliquot regulis necessario prælegendis*. Trichinoploy: South India Times Press.)

Cardoso, Jeronimo. 1592[1562]. *Dictionarium Latinolusitanicum et vice versa Lusitani-colatinum, cum adagiorum feré omnium iuxta seriem alphabeticam perutili expositione. ... Adhuc noui huic vltimæ impressioni adjuncti sunt varij loquendi modi ex præcipuis auctoribus decerpti, præsertim ex Marco Tullio Cicerone*. Excussit A. de Syqueira; exp. S. Lopezij: Olyssipone [Lisbon]. (From *Hieronymi Cardosi Lamacensis Dictionarium ex Lusitanico in latinum sermonem*. Ulissypone: Ex offic. Joannis Alvari.)

Costa, Balthasar da. 17th cent. Vocabulario lusitano–tamulico. MS M35, State Central Library, Panaji.

[42] Cf. Loureiro (2000), Rubiés (2001), Županov (2003), Mohan (2005), Aranha (2006). A parallel situation may be found in the *Arte china* (1829) of the Lazarist, Joaquim Gonçalves (1781–1834), who followed the example of his Jesuit predecessors of the sixteenth century in their understanding of, and respect for, the language and culture of the peoples to whom they were ministering, and "closed an eye to some 'pagan' (i.e., non-Christian) or 'unorthodox' practices or sayings of the target language and culture(s), given that the aim was that of learning and mastering as well as possible the language of those they wanted to convert and not to judge them against a moral model that was foreign to them" (Levi 2007:229).

Goa, College of. 1887[1549]. Litterae a Goano Collegio in Urbem Missae. In *Selectae Indiarum Epistolae*, 1887.110-124.

Henriques, Henrique. 1887[1549]. Henrici Henriquez ad S. Ignatium. Punicale [Punnaikayal], 21st November, 1549. In *Selectae Indiarum Epistolae*, 1887.90-97.

Henriques, Henrique. 1967[1586]. *Flos Sanctorum*. Punicale [Punnaikayal]. (S. Rajamanickam ed., *Flos Sanctorum என்ற அடியார் வரலாறு*, தூத்துக்குடி தமிழ் இலக்கியக் கழகம்.)

Hobson-Jobson: Yule, Sir Henry & A. C. Burnell. 1886. *Hobson-Jobson: being a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases, and of kindred terms; etymological, historical, geographical, and discursive*. London: John Murray.

Lancilotto, Nicolo. 1887[1548]. Nicolai Lancilotti ad S. Ignatium. Cochin, 26th December, 1548. In *Selectae Indiarum Epistolae*, 1887.60-65.

Madeyra, Domingos de. 1750. Vocabulario Thamulico Luzitano para vzo dos missionaries da Companhia de Iesv. Composto, e augmentado pello P. Domingos Madeyra da mesma Companhia Missionario na Missaõ de Madurej. MS M37, State Central Library, Panaji.

Nunez, Balthasar. 1887[1548]. Litterae Balthasaris Nunez ad Fratres Conimbricenses. Travancore, 15th November, 1548. In *Selectae Indiarum Epistolae*, 1887.37-41.

[Proença, Antão de.] n.d. Vocabulario tamulico em luzitano. MS 146-A-14 (Res.), Biblioteca da Sociedade de Geografia, Lisbon.

[Proença, Antão de.] n.d. Vocabvlario Tamvlico Lvsitano. MS M38, State Central Library, Panaji.

[Proença, Antão de.] 1670. Vocabulario Tamulico Luzitano. MS M34, State Central Library, Panaji.

[Proença, Antão de.] dated 1750. Vocabulario tamulico–lusitano. MSS Indien 221 & 222, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

Proença, Antão de. 1966[1679]. *Vocabvlario Tamvlico*. *Com a significaçam portvgveza*. *Composto pello P. Antam de Proença*. *Da Companhia de Iesv Missionario da Missam de Madvrey*. *Com todas as licenças necessarias da santa Inquiziçaõ, e dos Superiores*. Na impresssa Tamulica da Prouincia do Malabar, por Ignacio Archamoni impressor della, Ambalacatta em 30. de Iulho, 1679 annos. (Borg. Ind. 12, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.) (Facsimile edition, *Antaõ de Proença's Tamil–Portuguese Dictionary A. D. 1679*, prepared for publication by Xavier S. Thani Nayagam. Kuala Lumpur: Department of Indian Studies, University of Malaya.)

Rottler, J. P. 2000[1834, 1836, 1839, 1841]. *Dictionary of the Tamil and English languages*. Madras: Vepery Mission Press. [Vol. 1, Part 1, 1834; Vol. 1, Part 2, 1836–37; Part 3, revised by W. Taylor & T. Vencatachala Moodelly, 1839; Part 4, revised by W. Taylor & T. Vencatachala Moodelly, 1841. Reprinted in four parts as *A Dicitonary Tamil and English* தமிழ்–ஆங்கில அகராதி. Chennai: International Institute of Tamil Studies, 2000.]

Selectae Indiarum Epistolae nunc primum editae. 1887 Florentiae [Florence]: Ex Typographia a SS. Conceptione.

Tamil Lexicon. 1982[1924]. Chief ed. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai. Madras: University of Madras. Online version: http://www.dsal.uchicago.edu/dictionaries/tamil-lex/

Winslow, Miron. 1998[1862]. *A Comprehensive Tamil and English Dictionary*. Madras: P. R. Hunt. (Repr. New Delhi & Madras: Asian Educational Services, [1]1979, [11]1998.)

B. ***Secondary sources***

Adams, J[ames] N. 1982. *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary*. Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Afonso, John Correia. 1995. "To cherish and to share: The Goan Christian heritage". Wagle & Coelho, eds., 1995. Online: http://www.goacom.com/culture/religion/gch/ (11th April, 2007).

Anonymous. 1851. "Note on the Pantshátshara-Yógam, the Formula of Five Characters". *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 2.152-154.

Aranha, Paolo. 2006. *Il Cristianesimo Latino in India nel XVI Seculo*. Milano [Milan]: Edizioni Franco Angeli.

Arden, A. H. 1942[1891]. *A Progressive Grammar of the Tamil Language*. 5th ed. Revised by A. C. Clayton. Madras: Christian Literature Society.

Asher, R. E. 1966. "The verb in spoken Tamil". Bazell *et al*., eds. 1966.15-29.

Asher, R. E., ed. 1971. *Proceedings of the Second International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies, 1968.* Madras: International Association of Tamil Research.

Asher, R. E. 1985. *Tamil*. London, Sydney & Dover NH: Croom Helm.

Bazell, Charles E., J. C. Catford, M. A. K. Halliday & R. H. Robins, eds. 1966. *In memory of J. R. Firth*. London: Longman.

Elworthy, Frederick T. 2004[1895]. *The Evil Eye. An account of this ancient & widespread superstition.* London: John Murray. [Republished, *The Evil Eye: The classic account of an ancient superstition.* London: Dover.]

Gheusi, Pierre-Barthélemy. 1892. *Le Blason héraldique. Manuel nouveau de l'art héraldique de la science du blason et de la polychromie féodale d'après les règles du Moyen Âge*. Paris: Firmin Didot et Cie.

Gonçalves, Joaquim A. 1829. *Arte china constante de alphabeto e grammatica comprehendendo modelos das differentes composiçoens*. Macao: Real Collegio de S. José.

James, Gregory. 2000. *colporuḷ. A History of Tamil Dictionaries*. Chennai: Cre-A:.

James, Gregory. 2007a. "The structure of declension in early missionary grammars of Tamil". Zwartjes *et al*., eds. 2007.167-190.

James, Gregory. 2007b. "What Antão de Proença wanted to say: An initial look at the manuscript and printed versions of de Proença's *Vocabulario tamulico* (1679)". *no:kku* 1.1-9.

James, Gregory. 2007c. An early European lexicographer in the Indian forest: Entries on trees and plants in Antão de Proença's Tamil–Portuguese dictionary (1679). Presented at the 5th biennial conference of the Asian Association for Lexicography, Chennai, 6th December.

Klöter, Henning. 2007. "'*ay sinco lenguas algo difirentes*': China's local vernaculars in early missionary sources". Zwartjes *et al*., eds. 2007.191-210

Levi, Joseph A. 2007. Padre Joaquim Afonso Gonçalves (1781–1834) and the *Arte china* (1829): An innovative approach to teaching Chinese grammar. Zwartjes *et al*., eds. 2007.211-231.

Loureiro, Rui Manuel. 2000. "O descrobrimento da civilização indiana nas caratas dos jesuítas (século XVI)". *Encontro sobre Portugal e a Índia* 107-125. Lisboa [Lisbon]: Fundação Oriente / Livros Horizonte.

Master, Sir Streynsham. 1911[1675–1680]. *The Diaries of Streynsham Master, 1675–1680 and other Contemporary Papers relating thereto*. (Ed. Sir Richard Carnac Temple.) [London:] John Murray.

Matthew, K. M. 1993. Notes on an important botanical trip (1799–1800) of J. P. Rottler on the Coromandel Coast (India) with a translation of his original text, explanatory notes and a map. *Botanical Journal of the Linnean Society* 113:351-388.

Mohan, Jyoti. 2005. "La civilisation la plus antique: Voltaire's images of India". *Journal of World History* 16.173-186.
http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/jwh/16.2/mohan.html (10th September, 2007)

Oxford English Dictionary. 1999. CD-ROM version 2.01. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rajamanickam, S. 1971. "Padre Henriques, the father of the Tamil press". Asher, ed. 2. 520-527.

Rajamanickam, S. 1972. *The First Oriental Scholar*. Tirunelveli: De Nobili Research Institute.

Rottler, Johann Peter. 1803. Botanisiche Bemerkungen auf der Hin- und Rückreise von Trankenbar nach Madras vom herrn Missionair Rottler zu Trankenbar mit Anmerkungen con Herrn Professor C. L. Wildenow. *Geselschaft Naturforschender Freunde zu Berlin, Neue Schriften* 4:180-224.

Rubiés, Joan-Pau. 2001. "The Jesuit discovery of Hinduism: Antonio Rubino's account of the history and religion of Vijayanagara (1608)". *Archiv für Religonsgeschichte* 3.210-256.

Schiffman, Harold F. n.d. "Deverbal nominal derivation in Tamil".
http://www.ccat.sas.upenn.edu/~haroldfs/public/VNOUN.PDF (10th April, 2007)

Schiffman, Harold F. 1999. *A Reference Grammar of Spoken Tamil*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schurhammer, Georg. 1977. *Francis Xavier, His Life, His Times*. Vol. 2: *India 1541–1545*. (Tr. M. J. Costelloe.) Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu.

Shaw, Graham. 1987. *South Asia and Burma Retrospective Bibliography*. London: British Library.

Sommervogel, Carlos. 1895. *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*. Vol. 6. Bruxelles [Brussels]: Schepens / Paris: Picard.

Thani Nayagam, Xavier. 1964. "Antao de Proenca's Tamil–Portuguese Dictionary, 1679". *Tamil Culture* 11.117-127.

Thompson, Edward J. 1928. *Suttee*. *A historical and philosophical enquiry into the Hindu rite of widow-burning*. London: G. Allen & Unwin.

Vinson, Julien. 1903. *Manuel de la langue tamoule*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.

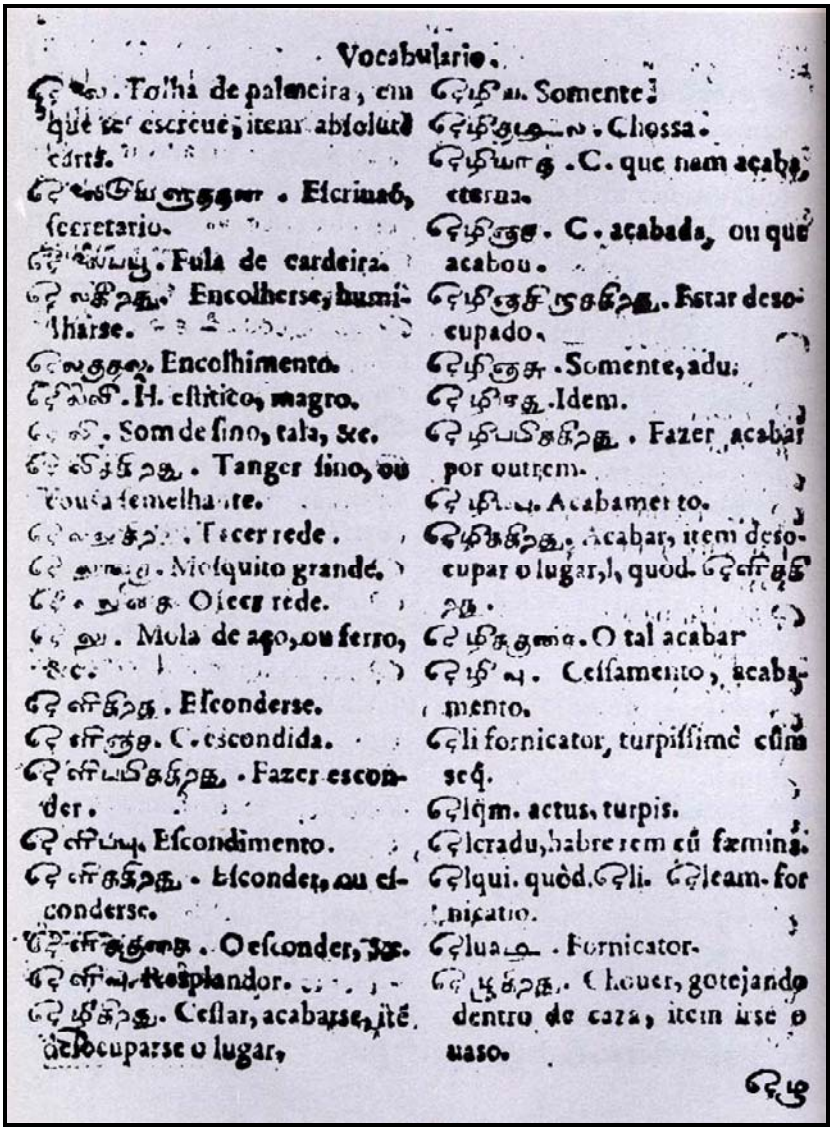
Vinson, Julien.1910. "Le premier vocabulaire tamoul imprimé". *Revue de linguistique et de philologie comparée* 15.74-82.

Wagle, Narendra K. & George Coelho, eds. 1995. *Goa: Goa continuity and change*. Toronto: University of Toronto Centre for South Asian Studies.

X***, Jacobus [pseud. of Louis Jacolliot]. 1893. *L'amour aux colonies*. *Singularités physiologiques et passionnelles observées durant trente années de séjour dans les colonies françaises*. Paris: Liseux.

Županov, Ines G. 2003. 'On Indian Heathenism'. http://www.ineszupanov.com/publications/Portugal%20Indico%202003%20Fernandes.pdf (10th September, 2007)

Zwartjes, Otto, Gregory James & Emilio Ridruejo, eds. 2007. *Missionary Linguistics III / Lingüística misionera III*. *Morphology and Syntax*. *Selected papers from the Third and Fourth International Conferences on Missionary Linguistics, Hong Kong / Macau 2005, Valladolid 2006*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.



Vocabulario.

. Tolha de palmeira, em que se escreue, item absolute carta.

. Escriuão, secretario.

. Fula de cardeira.

. Encolherse, humilharse.

. Encolhimento.

. H. estitico, magro.

. Som de sino, tala, &c.

. Tanger sino, ou cousa semelhante.

. Fazer rede.

. Mosquito grande.

. Ofecr rede.

. Mola de aço, ou ferro, &c.

. Esconderse.

. C. escondida.

. Fazer esconder.

. Escondimento.

. Esconder, ou esconderse.

. Oesconder, &c.

. Resplandor.

. Cessar, acabarse, itẽ desocuparse o lugar,

. Somente.

. Chossa.

. C. que nam acaba, eterna.

. C. acabada, ou que acabou.

. Estar desocupado.

. Somente, adu.

. Idem.

. Fazer acabar por outrem.

. Acabamento.

. Acabar, item desocupar o lugar, l, quod .

.

. O tal acabar

. Cessamento, acabamento.

li fornicator, turpissimè cũ seq.

lqm. actus, turpis.

lcradu, habere rem cũ fœmina.

lqui. quòd. li. leam. fornicatio.

luas . Fornicator.

. Chouer, gotejando dentro de caza, item use o uaso.

Plate 1: Page incorporating the digraphic entries at ளி etc. (bottom of column 2) in Antão de Proença's *Vocabvlario Tamvlico* (1679), f. 93v.



Plate 2: Page incorporating the entry at பஞசாக்ஷரம (*pañcākśaram*) (second headword, column 2) in *Vocabulario Tamulico Luzitano* (MS M34, p. 224, State Central Library, Panaji)

THE EARLIEST HOKKIEN DICTIONARIES

HENNING KLÖTER
National Taiwan Normal University[1]

RESUMEN

A finales del siglo XVI varios miembros de la misión jesuita en China comenzaron el arduo trabajo de escribir diccionarios de la lengua china. Los contenidos de los mismos se centraban principalmente en la lengua literaria y de los mandarines empleada en la corte como medio casi oficial de comunicación. Estos diccionarios además reflejan la posición social que ocupaba la orden jesuita en China, que tan conocida es hoy en día por su interacción con los funcionarios intelectuales de la corte. Paralelamente al trabajo de los jesuitas en China, otros misioneros pertenecientes a distintas órdenes comenzaron a realizar estudios lingüísticos entre la población china de comunidades de ultramar del sudeste asiático, principalmente en las Filipinas. En contraposición al enfoque orientado a las élites que seguía la misión jesuita en China, su investigación estaba centrada en la lengua regional china conocida como Hakka y dieron lugar a una serie de diccionarios sobre la misma. En este capítulo se presentan cinco de estos trabajos. El análisis está centrado en la interrelación entre la disposición lexicográfica y la conceptualización de la lengua en la lingüística de las misiones del siglo XVII.

1. *Introduction*

In the late sixteenth century, members of the Jesuit mission in China became engaged in writing Chinese dictionaries. Focusing on the literary language and the quasi-official court language Mandarin, these dictionaries reflect the social status of the Jesuit order in China which is known for its close interaction with literati officials. Parallel to the China-based Jesuits, mission-

[1] This article is based on research conducted as part of my three-year project *Early descriptions of Southern Min*, funded by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO). The author would like to thank Pieter van den Broek, Koos Kuiper, Jeroen Wiedenhof, Otto Zwartjes, Thomas C. Smith-Stark, and Ramón Arzápalo Marín for valuable suggestions and critical comments.

aries of various religious orders started linguistic research among overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia, most notably the Philippines. In contrast to the elite-oriented approach of the Jesuit China mission, their research focused on the Chinese regional vernacular known as Hokkien and likewise resulted in a number of dictionaries. This paper is the first systematic comparison of the four oldest extant Chinese vernacular dictionaries in the context of early European conceptualizations of the Chinese language. The comparison focuses on the selection, arrangement, and contents of entries and devices of pronunciation coding. With its comparative approach, inclusion of two hitherto unnoticed sources, and intellectual-historical contextualization, this paper broadens the scope of previous research on early Hokkien lexicography, viz. Masini (2000) on the *Dictionarium Sino Hispanicum* (cf. 3.1) and Van der Loon (1967) on the *Bocabulario de la lengua sangleya* (cf. 3.3).

2. *Early European conceptualizations of the Chinese language*

The attitude of European scholarship towards the Chinese language was for long torn between fascination and cynicism. It is well known that scholars like Francis Bacon (1561–1626), Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680), and Gottfried W. Leibniz (1646–1716) were fascinated by Chinese characters. This fascination must be seen in the context of the European search for a universal language in the seventeenth century. According to Mungello:

> [This] search for a universal language had Biblical roots in the widespread assumption that the Primitive Language – a language of utter simplicity, clarity and uniformity – given by God directly to the first man, Adam, had been lost with the dispersion of tongues which occurred at the Tower of Babel. (Mungello 1985:34)

In order to overcome this loss, scholars like Bacon expressed the plan to create "Real Characters". These "would be capable of communicating their meaning to all nationalities in a clear, logically self-evident manner rather than in the usual arbitrarily agreed-upon manner of languages (Mungello 1985:35). The concept of Real Characters "involved writing that represents not merely letters or words but things and ideas" (Mungello 2005:86). It was widely believed that the Chinese character script could fulfill this role.

A rather different attitude can be found in a newspaper article written by Francis Jeffrey, published in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1805. Jeffrey wrote (cited by Kennedy):

> There is no instance, we believe, on the face of the earth, of a language so extremely imperfect and inartificial; and it is difficult to conceive how any race of people could be so stupid, or so destitute of invention, as to leave it in such a state of poverty. […] The structure of their written language shows that they are fully aware of the effects of combination; and yet they have in no one instance introduced a compound word into

> their written language, or ventured to combine two syllables into the symbol of a complex idea. (Jeffrey, cited in Kennedy 1951:165)

This excerpt is quoted in George A. Kennedy's famous article *The Monosyllabic Myth* (Kennedy 1951). In his article, Kennedy lucidly shows how deeply European scholarship held to "the faith that Chinese speak wholly in monosyllables" (1951:161). Although claims about syllabicity by definition pertain to the spoken language, their conceptual foundation stems from the reception of written sources. Kennedy writes that (1951:165f.):

> the words of more than one syllable are so thoroughly camouflaged by the system of writing, by the arrangement of dictionaries, and by the labor of centuries of fertile-minded scholars, that it requires a real effort to see them. A Chinese lexicon is strictly speaking not a dictionary of words at all, but at best a Collection of Symbolic Symbols, Ancient and Modern. And the major problems conjured up for themselves by western scholars are the result of putting the lexicon before the language. They have apparently proceeded on the theory that the language is made by piecing together syllables from the dictionary, whereas the truth is that the dictionary was made by breaking the language into pieces.

European sinophiles and sinophobes alike had no immediate access to the Chinese language. Instead, they had to rely on reports by missionaries who had learned the language *in situ*. Reports either reached them through procurators dispatched from the Chinese missions to Europe (cf. Kraft 1976:94; Dehergne 1973:314ff.) or through direct correspondence with the missionaries (for Leibniz' correspondence with China-based Jesuits, see Widmaier 1990; 2006). And indeed, early European ideas about the Chinese language were largely congruent with conceptualizations of the Chinese language and script formulated by well-known pioneers of the Jesuit China mission, such as Matteo Ricci (1551–1610). For example, in Ricci's diary, we find the following passage on the Chinese language (1953:26f.):

> In style and composition their written language differs widely from the language used in ordinary conversation, and no book is ever written in the colloquial idiom. A writer who would approach very close to the colloquial style in a book would be considered as placing himself and his book on a level with the ordinary people. Strange to say, however, that in spite of the difference that exists between the elegant language which is employed in writing and the ordinary idiom used in everyday life, the words employed are common to both languages. The difference between the two forms is therefore entirely a matter of composition and style. All Chinese words, without exception, are monosyllabic. I have never encountered a dissyllabic or a polysyllabic word, although a number of words may have two or even three vowel sounds, some of which may be diphtongs.
>
> When I speak of diphtongs I have in mind our European nomenclature. The Chinese are not accustomed to speak of vowels and consonants because every word, just

> as every object, is represented by its own ideograph, or symbol, used to represent a thought. (translation by Gallagher, Ricci 1953:26)

The Jesuits in China are known for their close cooperation with the literati elite. This cooperation had important implications for their language study. Pioneer members of the China mission like Matteo Ricci, Michele Ruggieri (1543–1607), and Niklaas (Nicola, Nicolas) Trigault (1577–1628) not only achieved an excellent command of the Chinese court language Mandarin, they also impressed Chinese literati officials with their mastery of the written language. In the field of lexicography, the accommodationist approach of the Jesuits resulted in a remarkable dictionary: the *Xīrú ěrmù zī* 西儒耳目資 'An aid to the ear and the eye of Western scholars', written by Trigault with the assistance of the Chinese scholars Hán Yún 韓雲 and Wáng Zhēng 王徵 in 1626 (Masini 1996:236; a detailed study of the *Xīrú ěrmù zī* is Chen 1987, see also Lo 1930; Sòng 2004). The *Xīrú ěrmù zī* is not only entirely written in Chinese, it also incorporates various Chinese lexicographical traditions and phonological distinctions. The two main volumes of the three-volume dictionary are essentially listings of character readings in the Latin alphabet. The readings reflect, according to Coblin (1997:262), the standard Mandarin pronunciation of the late Míng 明 dynasty (1368–1644).

The popularity of Jesuit accounts in European scholarly circles may lead to the false impression that Chinese missionary linguistics at that time was a monopoly of the Jesuit China mission. Nothing could be less true. When Trigault wrote his *Xīrú ěrmù zī*, Jesuits and especially Dominicans based in Southeast Asia were likewise engaged in compiling dictionaries of the Chinese vernacular spoken in overseas Chinese communities. This vernacular is known as Hokkien, a collective term currently used for the Chinese dialects spoken in China's southeastern Fújiàn 福建 province, Taiwan and a number of Southeast Asian countries, e.g., in the Philippines, Malaysia and Singapore.[2]

The fact that many Hokkien speakers lived outside China has important implications for the history of missionary linguistics. For centuries, access to China was restricted to a rather small group of Jesuits. Other monastic orders also tried to get access, but it was not before the 1630s that Franciscans and

[2] The same group of dialects is also known as Southern Mǐn. The name Hokkien derives from the Hokkien pronunication *hok*^{3}*-kien*^{4} of Fújiàn. According to Ethnologue (2007), there are more than 25 million Hokkien speakers in China, more than 15 million in Taiwan and some four million speakers in Southeast Asia. Hokkien is known as the first Chinese variety to have split off from Old Chinese. In modern Hokkien dialects, many phonological and lexical archaisms as well as non-Sinitic vocabulary are preserved. Hokkien and other Chinese varieties, such as Cantonese and Mandarin, are mutually unintelligible.

Dominicans from Manila reached the coast of Fújiàn (Brockey 2007:102). However, through contact with Chinese communities in Southeast Asia, especially the Philippines, they had started their preparation for proselytizing activities in China much earlier. Their preparatory work also included language research, which in turn resulted in a number of Hokkien dictionaries. As I will show in the following sections, the lexicographic arrangements of these dictionaries reflect a conceptualization of language that fundamentally differs from those of the China-based Jesuits. Operating outside the boundaries of the literati elite, Philippine-based missionaries naturally felt much less committed to the accommodation of Chinese literary traditions. This in turn opened space for an analysis of the actual spoken language they encountered. As their dictionaries reveal, the missionary compilers were aware of various aspects of linguistic analysis and methodology. They consistently distinguished linguistic form and meaning and showed a clear understanding of issues such as word formation, phrase structure, and lexical fields.

3. ***Early Hokkien dictionaries***

3.1 *The Rome manuscript*

It is not known for certain when contacts between overseas Chinese and European missionaries in the Philippines first resulted in the compilation of Chinese grammars and dictionaries. If historical reports are correct, the first Hokkien dictionary was written before 1580 by the Spanish Augustinian Martín de Rada (1533–1578) as part of the *Arte y vocabulario de la lengua china* (Masini 2005:183; Jiménez 1998:182). This would imply that Chinese missionary linguistics actually started outside China, as Rada's *Arte y vocabulario* would be older than Matteo Ricci and Michele Ruggieri's Portuguese-Chinese dictionary which was presumably compiled in the 1580s (Weingartner 1975:224-225; Witek 2001:156-158; Yang 1989:210). However, reported titles are not the same as extant sources, and the whereabouts of de Rada's dictionary – and many other early dictionaries – has never been determined. The oldest extant Hokkien dictionary is kept in the Biblioteca Angelica in Rome. The unnumbered title folio was signed by the Jesuit Pedro [Petrus] Chirino (1557–1635) on 31 March 1604. It also identifies Chirino as the compiler. It reads as follows (original emphasis):

> Dictionarium, Sino Hispa/nicum quo P. Petrus Chirino / societatis Jesu linguam / sinensium in Filipinis / addiscebat ad convertendos / eos Sinenses qui Filipinas / ipsas incolunt et quadra/ginta millium numerum excedunt.
>
> [Chinese-Spanish dictionary, with which Father Petrus Chirino of the Society of Jesus has learned the Chinese language of the Philippines for the conversion of those Chinese who inhabit the Philippines proper and exceed the number of 40,000.]

Chirino was a native of Osuna in Andalucia. He entered the Jesuit Order in 1559, at the age of 22, and first arrived in the Philippines in 1590 (Blair & Robertson 1904b:175). In 1600, he became the first director of the College of Manila. The college was, in the words of Chirino's contemporary Francisco Vaez, "the leading one" in the Philippines (cf. Vaez' letters in Blair & Robertson 1904a:195). In the early seventeenth century, it was, however, in first instance a Jesuit residence which also provided instruction to Spaniards and natives (ibid.). Chirino is also known as the author of one of the first comprehensive western narratives of the history, flora and fauna, customs, and Christianization of the Philippines entitled *Relacion de las islas Filipinas* ('Report on the islands of the Philippines', hereafter: *Relacion*; English translation in Blair & Robertson 1904b:169-321; 1904c:27-217). The *Relacion* was published in Rome in 1604, during Chirino's four-year sojourn in Europe. He returned to Manila in 1606 (Blair & Robertson 1904b:176). The following quotation from the *Relacion* gives a good impression of Chirino's interest in languages and of his commitment to language learning:

> I will say that the facility with which many ministers of the Lord in the four religious orders learned the languages used in their respective missions, even so as to preach and hear confessions in them, seems a gift from heaven. The most tardy student of them, if he apply himself moderately, spends no more than six months; and one of Ours, Father Cosme de Flores, learned and mastered this language, so that he could preach and hear confessions, in seventy-four days to the astonishment of our people, as well as of the Indians themselves. The latter, seeing this facility, say that God, without doubt, bestows it upon us, recognizing their needs. In truth these languages are not very difficult, either to learn or to pronounce – and more especially now, since there is a grammar, a vocabulary, and many writings therein. The most difficult is the language of Manila (which they call Tagal) – which, I have already said, Father Martin Henriquez learned in three months; and in three more, he used it fluently. This was the first of the native languages that I learned, to which and to the others I shall profitably devote another chapter. (translation in Blair & Robertson 1904b: 234f.)

In the chapter *Of the Languages of the Filipinas*, not a single reference to Hokkien is made. Instead, the chapter exclusively deals with native Philippine languages and provides translations of the *Ave Maria* in Tagal (p. 237), Harayan (p. 238), and Bissayan (p. 239). On the one hand, this seems hardly surprising, as the rapid growth of the Chinese population in the Philippines had just begun a few decades earlier.[3] Despite the existence of a Chinese commercial and residential center known as Parián (cf. Biermann 1927:13), the Chinese, commonly referred to as Sangleys, were considered a foreign

[3] According to Biermann (1927:13), 10,000 Chinese residents lived in Manila in 1589. In 1602, the number had risen to 30,000.

population group, and their language was associated with their Chinese homeland. On the other hand, however, it seems like an irony in missionary linguistic history that Chirino, as the compiler of one of the first Spanish-Hokkien dictionaries, does not say anything about this contribution in his *Relacion*. When writing of Chinese language learning, he merely mentions Father Francisco Almerique (dates unknown), who "began the study of the Chinese language, in his zeal to aid in the conversion of the many Chinese who came to Manila and whom we in the Filipinas call Sangleys" (Blair & Robertson 1904b:199f.). In the preface of the English translation of the *Relacion*, however, it is mentioned that, after 1595, Chirino resided in Cebu. There he "undertakes to instruct the Chinese, whose language he soon learns sufficiently for that purpose" (Blair & Robertson 1904b:22). Chirino's command of Chinese is also mentioned by de la Costa who writes that "[i]n order to be able to work among them [the 200 Chinese residents of Cebu, H.K.] Chirino applied himself to the study of the language […] under a young Christian Chinese […] sent from Manila to be his tutor" (1961:166f.).

As mentioned above, Chirino signed the first folio of the *Dictionarium* on 31 March 1604. It was presented to the Augustinian cardinal Angelo Rocca (1545–1620), sacrist of the Pope, well-known bibliophile and founder of the Biblioteca Angelica, where the manuscript is still kept today (Masini 2000:61). The date of the signature and the explicit mention of the fact that 40,000 Chinese resided in the Philippines has some historical significance. As already pointed out, the number of Chinese residents in Manila had risen quickly towards the end of the sixteenth century. After the turn of the century, tensions between Chinese and Spaniards had grown. In October 1603, the Spaniards suppressed an uprising, resulting in the massacre of 20,000 Chinese people (Van der Loon 1966:1; Biermann 1927:13). As Chirino had left Manila a year before, Van der Loon conjectures that he was unaware of this situation (1967:98). In short, the first Spanish-Hokkien dictionary was signed at a time when political tensions between the Spaniards and the Chinese in Manila had reached new heights. In 1605, two years after the massacre in Manila, the Spanish archbishop of the Philippines, the Dominican Miguel Benavides (1550–1605), described the Sangleys as "infidels and idolaters". He writes that they are "a most pernicious and injurious people to be settled among the Christian natives, newly converted to our holy Catholic faith; for the said infidel Sangleys are most vicious, both with women and in an unnatural manner, and are extremely liberal in spending money for their purposes and desires, and artful and crafty for every form of evil" (quoted in Blair & Robertson 1904c:271).

Chirino's *Dictionarium* consists of 84 folios. Each folio contains an average of 13 entries. In accordance with its title ("Sino-Hispanicum"), the source language of the dictionary is Chinese, or, more specifically, Hokkien. Characters are the central unit of each entry. This is reflected in the arrangement of an entry: characters are written larger than Roman letters and thus occupy more space, romanized transcriptions and Spanish translations appear as appended units. Moreover, the reading direction of each folio follows the reading of characters, i.e., from top to bottom, from right to left. The sequence of folios does not follow obvious lexicographic principles. The *Dictionarium* starts off with five folios which are loosely linked to Chinese lexicographical tradition. The remaining 79 folios contain divisions according to semantic fields, topics, and syntactic patterns. None of these divisions are explicitly marked in the *Dictionarium*. The first five folios each contain four columns of five characters. The characters on each folio share one graphic component roughly indicating the meaning of the character. Such a graphic element is known as signific or radical (cf. Norman 1988:68). For example, among the entries on folio 1, we find "銀 *gin* – Plata" ("silver"),[4] "銅*Tang* – cobre" ("copper"), "錫 *Sià* – Estaño" ("tin"), and "釘 *Teng* – clavo" ("nail"). All these characters share the signific 釒 , which is a condensed form of 金 "metal, gold". The characters on folio 2 share the signific 木 "wood", followed by the shared signific 氵 "water" on folio 3, 火 "fire" on folio 4, and 土 "earth" on folio 5. These five significs represent the five elements metal, wood, water, fire and earth in Chinese philosophy.

The lexicographic arrangement according to shared significs of characters is quite common in Chinese lexicographic history and goes back to Xǔ Shèn's well-known *Shuōwén jiězì* 說文解字 of 100 CE. However, the use of only five significs on the first five folios of a dictionary is rather unusual. It seems that Chirino did not aim at a systematic incorporation of Chinese lexicographical traditions. Keeping in mind that many missionary linguistic sources were chiefly compiled for teaching purposes, it can rather be assumed that the first folios represent an attempt to introduce the principles of character writing. The shape of the characters leaves no doubt that they were written by a native Chinese hand, and not Chirino himself. The person who wrote the characters must have been Chirino's Chinese tutor mentioned above. It is not unlikely that the didactic approach to start a dictionary with principles of character writing came from the tutor.

[4] In this paper, guillemets enclose (parts of) original entries quoted from dictionaries. Angled brackets enclose original spellings of single words.

The folios after f. 5 can be grouped into thematic sections. For example, folios 6-9 list names of animals, folios 18 and 19 contain words for body parts, folios 25 and 26 introduce numbers, measures and weights, and on folios 75-77 we find words for crimes and sentences (for details, I refer to Masini 2000:65-67). In some sections, the thematic focus is self-evident. Other sections rather seem like a random collection of words and phrases. Compare, for example, the sequence of entries on folio 10 and on folio 40, in tables 1 and 2.

	Entry	**English**
1.	天 Th˘I – Cielo	“heaven”
2.	日 Tzit – Sol Dia	“sun”, “day”
3.	月 Goe – Luna	“moon”
4.	星 Ch˘ee – Estrella	“star”
5.	雲 Hun – Nube	“cloud”
6.	雨 Hou – llover	“rain”
7.	霜 S˘ng – Nieve	“snow”
8.	雪 Se – Piedra	“hail”
9.	露 Lou – Rocio	“dew”
10.	霧 Bu – Niebla	“fog”
11.	電 Siná – Relampago	“lightning”
12.	雷 Lui – Trueno	“thunder”
13.	霓 Gei – Granizo	“hail”
14.	風 Hong – Viento	“wind”
15.	地 Tei – Tierra	“earth”
16.	山 Su˘a – Monte	“mountain”
17.	海 Hai – Mar	“sea”
18.	嶼 Su – Isla	“island”
19.	石 Chio – Piedra Peña	“stone”, “rock”
20.	泥 Tou – Tierra	“earth”

Table 1: Dictionarium, *f. 10*

Entry	**English**
騙尔 P.hien lu – Engañô te	“I cheat you”
度尔 Thou lu – Dar te	“give you”
乞尔 Qhi lu – Para ti	“for you”
虧我 Qhui goa – Sin culpa	“without fault”
做惡 Cho oc – Hazer mal	“do harm, hurt, damage”
敢 ca – atrever se	“dare”
不敢 m̃ ca – no atreverse	“dare not”
定 Tia – seguro	“sure”
不定 m̃ tiá – No seguro	“not sure”
欺負 Qhi hu – Agravio	“offense, insult”
作主 Cho chu – Agente Hazedor	“agent, maker”
只個 Chi gue – Aqui	“here”

Table 2: Dictionarium, *f. 40*

The thematic coherence of expressions in table 1 is obvious, as they all relate to natural and geographic phenomena. Some links between the expressions in table 2 can also be established. The first three entries, arranged in one column in the *Dictionarium*, are verbal expressions with the complement <lu> "you". The following six entries (4-9) can be subdivided into three pairs of antonyms. Despite these links, there is no superordinate concept to which all entries on this folio could be related. Similar lack of thematic coherence can be observed for many other folios. This observation is not intended as criticism of lexicographical shortcomings. It would likewise be wrong to emphasize the provisional character of the *Dictionarium*. After all, Chirino himself considered the manuscript appropriate to be labeled a *Dictionarium* and and worthy of being presented to the papal sacrist. The observed idiosyncrasies in the arrangement should rather be taken as evidence that a missionary source labeled *Dictionarium* does not necessarily fall into modern lexicographic categories. Instead, Chirino's *Dictionarium* seems to share some characteristics with European polyglot dictionaries originating in the sixteenth century (Niederehe 1986:170f.). Like polyglot dictionaries, the *Dictionarium* was in first instance compiled for practical purposes, and it is by and large divided into thematic subsections.

At the micro level, the *Dictionarium* has different levels of linguistic analysis. The use of a transcription system indicating the pronunciation of Hokkien headwords shows that Chirino devoted due attention to linguistic form. The inclusion of polysyllabic expressions and sentences as headwords indicates that Chirino reflected on word formation and sentence structure.

In many respects, Chirino's transcription system is provisional. Most importantly, diacritics are used rather scarcely and randomly. Seven different diacritics occur, viz. acute accent, grave accent, circumflex, a half circle (resembling a breve sign inserted between two letters), tilde, a dot (inserted between two letters) and apostrophe. Whereas the latter four indicate nasality (half circle and tilde) and aspiration (dot and apostrophe), the function of the former three diacritics is less obvious. Masini conjectures that they may have been used for indicating tones. According to his hypothesis, the acute accent stands for the *yīnpíng* tone, the grave accent for the *yīnrù* tone, and the circumflex for the *yīnqù* tone (2000:68).[5] However, when comparing the transcribed syllables with the corresponding syllables in Douglas (1873), [6] matches between

[5] Traditional Chinese tone categories are explained in Norman (1988:53f.).

[6] As Douglas' dictionary is known for its rich data and accurate indication of tones in terms of traditional categories (for details, see Klöter 2005: 122-125), it constitutes a valuable reference point for comparison. In table 3, Douglas' tone diacritics have been replaced with numerals.

diacritics and tones turn out to be rather inconsistent. The acute accent, for instance, appears on 23 transcribed syllables in the *Dictionarium*. Five of these correspond to *yīnpíng* tone syllables in Douglas (1873), one corresponds to an *yīnshăng* tone syllable, two correspond to *yīnqù* tone syllables, six to *yángpíng* tone syllables, five to *yángqù* tone syllables and four to *yángrù* tone syllables. As shown in table 3, a similar picture arises when we examine the tone categories of the grave accent and the circumflex.

Chirino (1604)		**Douglas (1873)**		tone
acute accent				
Ió	cintur	io[1]	"waist"	*yīnpíng*
çhé	ermana mayor	che[2]	"affix to names of some women"	*yīnshăng*
C͡oá	mirar	khoa[n3]	"look"	*yīnqù*
quió	puente	kio[5]	"bridge"	*yángpíng*
siá	pueblo	sia[7]	"village"	*yángqù*
Eé	angosto	eh[8]	"narrow"	*yángrù*
grave accent				
siò	caliente	sio[1]	"warm, hot"	*yīnpíng*
chià	cañaduce	chia[3]	"sugar-cane"	*yīnqù*
sià	estaño	siah[4]	"tin"	*yīnrù*
ièn	plomo	ien[5]	"lead"	*yángpíng*
phuè	sobre cama	phoe[7]	"quilted coverlet"	*yángqù*
circumflex				
ch'îo	lança	chiu[n1]	"spear"	*yīnpíng*
goâ	yo	goa[2]	"I, me"	*yīnshăng*
i'ô	cabra	iu[n5]	"sheep, goat"	*yángpíng*
Eê	debajo	e[7]	"below"	*yángqù*

Table 3: *Use of diacritics in the* Dictionarium

In sum, the function of these three diacritics in Chirino's transcription system remains largely obscure, and there is no evidence for the systematic distinction of tones.

The lexicographic treatment of phrases in the *Dictionarium* (ff. 42-53 and ff. 78-83) shows that Chirino's analytical approach went beyond the listing of character readings. There are several instances in which he tried to render Hokkien word formation and syntax as closely as possible in the arrangement of the Spanish translation. To be sure, due to obvious syntactic differences between the source and target languages, this approach had limitations. Compare the arrangement of the Spanish translations in Figure 1 (slashes in the last column indicate a line break in the original).

lang	人	hombre	goa	我	yo te lo
cang	共	con	chin	親	entregue
gua	我	mi	cue	過	Y
sue	說	habla / y	lu	尔	Tu
goa	我	mi	chiu	手	lo / ni / egas
m̃	不	no	lu	尔	
chai	知	sabio	yao	夭	
			chi	諍	

Figure 1: *Transcript of* Dictionarium *(ff. 52, 53)*

As can be seen, each word of the Spanish translation is attached directly to its equivalent in the Hokkien sentence. A conversion of Chirino's vertical arrangement into a horizontal arrangement yields the following:

(1)	人	共	我	說		我	不	知
	lang	cang	goa	sue		goa	M̃	chai
	hombre	con	mi	habla	y	mi	No	sabio
	["man"	"with"	"me"	"talk"	"and"	"me"	"not"	"wise"]

It seems unlikely that the sequence of words in line 3, lit. "A person talks with me and I don't know", formed an acceptable Spanish sentence in 1604. In any case, the added *y* "and" shows that Chirino's direct renderings were also supposed to be syntactically intact translations. From the perspective of modern linguistic methodology, Chirino's Spanish renderings can be considered functional hybrids: they are, so to speak, glossing translations. The limitations of this method are obvious. As the above example shows, the as-direct-as possible rendering conceals the meaning of the Hokkien sentence, which should be translated as "I don't know what the person said to me." However, in Chirino's glossing translation, the first part of the Spanish sentence "hombre con mi habla" ("the person talks to me") cannot be read as an object of "mi no sabio" ("me not wise"). In a modern linguistic description, the same Hokkien sentence would possibly be glossed as follows:

(2)	人	共	我	說	我	不	知
	lang	cang	goa	sue	goa	m̃	chai
	man	with	1.sg	talk	1.sg	not	know

["I don't know what the person has said to me"]

In the translations of other Hokkien sentences, the glossing feature is not as obvious as in Figure 1. Overall, Chirino seems to prefer acceptable Spanish above direct glossing when the sequence of glossed Hokkien morphemes is in conflict with Spanish syntax. In the case of the sentence in the right column of Figure 1, it is unclear why Chirino chose a translation which hides the original diction. Example 3 is a presentation of Chirino's entry with a literal English

translation of the Spanish translation. Example four is my transcription, gloss and translation of the same entry.

(3) 我 親 過 尔 手 尔 夭 諍
goa chin cue lu chiu lu yao chi
yo te lo entregue y tu lo ni egas
["I surrender to you, and you deny it"]

(4) 我 親 過 尔 手 尔 夭 諍
goa^{2} chin^{1} koe^{3} lu^{2} chhiu^{2} lu^{2} iau^{2} chin^{3}
1.sg kiss exp 2.sg hand 2.sg still quarrel
["I have kissed your hand but you still quarrel"]

The separation of glosses and translations is now a generally-acknowledged principle of linguistic representation and does not need further elaboration here. The hybrid nature of Chirino's translations can be regarded as a preliminary concept of this separation. Chirino had some, albeit rudimentary, understanding of the fact that sentences need to be analyzed in terms of the sequence of morphemes and the meaning of the sentence as a whole. This in turn supports my claim that the lexicographic approach of vernacular dictionaries of the early seventeenth century differed fundamentally from the character dictionaries compiled on the Chinese mainland. This is not contradicted by the fact that characters are the main unit of an entry in the *Dictionarium*. Given the didactic purpose of missionary dictionary writing, it seems likely that the use of characters followed communicative considerations: only characters enabled Chirino's Chinese tutor to read out the entries for his student.

3.2 *A lost dictionary*

In the decades following the completion of Chirino's *Dictionarium*, Hokkien lexicography became more sophisticated. Later works are generally more comprehensive and more refined in terms of lexicographic arrangement and linguistic analysis. However, as Chirino's *Dictionarium* is the only extant Hokkien dictionary of its period providing explicit information on publication date and authorship, the chronological contexts of early Hokkien lexicography remain vague.

Unfortunately, what was presumably a milestone in the lexicographic history of Hokkien has been lost. Its title, however, is revealing. According to Van der Loon (1967:97), the complete title is *Diccionario de la lengua Chincheo que contiene los vocablos tambien simples que compuestos, con los caracteres generales y peculiares a questo dialecto, segun lorden del alfabeto español y las cinco tonadas chineses.* ["Dictionary of the Zhāngzhōu language containing both simple and compound words, with general characters and those

peculiar this dialect, in Spanish alphabetical order and with the five Chinese tones".][7] Van der Loon points out that the dictionary once belonged to the well-known French sinologist Jean-Pierre Abel-Rémusat (1788–1832) who wrote a detailed description of it (Abel-Rémusat 1825). According to this description, it contained 436 leaves of Chinese paper, each leaf being divided in two columns of 24 lines (Van der Loon 1967:97).

Each detail of the title shows that a few years after Chirino's *Dictionarium*, linguistic analysis and lexicographic coverage of Hokkien underwent considerable refinement. First, *vocablos tambien simples que compuestos* 'both simple and compound words' indicates that different types of word formation were explicitly distinguished. Second, *con los caracteres generales y peculiares a questo dialecto* 'general characters and those peculiar to this dialect' suggests that the compiler was aware of non-standard popular writing conventions for Hokkien dialects (for details, see Klöter 2005:41-87). Third, *segun lorden del alfabeto español* 'in Spanish alphabetical order' hints at an alphabetical arrangement of entries. According to Abel-Rémusat's description, this was a bilingual Hokkien-Spanish dictionary. Headwords are represented by Chinese characters, followed by their principal meaning in Spanish. If the arrangement is indeed in alphabetical order, this must be the alphabetical order of the Spanish transcription system indicating the reading of single characters. The analytic scope of this dictionary must have gone beyond the indication of character readings. As Abel-Rémusat emphasizes, "[c]e Dictionnaire chinois et espagnol ne paraît pas avoir été fait dans l'intention de donner l'interprétation isolée de chaque caractère en particulier" (1825:87). Its consequent extension of a single character-oriented analysis is, according to Abel-Rémusat, the most important merit of the dictionary. He writes that:

> Mais ce qui fait le principal mérite de l'ouvrage, et ce qui le distingue de tous ceux du même genre dont j'ai connaissance, c'est l'attention qu'a donnée son auteur aux phrases et aux expressions complexes dans lesquelles peut entrer chaque caractère. (1825:88)

Fourth, the reference to *cinco tonadas chineses* 'five Chinese tones' proves that tones were recognized. The number of tones is the same as in the *Arte de la lengua chiouchiu* (hereafter: *Arte*), the oldest extant missionary grammar of Hokkien (cf. Klöter 2007).

3.3 *The London manuscript*

The British Library in London holds a Hokkien dictionary entitled *Bocabulario de la lengua sangleya por las letraz de el A.B.C.* 'Vocabulary of

[7] Zhāngzhōu is a district in Fújiàn province, the homeland of Southern Mĭn (=Hokkien) dialects.

the Language of the Sangleys according to the letters of the Alphabet' (Add. 25.317, hereafter: *Bocabulario*). The *Bocabulario* is the oldest extant Hokkien dictionary in which entries are strictly separated into Hokkien headwords and Spanish translations and information categories. The year of compilation and the author of the *Bocabulario* are not known. In his meticulous analysis of textual and historical evidence, Van der Loon narrows the possible period of compilation down to the period 1609–1648 (1967:104). One convincing argument refers to the entry "Bee 馬" ("horse") which contains a lengthy subsection on the twelve animals of the Chinese zodiac (f. 21v). In this subsection, the years 1617 and 1618 are explicitly identified as the year of the snake and the year of the horse respectively. Other Gregorian years are not related to animals of the zodiac. It seems likely that, in order to illustrate the foreign system, the anonymous compiler chose the years in which he actually wrote the manuscript.

Comprising 224 double-sided folios, the *Bocabulario* has an alphabetic macro structure. Its some 1,500 entries are listed under ca. 300 section headings representing Hokkien monosyllables. For example, the section heading <Ban> on folio 18r is followed by the four entries *Ban* – "poco a poco o despaçio" ("little by little, slow"), *Ban* – "diezmil" ("ten thousand"), *Ban* – "arrancar" ("pull out, draw out"), and *Ban* – "sielo de lo [sic] de la cama" ("ceiling of bed"). Not all entries are monosyllabic. In some instances, the section heading represents the first syllable of a polysyllabic expression. Subsequent to the section heading <cam> on folio 46v, for instance, we find the entries *cam* – "naranjas" ("oranges"), followed by *camsia* – "dar gracias" ("give thanks"). In a few instances, the section heading is identified as a preposed or postposed syllable.

Characters are hardly used in the *Bocabulario*. In the few instances where they occur they have no fixed spot in the graphic arrangement of an entry. It cannot be ruled out that they were added by one of the later owners of the manuscript.[8] It is in any case obvious that the *Bocabulario* was not concerned with Chinese writing and lexicography. Instead of listing character readings, it presents words which have a pronunciation and a meaning. This is not to deny that the influence of character-based approach to language analysis is totally invisible in the *Bocabulario*. In view of the fact that ninety percent of the entries are monosyllabic, we must assume that the compiler analyzed Hokkien expressions as monosyllabic entities. It can also be assumed that this conception somehow resulted from the recitation of characters under the

[8] One of the previous owners was the German orientalist Julius Klaproth (1783–1835) who allegedly stole the manuscript from the Royal Library in Berlin (cf. Van der Loon 1967:107).

instruction of native tutors. When looking at the information categories of each entry, however, it becomes obvious that the analytic approach in the *Bocabulario* went far beyond the listing of monosyllabic readings. Explanations are surprisingly wide-ranging, clearly distinguishing phonological, semantic and morphological criteria of language analysis. In some instances, an entry even provides detailed cultural information associated with an expression under discussion. A tran-script of a typical entry reads as follows (*Bocabulario* f. 18r).

Ban	pronunçia se llanamente, sigca poco a poco o despacio. Redoplase de ordinario. U. g. ban ban sîo lu cheg coa aù lay chia ké chuē. peinsa despaçio tus peçados y despues ven a confesar. ban tâng lay no. Ven poco a poco […]
Ban	Al mismo tono. Diez mil. U. g. cheg ban diez mil no ban Veintemil sa ban Treintamil &a […]
[*Ban*	It is pronounced plainly, it means "little by little", "slow". It is normally reduplicated. For example, *ban ban sîo lu cheg coa aù lay chia ké chuē* "Think slowly about your sins and then come to confess"; *tâng lay no* "come little by little" […]
Ban	In the same tone. Ten thousand. For example, *cheg ban* "ten thousand"; *no ban* "twenty thousand"; *sa ban* "thirty thousand", etc. […]]

As in this transcript, most entries first indicate pronunciation and meaning of the headword. Explanations on pronunciation are often introduced with "pronunçiado" ("pronounced") or "pronunçiase" (also abbreviated as p^{se}) ("to be pronounced"). Interestingly, different manners of pronunciation are explained in the entry, but not encoded in the transcription of words. Tone diacritics are used occasionally only. In general, the transcription system is rather unsystematic with regard to tones as well as other phonological distinctions, such as aspiration and nasalization. A whole range of terms are used to describe pronunciation, some of which are listed in table 4.

Spanish	**English**	**Spanish**	**English**
a la dentro	"in the inside"	detenido	"detained"
abierta la boca	"mouth open"	en las narizes	"in the nose"
afecto	"affected"	gangoso	"nasal"
altillo	"risen"	llanamente	"plainly"
alto	"high"	llano	"flat"
baxa	"low"	melindroso	"fussy"
breue	"short"	rasposo en el pecho	"scratchy in the chest"
claro	"clear"	reçio	"strong"
con rregano	"with a scold"	riendose	"laughing"
de golpe	"with a hit"	seco	"dry"

Table 4: *Terms referring to pronunciation in the* Bocabulario

The denoted phonetic properties of some terms is quite obvious. Nasality, for example, is described with terms like “en las narizes” (“in the nose”) or “gangoso” (“nasal”). Different pitches are referred to by expressions like “alto” (“high”) or “baxa” (“low”). In many cases, however, it is hardly possible to establish clear links between the terms used in the *Bocabulario* and modern phonological terminology.

Tonal differences or correspondences between succesive headwords are often indicated, as for example in above transcript. The entry of the second headword *ban* – “diez mil” (“ten thousand”) on folio 18r starts with “Al mismo tono” (“in the same tone”), i.e. in the same tone as the preceding headword. The abbreviation “sig^{ca}” for “significa” (“means”) precedes the Spanish equivalent of the Hokkien headword. Sentences exemplifying the usage of headwords are indicated with *V.g.* abbreviating *verbi gratia* (“for example”).

Compared with other missionary sources of the seventeenth century, notably the *Arte* (Anonymous 17th century, de Mançano 1620; cf. 3.2), the high number of terms for the description of pronunciation is unusual. But then, the *Arte* – unlike the *Bocabulario* – uses a complete transcription system rendering all phonological distinctions. It can thus be assumed that the compiler of the *Arte* had a more systematic understanding of phonological contrasts than the compiler of the *Bocabulario*, whose usage of pronunciation-related terms is rather unsystematic. A possible conclusion is that around 1620, when both the *Bocabulario* and the *Arte* (Barcelona manuscript, cf. Klöter 2007) were compiled, phonological contrasts of Hokkien had been recognized, but this recognition had not yet materialized into a broadly-accepted descriptive terminology and romanization system.

The rather inconsistent use of terms referring to pronunciation does not imply that the compiler of the *Bocabulario* disregarded the relevance of pronunciation. Instead, the frequent occurrence of pronunciation as an information category shows that he recognized the importance of analyzing linguistic form. Apart from his treatment of pronunciation, meaning, and usage, he also shows a clear understanding of morphological issues. Free and bound morphemes, for instances, are implicitly distinguished in the following entry on folio 8r:

> Aň Preposiçion o adueruio que por si solo no se usa. pero allegado con otros sig^{ca} por V.g. por donde fue an te lo cû’ por alla an hu te por manila an bin hi la cû’ por aqui an chi te.
>
> [*Aň* Preposition or adverb which is not used on its own, but is linked to others. It means “by way of”. For example: “Which way did he go” *an te lo cû’*; “that way” *an hu te*; “by way of Manila” *an bin hi la cû’*; “this way” *an chi te*.]

Other entries also show that the compiler of the *Bocabulario* was obviously aware of word formation patterns. For example, under the section heading "tau pospuesto" (postposed *tau*), he lists the following entries with the suffix *-thau*, lit. "head, top", a very productive Hokkien suffix.

Entries		**Translation**
Puntau	sig[ca] señor	"mister", "gentleman"
Soantau	sig[ca] ajo legumbre	"garlic"
Tutau	sig[ca] asada o açadon	"hoe"
cátau[h]	sig[ca] la rodilla	"knee"
Poutau[h]	sig[ca] hacha. decortar	"axe"
Bintau	sig[ca] pan de castilla	"Castillian bread"

Table 5: *Entries with postposed* tau

The length of entries in the *Bocabulario* varies considerably. As in table 5, some entries are confined to providing Spanish equivalents of Hokkien headwords. Some entries spread across three pages, providing explanations of various example sentences or explaining cultural conventions associated with particular headwords. For example, the entry "Bee 馬" ("horse") not only lists various Hokkien collocations containing the morpheme *be*[2] "horse", but also introduces the "horse" as a Chinese zodiac sign. The entry reads as follows (ff. 21r-22r):

> Bee 馬 Como haçiendo restello despreçiando. Largo bajo/bayo u suaue. U.g. be lang el cavallo o Roçien o quartago bebo la yegua be jan Potro chio be subir a caualla Lo be apearse chuan be correr le poa Lobo caer de la cabalgadura. Be uã ensillar el cauallo uã la silla chí/chì be Regalar el cauallo chia be cauallo Rojo o uaio pido o infi / sillar pibe ensillar o aparejar el cauallo be pang lay es el establo estos sangleyes tienen a modo de los sig.nos o planetas que rreinan en el çielo signo de aries signo de pisçis &a. dose signos que cada uno dellos Reyna en un año entero y corren sus dose años ?hasta beluel otra buelta Uorden siruen estos para los hombres qundo nazen y dizen yo nasi en el reino de tal yo en el detal &a V.g. son los siguintes el primero el raton. chu. yasi el que naçio en el ano que reina ua el raton disi gua si siũ chu dize yo tengo el signo del rraton nasi en el signo de raton aquel siu muy gueco sig.ca el tal signo el seg.do es la baca gu: gua siũ gu nasi en el de la boca [sic] y asi sienpre el 3.o hou tigre El 4.o El conejo touh El 5.o La serçierpente leng. alto. El. 6.o La culebra chua que es el que predomina el año de 1617 el 7.o es Predomina el año 1617. El cauallo este bee Reina el año de 1618. El 8.o es la cabra o cabrito yõ muy gueco El 9.o es la mona o mico cau El 10.o La gallina Kei El 11.o El perro cau. El 12.o El puerco tu.
>
> [*Bee* 馬 As making ??? with contempt, long, low, and gentle. For example *becang* horse or nag or pony *bebo* mare *be jan* colt *chio be* get on a horse *lo be* shackle a horse *chuan be* ride a horse *poa lobo* fall off the horse *Be uã* saddle the horse *uã* the chair *chí/chì be* give a horse *chia be* red horse or bay ??? *pibe* saddle or prepare the horse *be pang lay* is the stable these Sangleys use for their signs or planets in Heaven, such as the aries sign, the piscis sign, etc. Twelve signs, each of which reigns in one whole year, run [over a period of] twelve years until the return of another round or order. They serve men to

indicate when they are born by saying I was born in the reign of such and such in the such and such. The examples are the following: The first one is the rat *chu*. Hence, one who is born in the year reigned by the rat would say *gua si siũ chu*, meaning "I have the sign of the rat, I was born in the sign of the rat". This *suy* [pronounced with] much resonance, means "this particular sign". The second is the cow *gu*: *gua siũ gu* "I was born in the one of the [cow]. The third is *hou* "tiger". The rabbit *touh* is the fourth. The fifth is the dragon *leng*, high [pronunciation]. The sixth is the snake *chua*. This is the one which predominates in the year 1617. The seventh, the horse - this *bee* - [is reigning in the] year 1618. The eighth is the goat or the kid *yõ*, [pronounced] with much resonance. The ninth is the monkey *cau*. The tenth is the hen *kei*. The eleventh is the dog *cau*. The twelfth is the pig *tu*.]

3.4 *The Manila manuscripts*

Two bilingual Spanish-Hokkien dictionaries are kept in the University of Santo Tomás Archives (UST) in Manila. These are the *Dictionario Hispanico Sinicum* (hereafter: *Dictionario*) and the *Vocabulario Hispanico y Chinico* (hereafter: *Vocabulario*). Both manuscripts are undated and of unknown authorship. Although the first folios of both manuscripts are missing, their main parts are still extant. These two dictionaries show that in terms of sheer breadth, Hokkien lexicography reached unprecedented dimensions. The *Dictionario* contains ca. 20,000 entries on 552 double-sided folios, and the *Vocabulario* ca. 17,000 entries on 330 double-sided folios. In comparison, the *Bocabulario* kept in the British Library contains 1,500 entries, and Chirino's *Dictionarium* a little more than 1,000 entries. According to González (1966:412), the UST archives must once also have possessed a unidirectional Hokkien-Spanish dictionary of almost 400 double-sided folios. However, the manuscript was missing when I visited the archives in 2006.

On the basis of lexical comparison, the target language of both extant manuscripts can easily be identified as Hokkien. Table 6 compares characteristic Hokkien vocabulary as listed in Branner (2000:95-96) and Norman (1988:231-232) and the corresponding translations in both Manila manuscripts. Although represented in two different transcription systems, the correspondence between the Manila entries and distinctive Hokkien vocabulary is obvious.

The arrangement and sequence of entries in both dictionaries are almost identical. Spanish headwords are listed in alphabetical order, followed by Hokkien equivalents. In both dictionaries, a sequence of headwords commences with a word representing a superordinate concept, followed by sub-headwords representing special meanings of the main headword. In the *Dictionario*, the first letter of a main headword is capitalized. A sequence of sub-headwords following the main headword "Alborotar" ("disturb") is shown in table 7.

Expression	**Spanish**	**Amoy**	***Dictionario***	***Vocabulario***
“cut with scissors”	cortar	*ka*^{1}	<cá>	<cá>
“field”	campo	*chhan*^{5}	<chàu^{c}>	<chàu^{c}>
“foot”	pies	*kha*^{1}	<cá^{c}>	<cá^{c}>
“house”	casa	*chu*^{3}	<chŭ^{c}/chû^{c}>	<chû^{c}>
“leaf”	hoja	*hioh*^{8}	<hiò’>	--
“many”	mucho	*cue*^{7}	<chêy>	<chěy>
“matter”	negocio	*tai*^{7}	<tăy>	<tăy>
“mouth”	boca	*chhui*^{3}	<chŭy^{c}/chûy^{c}>	<chûy^{c}>
“one”	uno	*cit*^{8}	<chìt’>	<chìt’>
“person”	hombre	*lang*^{5}	<lāng>	<lāng>
“rain”	lluvia	*hoo*^{7}	<hoŭ>	<hoŭ>
“short”	corto	*te*^{2}	<tè>	<tè>
“son”	hijo	*kiann*^{2}	<quià^{n}>	<quià^{n}>
“take off (clothing)”	quitar	*thng*^{3}	<tûy^{c}>	<tûy^{c}>
“tasteless”	dessabrido	*chiann*^{2}	<chià^{n}>	<ta˘m>
“wear”	vestir	*chheng*^{7}	<chĕng^{c}>	<chĕng^{c}>
“wok, cooking pot”	caldera	*tiann*^{2}	--	--
“wood”	madera	*chha*^{5}	<chā^{c}>	<chā^{c}>
“year of age”	año	*he*^{3}	<huê>	<huê>

Table 6: *The representation of distinctive Hokkien lexicon in the Manila manuscripts*

Spanish	**English**	**Hokkien**
Alborotar	“disturb”	擾 xiaù
alborotar, inquietar	“disturb”, “unease”	擾乱 xiaù loăn
alborotar, haçer ruido	“disturb”, “make noise”	擾攘 xiaù xiàng
alborotar, reboluer	“disturb”, “upset”	草閙 chaùc lâu
alborotar, estar todo rebuelto	“disturb, being in a total mess”	變乱 piên loăn
alborotar la tierra	“shake the earth”	反乱 huàn loăn
alborotar, haçer ruido	“disturb, make noise”	嚷嚷 xiàng xiàng
alborotado todo, rebuelto	“all messy”, “in a mess”	如如嚷嚷 xî xî xiàng xiàng

Table 7: *The headword “Alborotar” and its sub-headwords* (Dictionario)

As can be seen, the general meaning of the main headword is specified in two ways: (1) by indicating the particular meaning of the sub-headword with another expression, as “alborotar, haçer ruido” (“disturb, make noise”) and (2) by placing the sub-headword in the context of a Spanish collocation, as “alborotar la tierra” (“shake the earth”). These methods of disambiguating the general meaning of headwords are not applied consequently. Instead, sub-headwords differ considerably in the degree to which headwords are dis-

ambiguated. Compare, for instance, the sub-headwords under “Rudo, rudeça” (“rough, roughness”) (table 8) and those under “Tio” (“uncle”) (table 9).

Spanish	**Hokkien**
Rudo, rudeça [rough, roughness]	惛 hún
rudo, rudeça	訰 tŭn
rudo, rudeça	魯 lòu
rudo, rudeça	拙 chuâr'
rudo, rudeça	愚 gū
rudo, rudeça	魯訰 lòu tŭn
rudo, rudeça	剪  chièn loâr'
rudo, rudeça	愚魯 gū lòu
rudo, rudeça	拙見 chuâr' quiên
rudo, rudeça	拙想 chuâr' siô^{n}
rudo, rudeça	愚蠢 gū chùn^{c}
rudo, rudeça	訰口 tŭn chŭi^{c}

Table 8: *The headword “Rudo, rudeça” and its sub-headwords* (Dictionario)

Spanish	**Hokkien**
Tio [uncle]	叔 chêg'
tio, hermano mayor de mi padre [uncle, older brother of my father]	伯 pê:'
tio, hermano mayor de mi padre [uncle, older brother of my father]	大伯 tôa pê:'
tio, hermano mayor de mi padre [uncle, older brother of my father]	外伯 guâ pê:'
tio, hermano menor de mi padre [uncle, younger brother of my father]	二叔 xˇy chêg'
tio, hermano menor de mi padre [uncle, younger brother of my father]	列位叔伯兄弟 lièr' uˇy chêg' pê:' hiá^{n} tỳ
tio, hermano mayor de mi abuelo [uncle, older father of my grandfather]	伯公 pê:' cóng
tio, hermano de mi abuelo [uncle, brother of my grandfather]	叔公 chêg' cóng
tio, casado con hermana de mi padre [uncle, married with my father’s sister]	姑丈 cóu tiŏ^{n}
tio de parte di madre [uncle on mother’s side]	細舅 seỳ cŭ
tio ançiano y distante [old and distant uncle]	堂伯 tōng pê:'
tio mas moso queyo distante [uncle more than I distant]	堂叔 tōng chêg'
tio proprio [own uncle]	家叔 qué: chêg'

Table 9: *The headword “Tio” and its sub-headwords* (Dictionario)

In the former case, the semantic distinctions between the eleven Hokkien renderings are not reflected in specifications of the Spanish sub-headwords. In the latter case, sub-headwords are at least partly disambiguated by providing brief explanations of how Hokkien words for "uncle" are distinguished in terms of features older vs. younger and paternal vs. maternal side.

The *Dictionario* and the *Vocabulario* not only correspond in their lexicographic macro structure, the selection of headwords and sub-headwords is also largely identical. One difference between the two dictionaries is that in the *Dictionario*, Hokkien translations are represented in Chinese characters and romanized transcriptions,[9] whereas the *Vocabulairo* uses transcriptions only. Another difference is that the first part of the *Dictionario* contains a second column with romanized transcriptions. Many of these transcriptions resemble the Mandarin transcriptions in Varo's glossaries of the late seventeenth century (in Coblin 2006). For example, "açotar" ("whip, flog"), which is transcribed as <tà> in both the added column in the *Dictionario* and in Varo's glossary of the Mandarin language. For "afloxar" ("loosen"), we find <fāng> in the *Dictionario* and <fáng> in Varo's glossary. It thus seems as if the compiler of the *Dictionario* (or a later scribe) tried to expand the bilingual Spanish-Hokkien dictionary to a trilingual Spanish-Hokkien-Mandarin dictionary. Without obvious reason, this attempt was discontinued on f. 210v. In sum, the *Dictionario* is more tentative than the *Vocabulario*. Whereas the latter, in addition to the incomplete column with Mandarin transcriptions, is full of corrections, additions and untranslated headwords, the manuscript of the *Vocabulario* is coherent, neat and almost free of corrections. It therefore seems safe to conclude that the *Vocabulario* is a revised version of the *Dictionario*.

How did the missionary compilers select head-words? The answer to this question reveals much about the nature of missionary language research. When analyzing bilingual dictionaries like the *Vocabulario* and the *Dictionario*, it must be kept in mind that in the seventeenth century, bilingual Spanish lexicography was still a relatively young discipline. It had received an impetus from Antonio de Nebrija's *Dictionarium ex-hispaniensi in latinum sermonem* (also known as *Vocabulario de romance en latín*), presumably written in 1495 and revised by Nebrija. Nebrija's dictionary is the first bilingual dictionary with Spanish as source language (Haensch 1990:1739). Soon after its publication, it became a model dictionary for missionaries compiling bilingual dictionaries of native American languages (ibid.). One famous example for this expansion of the Nebrijan lexicographic tradition into the Americas is Alonso de Molina's

[9] The romanization system is exactly the same as in the *Arte* of 1620. In contrast to Chirino's system, it unambiguously renders seven Hokkien tones.

(?1513–1585) *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana* of 1571, the first part of which is largely based on Nebrija's dictionary (Hernández 1996:23).

In light of the fact that, until the end of the seventeenth century, most Spanish missionaries came to Asia via Mexico (Mungello 2005:34-35), it seems very likely that the Manila-based missionaries were familiar with the works of Nebrija and Molina. Given that it was common practice to compile new dictionaries on the basis of existing works (Cooper 1962), it can also be assumed that earlier bilingual Spanish dictionaries inspired the compilers of the Manila manuscripts. This assumption could only be validated on the basis of a large-scale comparison of entries, which would be beyond the scope of this paper. Table 10, comparing the degree of headword overlap in a sequence of 40 headwords selected from Nebrija (1981[1516]), Molina (1970[1571]) and the *Dictionario*, is therefore only intended as a preliminary indication. The sequence of headwords follows the alphabetical order in Nebrija's dictionary, starting from <aca-> and ending with <aça->.[10] Sub-headwords have not been considered.

According to the data in table 10, 71 percent of the headwords in Nebrija (1516) and Molina (1571) overlap. This is consistent with the claim that Molina strongly relied on Nebrija's work. However, the overlap between the *Dictionario* and Nebrija (28 percent) and Molina (42 percent) is much lower. Interestingly, the two headwords "acontecer" ("happen") and "acordar" ("remember") do appear in the *Dictionario*, but they seem to have been inserted later and are not translated. This insertion may represent a belated attempt to harmonize the selection of headwords with a lexicographical model, maybe Nebrija or Molina. All in all, however, the low percentage of shared headwords suggests that headword selection in the *Dictionario* to a lesser degree followed the track beaten by Nebrija and Molina, but was instead inspired by the compiler's genuine encounter with the target language. This is consistent with the disambiguation of sub-headwords described above. As in the case of "tio' ("uncle") (table 9), numerous sub-headwords do not disambiguate polysemous Spanish headwords, but instead paraphrase lexical fields within the target language. This presupposes a thorough understanding of the target language by the missionary lexicographer.

[10] The headword "acariçiar" ("caress"), found in the Hokkien *Diccionario* only, has been included, as it falls within this alphabetic order. On the other hand, all headwords starting with <ace->, which Molina lists between <aca-> and <aco->, have not been considered, as they occur after <acu-> and <aça-> in Nebrija's dictionary.

	headword	**Nebrija**	**Molina**	**Dictionario**
1.	acabar “limit, finish”	✓	✓	✓
2.	a cada “at every”	✓	✓	X
3.	acaecer “happen”	✓	✓	X
4.	acallar “calm”	x	x	✓
5.	a canales “by channels”	✓	✓	X
6.	acariçiar “caress”	x	x	✓
7.	acarrear “carry”	✓	✓	✓
8.	a caso “chance, by chance”	✓	✓	✓
9.	acatar “observe”	✓	✓	x
10.	acaudalar “amass”	✓	✓	x
11.	acaudillar “lead”	✓	✓	x
12.	acceleradamente “hurried”	x	x	✓
13.	aclarar “clarify”	✓	✓	✓
14.	acocear “tread, oppress”	✓	✓	x
15.	acodar “lean on”	✓	✓	x
16.	acoger en casa “receive into a house”	✓	x	x
17.	acometer “get into, enter upon”	✓	✓	x
18.	acomodarse “accommodate oneself”	x	x	✓
19.	acompañar “accompany”	✓	✓	✓
20.	aconsejar “advise”	x	✓	✓
21.	acontecer “happen”	✓	✓	(✓)
22.	acordar “remember”	✓	✓	(✓)
23.	acordes en musica “harmony in music”	✓	x	x
24.	acorrer “help, aid”	✓	x	x
25.	acorrucado “curled up”	x	✓	x
26.	acortar “shorten”	x	✓	✓
27.	acossar “drive, lead”	✓	✓	x
28.	acostarse “lay down”	✓	✓	x
29.	acostumbrar “accustom”	x	✓	✓
30.	acrecentar “increase”	✓	✓	✓
31.	acreditar “guarantee”	x	x	✓
32.	acreedor “creditor”	x	✓	✓
33.	acrisolar “refine”	x	x	✓
34.	acto carnal “carnal act”	x	x	✓
35.	acudir “attend”	✓	✓	✓
36.	aculla “there”	✓	✓	✓
37.	acusar “accuse”	✓	✓	✓
38.	açacan “water-carrier”	✓	✓	x
39.	açada “dibble”	✓	✓	x
40.	açafran “saffron”	✓	x	x

Table 10: *Entries in Nebrija (1495?), Molina (1571) and the* Dictionario

4. *Concluding remarks*

As far as I know, the missionaries in the Philippines did not write any documents in which they reflected on the nature of the Chinese language. However, as shown in this paper, conceptualizations of language do not necessarily require explicit wording, but can also be deducted from the arrangements and contents of dictionaries. A compiler who records polysyllabic Chinese words in the Roman alphabet is unlikely to believe in the monosyllabic myth. He is also unlikely to have thought of Chinese characters as relevant analytic reference points. In any case, the dictionaries left behind by the Philippine-based missionaries show that Chinese-related myths, fostered by European scholars after the sixteenth century, did not accurately reflect the state of affairs in missionary linguistics. It must finally be emphasized that many of the problems encountered by the missionaries are as yet unsolved. An example in case is the celebrated Chinese-English dictionary by DeFrancis (1996/2003). The consequent alphabetic arrangement of entries in the dictionnary has been both lauded and criticized by reviewers. Tang wrote the following:

> Despite this minor oversight, the *ABC Chinese–English Comprehensive Dictionary* represents an important landmark in the history of Chinese lexicography. Among its many achievements, it is going to play an important role in the standardization of *pinyin* orthography. We wish the editor the best in his efforts to promote the Latinization of Chinese and, most important, to enhance a wider literacy in the Chinese language in both China and the West. (Tang 2005:146)

Chung, in contrast, argues:

> [DeFrancis] arranges all entries, including compounds, strictly alphabetically, disregarding morpheme boundaries. And while this may reflect an ideal of treating Chinese primarily as a spoken rather than a written language, it also goes against the native habit and intuition. (Chung 1998:661)

The stage for this ongoing debate was set by missionaries in the early seventeenth century. The debate can be endless the way these arguments are presented since they represente views from two different cultures, two different histories and two different worlds.

REFERENCES

A. *Primary sources*

Anonymous. 17th century. *Arte de la lengua chiochiu* [Grammar of the Language of Zhāngzhōu]. Add. Ms. 25317., 23 ff., British Library, London.

Anonymous. 17th century. *Bocabulario de la lengua sangleya por las letraz de el A.B.C.* [Vocabulary of the Language of the Sangleys in the Alphabet]. Add. Ms. 25317, 222 ff. British Library, London.

Anonymous. *Dictionario Hispanico Sinicum* [Spanish-Chinese dictionary]. Ms., 552 ff., t. 216, University of Santo Tomás Archives, Manila.
Anonymous. *Vocabulario Hispanico y Chinico* [Spanish-Chinese vocabulary]. Ms., 330 ff., t. 214, University of Santo Tomás Archives, Manila.
Chirino, P. Petrus. 1604. *Dictionarium Sino Hispanicum* [Chinese-Spanish Dictionary]. Ms. Ital.-lat. n. 60, 83 ff. Biblioteca Angelica, Rome.
Douglas, Carstairs. 1873. *Chinese-English Dictionary of the Vernacular or Spoken Language of Amoy, with the Principal Variations of the Chang-chew and Chin-chew dialects*. London: Trübner & Co.
Mançano, Melcior de. 1620. *Arte de la lengua Chio Chiu* [Grammar of the Language of Zhāngzhōu]. Ms. 1027, 33 ff. Biblioteca de la Universidad de Barcelona.
Molina, Fray Alonso de. 1970 [1571]. *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana y mexicana y castellana* (edicion facsimile). Mexico, D.F.: Porrúa.
Nebrija, Antonio de. 1981 [1516]. *Vocabulario de romance en latín. Transcripción crítica de la edición revisada por el autor (Sevilla, 1516) con una introducción de Gerald J. Macdonald*. Madrid: Castalia.
Ricci, Matteo & Ruggieri, Michele. Ca. 1580. *Dicionário Português-Chinês* [Jesuit Archives of Rome]. Published as: *The Portuguese-Chinese Dictionary of Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci.* Ed. John W. Witek, S.J. Macao, 2001.
Ricci, Matteo/Louis J. Gallagher (trans.). 1953. *China in the Sixteenth Century: The journals of Matthew Ricci: 1583–1610*. New York: Random House.
Trigault, Nicolas. 1626. 西儒耳目資 *Xīrú ěrmù zī* [An aid to the ear and the eye of Western scholars]. [Hángzhōu 1926]. Facsimile reprint, Peking: Wénzì Gǎigé Chūbǎnshè 文字改革出版社, 1957.

B. ***Secondary sources***

Abel-Rémusat, Jean-Pierre. 1825. *Melanges asiatiques, ou choix de morceaux critiques et de mémoires relatifs aux religions, aux sciences, aux coutumes, a l'histoire et al la géographie des nations orientales*, tome ii. Paris: Dondey-Dupré.
Biermann, Benno M. 1927. *Die Anfänge der neueren Dominikanermission in China.* Münster: Verlag der Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung.
Blair, Emma Helen & James Alexander Robertson, ed. 1904a. *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898: Explorations by early navigators, descriptions of the islands and their peoples, their history and records of the catholic missions, as related in contemporaneous books and manuscripts, showing the political, economic, commercial and religious conditions of those islands from their earliest relations with European nations to the beginning of the nineteenth century.* Vol. xi (1904a[1599–1602]); vol. xii (1904b[1601–1604]); vol. xiii (1904c[1604–1605]). Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company.
Branner, David Prager. 2000. *Problems in Comparative Chinese Dialectology: The classification of Miin and Hakka*. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
Brockey, Liam Matthew. 2007. *Journey to the East: The Jesuit mission to China, 1579–1724*. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
Chen, Liang-chi. 1987. *Eine funktionell-strukturelle und historisch-vergleichende Untersuchung des XI RU ER MU ZI (1626, Hangzhou): Eine vergleichende Studie zur traditionellen chinesischen Lexikographie*. Dissertation, Universität Trier.
Chung, Karen Steffen. 1998. "Review". DeFrancis 1996. *Language* 74:3.660-661.

Coblin, W. South. 1997. “Notes on the Sound System of Late Ming Guanhua”. *Monumenta Serica* 45.261-307.
Coblin, W. South. 2006. “Francisco Varo’s Glossary of the Mandarin Language”. Volume 1: *An English and Chinese Annotation of the* Vocabulario de la lengua Mandarina. Nettetal: Steyler Verlag.
Cooper, Louis. 1962. “Plagiarism in Spanish Dictionaries of the XVIth and XVIIth centuries.” *Hispania* 45:4.717-720.
Costa, Horacio de la. 1961. *The Jesuits in the Philippines, 1581–1768*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
DeFrancis, John. 1996 [revised and expanded edition 2003]. *ABC Chinese-English Dictionary*. Honulu: University of Hawai’i Press.
Dehergne, Joseph. 1973. *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800*. Rome: Institutum Historicum; Paris: Letouzey & Ané.
Ethnologue. 2007. “Chinese, Min Nan,” *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Online: http://www.ethnologue.org/show_language.asp?code=nan (15 February 2007).
González, José-María. 1966. *História de las misiones Dominicanas de China.* Vol. V. Madrid: Juan Bravo.
Haensch, Günther. 1990. “Spanische Lexikographie [Spanish lexicography]” Hausmanm et al. Eds. 1990.1738-1767.
Hausmann, F.J., et al. eds. 1990. *Wörterbücher: Ein internationales Handbuch zur Lexikographie/Dictionaries: An international encyclopedia of lexicography/ Dictionnaires: Encyclopédie internationale de lexicographie (Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft)*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
Hernández, Esther. 1996. *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana de fray Alonso de Molina: estudio de los indigenismos y registro de las voces españolas internas*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
Jiménez, José Antonio. 1998. “Spanish Friars in the Far East: Fray Juan Cobo and his book Shi Lu”. *Historia Scientarium: International Journal of the History of Science Society of Japan* 7:3.181-198.
Kennedy, George A. 1951. “The Monosyllabic Myth”. *Journal of American Oriental Studies* 71:3.161-166.
Klöter, Henning. 2005. *Written Taiwanese*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
Klöter, Henning. 2007. Zwartjes, James & Ridruejo, eds. 2007.191-210.
Kraft, Eva. 1976. “Frühe chinesische Studien in Berlin”. *Medizin-historisches Journal* 11.92-128.
Lo, Ch’ang P’ei [Luó Chángpéi 羅常培]. 1930. “Yésū huìshì zài yīnyùnxué shang de gòngxiàn 耶穌會士在音韻學上的貢獻” [Jesuit contributions to phonology.]. *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology* [Academia Sinica] 1:3.267-388.
Masini, Federico. 1996. “Some Preliminary Remarks on the Study of Chinese Lexicographic Material Prepared by the Jesuit Missionaries in China in the Seventeenth Century”. *Western Humanistic Culture Presented to China by Jesuit Missionaries (xvii–xviii centuries).* Ed. Masini, 235-245. Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I.
Masini, Federico. 2000. “Materiali lessicografici sulla lingua cinese redatti dagli occidentali fra ‘500 e ‘600: i dialetti del Fujian”. *Cina* 28.53-79.
Masini, Federico. 2005. “Chinese Dictionaries Prepared by Western Missionaries in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries”. Wu, ed. 2005.179-193.

Mungello, David E. 1985. *Curious Land: Jesuit accommodation and the origins of sinology*. Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag.
Mungello, David E. 2005. *The Great Encounter of China and the West, 1500–1800*. Lanham, etc.: Rowman & Littlefield.
Niederehe, Hans-Josef. 1986. "Geschichte der spanischen Sprachwissenschaft von Nebrija bis Covarrubias: Die Bestände der Herzog August Bibliothek". *Schwerpunkt siglo de oro: Akten des Deutschen Hispanistentages Wolfenbüttel*, 28.2.-1.3. 1985. Ed. by H.-J. Niederehe, 167-176. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag.
Norman, Jerry. 1988. *Chinese*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Sòng Hóngmín 宋洪民. 2004. "Xīrú ěrmù zī zài císhū biānzuán shǐ shang de gòngxiàn 《西儒耳目资》在辞书编纂史上的贡献" [The contributions of the Xīrú ěrmù zī to the history of dictionary compilation.], Dézhōu Xuébào 德州学院学报 20:3.73-75.
Tang, Yanfang. 2005. "Review". DeFrancis 2003. *The Modern Language Journal* 89:1.145-146.
Van der Loon, Piet. 1966. "The Manila Incunabula and Early Hokkien Studies (part 1)". *Asia Major* 12.1-43.
Van der Loon, Piet. 1967. "The Manila Incunabula and Early Hokkien Studies (part 2)". *Asia Major* 13.95-186.
Weingartner, Frederic F. 1975. "El primer diccionario europeo-chino". *Boletín de la Associación Española de Orientalistas* 11.223-227.
Widmaier, Rita, ed. 1990. *Leibniz korrespondiert mit China: der Briefwechsel mit den Jesuitenmissionaren (1689–1714)*. Frankfurt: Klostermann.
Widmaier, Rita, ed. 2006. *Der Briefwechsel mit den Jesuiten in China (1689–1714): Französisch/Lateinisch-Deutsch / Gottfried W. Leibniz*. Hamburg: Felix Meiner Verlag.
Witek, John W. 2001. "Introduction". *The Portuguese-Chinese Dictionary of Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci*. Ed. J. W. Witek, 151-167. Lisbon: Instituto Português do Oriente, National Library of Portugal.
Wu, Xiaoxin, ed. 2005. *Encounters and Dialogues: Changing perspectives on Chinese-Western exchanges from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries*. Nettetal: Steyler Verlag.
Yang, Paul Fu-mien. 1989. "The Portuguese-Chinese Dictionary of Matteo Ricci: A historical and linguistic introduction". *Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on Sinology*. 1.191-241, Taipei: Academia Sinica.
Zwartjes, Otto, Gregory James & Emilio Ridruejo, eds. 2007. *Missionary Linguistics III / Lingüística misionera III: Morphology and syntax. Selected papers from the Third and Fourth International Conferences on Missionary Linguistics, Hong Kong/Macau, 12–15 March 2005, Valladolid, 8-11 March 2006*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

ADDRESSES OF CONTRIBUTORS / DIRECCIONES DE LOS AUTORES

Astrid Alexander-Bakkerus
Amsterdam Centre for Language and Communication (ACLC)
University of Amsterdam
Van Ouwenlaan 32
2597 CW DEN HAAG
T h e N e t h e r l a n d s
astrid@troll.demon.nl

Ramón Arzápalo Marín
Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas
Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Ciudad Universitaria
Delegación Coyoacán
04510 MÉXICO D.F.
M e x i c o
arzapalo@servidor.unam.mx

Rebeca Fernández Rodríguez
Universidad de Valladolid
Av. Huertas del Sacramento, 14, 4ºD
24400 PONFERRADA, S p a i n
rebecafr@gmail.com

José Antonio Flores Farfán
Amsterdam Centre for Language and Communication (ACLC) / (CIESAS)
Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social
Juárez 87
TLALPAN 14000, México D.F.
M é x i c o
jafarfn@yahoo.com.mx

Maria Filomena Gonçalves
Departamento de Linguística e Literaturas. Universidade de Évora
Apartado 94,
7002-554 ÉVORA codex
P o r t u g a l
mfg@uevora.pt

Esther Hernández
Instituto de Lengua, Literatura y Antropología. Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales
Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
Albasanz, 26-28, despacho 1E8
28037 MADRID, S p a i n
ehernan@ile.csic.es

Gregory James
Language Centre
Hong Kong University of Science and Technology
Clearwater Bay, Kowloon
HONG KONG,
C h i n a
lcgjames@ust.hk

Henning Klöter
Graduate Institute of International Sinology Studies
National Taiwan Normal University
No. 2, Sec. 1, Ren-Ai Road
Linkou Shiang, TAIPEI County 244
T a i w a n (ROC)
kloeter@gmail.com

Deryle Lonsdale
Department of Linguistic and English
4039 JFSB
Brigham Young University
PROVO, UT 84602
U n i t e d S t a t e s o f A m e r i c a
lonz@byu.edu

Pilar Máynez
Facultad de Estudios Superiores de
Acatlán. Universidad Nacional
Autónoma de México
San Juan Totoltepec SN.
SANTA CRUZ ACATLÁN
Naucalpan de Juárez
Estado de México, M e x i c o
pilar_unam@hotmail.com

Clotilde de Almeida Azevedo
Murakawa
Faculdade de Ciências e Letras
Universidade Estadual Paulista
"Júlio Mesquita Filho"
Rodoviária Araraquara-Jaú Km. 01
CEP 14800-901 - C.P. 174
ARARAQUARA, SP, B r a s i l
jtm.jau@uol.com.br

Cristina Monzón
El Colegio de Michoacán
Martínez de Navarrete 505
Fraccionamiento Las Fuentes
59690 ZAMORA, Michoacán
M e x i c o
mcmonzong@hotmail.com

Thomas C. Smith-Stark
El Colegio de México
Camino al Ajusco no. 20
Héroes de Padierna, Tlalpan
14200 MÉXICO, D. F.
M e x i c o
tsmith@colmex.mx

Otto Zwartjes (NIAS)
Romance Linguistics
Amsterdam Centre for Language and
Communication (ACLC)
University of Amsterdam
Spuistraat 134
1012 VB AMSTERDAM
T h e N e t h e r l a n d s
O.J.Zwartjes@uva.nl

INDEX OF BIOGRAPHICAL NAMES / ÍNDICE DE NOMBRES BIOGRÁFICOS

A.

Abel-Rémusat, Jean-Pierre (1788–1832): 316
Adelung, Johann Christoph (1732–1806): 4
Albiol, Miguel (d.1710): 250, 254
Alcalá, Jerónimo de (16th cent.): 166
Alcalá, Pedro de (OESH; fl.1491–1505): 6, 7, 16, 25, 54
Alonso, Juan (OFM.; fl. 1570): 20, 22, 23
Alvarado, Francisco (OP; d.1603): 19, 20, 22, 23, 26, 31, 36, 37, 39, 42, 43, 51-53, 56, 58-61, 65
Anchieta, José de (SJ; 1534–1597): 237
Ara, Domingo de (OP; fl. 1545): 19, 20, 22, 23, 26, 51
Araoz, Francisco de (18th cent.): 21
Arenas, Pedro de (fl.1611): 19, 20, 22, 23, 26, 51, 55
Arias, Eusebio (OFM; first half 19th cent.?): 211, 212

B.

Bacon, Francis (1561–1626): 304
Balbi, Joannes (John of Balbi, Johannes, Balbus, Giovanni Balbi) (d.1286): 9
Bautista, Juan 31
Bellarmino, Roberto (1542–1621): 250
Benavides, Miguel (OP; 1550–1605): 309
Bergaño, Diego de (OSA; 1690–1747): 261, 268
Beschi, Costanzo (SJ; 1680–1747): 276, 281
Bruno, Ignacio (1585–1659): 274
Busa, Gabriel (O.S.A.; fl. 1507): 16

C.

Calepino, Ambrosio (c.1435–1511): 1, 3, 11-14, 27, 29, 30, 33, 34, 35, 45, 46, 48, 50, 191, 192, 253
Carbonel, José (1665–1711): 250, 254
Cardim, Fernão (SJ; 1540/1548?–1625): 233-248
Cardoso, Jeronimo (d.1569): 279
Carlos III (1716–1788): 251
Carro, Andrés (OSA; 1733–1806): 250, 253, 255-258
Casas, Cristóbal de las (fl.1570; d.1576): 6, 16
Castro, Agustín María de (OSA; fl.1780): 250, 256
Castro, Andrés de (fl.1557): 21, 22, 23
Chirino, Pedro (Petrus) (SJ; 1557–1635): 307-315
Chirouse, Eugene Casimir (Oblate father; 1821–1892): 197-211
Ciudad Real, Antonio de (OFM; 1551–1617): 19, 20, 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 34, 46, 47-49, 51, 53, 64, 67, 83, 85, 87, 88
Clusius (see Écluse)
Colón, Bartolomé (1437–1514): 89
Colón, Cristóbal (1451–1506): 89
Córdova (Córdoba; Cordoua), Juan de (O.P.; 1501–1595): 19-23, 26, 27, 29, 30, 33, 34, 36-38, 40-45, 51-53, 56, 58-61, 63, 65, 66, 69, 70
Córdova, Pedro (OP: fl.1520): 32
Coronel, Francisco (OSA; d.1630): 253
Costa, Baltasar da (c.1610–1673): 274
Costa, Cristóvão da (c.1525–1593): 237

Covarrubias y Orozco, Sebastián de (1539–1613): 3, 17-19, 26, 52
Cruz Ávila, Pedro de la (d.1617): 253

D.
Duponceau (=Du Ponceau), Peter Stephen (1760–1844): 5

E.
Écluse, Charles de l' (1525–1609): 237

F.
Felipe II (1527–1598): 251

G.
Gilberti (Gylberti), Maturino (OFM; 1498–1585): 8, 19-23, 26, 33, 37-40, 45, 51, 53, 55, 56, 57, 165-194
Gili Gaya, Samuel (1892–1976): 5-7, 9, 14, 59
Goetz, Georgius (1849–1932): 15
González Holguín, Diego (SJ; 1552–1618): 212, 213-227
González de Nájera, Gaspar (fl.1582): 20, 22, 23

H.
Henriques, Henrique (SJ; c.1520–1600): 273, 276
Hervás y Panduro, Lorenzo (SJ; 1735–1809): 4, 252
Holguín (see González Holguín)
Hugutio, Pisanus (Uguccione da Pisa) (1130/40–1210): 8, 9
Humboldt, Wilhelm von (1767–1835): 5

J.
Jones, William (1746–1794): 4

K.
Kircher, Athanasius (SJ; 1602–1680): 304
Klaproth, Julios (1783–1835): 317

L.
Lagunas, Juan Baptista Bravo de (OFM; d.1604): 19, 20, 22, 23, 26, 34, 46, 51, 166, 173, 177-194
Lascaris, Constantino (1433–1501): 11
Leibniz, Gottfried W. (1646–1716): 304
Linaeus (Lineus, Lineu), Carl von (1707–1778): 238
Lizana, Bernardo de (OFM; 1575–1631): 28, 34
López, Francisco (OSA; d.1631): 249, 250, 253-255, 257, 258, 262, 266, 269
López de Legazpi, Miguel (1502–1572): 251
López de Villalobos, Ruy (1500–1544): 251

M.
Madeyra, Domingos de (1685–175?): 275
Magalhães (Magallanes), Fernão (Fernando) (1480–1521): 251
Magalhães de Gândavo, Pêro (?–1576): 237
Mançano, Melchor de (fl.1620): 319
Martins, Manuel (?1597–?1656): 276
Mendieta, Jerónimo (Gerónimo) (OFM; c.1534–1604): 21, 27-28
Méntrida, Alonso de (OSA; 1559–1637): 250, 257, 259-261, 269
Molina, Alonso de (OFM; 1514–1585): 6, 8, 19, 20, 22-24, 26, 28, 33, 36-45, 48, 51-60, 62, 69, 70, 166-171, 189, 190, 252, 324-326
Monardes, Nicolás (c.1493–1588): 237

N.
Nájera (Nágera) Yanguas, Diego de (fl.1637): 21, 22
Nebrija, Elio Antonio de (also Nebrixa, Lebrija; pseud. for Antonio Martínez de Cala y Xarava) (1441/44?–1522): 1, 3, 6-8, 15, 16, 17, 25, 27-30, 33-37, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 48, 50, 52-54, 56, 58, 59, 62, 68-70, 193, 213-227, 252, 255, 269, 279, 325, 326
Nobili, Roberto de (SJ; 1577–1656): 276

O.
Olmos, Andrés de (OFM; c.1480–1568): 20-23, 26, 36, 51, 54, 55
Orta, García de (c.1499–1568): 237

P.
Palencia, Alfonso [Fernández] de (1423–1492): 9, 25
Papias, Lombard (fl. c.1050): 8, 9
Percivale, R. (fl. 1599): 16
Proença, Antão de (1625–c.1666): 273-295

R.
Rada, Martín de (OSA; 1533–1578): 307
Reyes, Antonio de los (OP; c.1520–1603): 21, 31
Ricci, Matteo (SJ; 1552–1610): 305-307
Rincón, Antonio del (SJ; 1555–1601): 21
Rottler, Johann Meter (1749–1836): 282-286, 288
Ruggieri, Michele (SJ; 1543–1607): 306, 307

S.
Sahagún, Bernardino de (OFM; 1499–1590): 31, 34, 35, 166
San Buenaventura, Pedro de (OFM; d.1627): 250, 256, 259, 269
San José, Francisco [Blancas de] (OP; 1560–1614): 253, 255
Santo T(h)omas, Domingo de (OP; c.1499–1570): 214, 213-227
Scobar, Christophorus (fl. 1520): 16
Solana, Alonso de (la): 19, 20, 22, 23, 26

T.
Thomas Aquinas (c.1225–1274): 285
Trigault, Niklaas (Nicola, Nicolas) (1577–1628): 306
Tristão, Manuel (SJ; fl. C.1600): 236

U.
Urbano, Alonso (OSA; 1529–1608): 8, 20-24, 26, 37-40, 51, 56, 57, 61, 62, 67
Urdaneta, Andrés de (1508–1568): 251

V.
Vaez, Francisco (SJ; fl.1600): 308
Varnhagen, Francisco Adolfo (1816–1878): 236
Varo, Francisco (OP; 1627–1687): 324
Vater, Johann Severin (1772–1826): 5
Vaz de Caminha, Pêro (c.1450–1500): 237
Vico, Domingo de (OP; d.1555): 7, 20, 22, 23
Villalpando, Luis de (d.1552): 19, 85
Vinson, Julián (1843–1926): 274
Vivar, Pedro de (OSA; 1731–1771): 249-272

X.
Ximenez, Francisco (OP; 1666–1723): 7

Z.
Zorzi, Alessandro
Zumárraga, Juan de (OFM; 1468–1548): 32
Zúñiga Marroquín, Dionisio de (fl.1608): 21, 22, 26, 45, 46-48, 51, 55

INDEX OF SUBJECTS & TERMS /
ÍNDICE DE TÓPICOS Y TÉRMINOS LINGÜÍSTICOS

A.
abbreviation 57
absolutive 111, 113, 114, 121
accommodation theory 113, 306
accent (acento) 259, 312
adaptación semántica 138
adaptation, Spanish 172
address (form of) 112
adivinanza 263
adjective (adjetivo) 223, 228, 230, 240
adverb (adverbio) 43, 177, 216, 223, 224
adverbial adjuncts 216
affix 176, 279, 281
affricate 52, 208
agentive 121
agreement 173
alfabetización 143
alfabeto prehispánico 258
alphabetic order (orden alfabético) 45, 51, 109, 169, 184, 214, 216, 221, 228, 241, 259, 276, 315
  indigenous language 53, 54
  Spanish 51
alveo-dental 216
americanismo 266-268
antonym 180
apostrophe 312
archaism 119, 120-122
article 225, 228
articulation 113, 169, 201
aspirated/ non aspirated 185, 186, 188
association of meaning 180
astrological term 285

B.
baybayin 258, 259
bestiario 237
body parts 114
borrow(ing) 203, 217, 218
botanical term (término botánico) 237, 283
bromatología 91, 92, 97-103

C.
Calepino's (lexicographic) style 45-51
calque 67
castellano no literario 138
categoría gramatical 254
causative 217, 279
circumflex 312
circumlocution 116, 117
circularidades 263
circunfijo 262
citation form 60, 279
clitic 199
communicative sitaution 55
composición 177, 262
compound 204
compounding 111
conjugation 199
conjunción 43
consonantal group 172, 184
consonante 52
constructivismo 151, 152
contact 115
contact phenomenon 109
contextualización 234
conversational practice 111
coronal 208
cortadillo 260
court language 303
cross-references 45
cuantificación 262
cultural lexis 282
culture-bound concept 225, 230

D.
declension 199
definiendum/ definiens 242, 247
defecto físico, biológico, etc. 263, 265
deictic reference 43
derivation 40-42, 199, 228, 229
derivative 277-282
deverbal nominal 279
diacritic 312
dialectal information 181
dialectal variation 122-124, 187, 188
diastratical variety 121
dictionary
  bilingual 23, 109, 130, 274
  trilingual 23
  monolingual 23
  polyglot 312
  quadrilingual 23
  unidirectional 321
didactic purpose 111, 315
digraph (dígrafo) 119, 219, 222, 227, 259, 260
diminutive (diminutivo) 118, 240
disambiguating (methods of) 322
discursive text 48
Doctrine, Christian 32
dorsal 209

E.
ecclesiastical terminology 113, 116
education 109
elicitation (methodology) 109, 110
enciclopedia 152, 239
entrada pluriverbal 138
entry styles 33-35
entry words in indigenous language 59
epenthetic vowel 113
equivalence (equivalencia) 36, 37, 110, 115, 121, 138
estrategia léxica/ traductológica 266-268
ethnobotanical term 116
examples 50
exclusive first person plural pronoun 228
exótico 238
explanatory entry 287
extralingüístico 239

F.
farmacopea 237
fauna 233, 234, 237
figurative use 64
first person 223, 228
flora 233, 234, 237
foreign talk 108, 113
fricative 52, 208, 216, 219, 220

G.
gangoso 260
gender 57
glide 216
Graeco-Roman concept 225
gramatización 247
grammatical approach 111
grammatical information (explicación gramatical) 43, 181, 264

H.
hagiography 276
headword selection 276
herbolario 237
hiperónimo 242
hispanismo 262, 266-268
Humanism, humanistic 35, 125, 153

I.
incorporation 111
indicación grammatical 143
infijo 262
infinitive 223, 279
inflection 199
inflectional information 62
inflectional prefixes 61
información etnográfica 262
insulto 264
interculturalidad 88, 89
interjection 216
interposición 177
intransitive 186

K.
kinship relationship 114

L.

labialization 201
language analysis 318
lateral 218
Latin categories 110
legibilidad 241
lexical residue 68
lexical variability 115
léxico religioso 91
lexicografía bilingüe 234, 242
lexicografía teórica 241
lexicographic arrangement 310
lexicography
  Chinese 304
  Medieval 8
  New Spain 19-70
  Spanish 8, 16, 17
literati elite 306
loanword (see also 'préstamo') 65, 116, 118, 205, 215

M.
manner of articulation 169
mayismo 138
meaning (elaboration of general) 48
mecanismo descriptivo 238
medicina 237
metáfora 138
method/ methodology (método/ metodología) 27-33, 109, 114, 130, 307
metonimia 94
mexicanism 119
minimal pair 113
missionary linguistic variety 120, 122
missionary use/ speech 119
mixed variety 122
monolingual elicitation 28
monosyllabic myth 305
monosyllable 114
morfología 254
multilingüismo 242
mundo vegetal 244-246
muta cum liquida 216

N.
nahuatlism (nahuatlismo) 119, 138
nasality 312
Nebrija's (entry) style 35-45
neologism 66, 113, 116, 118
neosemantism 113, 116
nombre verbal 177
nomenclature 56
nominalizing suffix 279
normalization 113
noun 201, 202
numeral 225, 256

O.
occlusive 52, 185
oclusiva glotal 260
onomatopoeic 118, 217
open class 224
organizational principles 51
originalidad léxica 138
orthographic modification 203
orthography 57, 187, 200, 201, 206-210

P.
paráfrasis (parafrástico) 239, 240
participation of native speakers 31
participle 280
particle (partícula) 177, 189
parts of speech 54
penúltima correcta/ producta (P.P./ P.C.) 261
periphrase 215, 218, 220
periphrastic translation 217
perspectivismo 151, 152
phonetic changes 216
phonetic similarity of words 181
phonological description 169
phonological terminology 318
point of articulation 169
polysynthetic language 201
possessed/ non possessed 112
possessive nouns 113
possessive pronouns 224
postpositional affix 281
prefix 61, 199
preposition (preposición) 43, 224
préstamos 138, 139
prestige variety 124
procedimiento (meta)lingüístico 233

pronominalización 138
pronoun 216
propósito lexicográfico 158
prosodia 256
purist attitude/ ideology 113, 116

R.
raíz (tayz) (see also 'root') 175 ff
reduplication 199, 204
references
  to authorities 50
  Bible 50
refrán 137, 263
religion, religious term (término religioso) 203, 217, 264, 289
retroflex tap 187
root 165, 169, 175-180, 189-193, 199

S.
saltillo 261
semantic analysis 64, 318
semantic ordering 55
semántica 239
sense (different) 49
sentencia 263
servile syllables 176, 177, 189
sierva 189
sociolect(al) 109, 121, 181
sociolinguistics, sociolingüística 95, 109
speech of the nobles 187
stop, bilabial 216
structure of the language 110
structure of the dictionary 174
stylistic variety 121
substance (substancia del verbo) 189
suffix (sufijo) 199, 262
synonym 119, 121
syntactic inversion 42

T.
taboo term 286
tap 187
teaching practices 32
tense 280
tilde 312
tonada 316
tone 313, 315, 316
traducción (estrategia traductológica) 266-268
transcription system 312
transitive verb 186
trill 216

U.
use of examples 50
uvular 209

V.
variety, variation (variedad) 108, 109, 138
velar 209
verb (verbo) 60, 110, 186, 206, 254, 279
verbal adjective 279
verbal noun 280
verbo conjugado (como entrada) 137
vernacular language 304
vocal 52

W.
word class 223
word endings 55
word formation 313
word structure 172, 199

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE LANGUAGE SCIENCES

E. F. K. Koerner, Editor
Zentrum für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, Typologie
und Universalienforschung, Berlin
efk.koerner@rz.hu-berlin.de

The series *Studies in the History of the Language Sciences* (SiHoLS) has been established as a companion to the journal *Historiographia Linguistica*. The series intends to meet the revival of interest in the history of linguistic thought and to provide an organized reservoir of information concerning our heritage of linguistic ideas of more than two millennia. SiHoLS will publish book-length scholarly studies on (the evolution of) human reflection about the nature of language and the many ways in which it can be analyzed and used. These studies may concern particular aspects of language study, entire traditions, or special periods of their development. In addition, the series will include re-editions or entirely new translations into English of 'classic' works in the field that have been out of print for many years. These new editions will be introduced by a present-day specialist who places the book in its intellectual and socio-historical context, and highlights its significance in the evolution of our thinking about language. A complete list of titles in this series can be found on the publishers website, **www.benjamins.com**

114 **ZWARTJES, Otto, Ramón ARZÁPALO MARÍN and Thomas C. SMITH-STARK (eds.):** Missionary Linguistics IV / Lingüística misionera IV. Lexicography. Selected papers from the Fifth International Conference on Missionary Linguistics, Mérida, Yucatán, 14-17 March 2007. 2009. vi, 340 pp.

113 **KOERNER, E.F.K.:** Universal Index of Biographical Names in the Language Sciences. 2008. xvi, 286 pp.

112 **KIBBEE, Douglas A. (ed.):** History of Linguistics 2005. Selected papers from the Tenth International Conference on the History of the Language Sciences (ICHOLS X), 1–5 September 2005, Urbana-Champaign, Illinois. 2007. x, 451 pp.

111 **ZWARTJES, Otto, Gregory JAMES and Emilio RIDRUEJO (eds.):** Missionary Linguistics III / Lingüística misionera III. Morphology and Syntax. Selected papers from the Third and Fourth International Conferences on Missionary Linguistics, Hong Kong/Macau, 12–15 March 2005, Valladolid, 8–11 March 2006. 2007. vi, 357 pp.

110 **GUIMARÃES, Eduardo and Diana LUZ PESSOA DE BARROS (eds.):** History of Linguistics 2002. Selected papers from the Ninth International Conference on the History of the Language Sciences, 27-30 August 2002, São Paulo - Campinas. 2007. x, 242 pp.

109 **ZWARTJES, Otto and Cristina ALTMAN (eds.):** Missionary Linguistics II / Lingüística misionera II. Orthography and Phonology. Selected papers from the Second International Conference on Missionary Linguistics, São Paulo, 10–13 March 2004. 2005. vi, 292 pp.

108 **NIEDEREHE, Hans-Josef:** Bibliografía cronológica de la lingüística, la gramática y la lexicografía del español (BICRES III). Desde el año 1701 hasta el año 1800. 2005. vi, 474 pp.

107 **LUHTALA, Anneli:** Grammar and Philosophy in Late Antiquity. A study of Priscian's sources. 2005. x, 171 pp.

106 **ZWARTJES, Otto and Even HOVDHAUGEN (eds.):** Missionary Linguistics/Lingüística misionera. Selected papers from the First International Conference on Missionary Linguistics, Oslo, 13–16 March 2003. 2004. vi, 288 pp.

105 **FORMIGARI, Lia:** A History of Language Philosophies. Translated by Gabriel Poole. 2004. x, 252 pp.

104 **KOERNER, E.F.K.:** Essays in the History of Linguistics. 2004. x, 271 pp.

103 **JOSEPH, John E.:** From Whitney to Chomsky. Essays in the history of American linguistics. 2002. viii, 240 pp.

102 **KOERNER, E.F.K. and Aleksander SZWEDEK (eds.):** Towards a History of Linguistics in Poland. From the early beginnings to the end of the 20th century. 2001. xxii, 335 pp.

101 **KELLY, L.G.:** The Mirror of Grammar. Theology, philosophy and the *Modistae.* 2002. x, 243 pp.

100 **KOERNER, E.F.K. and Hans-Josef NIEDEREHE (eds.):** History of Linguistics in Spain/Historia de la Lingüística en España. Volume II. 2001. xxii, 463 pp.

99 **AUROUX, Sylvain (ed.):** History of Linguistics 1999. Selected papers from the Eighth International Conference on the History of the Language Sciences, 14–19 September 1999, Fontenay-St.Cloud. With the assistance of Joscelyne Arpin, Elisabeth Lazcano and Jacqueline Léon. 2003. xii, 403 pp.

98 **GRAFFI, Giorgio:** 200 Years of Syntax. A critical survey. 2001. xiv, 551 pp.

97 **HUTCHINS, W. John (ed.):** Early Years in Machine Translation. Memoirs and biographies of pioneers. 2000. xii, 400 pp.

96 **JOSEPH, John E.:** Limiting the Arbitrary. Linguistic naturalism and its opposites in Plato's *Cratylus* and modern theories of language. 2000. x, 224 pp.

95 **CRAM, David, Andrew R. LINN and Elke NOWAK (eds.):** History of Linguistics 1996. Volume 2: From Classical to Contemporary Linguistics. 1999. xx, 390 pp.

94 **CRAM, David, Andrew R. LINN and Elke NOWAK (eds.):** History of Linguistics 1996. Volume 1: Traditions in Linguistics Worldwide. 1999. xx, 341 pp.

93 **COBLIN, W. South and Joseph A. LEVI:** Francisco Varo's Grammar of the Mandarin Language (1703). An English translation of 'Arte de la lengua Mandarina'. With an Introduction by Sandra Breitenbach. 2000. liv, 282 pp.

92 **KOERNER, E.F.K.:** Linguistic Historiography. Projects & prospects. 1999. x, 236 pp.

91 **NIEDEREHE, Hans-Josef:** Bibliografía cronológica de la lingüística, la gramática y la lexicografía del español (BICRES II). Desde el año 1601 hasta el año 1700. 1999. vi, 472 pp.

90 **ESPARZA TORRES, Miguel Ángel and Hans-Josef NIEDEREHE:** Bibliografía Nebrisense. Las obras completas del humanista Antonio de Nebrija desde 1481 hasta nuestros días. 1999. vi, 374 pp.

89 **JONES, William J.:** Images of Language. Six essays on German attitudes to European languages from 1500 to 1800. 1999. x, 299 pp.

88 **KOERNER, E.F.K. (ed.):** First Person Singular III. Autobiographies by North American scholars in the language sciences. 1998. x, 267 pp.

87 **STEIN, Dieter and Rosanna SORNICOLA (eds.):** The Virtues of Language. History in language, linguistics and texts. Papers in memory of Thomas Frank. 1998. viii, 232 pp.

86 **DARNELL, Regna:** And Along Came Boas. Continuity and revolution in Americanist anthropology. 1998. xviii, 333 pp.

85 **TAYLOR, Daniel J.:** De Lingua Latina X. A new critical text and English translation with prolegomena and commentary. 1996. x, 205 pp.

84 **VERBURG, Pieter A.:** Language and its Functions. A historico-critical study of views concerning the functions of language from the pre-humanistic philology of Orleans to the rationalistic philology of Bopp. Translated by Paul Salmon in consultation with Anthony J. Klijnsmit. 1998. xxxiv, 577 pp.

83 **WOLLOCK, Jeffrey:** The Noblest Animate Motion. Speech, physiology and medicine in pre-Cartesian linguistic thought. 1997. l, 461 pp.

82 **BEKKUM, Wout Jac. van, Jan HOUBEN, Ineke SLUITER and Kees VERSTEEGH:** The Emergence of Semantics in Four Linguistic Traditions. Hebrew, Sanskrit, Greek, Arabic. 1997. ix, 322 pp.

81 **LEE, Penny:** The Whorf Theory Complex. A critical reconstruction. 1996. x, 324 pp.

80 **NERLICH, Brigitte and David D. CLARKE:** Language, Action and Context. The early history of pragmatics in Europe and America 1780–1930. 1996. xiv, 497 pp.

79 **KOERNER, E.F.K.:** Professing Linguistic Historiography. 1995. viii, 274 pp.

78 **JANKOWSKY, Kurt R. (ed.):** History of Linguistics 1993. Papers from the Sixth International Conference on the History of the Language Sciences (ICHoLS VI), Washington DC, 9–14 August 1993. 1995. xx, 380 pp.

77 **SALMON, Vivian:** Language and Society in Early Modern England. Selected essays 1982–1994. 1996. viii, 276 pp.

76 **NIEDEREHE, Hans-Josef:** Bibliografía cronológica de la lingüística, la gramática y la lexicografía del español (BICRES). Desde los principios hasta el año 1600. 1994. vi, 457 pp.

75 **VERSTEEGH, Kees:** The Explanation of Linguistic Causes. Az-Zağğāğī's Theory of Grammar. Introduction, translation, commentary. 1995. xvi, 310 pp.

74 **FORMIGARI, Lia and Daniele GAMBARARA (eds.):** Historical Roots of Linguistic Theories. 1995. viii, 309 pp.

73 **GOLDZIHER, Ignaz:** On the History of Grammar among the Arabs. Translated and edited by Kinga Dévényi and Tamás Iványi. 1994. xx, 153 pp.

72 **RADWAŃSKA-WILLIAMS, Joanna:** A Paradigm Lost. The linguistic thought of Mikołaj Kruszewski. 1994. xii, 200 pp.

71 **LAW, Vivien A. (ed.):** History of Linguistic Thought in the Early Middle Ages. 1993. viii, 255 pp.

70 **FORMIGARI, Lia:** Signs, Science and Politics. Philosophies of language in Europe 1700–1830. 1993. x, 218 pp.

69 **MURRAY, Stephen O.:** Theory Groups and the Study of Language in North America. A social history. 1994. xx, 598 pp.

68 **AHLQVIST, Anders (ed.):** Diversions of Galway. Papers on the history of linguistics from ICHoLS V. 1992. xxviii, 384 pp.

67 **SUBBIONDO, Joseph L. (ed.):** John Wilkins and 17th-Century British Linguistics. 1992. xvi, 376 pp.

66 **NAUMANN, Bernd, Franz PLANK and Gottfried HOFBAUER (eds.):** Language and Earth. Elective affinities between the emerging sciences of linguistics and geology. 1992. xvi, 445 pp.

65 **ITKONEN, Esa:** Universal History of Linguistics. India, China, Arabia, Europe. 1991. x, 368 pp.

64 **NOORDEGRAAF, Jan, Kees VERSTEEGH and E.F.K. KOERNER (eds.):** The History of Linguistics in the Low Countries. 1992. vi, 400 pp. + ills.

63 **SUNDBY, Bertil, Anne Kari BJØRGE and Kari E. HAUGLAND:** A Dictionary of English Normative Grammar 1700–1800 (DENG). 1991. x, 486 pp.

62 **LEITNER, Gerhard (ed.):** English Traditional Grammars: an International Perspective. 1991. x, 392 pp.

61 **KOERNER, E.F.K. (ed.):** First Person Singular II. Autobiographies by North American Scholars in the Language Sciences. 1991. x, 303 pp.

60 **KIBBEE, Douglas A.:** For to Speke Frenche Trewely. The French language in England, 1000–1600: its status, description and instruction. 1991. viii, 268 pp.

59 **NERLICH, Brigitte:** Semantic Theories in Europe, 1830–1930. From etymology to contextuality. 1992. xi, 359 pp.

58 **DINNEEN, Francis P. S. J. and E.F.K. KOERNER (eds.):** North American Contributions to the History of Linguistics. 1990. xii, 238 pp.

57 **STARNES, De Witt T. and Gertrude E. NOYES:** The English Dictionary from Cawdrey to Johnson 1604–1755. With an introductory article and a bibliography byGabriele Stein. 1991. cxii, xxii, 299 pp.

56 **VERSTEEGH, Kees and Michael G. CARTER (eds.):** Studies in the History of Arabic Grammar II. Proceedings of the second symposium on the history of Arabic grammar, Nijmegen, 27 April–1 May, 1987. 1990. x, 320 pp.

55 **HALL, JR., Robert A.:** A Life for Language. A biographical memoir of Leonard Bloomfield. 1990. x, 129 pp.

54 **ANTONSEN, Elmer H., James W. MARCHAND and Ladislav ZGUSTA (eds.):** The Grimm Brothers and the Germanic Past. 1990. x, 162 pp.

53 **OWENS, Jonathan:** Early Arabic Grammatical Theory. Heterogeneity and standardization. 1990. xvi, 294 pp.

52 **JUUL, Arne and Hans Frede NIELSEN (eds.):** Otto Jespersen: Facets of his Life and Work. 1989. xviii, 154 pp.

51:2 **NIEDEREHE, Hans-Josef and E.F.K. KOERNER (eds.):** History and Historiography of Linguistics. Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference on the History of the Language Sciences (ICHoLS IV), Trier, 24–28 August 1987. Volume 2: 18th–20th Century. 1990. x, 397-873 pp.

51:1 **NIEDEREHE, Hans-Josef and E.F.K. KOERNER (eds.):** History and Historiography of Linguistics. Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference on the History of the Language Sciences (ICHoLS IV), Trier, 24–28 August 1987. Volume 1: Antiquitity–17th Century. 1990. xxv, 1-396 pp.

50 **KOERNER, E.F.K.:** Practicing Linguistic Historiography. 1989. xiv, 455 pp.

49 **MAURO, Tullio De and Lia FORMIGARI (eds.):** Leibniz, Humboldt, and the Origins of Comparativism. Proceedings of the international conference, Rome, 25–28 September 1986. 1990. vii, 329 pp.

48 **FORMIGARI, Lia:** Language and Experience in 17th-century British Philosophy. 1988. viii, 169 pp.

47 **HALL, JR., Robert A. (ed.):** Leonard Bloomfield: Essays on his Life & Work. 1987. x, 237 pp.

46 **TAYLOR, Daniel J. (ed.):** The History of Linguistics in the Classical Period. 1987. xii, 294 pp.

45 **OWENS, Jonathan:** The Foundations of Grammar. An introduction to medieval Arabic grammatical theory. 1988. xii, 371 pp.

44 **AMSLER, Mark E.:** Etymology and Grammatical Discourse in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. 1989. xi, 280 pp.

43 **BURSILL-HALL, Geoffrey L., Sten EBBESEN and E.F.K. KOERNER (eds.):** De Ortu Grammaticae. Studies in medieval grammar and linguistic theory in memory of Jan Pinborg. 1990. x, 372 pp.

42 **BUZZETTI, Dino and Maurizio FERRIANI (eds.):** Speculative Grammar, Universal Grammar, Philosophical Analysis. Papers in the Philosophy of Language. 1987. x, 269 pp.

41 **COWAN, William, Michael FOSTER and E.F.K. KOERNER (eds.):** New Perspectives in Language, Culture, and Personality. Proceedings of the Edward Sapir Centenary Conference (Ottawa, 1–3 October 1984). 1986. xiv, 627 pp.

40 **HARTMANN, Reinhard (ed.):** The History of Lexicography. 1986. viii, 265 pp.

39 **DINNEEN, Francis P. S. J.:** Peter of Spain: Language in Dispute. An English translation of Peter of Spain's 'Tractatus' called afterwards SUMMULAE LOGICALES, based on the critical edition by L.M. de Rijk. 1990. xl, 271 pp.

38 **AARSLEFF, Hans, L.G. KELLY and Hans-Josef NIEDEREHE (eds.):** Papers in the History of Linguistics. Proceedings of the Third International Conference on the History of the Language Sciences (ICHoLS III), Princeton, 19–23 August 1984. 1987. xxvi, 680 pp.

37 **Ó MATHÚNA, Seán P.:** William Bathe, S.J., 1564–1614: a pioneer in linguistics. (English translation from the Irish edition, Dublin, 1981). 1986. iv, 211 pp. + 16 ill.

36 **SAPIR, Edward:** Appraisals of his life and work. Edited by E.F.K. Koerner. 1984. xxviii, 224 pp.

35 **SALMON, Vivian and Edwina BURNESS:** A Reader in the Language of Shakespearean Drama. 1987. xx, 523 pp.

34 **QUILIS MORALES, Antonio and Hans-Josef NIEDEREHE (eds.):** The History of Linguistics in Spain. 1986. viii, 360 pp.

33 **RAMAT, Paolo, Hans-Josef NIEDEREHE and E.F.K. KOERNER (eds.):** The History of Linguistics in Italy. 1986. x, 364 pp.

32 **MANCHESTER, Martin L.:** The Philosophical Foundations of Humboldt's Linguistic Doctrines. 1985. xii, 216 pp.

31 **CHRISTY, T. Craig:** Uniformitarianism in Linguistics. 1983. xiv, 139 pp.

30 **GORDON, W. Terrence:** A History of Semantics. 1982. viii, 284 pp.

29 **ARENS, Hans:** Aristotle's Theory of Language and its Tradition. Texts from 500 to 1750, sel., transl. and commentary by Hans Arens. 1984. v, 525 pp.

28 **VERSTEEGH, Kees, E.F.K. KOERNER and Hans-Josef NIEDEREHE (eds.):** The History of Linguistics in the Near East. 1982. xii, 265 pp.

27 **BREVA-CLARAMONTE, Manuel:** Sanctius' Theory of Language. A contribution to the history of Renaissance linguistics. 1982. viii, 294 pp.

26 **KOERNER, E.F.K., Hans-Josef NIEDEREHE and Robert H. ROBINS (eds.):** Studies in Medieval Linguistic Thought. Dedicated to Geofrey L. Bursill-Hall on the occassion of his 60th birthday on 15 May 1980. 1980. vi, 321 pp.

25 **HYMES, Dell H.:** Essays in the History of Linguistic Anthropology. 1983. xxiii, 406 pp.

24 **CARTER, Michael G. (ed.):** Arab Linguistics. An introductory classical text with translation and notes. 1981. x, 485 pp.

23 **HOUSEHOLDER, Fred W.:** Apollonius Dyscolus. The *Syntax* of Apollonius Dyscolus. 1981. vi, 281 pp.

22 **McDERMOTT, A. Charlene Senape (ed.):** Godfrey of Fontaine's Abridgement of Boethius of Dacia's 'Modi Significandi sive Quaestiones super Priscianum Maiorem'. An text edition with English translation and introduction. 1980. ix, 237 pp.

21 **DAVIS, Boyd H. and Raymond K. O'CAIN (eds.):** First Person Singular. Papers from the Conference on an Oral Archive for the History of American Linguistics. (Charlotte, N.C., March 1979). 1980. xiv, 239 pp.

20 **KOERNER, E.F.K. (ed.):** Progress in Linguistic Historiography. Papers from the International Conference on the History of the Language Sciences, Ottawa, 28–31 August 1978. 1980. xiv, 421 pp.

19 **KOERNER, E.F.K.:** Toward a Historiography of Linguistics. Selected Essays. With a foreword by Robert H. Robins. 1978. xx, 222 pp.

18 **HAYASHI, Tetsuro:** The Theory of English Lexicography 1530–1791. 1978. xii, 168 pp.

17 **SALMON, Vivian:** The Study of Language in 17th-Century England. Second Edition. 1988. x, 218 pp.

16 **PANCONCELLI-CALZIA, Giulio (1878–1966):** 'Geschichtszahlen der Phonetik' (1941), together with 'Quellenatlas der Phonetik' (1940). New edition. With an introduction by E.F.K. Koerner. 1994. xxxviii, 88 pp.

15 **PSEUDO-ALBERTUS MAGNUS, and L.G. KELLY:** 'Quaestiones Alberti de Modis significandi.' A critical edition. 1977. xxxvii, 191 pp.

14 **SIGERUS DE CORTRACO, and Jan PINBORG:** Summa modorum significandi; Sophismata. New edition, on the basis of. G. Wallerand's editio prima, with additions, critical notes, an index of terms, and an introduction by Jan Pinborg. 1977. xli, 108 pp. Small-4to.

13 **DRAKE, Glendon F.:** The Role of Prescriptivism in American Linguistics 1820–1970. 1977. x, 130 pp.

12 **PAULINUS A.S. BARTHOLOMAEO,:** Dissertation on the Sanskrit Language. Translated, edited and introduced by Ludo Rocher. 1977. xxviii, 224 pp.

11 **KOERNER, E.F.K.:** Western Histories of Linguistic Thought. An annotated chronological bibliography, 1822–1976. 1978. x, 113 pp.

10 **KILBURY, James:** The Development of Morphophonemic Theory. 1976. viii, 155 pp.

9 **NIEDEREHE, Hans-Josef and Harald HAARMANN (eds.):** In Memoriam Friedrich Diez: Akten des Kolloquiums zum Wissenschaftsgeschichte der Romanistik/Actes du Colloque sur l'Histoire des Etudes Romanes/ Proc. 1976. viii, 508 pp.

8 **STENGEL, Edmund (1845–1935) (ed.):** Chronologisches Verzeichnis französischer Grammatiken vom Ende des 14. bis zum Ausgange des 18. Jahrhunderts, nebst Angabe der bisher ermittelten Fundorte derselben. 1976. x, 240 pp.

7 **PEDERSEN, Holger (1867–1953):** A Glance at the History of Linguistics. with particular regard to the historical study of phonology. 1983. xxxii, 100 pp.

6 **MILLER, Roy Andrew:** Studies in the Grammatical Tradition in Tibet. 1976. xix, 142 pp.

5 **HUNT, Richard William (1908–1979):** The History of Grammar in the Middle Ages. Collected Papers. With a select bibliography, and indices. Edited with an introduction by Geoffrey L. Bursill-Hall. 1980. xxxvi, 214 pp.

4 **BACHER, Wilhelm (1850–1913):** Die Anfänge der hebräischen Grammatik (1895), together with Die Hebräisch Sprachwissenschaft vom 10. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert (1892). 1974. xix, 57, 235 pp.

3 **BENWARE, Wilbur A.:** The Study of Indo-European Vocalism in the 19th century. From the beginnings to Whitney and Scherer. A critical-historical account. 1974. xii, 126 pp. 2nd. printing 1995.

2 **TAYLOR, Daniel J.:** Declinatio: A Study of the Linguistic Theory of Marcus Terentius Varro. 1974. xv, 131 pp.

1 **KOERNER, E.F.K.:** The Importance of Techmer's 'Internationale Zeitschrift fur Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft' in the Development of General Linguistics. 1973. vii, 76 pp., small-4to.