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According to the latest calculation of the *Ethnologue*, the African continent has more than 2,000 languages.¹ The lexicography of this vast body of languages until the 19th century was very modest. Their codification in grammars and dictionaries increased drastically after the Berlin Conference of 1884–1885 formalized the process of the European colonization of Africa, and the history of linguistics of the African languages became a subject of scholarly attention in the 20th century.² Apart from the establishment of the Xhosa Dictionary Project in 1968, only in the last decade of the 20th century have considerable developments been made in African lexicography: in 1991 the journal *Lexikos* — the only journal in Africa devoted to lexicography — was launched; in 1992, the African Language Lexical Project (ALLEX) was formed (between the Universities of Oslo and Zimbabwe); in 1995, the African Association for Lexicography (AFRILEX) was founded, with *Lexikos* as its official journal from 1996; and in 2000, the African Languages Research Institute (ALRI) of the University of Zimbabwe was established.³

The present chapter presents an overview of selected dictionaries of African languages, underlining the role of missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, and native speakers since the beginning of European colonization. It is not a comprehensive analysis of the lexicography of all African languages: many have been excluded because of lack of space, and others are treated, or at least mentioned briefly, in other chapters, for instance Ancient Egyptian and Coptic (Chapter 2), Arabic (Chapters 8 and 19), Nubian (Chapter 11), Ge’ez (Chapter 14), and Afrikaans (Chapter 22). Nor does it attempt to treat all the dictionaries of each language. The main objective is to complement the research of other scholars — Clement Doke’s *Bantu* deserves special mention here — and to point out the pioneering and lesser known milestones of African lexicographic works.

The languages are divided into three main geographical zones: western-central, eastern, and southern Africa. (The western and central zones might have been separated, and assigning a given language to one zone rather than another is not always straightforward, but the division imposes some order on

¹ Simons and Fennig, *Ethnologue*.

² Doke, ‘Early Bantu literature’; Doke, ‘Bantu language pioneers’.

³ Hartmann and James, *Dictionary of Lexicography*, 4 (entries ‘African Association for Lexicography’ and ‘AFRILEX’), 87 (entry ‘Lexikos’); Chabata, ‘Lexicography of Shona’, 949.

the languages.) No chronological subdivision has been attempted; for most languages, such a subdivision would hardly be appropriate, because only a few dictionaries or vocabularies were written before 1860.⁴

WESTERN-CENTRAL AFRICA

We begin with the languages of western-central Africa, in the order of their first dictionaries: Kikongo, of which there is an extant dictionary of 1648, together with Kimbundu and Umbundu; then Wolof, of which the first dictionary is of 1825; then Yoruba, of which the first dictionary is of 1843; and finally Hausa, of which the first dictionary is also of 1843.⁵

KIKONGO

The oldest dictionary of a Bantu language which is known to survive is the *Vocabularium Latinum, Hispanicum, et Congense ad usum missionariorum transmittendorum ad regni Congi missiones* ('Latin, Spanish, and Kikongo vocabulary for the use of the missionaries sent to the missions in the Kingdom of Kongo'), finished in mid-1648.⁶ It has been called 'the oldest Bantu dictionary' *tout court*, but there is reason to believe that earlier wordlists have been lost.⁷ It is preserved in a manuscript at the Italian National Library in Rome, written in 1652, and there is an edition of 1928.⁸ The latter cuts and rearranges to turn the Latin–Spanish–Kikongo original into a Kikongo–French–Flemish work which is a misleading representation of the original, and has been forcefully criticized.⁹ The manuscript is 121 folios in extent, and includes approximately 7,000 lemmata.¹⁰ The dictionary has been attributed to the Fleming Adriaen Willems (later Joris van Gheel or, in Spanish, Jorge de Gela), the copyist of the extant manuscript. In fact, the main compiler was very likely a Portuguese and Kikongo speaker, Manuel de Roboredo (later Francisco de São Salvador), whose father and

⁴ For 1860 as a date separating pioneering and later work, see Doke, *Bantu*, 74 and 83.

⁵ The following account is supplemented by, for instance, Busane, 'Lexicography in central Africa', and Mavoungou, 'Lexicography of the languages of central Africa'; see also Afane-Otsaga, 'Lexicography of Fang'.

⁶ For it, see D'Alençon, 'Essai de bibliographie', 41–42; Hildebrand, *Le martyr Georges de Geel*, 260–3; Buenaventura de Carrocera, 'Los capuchinos', 219–26; Cole, 'History of African linguistics', 2; Bonvini, 'Repères pour une histoire', 140; Zwartjes, *Portuguese Missionary Grammars*, 297; De Kind, de Schryver, and Bostoën, 'Pushing back the origin of Bantu lexicography', 183; Bortolami, *I Bakongo*, 32.

⁷ See Doke, 'Early Bantu literature', 96 — 'the claim of the editors that this is "the oldest Bantu dictionary" is difficult to substantiate. Brusciotto's 1650 dictionary, not now extant, is the oldest of which we have a record' — and Zwartjes, *Portuguese Missionary Grammars*, 212.

⁸ Rome: Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele, Fondo Minori 1896, MS Varia 274, edited as *Le plus ancien dictionnaire bantu* (1928).

⁹ For its editorial procedure, see *Le plus ancien dictionnaire bantu* (1928), xvi; for criticism, see Doke, 'Early Bantu literature', 96 ('such a method of handling the manuscript is the opposite of scientific'); Hildebrand, *Le martyr Georges de Geel*, 269; and Zwartjes, *Portuguese Missionary Grammars*, 297.

¹⁰ Zwartjes, *Portuguese Missionary Grammars*, 297, follows an unreliable secondary source for his figure of 169 folios.

mother were, respectively, a Portuguese nobleman and a relative of the king of Kongo. It is possible that the *Vocabularium* and the lost Latin–Spanish–Italian–Kikongo work of the Capuchin missionary Antonio Teruel, which was sent to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in Rome in 1662, share a common ancestor, itself now lost.¹¹

In 1805, the Italian Capucin Bernardo Maria da Canicatti published a grammar of the ‘Bunda or Angolan language’, and, at the end, added a Portuguese–Latin–Kikongo–Kimbundu vocabulary with approximately 1,000 entries. It was much criticized because it confused forms from at least three native languages: Kimbundu, Kikongo and Umbundu; however, the English missionary William Holman Bentley acknowledged Canicatti’s philological contribution, saying, for instance, that ‘there are many mistakes, and many words which it is impossible to trace; but as he acknowledges his imperfect acquaintance with Kongo, and only gives his list as philological study, we must not criticize, but be thankful for his contribution’.¹² In fact, Canicatti knew his own limitations and the shortcomings of his vocabulary. He complained that he had no access to dictionaries, grammars, or other linguistic resources apart from two 17th-century missionary works: the catechism by Marcos Jorge, translated into Kikongo by Matheus Cardoso, and (for a short period of time) the grammar book by Giacinto Brugiotti da Vetralla. Thus, he concluded that his knowledge was very limited.¹³ Canicatti tried to describe the ‘Sonho’ dialect, which does not mean the Kikongo language from San Salvador, the capital, but from the coast, Sonyo or Saint Antonio, ‘on the left bank at the mouth of the river’.¹⁴ He did not separate the prefixes from the roots or stems, concluding that the fundamental structures of Kikongo are indeed the ‘initial letters or syllables.’ They ‘govern and distinguish the words, as in Kimbundu, and not the terminations’. This similarity proves, for him, that ‘both nations had the same origin’.¹⁵

A dictionary of Kikongo which is still in use is the English–Kikongo and Kikongo–English *Dictionary and Grammar of the Kongo Language* (1887, with an appendix of 1895) by William Holman Bentley, who was assisted by a Congolese Christian called Nlemvo, acknowledging his work in an interesting passage:

In this translation and linguistic work, Nlemvo, who rendered such valuable assistance in the preparation of what was published in 1887, has still continued his aid, rendered all the more efficient by these fourteen years of work, which have trained and developed his great natural aptitude. This gives the uniformity which is of such great

¹¹ For Teruel’s work, see Brásio, *Monumenta Missionaria Africana*, 12. 369–70, and Zwartjes, *Portuguese Missionary Grammars*, 298–9; for its possible source, see Doke, ‘Early Bantu literature’, 96; Buenaventura de Carrocera, ‘Los capuchinos’, 226–9.

¹² Bentley, *Dictionary and Grammar of the Kongo Language*, xii.

¹³ Canicatti, ‘Diccionario abreviado da lingua Congueza’, 151–3.

¹⁴ Bentley, *Dictionary and Grammar of the Kongo Language*, xii.

¹⁵ Canicatti, ‘Diccionario abreviado da lingua Congueza’, 154.

importance.¹⁶

In the Preface, Bentley summarizes the history of the presence of Europeans in the Congo region, and explains how the Baptist Missionary Society made San Salvador (currently M'banza Kongo, Angola) the base of their operations in 1879.¹⁷ In addition, he highlighted the absence of serious dialectal variants of, as he calls the language, 'Kixi-Kongo', saying, for instance, that the differences between the language of San Salvador and of Stanley Pool in the interior (the current Lake Nkunda or Pool Malebo, which separates Kinshasha and Brazzaville) were smaller than those between the English of southern England and 'broad Scotch'. Thus, for Bentley, the best medium of communication was the Kongo language as spoken in the old capital, San Salvador.¹⁸

The dictionary as published in 1887 included 'some 10,000 Kongo words, omitting as far as possible the thousands of derivative words, which, being formed from the root-words according to simple rules, needed no special note', and the appendix of 1895 offered 4,000 more Kikongo words, 'on the same principle, which include, as far as possible, all words or roots which are used in the Kongo literature of the English Baptist Mission published up to the present'.¹⁹ The appendix used a revised orthography, which Bentley admitted 'may cause some difficulty ... since *simba* appears as *ximba* under *X* in the Dictionary, and as *simba* under *S* in the Appendix'; but, he continued, 'that lack of uniformity is of small moment, compared with the importance of the attainment of a permanent form at the earliest possible date, and the wider usefulness of our literary productions'.²⁰ These literary productions, particularly the translation of the New Testament and a magazine named *Se kukianga* ('The dawn is breaking') meant, for Bentley, that by 1895, Kikongo could 'no longer be spoken of as an unwritten language': the publication of the 1887 dictionary had apparently not in itself given the language written status.²¹ For Doke, 'Bentley's "dictionary" is very reliable, but what he has recorded might have been done more concisely: he has an irritating way of entering the same word repeatedly for each separate meaning, instead of listing the various meanings under a common entry'.²²

KIMBUNDU

During the colonial period, Kimbundu was undoubtedly the African language most widely studied

¹⁶ Bentley, *Appendix*, v; cf. the account of Nlemvo in Bentley, *Dictionary and Grammar of the Kongo Language*, xviii.

¹⁷ Bentley, *Dictionary and Grammar of the Kongo Language*, ix–xvi.

¹⁸ Bentley, *Dictionary and Grammar of the Kongo Language*, xi.

¹⁹ Bentley, *Appendix*, v.

²⁰ Bentley, *Appendix*, vi.

²¹ Bentley, *Appendix*, v.

²² Doke, *Bantu*, 18–19.

by missionaries under the Portuguese Patronage.²³ Nevertheless, the first known printed dictionary was only published in 1804: the 720-page Portuguese–Latin–Kimbundu *Diccionario da lingua Bunda ou Angolense* by Bernardo Maria Canicatti, whose wordlist of Kikongo and Kimbundu of 1805 we have just discussed. In his address to the reader, Canicatti explains the importance of the dictionary to missionary activity, and the difficulties experienced when dealing with the interpreters, native people with little or no instruction, knowing only a few Portuguese words. He also explains its importance in improving economical or commercial relations and the application of justice. Canicatti named the local language the ‘general language of Angola’, because, according to him, it was spoken in many native kingdoms throughout the whole of what he called the Kingdom of Angola or the Kingdom of the Mbundu people.²⁴ He also mentions his lack of knowledge of other previous dictionaries and, thus, the imperfections of his work, because he felt he was the first to penetrate that ‘dark labyrinth’, adding that defects and imperfections are almost inseparable from the earliest works of this genre.²⁵

In 1893 was published the first dictionary of Kimbundu by an Angolan, entitled *Ensaio de Diccionario Kimbundu–Portuguez*. Its author, the poet and journalist Joaquim Dias Cordeiro da Matta, did not have any religious education (only primary school) and died prematurely, but is considered the ‘father of Angolan literature’. Chatelain, most probably the world’s leading expert on Kimbundu in the nineteenth century, stated that Matta’s *Ensaio* was ‘the best vocabulary of Kimbundu yet published’.²⁶ Interestingly, Matta said Kimbundu had maintained its independence from Portuguese and it was the same language as that spoken a hundred years ago, contrasting with the creoles of other countries.²⁷ He also stated, however, that it would be an error to exclude neologisms from other languages, because new social realities need to have new vocabularies. He gives the example *ngálûfu* (plural *jingálûfu*), from the Portuguese *garfo* ‘fork’, to express the new social reality. Until the arrival of the Europeans, speakers of Kimbundu just used a knife to eat and, for that, they had the noun *pôku*, but new vocabulary had come with new ways of living.²⁸ Sadly, Cordeiro da Matta did not realize that Kimbundu was a prefixal language — or at least, did not realize the relevance of the fact for the structure of a dictionary — and so he did not separate the classifier prefixes for the purposes of alphabetization. For instance, he disconnected *Ambúndu* from *Kimbúndu* and *Mbúndu*, and put all infinitive verbs with the prefix *ku* together.²⁹

²³ For their work on Bantu linguistics, see, e.g., Louwrens, ‘Contributions made by the Portuguese’.

²⁴ Canicatti, *Diccionario da lingua Bunda ou Angolense*, vii–ix.

²⁵ Canicatti, *Diccionario da lingua Bunda ou Angolense*, v; cf. Chatelain, *Folk-Tales of Angola*, 23, on its ‘incorrectness, confused spelling, and erroneous renderings of words’.

²⁶ Chatelain, *Folk-Tales of Angola*, 25.

²⁷ Matta, *Ensaio de diccionario*, x.

²⁸ Matta, *Ensaio de diccionario*, xi, citing Sousa e Oliveira and Francina, *Elementos grammaticaes da lingua Nbandu*, xi.

²⁹ Matta, *Ensaio de diccionario*, 1 (*Ambúndu*), 24 (*Kimbúndu*), 98 (*Mbúndu*), 33–85 (infinitives in *ku*).

Finally, the principal dictionary now in use is the *Dicionário Etimológico Bundo–Português* (1951) by the Spiritan father Albino Alves. It analyses the etymology of almost 20,000 words, and presents about 2,000 proverbs and 200 riddles. It was published in two heavy volumes, in approximately 2,000 pages; the orthography follows the guidelines published as *Practical Orthography of African Languages* by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures in 1927 and 1930. In the prologue, Alves stated that, when writing the dictionary, he used nearly 60 books and opuscles and his own knowledge, acquired during his 14 years dedicated to learning Kimbundu, through direct contact with the native people, but that he had no help in the etymological descriptions, because there were no treatises on this subject.³⁰ He began with a very imaginative hypothesis: all Kimbundu words derive from two onomatopoeic sounds, *ta* and *hu*. The monosyllable *ta* referred originally to the idea of throwing up an object and *hu* meant the interior of a person.³¹ Alves explained also that he did not repeat all words formed with a known affix, because it would be tedious to enumerate all verbs ending in *wa*, *isa*, and *ila* or *ela*, or all nouns beginning with *u* and ending in *i* or beginning with *ukwa*. From all verbs one can make new words, adding these and similar prefixes and suffixes; thus, it would not be worth multiplying the volume of the dictionary by four or six.³² Alves was the first author to explain that Kimbundu has four tones. He used impressive designations — “alto ... normal ... baixo ... plangente” (‘high, normal, low, and plangent’) — and indicated the tones with the Portuguese diacritics: the acute accent for the high tone, the grave accent for the low tone, and the diaeresis for the plangent tone, ‘remembering’, as he put it, ‘the tearful eyes of the passionate fado singer on the vowel of the lower tone syllable’.³³ Nevertheless, he added that many European people cannot distinguish the four tones, and their practical importance is not so great, since words which could be only be distinguished by the contrast of tones in isolation can usually be distinguished in practice by their conversational context.³⁴

UMBUNDU

Umbundu is another language of Angola, often mistaken for Kimbundu, which is spoken further north. The first printed Umbundu dictionary was published in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1885, by two American missionaries, William Henry Sanders and William Edwards Fay. It lists approximately 3,000 words in 76 pages, but, unfortunately, it has no linguistic explanation: there is no introductory

³⁰ Alves, *Dicionário etimológico*, 6.

³¹ Alves, *Dicionário etimológico*, 10–12.

³² Alves, *Dicionário etimológico*, 13.

³³ Alves, *Dicionário etimológico*, 6.

³⁴ Alves, *Dicionário etimológico*, 6.

chapter or preface, and the words are not even divided into prefixes and roots, although there are entries in the Umbundu–English section for the infinitive and negative prefixes *oku* and *ka*, and the suffixes *-vo* ‘also’ and *-ño* ‘only’ or ‘just’, and the last of these is given as an equivalent for *just* and *only* in the English–Umbundu section. Based mainly on this vocabulary, a layman, José Pereira do Nascimento, a medical officer in the Portuguese Royal Navy, appended Portuguese–Umbundu and Umbundu–Portuguese wordlists to his grammar of Umbundu, published in 1894. These have approximately the same entries as Sanders and Fay’s dictionary, but with a few improvements: Nascimento separated all prefixes, roots and suffixes, and he quoted very modern Africanists, as well older grammarians and lexicographers.

The dictionary by the French Spiritan father Grégoire Le Guennec and his Portuguese confrère José Francisco Valente, which was published in 1972, also deserves to be highlighted. Le Guennec died twelve years before the publication of the dictionary, but the work which he had left in manuscript was, in fact, its main source. Le Guennec had dedicated 20 years to the composition of the dictionary, but the Portuguese language was not his mother tongue and he was not comfortable with this language. Valente introduced many neologisms, which, in his opinion, enriched the language and represented the ‘ação civilizadora’ (‘civilizing achievement’) of the missionaries. The dictionary adopts phonetic orthography, slightly modified, and only presents the root of the verbs, for example, by omitting the verbal prefixes.

WOLOF

Our survey now moves northwards up the Atlantic coast to Wolof, which is now spoken in Senegal, Gambia, and Mauritania. The first proper Wolof dictionary was only published in 1825: the French–Wolof–Bambara and Wolof–French *Dictionnaire français–wolof et français–bambara, suivi du dictionnaire wolof–français* by Jean Dard, the founder of the first public school for black people in Senegal. According to Bonvini, the main concerns of Dard were to prove that the black people, as well as their language, belonged fully to humanity.³⁵ In fact, Dard argued that African languages are primitive, but regular, although not yet written:

this dialect is regular, uniform, governed by fixed principles; among its imperfections, advantages are to be found which do not belong to other languages at all; in conclusion, it has its own characteristics, and others which it shares with the languages of east Africa, even of Europe.³⁶

³⁵ Bonvini, ‘Les deux premières grammaires françaises du Wolof’, 115.

³⁶ Dard, *Dictionnaire français–wolof*, vi, ‘ce dialecte est régulier, uniforme, assujetti à des principes fixes: au milieu de ses imperfections, on découvre des avantages qui n’appartiennent point aux autres langues; enfin il a des caractères propres, et d’autres qui lui sont communs avec les langues de l’Afrique orientale, même de l’Europe’.

Indeed, he believed that African languages are more regular than European languages, because they are primitive in the sense of not being derived from other languages.³⁷

Other Wolof dictionaries followed.³⁸ The most important Wolof dictionary today is the *Dictionnaire wolof-français et français-wolof* of Jean-Léopold Diouf, of the Center of Applied Linguistics of Dakar, published in 2003. It has 10,105 lemmata in the Wolof–French part (370 pages) and 4,647 in the French–Wolof part (177 pages). It is a dictionary of contemporary Wolof. Each entry has a phonetic transcription, classification of the parts of speech, translation equivalents, dialectal variants, etymology, meaning, examples, synonyms, antonyms, and analogy.³⁹

YORUBA

The last two languages of western-central Africa to be discussed in this section are Yoruba and Hausa, both spoken in what is now Nigeria. The first Yoruba dictionary was published in 1843 by a native speaker of the language called Samuel Crowther. He had been born in Osogun, in what is now southwestern Nigeria, where his name was Ajayi. In 1821 he was captured as a slave, and in the following year he was purchased by Portuguese slave traders for servitude on the Brazilian plantations, but the ship on which he was to be transported was intercepted by two ships of the British navy, and the slaves were rescued. He became Christian in 1825, taking the name of Samuel Crowther at his baptism, and was ordained for ministry in the Anglican church in 1843, becoming ‘bishop of the countries of Western Africa beyond the Queen's dominions’ in 1864 — the first African bishop in the Anglican church — and dedicating his life to the Niger mission.⁴⁰

Crowther’s work on the lexicography of Yoruba appears to have had its origins in his participation, on behalf of the Church Missionary Society, in an expedition in 1841 ‘consisting of three Steamers of the Royal Navy ... sent up the Niger by her Majesty’s Government’ for a mixture of missionary, diplomatic, and commercial purposes.⁴¹ A printed outline vocabulary was supplied to the expedition, to be filled in with words from the languages which its members encountered, and Crowther began work on this from his own knowledge as soon as the expedition had begun.⁴² The first edition of Crowther’s *Vocabulary of the Yoruba Language* goes far beyond the notes he made on the Niger expedition. It begins with an account of the history of the Yoruba people, from their origin myths to

³⁷ Dard, *Dictionnaire français-wolof*, xxii.

³⁸ See, e.g., Calhoun, ‘Reading paratexts’, on a Wolof–French and French–Wolof dictionary of 1855.

³⁹ See Mavougou, ‘Lexicography of the languages of western Africa’, 966.

⁴⁰ See Page, *Black Bishop*, and Walls, ‘Crowther’ for his biography.

⁴¹ Schön and Crowther, *Journals*, i.

⁴² Schön and Crowther, *Journals*, 260, 263.

the present day, very much from a Yoruba point of view, and then presents a 48-page grammar; 176 pages of wordlists, in single column, divided fairly evenly between English–Yoruba and Yoruba–English; and 20 pages of texts in English and Yoruba.⁴³

The second edition was published nine years later, in 1852. It was sometimes issued with a revised grammar, as *A Grammar and Vocabulary of the Yoruba Language*, but the two were also issued separately.⁴⁴ The *Grammar and Vocabulary* began with a brief anonymous introduction, which drew attention to the proverbs and idioms collected by Crowther ‘from the lips of his countrymen in the course of common conversation’ and to his use of the ‘system of phonography’ proposed in the ‘Rules for reducing unwritten languages to alphabetical writing in Roman characters, with reference especially to the languages spoken in Africa’ which had been issued by the Church Missionary Society in 1848 (see below).⁴⁵ A much longer preface followed, written by Owen Vidal, the newly consecrated Anglican bishop of Sierra Leone, and notable for its warm appreciation of the Yoruba language, which Vidal presumably knew only from Crowther’s dictionary: like Dard, he commented on the ‘beautiful completeness and perfect regularity which characterize its formative process’; he remarked that ‘the Yoruba is no ordinary language’; and he compared the Yoruba proverbs which Crowther had gathered to the poetry of the Hebrew Scriptures.⁴⁶ Next came an introduction to the grammar; the grammar itself; and, finally, a Yoruba–English wordlist of 287 single-column pages and 3,000 or more entries.⁴⁷ There was no English–Yoruba wordlist.

A third edition then followed, undated, but probably from the period between 1867 and 1872. It was issued with minimal preliminaries: the title-page reads simply ‘A vocabulary of the Yoruba language, &c. &c.’, without author or imprint, and a few remarks about the marking of pronunciation and morphology appear on its verso (they had previously appeared in the *Grammar* and the *Vocabulary* of 1852).⁴⁸ There are two wordlists, in double column, 144 pages of English–Yoruba and 254 pages of Yoruba–English. This was presumably an advance release of the wordlists which had been printed for a more elaborate third edition which never appeared. Nor was this the end of the career of

⁴³ Crowther, *Vocabulary of the Yoruba Language* (1843), i–vii (history), 1–48 (grammar), 1–83 (English–Yoruba), 84–176 (Yoruba–English), 177–96 (texts).

⁴⁴ Crowther, *Grammar of the Yoruba Language*, third unnumbered preliminary page, calls the revised grammar ‘substantially a new work’.

⁴⁵ Crowther, *Grammar and Vocabulary of the Yoruba Language*, iv–v; the ‘Rules’ are reproduced in Spencer, ‘S. W. Koelle and the problem of notation for African languages’, 89–91.

⁴⁶ In Crowther, *Grammar and Vocabulary of the Yoruba Language*, 6, 17, 20.

⁴⁷ Crowther, *Grammar and Vocabulary of the Yoruba Language*, iii–v (introduction), 1–38 (Vidal’s preface), i–vii (introduction to the grammar), 1–52 (grammar), 1–291 (Yoruba–English).

⁴⁸ The anonymous title-page and remarks had appeared in Crowther, *Vocabulary of the Yoruba Language* (1852) directly after Vidal’s preface; the remarks had also appeared in his *Grammar of the Yoruba Language*, fourth unnumbered preliminary page.

Crowther's Yoruba dictionary, for it was drawn on by 20th-century lexicographers.

HAUSA

Hausa has a large mother-tongue speaker population, and is also widely used as a lingua franca; as the maker of its first dictionary pointed out, 'The Hausa is one of the most extensive Languages of Central Africa. An acquaintance with it will open a door of communication with an immense population, and over a vast tract of country'.⁴⁹ This dictionary was the *Vocabulary of the Hausa Language* published in 1843 by the German-born Anglican missionary James Frederick Schön, who, according to Mavoungou, 'can rightfully be regarded as the father of Hausa studies'.⁵⁰

He had, like Crowther, taken part in the Niger expedition, and the two men would remain close. In its course, he 'directed his attention to the acquisition of the Ibo and Hausa Languages, and has collected extensive Vocabularies and Phrases in both. ... But he has thought proper, for various reasons, to postpone the publication of the Ibo for a future period'.⁵¹ In the dictionary's introduction, Schön explained that he learned the language by speaking directly with native people, including slaves and kings, in many different places in central Africa, concluding that 'it is rich in words; and its grammatical structure is easy and beautiful'.⁵² He found etymological similarities between Hausa and some European languages, such as 'Celtic', English, and 'Scotch', and other African languages, like Fula (now classed in the Niger-Congo phylum, and hence seen as completely unrelated to the Afroasiatic Hausa). The book is structured like Crowther's *Vocabulary of the Yoruba Language*, comprising a grammatical treatise; the vocabularies themselves, English–Hausa (approximately 3,200 lemmata) and Hausa–English (circa 3,800 lemmata); collections of phrases, many of them for use in medical consultations; and English and Hausa texts for translation.⁵³ According to Roxana Ma Newman and Paul Newman, 'in spite of its age, it is surprisingly modern in its approach and grammatical analysis, describing the major grammatical morphemes, pronoun classes, and derivational suffixes'.⁵⁴ Schön published a second Hausa dictionary (he thought of it as a new work rather than a revised edition of the *Vocabulary*) in 1876, at the instigation of Samuel Crowther.⁵⁵

⁴⁹ Schön, *Vocabulary of the Hausa Language*, i.

⁵⁰ Mavoungou, 'Lexicography of the languages of western Africa', 964.

⁵¹ Schön, *Vocabulary of the Hausa Language*, iii–iv (and cf. Schön and Crowther, *Journals*, 116); he did indeed publish on Igbo in years to come, and the second part of Crowther's *Vocabulary of the Ibo language*, published in 1883, was prepared by him.

⁵² Schön, *Vocabulary of the Hausa Language*, ii.

⁵³ Schön, *Vocabulary of the Hausa Language*, 1–30 (grammar), 1–102 (English–Hausa), 103–157 (Hausa–English), 158–69 (phrases), 170–90 (texts).

⁵⁴ Newman and Newman, 'Hausa lexicographic tradition', 267.

⁵⁵ Schön, *Dictionary of the Hausa Language*, ii, quotes a letter of Crowther's to him, dated 1874: 'One of the most important helps that we now need is the publication of your Hausa Vocabulary now in manuscript'.

Two other Hausa bilingual dictionaries with other European languages, namely French and German, should be pointed out.⁵⁶ On the one hand, the *Essai de dictionnaire français–haoussa et haoussa–français*, published in 1886 by the French captain of infantry and head of the Arab office of Bou Saada (Algeria) Jean-Marie Le Roux, is the first dictionary of Hausa written in both Ajami (Arabic script) and Boko (Roman script). However, ‘the fact that many entries are actually Arabic rather than Hausa indicates that it was likely based on the speech of a Hausa speaker living in North Africa who had an incomplete command of his native language. The work therefore remains more a curiosity in the history of Hausa lexicography than a work of scholarly significance’.⁵⁷ On the other hand, the *Wörterbuch der Hausasprache* by the German missionary Adam Mischlich, published in 1906, has almost 700 pages and 7,000 Hausa lemmata, also written in both Arabic and Roman scripts. Newman and Newman observe that ‘Mischlich’s dictionary reflects a deeper analysis of Hausa grammatical structure and understanding of derivational morphology’.⁵⁸

EASTERN AFRICA

We now turn to the languages of our second main geographical division, namely eastern Africa, beginning with Swahili, which was documented in a polyglot dictionary of 1850, and then turning to Ronga, of which there was a dictionary in 1856; and to Nyungwe, of which a dictionary was completed in 1889. The lexicography by Europeans of the languages of Ethiopia is not treated here: its story begins with learned dictionaries of the early modern period, and is distinct from the main story of the missionary, colonial, and post-colonial lexicography of the languages of Africa. However, one dictionary from Ethiopia does call for brief mention because it was used as a basis for the first dictionary of other east African languages: it is the Oromo–English *Vocabulary of the Galla Language*, completed in 1841 by the German missionary Johann Ludwig Krapf, and published in the following year. Krapf was prevented from continuing his missionary work among the Oromo people after 1842, and sailed for the Swahili-speaking sultanate of Zanzibar in the following year.

SWAHILI

The first Swahili wordlist was published in 1850 as part of Krapf’s 64-page *Vocabulary of Six East-African Languages*. This dictionary is laid out in seven columns: the alphabetical English wordlist of the Oromo dictionary is on the left, Oromo equivalents (in a different dialect form the one which

⁵⁶ For others, see Newman, ‘Century and a half’, and Newman and Newman, ‘Hausa lexicographic tradition’, 267–73.

⁵⁷ Newman and Newman, ‘Hausa lexicographic tradition’, 268.

⁵⁸ Newman and Newman, ‘Hausa lexicographic tradition’, 269.

Krapf had documented in 1842) are on the right, and between them are equivalents for the English words in five Bantu languages: Swahili, Nyika, Kamba, Kipokomo, and Yao.⁵⁹ However, his main work is *A Dictionary of the Suahili Language*, which was published posthumously in 1882, having been completed in 1860 and circulated in manuscript form since, at least, 1864.⁶⁰ In its published form, it consists of a 39-page grammar and a 431-page Swahili–English dictionary, both printed in double columns. Krapf describes mainly the Mvita (or Kimvita) variety spoken at Mombasa, on the coast of Kenya, commenting on the other main Swahili variety, the Unguja (or Kiunguja) variety spoken in Zanzibar, which is now part of Tanzania, that

the Kisuahili spoken at Zanzibar has a very large infusion of Arabic and other foreign words. The Mombassians, therefore, consider the dialect of Zanzibar as the ‘manéno ya Kijingajinga’, *i.e.*, the language of ignorant people, or of newly arrived slaves and other foreigners.⁶¹

Krapf admitted that ‘the Zanzibar dialect was not without usefulness, as it is spoken by a very large number of people along the coast, and also affords to the translator the resource of being able to adopt at will an Arabic word when in difficulty for a proper expression in Kisuahili’.⁶² He considered that Swahili should become the standard language of evangelization in east Africa, and should be taught, at least as ‘their literary language’, to speakers of other languages: ‘as the Kisuahili is the most cultivated of the dialects in this part of Africa, and is, moreover, spoken from the equator southwards to the Portuguese settlements of Mozambique, it should be made to supersede, as much as possible, the minor dialects inland which are spoken by only a small population’.⁶³ Krapf used the Roman alphabet, adapting the *Standard Alphabet* of Lepsius (see below), but said, in the published dictionary of 1882, that he regretted

not having chosen the Amharic Alphabet for the great family of languages to the south of the Equator. As I was the first European who reduced Suahili to writing, and as there was then no universal alphabet compiled, I might easily have chosen ... the Amharic character, which would evidently suit the Suahili better than the Roman. ... However, ... I have never regretted having rejected the Arabic mode of writing, which is too imperfect and too ambiguous for writing Suahili in a correct manner’⁶⁴.

For Polomé, ‘what distinguishes this work from its predecessors is the deliberate effort of its author to provide detailed information on the usage of the terms, their background and their sociocultural context.’⁶⁵ Indeed, each entry of the dictionary has conversational examples, and sociological and anthropological explanations.

⁵⁹ For its compilation, see Krapf, *Vocabulary of Six East-African Languages*, iii–x.

⁶⁰ See Polomé, ‘Lexicography of the Niger-Kordofanian languages’, 2647; Steere, *Handbook of the Swahili Language*, iv.

⁶¹ Krapf, *Dictionary of the Suahili Language*, xi.

⁶² Krapf, *Dictionary of the Suahili Language*, xii; cf. Steere, *Handbook of the Swahili Language*, iii.

⁶³ Krapf, *Dictionary of the Suahili Language*, xi.

⁶⁴ Krapf, *Dictionary of the Suahili Language*, xiv.

⁶⁵ Polomé, ‘Lexicography of the Niger-Kordofanian languages’, 2647.

The pioneer lexicographical study of the Unguja variety of Swahili spoken at Zanzibar, *A Handbook of the Swahili Language as spoken at Zanzibar* (1870), was written by the Englishman Edward Steere, who had done missionary work in east Africa in the 1860s, and was consecrated as the Anglican bishop of central Africa in 1874.⁶⁶ The book has two main parts: a grammar of 225 pages and a Swahili–English dictionary of 148, followed by an appendix of texts and phrases. Steere’s work was continued by Arthur Cornwallis Madan, who had left a teaching position at Christ Church, Oxford, to work as a lay missionary in east Africa. He published revised and enlarged versions of Steere’s *Handbook* from 1884 onwards, as well as his own *English–Swahili Dictionary* (1894) and *Swahili–English Dictionary* (1903). Doke assessed Madan’s *English–Swahili Dictionary* as ‘an admirable work dealing with the Zanzibar form’, which ‘has been of inestimable value for many years.’⁶⁷

There have been other bilingual dictionaries of Swahili, including some in German and French.⁶⁸ The first monolingual dictionary of an African vernacular language must be pointed out, the *Kamusi ya kiswahili yaani kitabu cha maneno ya kiswahili* (‘Swahili–Swahili dictionary’) of 1935, by Frederick Johnson, who published various revised versions of Madan’s dictionaries. ‘This’, according to Doke, ‘is a veritable milestone in Bantu lexicographical studies’.⁶⁹ According to Benson, Johnson published the *Kamusi ya kiswahili* for ‘smoothing the way ... for the non-Swahili adult literate eager to understand such Swahili literature as came his way’.⁷⁰

RONGA

Like that of Swahili, the first wordlist of Ronga, a language of what is now Mozambique, appeared in a polyglot work, *The Languages of Mosambique*, published in 1856 by the German comparative linguist Wilhelm Heinrich Immanuel Bleek, known as the ‘father of Bantu philology’. It was founded, as Bleek made clear, on manuscript wordlists by the explorer and naturalist Wilhelm Karl Hartwig Peters, who had written them in a copy of the outline vocabulary printed for the Niger expedition (see above). Bleek also — but ‘only at a late stage in his own work’ — knew an earlier version of *Polyglotta Africana* (1854) by the German-born missionary Sigismund Wilhelm Koelle, which was advertised on its title page as ‘a comparative vocabulary of nearly three hundred words and phrases, in more than one hundred distinct African languages’.⁷¹ Polomé remarks, by the way, that the

⁶⁶ Steere, *Handbook of the Swahili Language*, iv–x sets out the background of his work, including his debt to Krapf.

⁶⁷ Doke, *Bantu*, 57.

⁶⁸ See Doke, *Bantu*, 55–64, and van Spaandonck, *Practical and Systematical Swahili Bibliography*.

⁶⁹ Doke, *Bantu*, 64. Unfortunately, I had no possibility of analysing this book.

⁷⁰ Benson, ‘Century of Bantu lexicography’, 72.

⁷¹ Janson, ‘Languages and language names’, 308.

Polyglotta Africana was an ‘important milestone in Niger-Kordofanian lexicography’, but adds that ‘whatever its merits and the value of the information it provides, it is, however, no substitute for a regular dictionary’.⁷²

Over its 399 pages, *The Languages of Mosambique* presented 1742 English words; their equivalents in nine languages, written in parallel columns, in a modified version of the alphabet of Lepsius; and a column of miscellaneous observations.⁷³ The nine varieties named on Bleek’s title page correspond to modern languages still spoken in Mozambique: ‘the Dialects of Lourenzo Marques, Inhambane, Sofala, Tette, Sena, Quellimane, Mosambique, Cape Delgado, Anjoane, The Maravi, [and] Mudsau’ are now called, respectively, Ronga, Gitonga, Ndau or Cindau (for which see below), Nyungwe (for which see below), Sena or Cisena, Echuwabo, Emakhuwa or Makuwa, Kimwani, and Cinyanja.⁷⁴

The *Grammaire ronga* (1896) by Henri-Alexandre Junod has a supplementary Ronga–Portuguese–French–English vocabulary.⁷⁵ However, the free-standing lexicographical treatments of Ronga are fairly recent, such as the *Dicionários Xironga* by the secular priest José Luís Quintão (1951). Noteworthy among them is the *Dicionário Ronga-Português*, published in 1960 by a layman, the Portuguese linguist and phoneticist Rodrigo de Sá Nogueira. His main purpose was to apply, at the same time, a scientific method in the description of Ronga, based on work with native informants, and a didactic plan, in order to be clearer for the readers than earlier dictionaries.⁷⁶ That is why he did not adopt entirely the alphabet of Lepsius. Instead of a purely phonetic system of transcription, Nogueira chose a system which used dashes and the apostrophe to divide the semic units and the various morphological elements of the word, such as the roots, prefixes, and suffixes.⁷⁷ He said explicitly that phonetic transcription should only be used by phoneticists and, as an orthographic system, for everyday use by all people, is absolutely unacceptable.⁷⁸ A striking feature of his dictionary is the suggestion that the Bantu and Indo-European languages shared a common origin. For him, this was only a suspicion, for which he saw certain lexical similarities as evidence, but always cautiously, in a hypothetical way. His hope was that one day, in the future, someone could prove the point.⁷⁹

⁷² Polomé, ‘Lexicography of the Niger-Kordofanian languages’, 2647.

⁷³ For the use of Lepsius, see Bleek, *Languages of Mosambique*, xvii.

⁷⁴ Janson, ‘Languages and language names’, 298–307; see also Siteo, *Lexicografia da língua Tsonga*, and Fortune, ‘75 years of writing in Shona’.

⁷⁵ Junod, *Grammaire ronga*, 65–90.

⁷⁶ Nogueira, *Dicionário Ronga-Português*, vii.

⁷⁷ Nogueira, *Dicionário Ronga-Português*, xv.

⁷⁸ Nogueira, *Dicionário Ronga-Português*, xvi.

⁷⁹ Nogueira, *Dicionário Ronga-Português*, x–xi.

NYUNGWE

One of the earliest lexicographical descriptions of any Mozambican language was written by a French missionary at the service of the Portuguese Patronage, Victor-Joseph Courtois, Father Superior of the Bembe Mission and a primary teacher for the native children from 1882 until his death in 1894. His Portuguese–Nyungwe and Nyungwe–Portuguese dictionaries were published a few years after his death by the University of Coimbra, in 1899 and 1900 respectively, but they were finished and prepared for the printer in 1889.⁸⁰ His main dictionary, the Portuguese–Nyungwe, which runs to 424 pages, is a translation of the Portuguese dictionary by José da Fonseca, improved by José Ignacio Roquete, first published in Paris in 1848. When he had some difficulties in the translation of a Portuguese word into Nyungwe, he used periphrasis in order to give a sense of its meaning.⁸¹ The Nyungwe–Portuguese dictionary is a shorter complement to the Portuguese–Nyungwe dictionary (it has only 81 pages) and a kind of *vade mecum* for those who are beginning to study the language; as Courtois said, no similar work existed.⁸²

SOUTHERN AFRICA

The languages of southern Africa treated here are the Shona languages, one of which was documented in 1856 by Bleek (see above); Zulu, of which the first dictionary was published in 1861; and Xhosa, of which the first significant dictionary appeared in 1872.

THE SHONA LANGUAGES

The first printed wordlist of a Shona language was that of Ndau in Bleek's *Languages of Mosambique* (see above). Emmanuel Chabata has observed that in this respect, the title of Bleek's work 'is misleading since its vocabulary [of Ndau] was drawn from the Sofala dialect area, along the Pungwe-Save rivers of Zimbabwe'.⁸³ Bleek does not give much information concerning this wordlist or the language it documents, saying only that it was 'taken from a fairly written manuscript, which, I believe, was drawn up by an old Chinese or Indian, who had spent the greater part of his life in that country. He also gave Dr. Peters the copy of a description of the interior in Portuguese verses, composed by himself'.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Courtois, *Diccionario Portuguez–Cafre-Tetense*, 484; *Diccionario Cafre-Tetense–Portuguez*, v.

⁸¹ Courtois, *Diccionario Portuguez–Cafre-Tetense*, v.

⁸² Courtois, *Diccionario Cafre-Tetense–Portuguez*, v.

⁸³ Chabata, 'Lexicography of Shona', 948.

⁸⁴ Bleek, *Languages of Mosambique*, xi–xii.

The first dictionary dedicated to Shona was the *English–Mashona Dictionary* published by the Austrian-born Jesuit missionary Andrew M. Hartmann in 1894. Father Hartmann was Chaplain to the Pioneer Column of the British South Africa Company for the British government, sent ‘into the indeterminate borderlands between the Ndebele and the Shona in mid-1890’, and served at a mission at Empandeni, in what is now Zimbabwe.⁸⁵ George Glynn Fortune, the greatest Shona expert in modern times, stated that Father Hartmann described Zezuru, a Shona language variety spoken in an area around Salisbury (now Harare).⁸⁶ He added that Hartmann ‘notes dialectal differences but calls them verbal, not grammatical His spelling seems strange to us today as he confuses many voiceless and voiced phonemes, ... thus betraying the influence of his German background. But his ear in other respects was remarkably acute As a result, he used a system of word division remarkably close to our present-day practice’.⁸⁷

The two major African languages spoken in the area which is now Zimbabwe are Shona and Ndebele, and so the English missionary William Allan Elliott published a 441-page English–Ndebele–Shona dictionary in 1897, as *Dictionary of the Tebele & Shuna Languages*. Elliott said that Ndebele was ‘of course only a variety of the Zulu’ (of which there were already dictionaries: see below) and not a language itself, but that Shona was ‘practically an unknown tongue’.⁸⁸ The Shona portion of the *Dictionary* was based mainly on Hartmann’s *Dictionary*. Elliott adopted, however, a different orthography ‘in some respects from that used by Fr. Hartmann’, explaining that ‘after fourteen years’ residence in Matebele Land, I had fixed my spelling before his was printed, and I see no reason to make alteration now’.⁸⁹ He added that he had tried ‘to present a written basis for the Shuna language as a whole, from which the peculiarities of the different dialects may be observed’.⁹⁰

Further dictionaries of Shona followed.⁹¹ In 1996, Herbert Chimhundu published the first monolingual Shona dictionary, *Duramazwi ReChiShona* (‘Dictionary of Shona’) (DRC), as a consequence of the ALLEX Project and the ALRI (see above). It ‘is a synchronic, general purpose, medium-sized, monolingual dictionary mainly meant to cater for the needs of lower secondary school learners’.⁹² It has a 34-page introduction and 504 pages of entries, and gives phonological and grammatical information, dialectal variants, and synonyms. An enlarged and extended edition was

⁸⁵ For the Pioneer Column, see Marks, ‘Southern and central Africa’, 445.

⁸⁶ Fortune, ‘75 years of writing in Shona’, 57.

⁸⁷ Fortune, ‘75 years of writing in Shona’, 57–8.

⁸⁸ Elliott, *Dictionary of the Tebele & Shuna Languages*, v.

⁸⁹ Elliott, *Dictionary of the Tebele & Shuna Languages*, vi.

⁹⁰ Elliott, *Dictionary of the Tebele & Shuna Languages*, vi.

⁹¹ For other dictionaries of Shona, see Doke, *Bantu*.

⁹² Chabata, ‘Lexicography of Shona’, 949; unfortunately, I was unable to analyse either of Chimhundu’s dictionaries.

published in 2011, *Duramazwi Guru ReChiShona* (‘Advanced dictionary of Shona’) (DGC). Chabata concludes that

DGC is more advanced ... in terms of its size and the presentation of its meanings. The headword and sense selection for this dictionary was more comprehensive for it includes language used in all spheres of life. DGC is also the first dictionary in the history of Shona lexicography to include phrasal headwords such as proverbs, idioms and pithy sayings. The improvement ... can be accounted for by the use of the Shona corpus as well as the experience the editors gained from having worked on DRC.⁹³

ZULU

The first substantial Zulu–English and English–Zulu dictionaries were published by James Perrin in 1855, in London and Pietermaritzburg respectively.⁹⁴ According to Eric Hermanson, both of Perrin’s dictionaries were edited under the supervision of John William Colenso, the first Anglican bishop of Natal, who was also the author of the ‘advertisement’ to each.⁹⁵ Colenso said that ‘in the compilation of this, and of the *Kafir–English Dictionary*, Mr. Perrin has derived considerable assistance from the Vocabularies prepared by some of the American Missionaries, to which they very kindly gave him free access’.⁹⁶ The *Kafir–English* is shorter (166 pages) than the *English–Kafir* dictionary (225 pages), but it has very interesting clarifications. In just two pages, Perrin explained some of the basics of Zulu phonetics, the orthography, and the method used in the presentation of the lemmata. For example, ‘The root of the word is always placed first. After it the incipient particle or prefix. As the sign of the Infinitive is not given in English, it is not expressed in Zulu; thus, HLA, “eat,” instead of UKUHLA, “to eat”’.⁹⁷

Colenso published his *Zulu–English Dictionary* in 1861. It is much bigger than Perrin’s dictionaries, with 548 pages of entries. He starts the ‘advertisement’ clarifying the points that ‘should be noticed by the Student’. Amongst these, he pointed out the focus of the dictionary on ‘pure Zulu’ (without words from neighbouring languages like Xhosa); its exclusion of regional differences within Zulu; its marking of words which ‘have been formed by corruption from the English or Dutch languages, or have been coined by Missionaries’; and its orthographic treatment of Zulu sounds.⁹⁸ More than a

⁹³ Chabata, ‘Advanced dictionary,’ 115.

⁹⁴ For earlier vocabularies of Zulu, see Gauton, ‘Lexicography of the Nguni languages’, 912. Polomé, ‘Lexicography of the Niger-Kordofanian languages’, 2648, saw the Zulu tradition as beginning only with Colenso in 1861.

⁹⁵ Hermanson, ‘Colenso’s first attempt’, 17–18.

⁹⁶ Perrin, *English–Kafir Dictionary*, [iii].

⁹⁷ Perrin, *Kafir–English Dictionary*, iv.

⁹⁸ Colenso, *Zulu–English Dictionary*, iii.

century later, Colenso's dictionary could still be described as 'very sound', although of course 'now out of date'.⁹⁹

In 1905, Alfred Thomas Bryant, a British Roman Catholic secular priest, who taught at the first Catholic mission in what was then Zululand, published an important *Zulu–English Dictionary*, with prefatory material on Zulu history, comparative philology, and grammar; a wordlist of approximately 22,000 lemmata with supplements such as 'a vocabulary of the *hlonipa* language of the Zulu women'; and 'an appendix containing additional words, improvements, corrections, etc.'. ¹⁰⁰ His *magnum opus* signified 'a real advance on previous work in several directions. Words were arranged alphabetically according to the stem, and verbal derivatives were reduced to those which had some special significance beyond the normal. What was most important was the inclusion of aids to pronunciation'. ¹⁰¹ Doke called it an 'outstanding work'. ¹⁰²

A number of Zulu dictionaries have followed. ¹⁰³ The most important Zulu–English dictionary at present is the *Zulu–English Dictionary* published in 1948 by Clement Doke and the Zulu writer and educator Benedict Wallet Vilakazi. It was reedited in the following year, revised in 1953, and reedited many times thereafter. Polomé calls it 'excellent', and Benson adds that it 'contains a very full body of citations, tone patterns for every word, examples of rare usage, details of etymology, and full treatment of verbal extensions'. ¹⁰⁴ In 1958, Doke, Daniel McKinnon Malcolm, and Jonathan Mandlenkosi A. Sikhakhana edited the *English–Zulu Dictionary*, as a companion to the *Zulu–English Dictionary*. Since 1990, they have been published together. They are, indeed, a standard lexicographical work made by leading scholars and Zulu linguists. They are intended for Zulu native speakers, Zulu speakers who want to study English, and linguists who study Zulu.

The first monolingual Zulu dictionary, entitled *Inqolobane yesizwe*, was published in 1966 by Cyril Sibusiso Nyembezi and Otty Nxumalo. Mark Sanders describes this dictionary as an 'invaluable compendium of Zulu vocabulary, figures of speech, and proverbs'. ¹⁰⁵

XHOSA

⁹⁹ Doke and Vilakazi, *Zulu–English Dictionary*, 2nd edn, vii.

¹⁰⁰ Bryant, *Zulu–English Dictionary*, 12*–66* (history), 67*–82* (comparative philology), 83*–108* (grammar), 1–737 (main wordlist), 738–61 (supplementary wordlists), 762–78 (addenda).

¹⁰¹ Doke, *Bantu*, 75–6.

¹⁰² Doke and Vilakazi, *Zulu–English Dictionary*, 2nd edn, vii; see also Polomé, 'Lexicography of the Niger-Kordofanian languages', 2648.

¹⁰³ See Gauton, 'Lexicography of the Nguni languages', 914, and Doke, *Bantu*, 74–81.

¹⁰⁴ Polomé, 'Lexicography of the Niger-Kordofanian languages', 2648; Benson, 'Century of Bantu lexicography', 75.

¹⁰⁵ Sanders, *Learning Zulu*, 121; I was unable to analyze this dictionary.

For Doke, ‘the earliest real dictionary of Xhosa’, published in 1872, was *A Dictionary of the Kaffir Language, Including the Xosa and Zulu Dialects*, compiled by the Wesleyan Methodist missionary William Davis.¹⁰⁶ The second part, the *English–Kaffir Dictionary*, was published five years later. Although Davis referred to a ‘Kaffir language’ and ‘Xosa and Zulu dialects’ in his title (*Kaffir*, ultimately from an Arabic word meaning ‘unbeliever’, had come to be used of the Nguni peoples; in an entry of 2016, *OED* labels it as ‘Now *hist.* and *offensive*’), he perfectly distinguished both languages as ‘the XOSA KAFFIR, spoken by the Amaxosa tribes, who live in Kaffirland beyond the Eastern Frontier of the Cape Colony’ and ‘the ZULU KAFFIR spoken by the Zulu tribes in the Natal Colony and the country on its borders’.¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, he saw that they are closely related:

They have the same grammatical constructions, and a large majority of the words are the same both in form and meaning. But many words which are the same *form* in both languages differ in *signification*, and others are different both in form and meaning; and yet in many instances in which this diversity obtains, the *original root* from which these words are derived is evidently one and the same; and in the case of others, the *root* will be found in one language and the derivatives in the other.¹⁰⁸

The *Dictionary of the Kaffir Language* is organized etymologically by the roots of Xhosa (or Zulu) words, the prefixes being placed before the root. According to Doke, ‘meanings are carefully discussed and numerous illustrative sentences are included’.¹⁰⁹

In 1899, the German-born Lutheran missionary Johann Heinrich Albert Kropf (not to be confused with Johann Ludwig Krapf, the lexicographer of Swahili) published *A Kaffir–English Dictionary*, which has been called ‘masterly’ and ‘one of the best bilingual dictionaries in isiXhosa’.¹¹⁰ Kropf’s dictionary is organized into two columns, has almost 500 pages, and was a work of almost all his lifetime, at least since 1845 when he arrived in Xhosa-speaking southern Africa.¹¹¹ He did not follow the *Standard Alphabet* by Lepsius, deciding with some reluctance that he should favour the orthography of the existing translation of the Bible into Xhosa.¹¹² Kropf encountered lexicographical challenges, and his handling of certain prefixed forms has been criticized.¹¹³ Nevertheless, for the editors of *The Greater Dictionary of Xhosa*, ‘Kropf’s dictionary is a masterly and scholarly work that has stood the test of more than three-quarters of a century. Kropf appears to be the first lexicographer

¹⁰⁶ Doke, *Bantu*, 83; for earlier lists of Xhosa words, see Mtuze, ‘Critical survey’, 167.

¹⁰⁷ Davis, *Dictionary of the Kaffir Language*, v.

¹⁰⁸ Davis, *Dictionary of the Kaffir Language*, v.

¹⁰⁹ Doke, *Bantu*, 83.

¹¹⁰ Doke, *Bantu*, 85; Moropa and Kruger, ‘Mistranslation’, 73.

¹¹¹ Kropf, *Kaffir–English Dictionary*, iii.

¹¹² See Kropf, *Kaffir–English Dictionary*, v.

¹¹³ Mtuze, ‘Critical survey’, 170.

to have fathomed and thoroughly mastered the intricacies of Xhosa phonology, including the distinction between radical, aspirated and ejective sounds'.¹¹⁴

In 1968, the University of Fort Hare, in Alice, South Africa, created the Xhosa Dictionary Project (now IsiXhosa National Lexicography Unit), under the direction of Herbert Walter Pahl, which culminated with the publication of the Xhosa–English–Afrikaans *Greater Dictionary of Xhosa*. The volumes appeared in reverse order: in 1989, the third volume was published, comprising the letters Q–Z; the second, in 2003 (K–P), and the first, in 2006 (A–J). A successor of Pahl's as editor-in-chief of the dictionary, Peter Tshobisa Mtuze, observes that

The Greater Dictionary of Xhosa does not confine itself to ... the dialect first reduced to writing by the missionaries. It also includes other dialectal and regional connotations as well as *hlonipha* (language of respect used by married women and the newly initiated boys). Many other variations in language usage are accommodated in the dictionary, some bordering on what could be stigmatized as colloquialism. In this way, the dictionary tries not to be prescriptive but to be as descriptive as possible.¹¹⁵

The use of Xhosa as the lemmatizing language of the dictionary 'was a major break from the tradition whereby all information about the language was hitherto given through another language, implying that those who did not know such a language, i.e. English or Afrikaans, could not benefit'.¹¹⁶ Since its publication, a monolingual dictionary, *Isichazi-magama SesiXhosa* (2008) has appeared.

ORTHOGRAPHY

A theme which has run through this chapter is the problem of orthography.¹¹⁷ The first lexicographers and many of their successors used their own systems, based mainly on the orthography of each lexicographer's mother tongue. In 1848, the Church Missionary Society published 'Rules for reducing unwritten languages to alphabetical writing in Roman characters, with reference especially to the languages spoken in Africa', which, as we have seen, were used by Crowther in his *Grammar and Vocabulary of the Yoruba Language* of 1852. In 1855, they replaced this with a *Standard Alphabet for Reducing Unwritten Languages and Foreign Graphic Systems to a Uniform Orthography in European Letters*, translated from the *Allgemeine linguistische Alphabet* of 1854 by Karl Richard Lepsius, who had first created it to transcribe the Egyptian hieroglyphs and then adapted it to living African languages, mixing morphologic and phonetic principles. We have seen responses to the alphabet of Lepsius in Bleek's *The Languages of Mosambique* of 1856; in Krapf's Swahili

¹¹⁴ Pahl et al., *Greater Dictionary of Xhosa*, 3. xxxviii.

¹¹⁵ Mtuze, 'Critical survey', 170.

¹¹⁶ Nkomo and Wababa, 'IsiXhosa lexicography', 356.

¹¹⁷ For an more detailed overview, see Bendor-Samuel, 'Adaptations'.

dictionary, published in 1882; in Kropf's Xhosa dictionary of 1899; and in Nogueira's Ronga dictionary of 1960. Finally, in 1927, the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, founded in London in the previous year, published a *Practical Orthography of African Languages*, revised in 1930; we have noted its use in Alves' Kimbundu dictionary of 1951. Currently, the orthographical solutions are various: a given lexicographer may use his or her own orthographical system, or that of the institution to which they belong (as in the case of the IsiXhosa National Lexicography Unit), or a national system (as in the case of the *SiSwati Orthography* of the South African Department of Bantu Education).¹¹⁸

CONCLUSIONS

African lexicography started during the first centuries of colonization. It was mostly undertaken by European missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, to teach other missionaries how to speak with the indigenous people and to teach the language of the colonizers to them. The metalanguages were those of the colonizers: mainly Portuguese, English, French, and German. American missionaries made their own contributions (for instance the Umbundu dictionary published by Sanders and Fay, and the wordlists on which Perrin's Zulu lexicography was based), as other travellers in Africa may have done, like the 'old Chinese or Indian' whose records of Ndaui were used by Bleek. Black African lexicographers from Manuel de Roboredo studied African languages: we have noted the names of Crowther and Nlemvo in the 19th century, Vilakazi in the mid-20th, and Chimhundu, Mtuze, Nxumalo, and Nyembezi more recently.

The oldest Bantu vocabulary is still a manuscript waiting for — and deserving — a critical edition. Many other vocabularies or dictionaries were circulated as manuscripts amongst the missionaries, and they are lost. The first Bantu printed dictionary was published only in 1804, and few dictionaries or vocabularies were published earlier than 1860, the majority having been published after the Berlin Conference, and indeed mainly in the twentieth century. Monolingual dictionaries have only been published in recent years: Johnson's Swahili *Kamusi ya kiswahili yaani kitabu cha maneno ya kiswahili* (London, 1935); Nyembezi and Nxumalo's Zulu *Inqolobane yesizwe* (Pietermaritzburg, 1966); Chimhundu's Shona *Duramazwi ReChiShona* (Harare, 1996); and Tshabe, Guzana, and Nokele's Xhosa *IsiChazi-magama sesiXhosa* (Pietermaritzburg, 2008).

¹¹⁸ Nkomo and Wababa, 'IsiXhosa Lexicography', 356; Department of Bantu Education, *SiSwati Orthography*.

Finally, the role of three scholars should be emphasized in the development of African lexicography, who are truly landmarks in the field: Wilhelm Bleek, the ‘father of Bantu philology’; Clement Doke, the ‘father of the history of Bantu languages’; and, not for exclusively lexicographical reasons, Samuel Adjai Crowther, who was captured as a slave when he was 13 years old, purchased, and rescued, and became the first African bishop in the Church of England, and the author of the first Yoruba dictionary.

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The languages

Afroasiatic. Major language family or phylum of west Asia and parts of Africa (cf *Niger-Congo* and *Nilo-Saharan*), including COPTIC, HAUSA, OROMO, and the *Semitic* languages.

BAMBARA (also called Bamanankan). *Niger-Congo* language widely spoken in Mali; the first dictionary was Jean Dard’s *Dictionnaire français–wolof et français–bambara* (1825).

Bantu. Language family of central and southern Africa, being part of the larger *Niger-Congo* group, and including CINYANJA, ECHUWABO, EMAKHUWA, GITONGA, KAMBA, KIKONGO, KIMBUNDU, KIMWANI, KIPOKOMO, NDEBELE, NYIKA, NYUNGWE, RONGA, SENA, the *Shona* languages, SWAHILI, UMBUNDU, XHOSA, YAO, and ZULU.

CINYANJA (or Chewa). *Bantu* language spoken in Malawi, Zambia, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe; the first wordlist was published in W. H. I. Bleek's *Languages of Mosambique* (1856).

ECHUWABO (or Chuwabu). *Bantu* language spoken in Mozambique; the first wordlist was published in W. H. I. Bleek's *Languages of Mosambique* (1856).

EMAKHUWA (or Makuwa). The most widely spoken *Bantu* language of Mozambique; the first wordlist was published in W. H. I. Bleek's *Languages of Mosambique* (1856).

GITONGA. *Bantu* language spoken in Mozambique; the first wordlist was published in W. H. I. Bleek's *Languages of Mosambique* (1856).

HAUSA. *Afroasiatic* language spoken as a mother tongue mostly in Nigeria, Niger, Benin, Chad, Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, and Sudan, and widely used as a *lingua franca* in central Africa; the first dictionary was J. F. Schön's *Vocabulary of the Haussa Language* (1843).

IGBO. *Niger-Congo* language spoken mostly in Nigeria; the first substantial dictionary was that of Samuel Crowther, assisted by J. F. Schön, published in 1882–3.

KAMBA (or Kikamba). *Bantu* language spoken in Kenya; it was documented in J. L. Krapf's *Vocabulary of Six East-African Languages* (1850).

KIKONGO. *Bantu* language, now spoken in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Republic of the Congo, and Angola; the first extant dictionary is the *Vocabularium Latinum, Hispanicum, et Congense ad usum missionariorum* (1648).

KIMBUNDU. *Bantu* language, spoken by the Ambundu people of northern Angola; the first dictionary is that of B. M. da Canicatti (1804).

KIMWANI. *Bantu* language spoken in Mozambique; the first wordlist was published in W. H. I. Bleek's *Languages of Mosambique* (1856).

KIPOKOMO (or Kipfokomo, Pokomo). *Bantu* language spoken in Kenya; it was documented in J. L. Krapf's *Vocabulary of Six East-African Languages* (1850).

NDAU (or Cindau). *Shona* language spoken in Mozambique and Zimbabwe; the first wordlist was published in W. H. I. Bleek's *Languages of Mosambique* (1856).

NDEBELE. *Bantu* language spoken in Zimbabwe and Botswana; the first dictionary is that of William Elliott (1897).

Niger-Congo. Major language family or phylum, occupying a greater area of the African continent than any other (cf *Afroasiatic* and *Nilo-Saharan*), its major branch being the *Bantu* languages; it also includes BAMBARA, IGBO, WOLOF, and YORUBA. It probably constitutes the largest group of languages in the world, closely followed by Austronesian.

Nilo-Saharan. Major language family or phylum of the northern half of Africa (cf *Afroasiatic* and *Niger-Congo*), including the *Nubian* languages.

Nubian. Group of *Nilo-Saharan* languages spoken in what is now southern Egypt and Sudan; Christian texts in Old Nubian of the 8th to 15th centuries are extant, and an Italian–Nubian wordlist based on the spoken Kenzi and Nobiin varieties was made by Arcangelo Carradori around 1635.

NYIKA (also called Chinyika, Kinyika). *Bantu* language spoken mainly in Malawi and Zambia; it was documented in J. L. Krapf's *Vocabulary of Six East-African Languages* (1850).

NYUNGWE (or Cinyungwe). *Bantu* language spoken in Mozambique; the first wordlist was published in W. H. I. Bleek's *Languages of Mosambique* (1856), and dictionaries by V. J. Courtois were completed in 1889 and published in 1899–1900.

OROMO. *Afroasiatic* language widely spoken in Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia; a variety was documented under the name of Galla in a dedicated dictionary of 1842 and a polyglot dictionary of 1850, both by J. L. Krapf.

RONGA (or Shironga). *Bantu* language spoken in Mozambique; the first wordlist was published in W. H. I. Bleek's *Languages of Mosambique* (1856), and free-standing dictionaries were published in the 20th century.

SENA (or Cisena). *Bantu* language widely spoken in Mozambique; the first wordlist was published in W. H. I. Bleek's *Languages of Mosambique* (1856).

Shona. Group of *Bantu* languages spoken in Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and Botswana, including NDAU, standard SHONA, and ZEZURU.

SHONA (standard Shona). *Shona* language spoken by a large population in Zimbabwe and Mozambique, codified in the first half of the 20th century; the first monolingual dictionary was H. Chimhundu's *Duramazwi ReChiShona* (1996).

SWAHILI (also called Kiswahili). *Bantu* language (with lexical influence from ARABIC), widely spoken as a mother tongue and as a second language in Tanzania; also spoken in Kenya, Mozambique, and Somalia, and very widely used as a lingua franca in eastern Africa. There are written texts from the 18th century, in Arabic script; the first substantial wordlists are a polyglot of 1850 and a dedicated dictionary completed in 1860 and published in 1882, both by J. L. Krapf, and both in the Roman alphabet in which the language continues to be written.

UMBUNDU. *Bantu* language, spoken by the Ovibundu people of the central plateau of Angola and neighbouring areas; the first dictionary is that of W. H. Sanders and W. E. Fay (1885).

WOLOF. *Niger-Congo* language spoken in Senegal, Gambia, and Mauritania; the first dictionary is that of Jean Dard (1825).

XHOSA (or Isixhosa). *Bantu* language widely spoken in South Africa and Lesotho; the first substantial dictionary was that of W. J. Davis (1872).

YAO (also called Chiyao or Ajawa). *Bantu* language spoken in Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, and Zambia; it was documented in J. L. Krapf's *Vocabulary of Six East-African Languages* (1850).

YORUBA. *Niger-Congo* language spoken mostly in Nigeria and Benin; the first dictionary is that of S. A. Crowther (1843).

ZEZURU. *Shona* language spoken in Zimbabwe, documented in A. M. Hartmann's *English–Mashona Dictionary* (1894), the first free-standing dictionary of any Shona variety.

ZULU (or Isizulu). *Bantu* language, widely spoken as a mother tongue and as a second language in South Africa, and also in Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, and Swaziland; the first dictionaries were those of J. Perrin (1855).

The lexicographers

Alves, Albino (João Albino Alves Manso) (Serapicos, Bragança, Portugal 1908 – Nova Lisboa [now Huambo], Angola 1956): Spiritan missionary in Angola; compiler of a Kimbundu–Portuguese dictionary (1951).

Bentley, William Holman (Sudbury, Suffolk 1855 – Bristol, England 1905): Baptist missionary; compiler, with the assistance of Nlemvo (qv), of a dictionary of Kikongo (1887–1895).

Bleek, Wilhelm Heinrich Immanuel (Berlin 1827 – Mowbray, Cape Colony [now in South Africa] 1875): comparative linguist; compiler, on the basis of manuscript wordlists by W. K. H. Peters (qv), of *The Languages of Mosambique* (1856), which includes the first wordlists of Ronga and Shona.

Bryant, Alfred Thomas (Father David) (London 1865 – Cambridge, England 1953), Catholic priest and ethnologist; compiler of a Zulu dictionary (1905).

Canicattì, Bernardo Maria da (Bernardus Maria a Canecattim; family name Cassaro) (Canicattì, Kingdom of Naples [now in Italy] 1746×1751 – Lisbon 1834): Capucin missionary; compiler of a dictionary of Kimbundu (1804) and a wordlist (1805) of a mixture of Kikongo and Kimbundu.

Colenso, John William (St Austell, Cornwall 1814 – Bishopstowe, Colony of Natal [now in South Africa] 1883): Anglican bishop of Natal and controversial theologian; compiler of an important Zulu dictionary (1861).

Courtois, Victor-Joseph (Livron, Drôme, France 1846 – São José do Mongue, Inhambane, Mozambique 1894): Jesuit missionary in Mozambique; compiler of the first free-standing dictionaries of Nyungwe.

Crowther, Samuel Ajayi (Osogun, Oyo Empire [now in Nigeria] c1807 – Lagos [now in Nigeria] 1891): bishop of western Africa and translator; compiler of the first Yoruba dictionary (1843) and, with assistance from J. F. Schön (qv), the first substantial dictionary of Igbo (1882–3).

Dard, Jean (Maconge, France 1789 – St Louis, Senegal 1833): educator; compiler of the first Wolof dictionary (1825).

Davis, William Jafferd (Jefford) (Salisbury, Wiltshire 1810 – Grahamstown, Cape Colony [now in South Africa] 1883): Wesleyan Methodist missionary in South Africa; compiler of the first substantial Xhosa dictionary (1872–1877).

Doke, Clement Martyn (Bristol, England 1893 – East London, South Africa 1980): missionary (Baptist Missionary Society) and historian of the study of the Bantu languages; compiler with Benedict Wallet Vilakazi (qv) of a significant Zulu–English dictionary (1948).

Elliott, William Allan (Cheltenham, Gloucestershire 1851 – England? 1932): missionary in what is now Zimbabwe (London Missionary Society); compiler of a dictionary of Ndebele and Shona (1897).

Fay, William Edwards (Louisville, Kentucky 1855 – Cleveland, Ohio 1907): missionary in Angola (American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions); compiler, with William Sanders (qv), of the first Umbundu dictionary (1885).

Hartmann, Andrew M. (Andreas) (county of Tyrol, Austria 1851 – Southern Rhodesia [now Zimbabwe] 1928): Jesuit missionary in what is now Zimbabwe; compiler of the first dictionary dedicated to a Shona language (1894).

Johnson, Frederick (England? 1889 – Tanganika? [now Tanzania] 1937): lay missionary in east Africa (Universities Mission to Central Africa) and colonial Education Officer; compiler of the first monolingual Swahili dictionary (1935)

Junod, Henri-Alexandre (Saint-Martin, Switzerland 1863 – Geneva 1934): missionary in Mozambique (Mission Suisse Romande), ethnographer, and naturalist; compiler of a Ronga grammar with a Ronga–Portuguese–French–English wordlist (1896).

Koelle, Sigismund Wilhelm (Cleebronn, Württemberg 1820 – London 1902): missionary in Sierra Leone (Church Missionary Society); his *Polyglotta Africana* (1854) was a pioneering collection of lexical data from African languages.

Krapf, Johann Ludwig (Derendingen, Württemberg [now in Germany] 1810 – Kornthal, German Empire 1881): missionary in east Africa (Church Missionary Society); compiler of a dictionary of Oromo (1842), of a *Vocabulary of Six East-African Languages*, including Swahili (1850), and of the first Swahili dictionary (1860; published 1882).

Kropf, Johann Heinrich Albert (Potsdam, Kingdom of Prussia [now in Germany] 1822 – Stutterheim, South Africa 1910): Lutheran missionary in southern Africa (Berlin Missionary Society); compiler of a major Xhosa dictionary (1899).

Le Guennec, Grégoire (Brittany, France? 1875 – Bimbe, Angola 1960): Spiritan missionary in Angola; compiler of an Umbundu dictionary completed and published in 1972 by José Francisco Valente (qv).

Madan, Arthur Cornwallis (Cam, Gloucestershire 1846 – Stourton, Wiltshire 1917): missionary in east Africa (Universities Mission to Central Africa); compiler of English–Swahili and Swahili–English dictionaries (1894, 1903).

Matta, Joaquim Dias Cordeiro da (Cabiri, Angola 1857 – Barra do Cuanza [now Barra do Kwanza], Angola 1894): poet and journalist; compiler of the first dictionary of Kimbundu by an Angolan (1893).

Mischlich, Adam (Nauheim, Hesse-Kassel [now in Germany] 1864 – Frankfurt am Main, Germany 1948): missionary in Togo (Basel Mission), and Africanist; compiler of a Hausa dictionary (1906).

Mtuze, Peter Tshobisa (b. Middelburg, South Africa 1941): poet and clergyman; formerly editor-in-chief of the *Greater Dictionary of Xhosa*.

Nascimento, José Pereira do (Ceará, Brazil 1861 – Lisbon 1913): medical officer in the Portuguese Royal Navy; compiler of Umbundu wordlists appended to a grammar of 1894.

Nlemvo (Mantantu Dundulu) (Padwa, Angola c1865 – Ngombe Lutete, Bas-Congo [now in the Democratic Republic of the Congo], 1938): translator and author; assisted W. H. Bentley (qv) in the compilation of a dictionary of Kikongo (1887–1895).

Nogueira, Rodrigo de Sá (Mindelo, Cape Verde 1892 – Lisbon 1979): linguist and phoneticist; compiler of a Ronga dictionary (1960).

Nxumalo, Otty Ezrom Howard Mandlakayise (b. Louwsburg, South Africa 1938): writer and educator; compiler with Sibusiso Nyembezi (qv) of the first monolingual Zulu dictionary (1966).

Nyembezi, Cyril Lincoln Sibusiso (Babanango, South Africa 1919 – Pietermaritzburg, South Africa 2000): writer and educator; compiler with Otty Nxumalo (qv) of the first monolingual Zulu dictionary (1966).

Pahl, Herbert Walter (Fort Murray, Cape Colony [now in South Africa] 1907 – Port Elizabeth, South Africa 1990): educator; chief editor of the first published volume of the *Greater Dictionary of Xhosa* (1989).

Perrin, James (Chichester, Sussex 1801 – Durban, Colony of Natal [now in South Africa] 1888): missionary and naturalist; compiler of the first significant Zulu dictionary (1855).

Peters, Wilhelm Karl Hartwig (Koldenbüttel, Duchy of Schleswig [now in Germany] 1815 – Berlin 1883): explorer and naturalist; his manuscript wordlists were the basis for *The Languages of Mosambique* (1856) by W. H. I. Bleek (qv).

Roboredo, Manuel de (name in religion Francisco de São Salvador) (b. Kingdom of Kongo [now in Angola and the Democratic Republic of the Congo] a1620; d. Ambuíla, Kingdom of Kongo [now in Angola], 1665): Capucin friar and priest; probable compiler of a Latin–Spanish–Kikongo dictionary of 1648, which has also been attributed to the copyist of the extant manuscript, Adriaen Willems (qv).

Sanders, William Henry (Tillypally, Ceylon [now Tellipallai, Sri Lanka] 1856 – Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania? 1947): missionary in Angola (American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions); compiler, with William Fay (qv), of the first Umbundu dictionary (1885).

Schön, James Frederick (formerly Jacob Friederich Schön) (Ober Weiler, Baden [now in Germany] 1802 – New Brompton, Kent 1889): Anglican clergyman and missionary in west Africa (Church Missionary Society); compiled the first dictionary of Hausa (1843), and assisted Samuel Crowther (qv) in the preparation of the first substantial dictionary of Igbo (1882–3).

Steere, Edward (London 1828 – Mkunazini, Zanzibar [now in Tanzania] 1882): Anglican bishop of central Africa and translator; his *Handbook of the Swahili Language* (1870) includes the first dictionary of the Unguja variety spoken at Zanzibar.

Teruel, Antonio (b. 1604; fl. 1662), Capucin missionary in the Kingdom of Kongo, and compiler in or before 1662 of a lost Latin–Spanish–Italian–Kikongo dictionary.

Valente, José Francisco (Unhais da Serra, Covilhã, Portugal 1912 – Lisbon 1993): Spiritan missionary in Angola; completed and published the Umbundu dictionary of Grégoire Le Guennec (qv) in 1972.

Vilakazi, Benedict Wallet (formerly Bambatha kaMshini) (Groutville, Natal [now in South Africa] 1906 – Johannesburg, South Africa 1947): poet, novelist, and teacher; compiler with Clement Doke (qv) of a significant Zulu–English dictionary (1948).

Willems, Adriaen (later Joris van Gheel, Jorge de Gela) (Oevel, Spanish Netherlands [now in Belgium], 1617 – Ngongo Mbata, Kingdom of Kongo [now in the Democratic Republic of the Congo], 1652): Capucin missionary; copyist and at one time reputed author of the Kikongo dictionary probably compiled by Manuel de Roboredo (qv).