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DOI

[10.1075/hl.39.2.01zwa](https://doi.org/10.1075/hl.39.2.01zwa)

Publication date

2012

Document Version

Submitted manuscript

Published in

Historiographia Linguistica

[Link to publication](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Zwartjes, O. (2012). The historiography of Missionary Linguistics: present state and further research opportunities. *Historiographia Linguistica*, 39(2/3), 185-242.
<https://doi.org/10.1075/hl.39.2.01zwa>

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Missionary Linguistics

Present State and Further Research Opportunities

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1. *Introduction*

As pointed out by Koerner (2002: 16), quoting Walter Goldschmidt, “linguistics did not become a separate discipline until some ten years after World War II”. The history of linguistics is an even much younger discipline. On the other hand, it is evident that ‘exotic’ languages have been studied since many centuries and that scholars in earlier periods have been working intensively in the field of what we call today the ‘history of linguistics’, but it is only since recent times that this sub-discipline has been recognized as an independent field of research in academic circles. Since there are excellent surveys of the state of the art in the field of the historiography of linguistics, such as by Koerner (1999: 23-38; 2002, particularly the first chapter), it will not be necessary in this article to repeat the most important contributions to this field. Therefore, we shall limit ourselves to the subfield called ‘Missionary linguistics’.

In general, the missionary tradition is mostly neglected in modern manuals. Arens (1969: 64) provides just a brief note, summing up the different regions where the Amerindian grammars were written, not mentioning the names of the authors, or the huge contribution made by the, mainly Catholic, missionary lexicographers. As Hovdhaugen (1996b: 7) observes, “a satisfactory history of linguistics cannot be written before the impressive contribution of missionaries is recognised”. Seuren (1998: 53) dedicates barely a page in his manual to the “missionaries’ activities, stating that this kind of grammar writing “was less inspired by a desire to know more about the languages concerned than by sheer imperialism”. In an introductory volume on the history of linguistics by Tavoni

¹ I wish to express my gratitude to the general editor and members of the editorial board for their time and effort to ensure accuracy of style. Regular disclaimers apply.

(1998: 68) there is just a half page dealing with missionary linguistics and Law (2003: 219) does mention briefly some missionary works.

Klaus Zimmermann explained in his lecture presented at the First International Conference in Missionary Linguistics in Oslo (March 2003) that “the early language descriptions that have been created by missionaries during the colonial period have not been fully recognized by mainstream historiography of linguistics (Zimmermann 2004: 7). The last decade 25 years the situation has changed considerably. The first manual on the historiography of linguistics which includes missionary linguistics is Auroux, Koerner et al., eds. (2000), with general studies on the great explorers (Hovdhaugen 2000), Gray (2000) and more language-specific contributions in the Spanish territories on Náhuatl (Manrique 2000), Quechua (Wölck 2000), Guarani (Dietrich 2000), whereas Hewson (2000) focuses on the French tradition in North America and Nowak (2000) on the British descriptive approaches to the indigenous languages of British North America. Outside the Ibero-romance world, we find a chapter on Africa (Möhlig 2000), Chinese (Chiao 2000), and finally, the Pacific (Rivierre 2000).² These contributions can be considered an important step forward in what we call the historiography of missionary linguistics, since it covers this topic, probably for the first time, on a global scale. As Koerner (2009: 485) observes, “The first decade of the 21st century has witnessed a veritable explosion of research activities and publications in Missionary Linguistics”. This has become a huge international enterprise. It connects too with the growing interest in questions of language evolution beyond the Indo-European family”. In this article we shall give a selection of what we consider the most important contributions from the period 2002–2012. This paper follows Zimmermann’s article (2004) that can be considered, together with Zimmermann (1997b), as one of the main studies related to meta-historiography and methodology in the historiography of missionary linguistics. In the final section, we will offer some suggestions for future research.

2. *Earlier studies of missionary linguistics*

Over the last four decades, interest in the history of linguistics has increased in Europe. In the “Studies in the History of the Language Sciences” series launched by Koerner in 1973 and published by John Benjamins of Amsterdam, we find studies on Italy (Ramat, Nederehe & Koerner 1986), The Low Countries (Noordegraaf, Versteegh & Koerner 1992), Poland (Koerner &

² The editors did not include the originally scheduled chapter on Sanskrit and Dravidian languages, which had to be omitted for certain reasons.

Szwedek 2001). Two volumes on the History of Linguistics in Spain have appeared (Quilis & Nederehe 1984; Koerner & Nederehe 2001) but these contain no articles on Spanish America. However, the first volume (Quilis & Nederehe 1986) does include a paper on Spanish America, dealing with the alphabetisation of Nahuatl (Díaz Rubio & Bustamante García 1986).

As de Clercq, Swiggers and van Tongerloo (1996: 440) observed, “the only comprehensive study of missionary linguistics is exactly one century old: it was published by the Jesuit father Joseph Dahlmann (1861–1930): *Die Sprachkunde und die Missionen. Ein Beitrag zur Charakteristik der ältern katholischen Missionsthätigkeit (1500–1800)* (Dahlmann 1891), which was translated into Italian in 1892 (*Lo studio delle lingue e le missioni*, translation by P. G. Perciballi, with a Spanish translation published in 1893 by Jerónimo Rojas). Missionary works were earlier studies in Europe by Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro (1735–1809), pero there seems to be hardly any interest in Amerindian languages in Europe before. Nevertheless, the missionaries’ linguistic works from Middle and Far East were brought to Europe and studied, both in academic and religious centres. In fact we can find earlier accounts of missionary works, as we can find, for instance, in the outstanding ‘state of the art’ in the introduction of the *Lexicon* of Franciscus a Mesgnien (Franciszek Meniński, 1623–1689) of 1680. This introduction, entitled *De fatis linguarum orientalium Arabicae nimirum Persicae, et Turcicae commentatio* (Meninski 1756[1680]: v-clxiv) opens with a description of these three languages, followed by two sections, one devoted to grammars and another to lexicography, and each section is divided geographically. Apart from a comprehensive overview of works from Northern Europe, arranged according to country, we find particularly in the chapter *De cultura linguarum orientalium in Italia* (1756[1680]: xciv-cii) a detailed summary of what we would call today “missionary linguistics”,³ probably one of the earliest ever written.⁴

Among the first pioneering monographs devoted to the ‘historiography of missionary linguistics’ are Hanzeli (1969) and Suárez Roca (1992). The first focuses on New France (particularly Ojibwa-Algonkin), whereas the latter

³ Such as Franciscus Martelottus (Martelotti, d.1618), Philippus Guadagnolus (Gudagnoli, 1596–1656), Thomas Obicinus (Obicini, 1585–1652), Antonio ab Aquila (d.1679) (Arabic), Franciscus Maria Maggius (Maggio), and Ignatius a Jesu (1596–1667) (Persian). There is also a chapter devoted to Spain, where we find also missionary sources.

⁴ Of course, we find in the prologues of many missionary grammars a brief account of earlier descriptions, but this is never done systematically. An in-depth study of Meninski’s work is very much needed, and the same applies for the missionary work on Asian languages, in particular those printed at the *Propaganda Fide* press.

concentrates on New Spain (particularly Nahuatl), and to a lesser degree the regions of the Andes, but this book does not pay attention to the Philippines and China.

As Koerner (1994: 19) observed almost two decades ago, the history of the study of the native languages of the Americas is still in its infancy.⁵ Monographs dealing with specific missionary traditions are rare. If we consider the huge number of Spanish missionary sources, it becomes even more necessary to have separate volumes dedicated to each region, such as the Andes, or vice-royalty, such as New Spain,⁶ or provinces within them, such as Nueva Vizcaya.

Nevertheless, considerable progress has been made and conferences devoted to the subfield of missionary linguistics have been organised. Moreover, some volumes of collected studies have been published (Calvo Pérez 1994, Troiani et al. 1995, Hovdhaugen 1996a, Zimmermann 1997a, Wendt 1998, Calvo Pérez & Jorques Jiménez 1997, Schlieben-Lange 1999, Calvo Pérez 2001, Auroux, Koerner et al., 2000, Zwartjes 2000a,⁷ Freire & Rosa, 2003). In addition, a number of monographs has appeared, such as Sueiro Justel (2002b, c, 2003) on the missionary linguistics in the Philippines, León-Portilla & Hernández de León-Portilla (2009) in New Spain, Klöter (2011a) in China and Chinese in the Philippines; the ‘Sangleys’, and Fonseca (2006) and Zwartjes (2011a) on the Portuguese sources world-wide. Gilmour (2006) published a monograph on the Methodist tradition in South Africa⁸ and Errington (2008) describing colonial linguists in several continents

⁵ Wolfart (1967) does not consider Latin America in his article, so the term “American Indian” means only “North American Indian”.

⁶ In one of our last conversations in Mexico in October 2008, Thomas Smith-Stark announced that he was planning to publish such a monograph. I believe that it would be a great service to the field if four publications were to be united as a volume, since I believe it could be a standard manual for the History of Linguistics in New Spain: (1) his paper on phonology, published in Zwartjes & Altman (Smith-Stark 2005a), (2) an unpublished paper on morphology and syntax (Smith-Stark 2000b), (3), lexicography (Smith-Stark 2009) and finally (4) another unpublished paper “La frasis en las gramáticas novohispanas decimoséxticas” (Smith-Stark 2005b) where he analyses the term ‘phrasis’, which is used for a great variety of linguistic phenomena, including rhetorical figures, stylistics, speaking manners, syntactical features, such as non-canonical word-order.

⁷ Reviews by Hovdhaugen (2001), Niederehe (2001), Stolova (2002), Hollenbach (2002) and Wright (2003).

⁸ This study contains mainly the languages from the land of the ‘Hottentots’, ‘Caffres’ often called the ‘Kafir Language’. Gilmour analyses works of the Methodists William Binnington Boyce (1803–1889), John Whittle Appleyard (1814–1874) and, among others, the German Lutheran Jacob Ludwig Döhne (1811–1879), a pioneer of written Xhosa. For activities of the ‘Basler Mission’ in Africa, (Akuapem) see Abun-Nasr (1998).

3. *International conferences*

3.1 *The triannual ICHoLS meetings (1978–2012)*

In the Conference Proceedings of the VIIth ICHoLS meeting (Cram, Linn & Nowak 1999) there is a special section dedicated to missionary linguistics. This was not repeated in the following volumes of these conferences. In the foreword of the volume of the 1999 conference, ICHoLS VIII (Auroux 2003) it states that the conference looked at “the integration of the study of Amerindian languages into Western linguistics”. The volume contains a contribution about the Amerindian languages of Canada (Niederehe 2003), another on the work of Sul Khan-Saba Orbeliani (1658–1725) on Georgian (Bolkvadze 2003) and one dealing with linguistic policy in Brazil (Mariani 2003). Although Larcher’s (2003) article does not deal directly with missionary sources, we find information about Pedro de Alcalá (c.1455–post 1505), Antonio ab Aquila and Francisco Canes [*sic*] (1730–1795) (2003: 52–53); these were missionaries who described colloquial Arabic. Of all the papers delivered at the IXth ICHoLS conference (Guimarães & Barros 2002) only one article was selected: Mariani’s (2007) article addresses linguistic ideas and discourses about language in early Brazilian history. She recently published a book (Mariani 2004) comparing the linguistic policies of Brazil, compared to those of the United States. Finally, in the selected papers of the Xth ICHoLS conference, edited by Kibbee (2007) only one paper on missionary grammars in Central and South America is included, written by Bрева-Claramonte (2007). The XIth ICHoLS conference in Potsdam has a special session on the Philippine and other Austronesian languages, co-ordinated by Thomas Stolz of the University of Bremen. A selection of these papers has been published in (Reid, Ridruejo & Stolz 2011) with contributions on Philippine sources by Ridruejo (2011), Wolff (2011), Fernández (2011), Zwartjes (2011d) and others. In the volume of collected papers of the XIth ICHoLS 2008, no papers on missionary linguistics were included for publication in Hassler (2011).

3.2. *International Conferences on Missionary Linguistics.*

Before the so-called Oslo Project on Missionary Linguistics (OsProMil) conferences began, there have been organized conferences on missionary linguistics (Oslo, Berlin, Paris), but, as far as we can trace, such conferences were never seen from a global perspective.⁹ One of the aims of the OsProMil

⁹ The OsProMil conferences aimed at bringing together studies on the historiography of missionary linguistics world-wide (cf. the introduction in Zwartjes & Hovdhaugen 2004). What often happens when international conferences are organized, one never achieves the ideal balance and one depends on what the participants present and what they submit. This explains

conferences was to bring a new stimulus of this discipline also in other parts of the world. As has been observed by Koerner, Zwartjes (2000a)¹⁰ has a rather limited scope (2002: 19) and other publications, such as Hovdhaugen (1996a) and Nowak (1999a) do not pay much attention to sources written in the Spanish, Portuguese and Latin. The idea behind the first Oslo conference was to reduce barriers within the discipline and bringing together scholars working on different traditions. What often brought the missionaries together was having a common European background, particularly a Latin-based linguistic education and comparable problems, which they shared when shaping their linguistic data of typologically different languages from around the world. This first conference was coordinated by Zwartjes & Hovdhaugen without specific thematic delimitation, but chronologically it focuses on the colonial period until ca. 1850, which is an estimated limit, as colonial period ended much earlier in mainland Latin America, compared to the Philippines or Cuba. After the broad and more general introductory conference in Oslo, subsequent conferences mainly focused on special topics, following the structure of traditional grammar. A selection of papers was published in Zwartjes & Hovdhaugen (2004a).¹¹

Seven International Conferences on Missionary Linguistics have been organized, the first five co-organised by the “Oslo Project on Missionary Linguistics” (OsProMil), in co-operation with Even Hovdhaugen (Oslo), the second with Cristina Altman (São Paulo), the third with Gregory James (Hong Kong), the fourth with Emilio Ridruejo (Valladolid), the fifth with Thomas Smith Stark and Ramón Arzápalo Marín (Mérida, México). The Oslo project was finished in 2007 and the co-organizing partners of the sixth and seventh conferences were Masayuki Toyoshima and Emi Kishimoto (Tokyo)¹² and

why some (–many?–) subfields are under-represented, such as Africa, North America, the Moravians, the Greek-orthodox missionaries, etc. In spite of attempts to attract more scholarly participation from the United States and Canada, the Spanish and Portuguese traditions have always been more present at our conferences. As Koerner observes (2002: 19) “By comparison, the scholarship in this area of interest by North Americans is rather limited and largely due to a few authors, in particular the anthropologist Regna Darnell (1998, 2001), the historian Edward Gray (1999), and the German-born linguist Michael Mackert’s publications”. Mackert (1996) analyses the grammatical sketch of Nez Perce (Oregon) made by the Congregationalist Asa Bowen Smith (1809–1886). Other studies look at Horatio Hale’s (1817–1897) work.

¹⁰ Reviews: Hovdhaugen (2001), Niederehe (2001), Hollenbach (2002), Stolova (2002) and Wright (2002).

¹¹ Reviews: Esparza Torres (2005), Fernández Rodríguez (2005), Bonvini (2008) and Parodi (2008).

¹² Programme: <http://joao-roiz.jp/MLG2010/program/>

Klaus Zimmermann and Martina Schrader-Kniffki (Bremen).¹³ The eighth conference is planned in 2014 in Lima co-organised with Rodolfo Cerrón-Palomino, Roberto Zariquiey and Jorge Pérez Silva.

Except for the first volume which has a more general and introductory character (Zwartjes & Hovdhaugen 2004), the published volumes have all a specific topic: (II) phonology and orthography (Zwartjes & Altman 2005), (III) morphology and syntax (Zwartjes, James & Ridruejo 2007), and (IV) lexicography (Zwartjes, Arzápalo Marín & Smith-Stark 2009). Zimmermann, Schrader Kniffki and Zwartjes have planned to compile a volume on translation theory and practices, derived from the Bremen papers.

3.3. *Other conferences and workshops*

The ACLC (Amsterdam Centre of Language and Communication) research group under the working title “Revitalizing older linguistic documentation” was founded in 2005, co-ordinated by Otto Zwartjes and Norval Smith. This research group not only analyses missionary sources, but has a broader perspective than the OsProMil project which concentrated on missionary sources. Other non-missionary sources are included, such as maps, letters, historical sources, traveler’s word-lists, used as tools for a process of ‘revitalization linguistic documentation’. Until today, the ACLC research group has organized four annual meetings at the University of Amsterdam and at NIAS in Wassenaar, attracting participants from a wide variety of countries and linguistic traditions. The fourth meeting in May 2010 has been co-organised with the AIN (Americanists in the Netherlands)¹⁴ and Alexander Bakkerus, Olbertz and Zwartjes are preparing a selection of papers, to be completed in 2012.

The Fu Jen University (Taiwan) organized the VIth International Sinological Symposium, with a volume appeared in 2011 (Wesołowski 2011). This volume contains contributions in English and Chinese by Castellazzi (*Dicionário Português-Chinês*), Klöter (Chinese in mainland China and in the Philippines), Zwartjes (Martino Martini and Jacob Golius), Xiaoping (monosyllability of Chinese according to western sources), and finally Feng-Chuan (Prémare and Abel-Rémusat).

The *Société Asiatique (Académie des inscriptions et Belles-lettres)* organized in 2009 a workshop in Paris, entitled “L’œuvre scientifique des missionnaires en Asie”¹⁵ with contributions related to the study of Persian in

¹³ Programme: <http://www.fb10.uni-bremen.de/misling2012bremen/programme.aspx>

¹⁴ <http://sites.google.com/site/americanistsinthenetherlands/Home>

¹⁵ <http://calenda.revues.org/download.php?id=2949>

the XVIIth century, Heinrich Roth's (1620–1668) work on Sanskrit, the Jesuit descriptions of Telugu, Alexandre de Rhodes' (1591-1660) description of Vietnamese, the creator of the romanisation of Vietnamese, and finally, Oyanguren's grammar of Japanese (1738).

4. *Associations, proceedings, journals, and other activities*

As mentioned by Koerner (2009: 483), Guillermo Toscano y García launched the *Revista Argentina de Historiografía Lingüística* (first issue 2009). In this open access journal¹⁶ three contributions on missionary linguistics are included: Altman (2009) dealing with linguistic historiography in Brazil generally, with a section on missionary linguistics; Malvestitti (2010) analyses missionary linguistics in Pampa/ Patagonia (1860–1930) and finally, Cifuentes (2010) concentrating on the use of missionary grammars in the classification of languages in Mexico. The Instituto de Filología of the University of Buenos Aires organizes in August 2012 the *I Jornadas Internacionales de Historiografía Lingüística*.

The *Sociedad Española de Historiografía Lingüística* hardly pays any attention to the historiography of missionary linguistics in their *Boletín*, in spite of the increasing scholarly interest in this field.¹⁷ In the Proceedings of the last three International Conferences of the *Sociedad* (Murcia, edited by Roldán Pérez et al. 2006, Cádiz, edited by Bastardín Candón et al. 2009) and Trás-os-Montes, edited by Assunção et al. 2010), we find an article on the 'primitive language' according to Hervás (Fuertes Gutiérrez 2006), another on a grammar of pampango (Rirdruejo 2006, language variation in grammars of Quechua (Merma Molina 2009), the bibliographical project of Esparza Torres (2010), the less studied grammar entitled *Sintaxis copiosissima na lingoa bramana e pollida* of friar Gaspar de São Miguel (c.1595–1647) (Fonseca 2010), lexicography in New Spain (Galeote 2010), the prologues in Hispano-Philippine dictionaries (García-Medall 2010) and finally, a comparison between missionary descriptions of Algonquin and Maya (Niederehe 2010). It will be obvious that missionary linguistics is not over-represented in these five volumes of in sum ca 3250 pages! This unbalanced cannot be justified, due to the immense production of missionary sources, of which many still have escaped the attention of scholarly activities in these circles.

The *Sociedad Mexicana de Historiografía Lingüística* was founded in 2000. The society combined their activities with the *Encuentros Internacionales de Lingüística en Acatlán* and two books related to the

¹⁶ <http://www.rahl.com.ar/presentacion.html>

¹⁷ There are two contributions: Hernández (2006) and Hernández de León-Portilla (2010).

historiography of linguistics in Mexico deserve to be mentioned. Guzmán Betancourt, Máñez, Hernández de León-Portilla (2004) compiled a volume which includes contributions on missionary linguistics: Yáñez Rosales (2004) analyses the *Vocabulario* (1765) of Gerónimo Cortés y Zedeño (1724–post 1765), Smith-Stark (2004) proposes a *stemma* for the several manuscripts of Andrés de Olmos's (c.1480–c.1568) grammar of Náhuatl (1547). Máñez & Dosal (2006) contains a paper of Zimmermann (2006) about 'transculturality' in missionary grammars and dictionaries. Villavicencio (2006) deals with aspects of the *Dictionarito* of Lagunas.

The review of the *Société d'Histoire et d'Épistémologie des Sciences du Langage* published an interesting special issue entitled *Les langues du monde à la Renaissance* (Colombat 2008) including some studies on missionary sources: Brevia-Claramonte (2008) (dealing with the grammaticization process of indigenous languages in early Spanish America), Rodríguez-Alcalá & Horta Nunes (2008) on normalization and exemplification procedures in grammars of Tupi-Guarani languages, the first grammar of Slovenian entitled *Arcticae horulae succesivae de Latino-carniolana literatura* (1584) (Ahačič 2008) and finally, two contributions related to East Indies, China and the Philippines by Demonet & Uetani (2008) and Klöter & Zwartjes (2008), respectively.

Several articles have also appeared in *Historiographia Linguistica* - Hernández de León-Portilla (2003) analyses ten different Meso-American grammars. The article points out that the missionaries, who had no formal linguistic training, made use of the principles of classic hermeneutics, of analogy and anomaly, in order to analyse the function of the word in these new languages. In *Historiographia Linguistica* there are also contributions describing other traditions in other continents. Tomalin (2008) analyses missionary sources from the Pacific Northwest Coast in the late nineteenth century, particularly Alfred Hall's (1853–1918) *A Grammar of the Kwagiutl Language* (1888) and Charles Harrison's (died in 1926) *Haida Grammar* (1895) while McGregor (2008) focuses on the languages of Kimberley, Western Australia. Earlier Tomalin published an important paper on Maunsell's (1810–1894) grammar of Maori (1842) and establishes (2008: 116) a possible relation between these descriptive works and those of other non-Western languages, e.g. Japanese. Tomalin came to the conclusion (2008: 114) that "Hall's rejection of the Graeco-Roman tradition was selective, not absolute". According to McGregor (2008: 154) "Missionary linguists played a vital role in documenting languages of the Kimberley. In many cases the information they gathered represents the sum total of what is known about extinct languages, or represents some of the most detailed information of moribund languages". Missionary sources, as stated above, can be studied with two main

purposes, descriptive linguistics, and history of linguistics. McGregor's approach is predominantly descriptive and in he concludes (2008: 155) that "there is a scope for approaching it from other perspectives, including colonial linguistics, adding a reference to Errington (2008). McGregor (2008: 121) emphasizes that recent studies on Australian languages, such as Dixon (1980: 8–17), barely mention missionary work and argues that this neglect is not acceptable. McGregor (*ibid.*) observes: "I know of a single professional historian active in Australian missionary linguistics, Carey, whose contribution to Zwartjes & Hovdhaugen (2004) represents the only contribution on Australia to the volumes so far published on missionary linguistics".

Historiographia Linguistica devoted a special double issue (vol. 36: 2/3) to Missionary Linguistics (Zwartjes & Koerner 2009). Some papers were first presented at the Fourth and Fifth International Conferences on Missionary Linguistics, held in Valladolid, 8–11 March 2006, and Mérida, Yucatán (Mexico), 14–17 of March 2007. Originally, the plan was to publish a volume of papers derived from the Mexico meeting (and some of the preceding conference) in that country. But the publishing process turned out to be problematic, and so an alternative outlet was called for. It soon was seen as advantageous to turn a selection from these papers into a special issue of *HL*. Since the papers did not all derive from the same conference and were not forming a unified theme as in the case of the volumes published in "Studies in the History of the Language Sciences" (Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins) in 2007 and 2009, it was seen as more appropriate to place into a journal. Missionary descriptions of the following languages are included: Delaware (Swiggers 2009), Massachusetts (Fountain 2009), Nahuatl (Fountain 2009 and Pharo 2009), Yucatec Maya (Pharo 2009), Zapotec (Rojas 2009), Pur'épecha (Villavicencio 2009), Tupi-Guaraní (Bossong 2009), and also two languages of the Bantu family, Kimbundu and Vidunda (Legère 2009). The special issue is introduced by the editors and contains a short notice on Thomas Smith-Stark (Zwartjes 2009) and his publication list (Barriga Villanueva & Zwartjes 2009).

Several institutions have organized workshops and conferences devoted to missionary activities, and some of them, included topics which are relevant for missionary linguistics. In this context, we can mention the the Centro Studi Martino Martini in Trento,¹⁸ the Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History¹⁹ (University of San Francisco) and another Ricci institute in Macao.²⁰

¹⁸ <http://events.unitn.it/centro-martini>

¹⁹ <http://usf.usfca.edu/ricci/index.htm>

²⁰ <http://www.riccimac.org/eng/introduction/index.htm>

5. *Projects, digitalization, reprints, documentation projects, etc.*

A great collection of missionary grammars catechisms are available now on line, due to the impressive activities of the John Carter Brown library.²¹

Kessinger²² has reproduced a great number of missionary grammars and dictionaries, in most cases reprints of 19th century editions of Julius (Julio) Platzmann (1832–1902), Nicolás León (1859–1929), and others,. The number of reproductions over the last years, particularly between 2009 and 2010 is impressive:

Anchieta (Tupi, ed. 1874), Anonymous (Névome, ed. 1862), Anonymous (Cahita, ed. 1890), Basalenque (Tarascan, ed. 1886), Bertonio (Aymara, ed. 1879), Córdova (Zapotec, 2010, ed. 1886), Fiellström (Sami, ed. 1738), Figueira (Tupi, ed. 1880), González Holguín (Quechua, ed. 1842 + ed. 1901), Larramendi (Basque, ed. 1853), Machoni, Antonio (Lule & Tonocoté, ed. 1878), Maggio (Baure, 2009, ed. 1880), Pareja (Timiquana, ed. 1886), Paz (Hebrew, ed. 1826), Prémare (Chinese, ed. 2007), Quintana (Mixe, ed. 1891), Restivo (Guarani, ed. 1893), Totanés (Tagalog, ed. 1850), Tauste (Chayma, Cumanagota, ed. 1888), Turkish (Holdermann, ed. 2009).

In Guadalajara, México, digitalization of the collection of indigenous languages (Biblioteca Pública del Estado de Jalisco “Juan José Arreola”) has started in 1990 and there are on-line sources available. They have begun to make editions on cd-rom available as well, with the grammar of Rincón, edited by Schmidt-Riese as the first of the series.

Masayuki Toyoshima of the Institute of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa (ILCAA) of the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (TUFS) coordinates an International Research Project “JSPS Invitational Training Program for Advanced Japanese Research Institutes,” 2010, which was funded by JSPS (Japan Society for Promotion of Science) Development of a Distributed Research Environment for Missionary Linguistics of the “Grand Voyage Era”.²³ The aim of the project is to create a workbench for the

²¹ <http://archive.org/details/jcblindigenous>. To give some examples:

Machoni: Lule & Tonocoté

<http://archive.org/stream/artedelalenguage00febr#page/n5/mode/2up>

Melgar: Quechua

<http://archive.org/stream/artedelalenguage00melg#page/n5/mode/2up>

Zambrano Bonilla: Totonac

<http://archive.org/stream/artedelenguatoto00zamb#page/n47/mode/2up>

²² Whitefish, Mont.: <http://www.kessinger.net/>. Publishers like Kessinger are essentially reprinters, nothing else. No scholar is involved -- except someone who tells them where such old texts could be found. There are not recent introductions or studies included.

²³ <http://joao-roiz.jp/IRMLG/>

“Missionary (Colonial) Linguistics” in the 16th and 17th centuries, with special focus on Japan and South-East Asia. Products planned are, on-line accessible dictionaries of the vernacular languages, and the target (native) languages, linguistics overview of the grammars and vocabularies published by the Jesuit mission in Japan and in India.²⁴

The Universidade de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro in Portugal there is an on-going project on Historiography of Linguistics, coordinated by José Manuel Cardoso Belo, with a branch devoted to missionary linguistics, co-ordinated by Carlos Assunção and Gonçalo Fernandes, in collaboration with the University of Évora.

Esther Hernández (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas) coordinates a project entitled “Corpus de vocabularios bilingües ibero-americanos (siglos XVI–XVIII), which aims at the publication of an annotated and descriptive catalogue of Hispano-Amerindian dictionaries with a data base which allows to search in colonial and missionary sources.

Recently, Thomas Stolz launched a project called Chamorro linguistic network,²⁵ which also includes missionary and colonial sources. Thomas Stolz also has launched a new series, published by the Akademie Verlag in Bremen: “Koloniale und Postkoloniale Linguistik/ Colonial and Postcolonial Linguistics”.

Two volumes have appeared in the new series “Lingüística misionera” (Vervuert & Iberoamericana) so far, the first on Cholón (Alexander-Bakkerus 2007) and the second on Japanese (Zwartjes 2009d).

6. *Expositions*

Other activities which deserve mention are exhibitions organised in 2007 in the Museum of Antioquia in Medellín, Columbia and later in the National Museum of History in the Chapultepec Castle in Mexico City under the title *Paradigmas de la palabra. Gramáticas indígenas de los siglos XVI, XVII, XVIII*.²⁶ The catalogue was published under the same title as the exhibition and contains articles written by Hernández de León-Portilla (2007), Zwartjes (2007c), Cabarcas Antequera (2007), with an introductory essay by Suárez

²⁴ Output so-far: on-line accessible database of the dictionaries of Cardoso (1592), Barbosa (1611), Calepinus (1592), Nizolius (1595), Latin-Portuguese-Japanese dictionary (1598), Japanese-Portuguese dictionary (1603), etc. <http://joao-roiz.jp/LGR/>

²⁵ <http://www.fb10.uni-bremen.de/chin/about.aspx>

²⁶ In 1997 the University of Pennsylvania library and the Rosenbach Museum and Library organised an exhibition entitled *Cultural Readings. Colonization and Print in the Americas* where both works on North-American and South-American indigenous languages were included.

See: <http://www.library.upenn.edu/exhibits/rbm/kislak/index/cultural.html>

(2007a). The catalogue gives an overview of Spanish missionary linguistics and is a particularly useful tool for non-specialists. The National Library of Portugal organized an exhibition entitled *Encontro do português com as línguas não europeias. Exposição de textos interlinguísticos* (June, 2nd – September 12th, 2008) and published a catalogue which is a useful tool for Portuguese missionary sources (Verdelho et al., 2008).²⁷

7. Publications 2002–2012

Zimmermann (2004) provides the first overview of achievements within the field of ‘missionary linguistics’ and he links (pp. 26–28) these studies to the various ‘tasks’ (‘tarefas’) within missionary linguistics. In this paragraph we augment his table with recent data from the most important contributions of the last years and at the end of the chapter, we give an updated table based on Zimmermann’s work (2004) with additional data, covering the period 2002–2012. (The numbers of the subparagraphs correspond with those used in Zimmermann’s article).

7.1 The first category in Zimmermann’s table is a registration of missionary sources. Although Zimmermann does not pretend to give a comprehensive list, he presents a selection of publications. Here follow additional data with particular attention for the most recent publications in chronological order.²⁸

2001

Alonso de Molina’s (c.1514–1585) second edition (1571) of his Nahuatl dictionary was published in the *Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional* series by E. Hernández (2001), almost simultaneously with the facsimile edition of the first edition of Molina’s dictionary (1555) prepared by Galeote (2001).

2002

In the same series of the *Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional*, the *Lengva metropolitana del Reyno Cakchiquel, o Gvatemalico* (1753) appeared in a facsimile edition. The grammar is written by Ildefonso Ioseph Flores (dates unknown) and the *Agencia* edited this work in cooperation with the *Sociedad Estatal para la Acción Cultural Exterior*, with an accompanying volume containing a presentation by Díez Hoyo and an introductory study by Batalla Rosado (2002).

²⁷http:

//www.bnportugal.pt/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=222%3Aencontro-do-portugues-com-as-linguas-nao-europeias&catid=1%3A2008&Itemid=76

²⁸ Most reprints of Kessinger/Kessinger are not included, since they are not new editions with prologues or introductions by modern scholars.

Pallarés Jiménez (2002[1680]) produced a new facsimile edition of the Capuchin author Francisco de Tauste's (1626–1685) entitled *Arte y vocabulario de la lengua de los indios chaymas, cumanagotos, cores, parias, y otros diversos*, with introductory essays by Longás Otín, Romero de Tejada, Miret Magdalena and Pallarés Jiménez.

There is also a re-edition available of a grammar of the Katío language edited by Calvo Pérez (2002) based on a source written by Ángel Cayo Atienza (cf. Zwartjes 2005).

2003

Sueiro Justel published a useful catalogue of Philippine sources in his monograph published in 2003. The third volume of Mayan sources of the languages of Chiapas has been published by Ruz and Báez (2003).²⁹

2004

An important project related to the edition of Philippine sources deserves mention: the dictionary composed by Alonso de Métrida (1559–1637) entitled *Vocabulario de la lengua bisaya, hiligueyna y haraya de la isla de Panay y Sugbú y para las demás islas* (Métrida 2004[1637]) with introductory study by García-Medall (2004a), and Gilberti's (1498–1585) grammar of Pur'épecha (Tarascan) has been edited by Monzón (2004a) and Sachse published the Xınca (Szinca) grammar of Manuel Maldonado de Matos (2004[1770]), on which she based later her dissertation on that language (Sachse 2010).

2005

In this year the third volume of BICRES (*Bibliografía cronológica de la lingüística, la gramática y la lexicografía del español. Desde el año 1701 hasta el año 1800*) was published (Niederehe 2005). In another work by Niederehe (2004), we find a survey of missionary grammars and dictionaries of the Maya languages. Other recent editions belonging to the Spanish missionary tradition is the facsimile edition of Bernardino González's (c.1665–c.1735) grammatical compendium and dictionary of the Arabic dialect as spoken in Damascus (Lourido Díaz 2005, 2006; cf. de review Zwartjes, 2007d).

With respect to the Tupi-Guaraní linguistic family, an online edition is now available of Pablo Restivo's (1658–1741) *Arte de la lengua guaraní* by Liuzzi

²⁹ First volume published by Ruz (1989) containing the *Arte de lengua tzotlem o tzinacanteca* of Juan de Rodaz (1723[1688]), the *Libro en que se trata de la lengua tzotzil. Se continúa con el vocabulario breve... etc.* attributed to Manuel Hidalgo (dates unknown) and several other sources. The second volume (Ruz, Birrichaga, Wichmann & Smith-Stark 1997) contains Luis González's *Arte breve y vocabulario de la lengua zoque conforme se habla en el pueblo de Tecpatan* (1672), the anonymous *Arte de lengua zoque para la mayor gloria de Dios Nuestro señor* (date unknown) and several other colonial texts and studies.

(1996). Nasini & Ortiz (2005) published a transcription of a manuscript grammar of the ‘Ava-guaraní’ language, which is called ‘Chiriguano’, spoken in East Bolivia and Northern Argentine. This grammar is appended to the Chiriguana dictionary entitled *Alguna noticia de la gramática chiriguana*, written by Pedro León de Santiago (1747–1800).

Maruyama published the Konkani-Portuguese dictionary (2005[1626]), compiled by the Jesuit Diogo Ribeiro (1560–1633), one of the Jesuit authors who revised the Konkani Grammar written by Thomas Stephens (Thomaz Esteuão; c.1549–1619). An edition of a grammar of the Machiguenga language written by father Pío Aza has been edited by Lorenzo González (2005) and outside the Hispanic and Portuguese world we can mention the edition of Bartholomaeus Cassius’ (Bartul Kašić; 1575–1650) *Institutiones linguae illyricae* (1604) and the excellent introduction written by Pandžić (2005).

2006

Other important publications of South-American languages are Ludovico Bertonio’s (1557–1625), *Vocabulario de la lengua aymara* (1612) with an introductory essay by Fernández García (2006). After the publication of Francisco Varo’s (1627–1687) grammar of Mandarin Chinese (Varo 2000[1703]), his dictionary is now available as well, edited by South Coblin (2006; Varo 2006[between 1677–1687]).

2007

The *Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional* published a facsimile edition of a Mapudungun (Mapuche) grammar (1606) of Luis de Valdivia (1561–1642) appeared, with an accompanying volume written by Ridruejo (Ridruejo 2007a).

In the same year, a new series with the title “Lingüística misionera” was set up under our supervision at the publishing house Vervuert & Iberoamericana. The first volume has been published by Alexander-Bakkerus (2007): Pedro de la Mata’s (fl. 1748) *Arte de la lengua cholona*. Alexander-Bakkerus published earlier an excellent monograph on this extinct language once spoken in the Huallaga valley in Peru (Alexander-Bakkerus 2005a; cf. Zwartjes 2008), the material on which she based her PhD thesis (among other sources) (Alexander-Bakkerus 2005). Schmidt-Riese (2007) published on CD a facsimile edition of the original copy of the Nahuatl grammar of Antonio del Rincón housed in the Biblioteca Pública del Estado de Jalisco “Juan José Arreola”, Universidad de Guadalajara, together with a reproduction of the edition of Peñafiel (1858), accompanied with an introduction entitled

2009

The second volume of the series *Lingüística misionera* is an edition of Melchor Oyanguren de Santa Inés's (1688–1747) grammar of Japanese (Zwartjes 2009d, in cooperation with Maruyama) and in the facsimile series of the *Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional* published the Quechua grammar and dictionary *Arte y Vocabulario en la Lengua General, y en la lengua española* (1586) with an introductory volume written by Calvo (2009). Bhatia & Machida (2009) published in this year Jona Josua Ketelaar's (1659–1718) grammar (1698) of Hindustani with an introductory volume, which is not strictly seen a 'missionary grammar', but which is a significant work to be mentioned here. Six years after his death, Ignacio Guzmán Betancourt's edition of the *Arte de la lengua tegüima, vulgarmente llamada ópata* of the Jesuit priest Natal Lombardo (1647–1704) is published by the *Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia*.

Finally, a facsimile edition of López's grammar of Ilocan appeared, prepared by García-Medall (2009a) in the series of the *Agencia*, whose name has been changed to *Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo*.

2010

Thomas de Guadalajara's (1645–1729) grammar appeared in a reprint, an edition prepared by Rodríguez López (2010[1683]) and the *Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo* published Oyanguren's grammar of Japanese, Tagalog and Chinese in a facsimile, with an introductory study by Zwartjes (2010). A PhD Thesis has been defended in Rome by Paternicò (2010a), whose research deals with Martino Martini's (1614–1661) grammar Chinese, the *Grammatica linguae sinensis*. The full text is produced in facsimile ("the so-called Ms H, preserved in Vigevano), (148–169), a transcription (171–196) and a translation (197–219

2011

Klöter's monograph on the language of the Sangleyes contains a facsimile edition with transcript and study of the *Arte de la lengua Chio Chiu* (Biblioteca de la Universidad de Barcelona, 20–9–26, c. 1620) which is an important milestone in missionary linguistics in Asia. An excellent PhD Thesis has been defended recently by Miguel Cuevas Alonso (University of Vigo) which concentrates on Philippine grammars.

Expected editions:

Rebeca Fernández Rodríguez is expected to publish an edition of Pedro Vivar's *Calepino ylocano o vocabulario de yloco en romance compuesto por diferentes*

padres ministros antiguos, diestros en este ydioma... (c.1765) of Ilocan in the near future. Alexander-Bakkerus (Xebero, anonymous, attributed to a certain Samuel Fritz), Sueiro Justel (Pangasinán, Andrés López), Pytlowany (Hindi, Jan Josua Ketelaar), Rosa (Kimbundu, Pedro Dias, 1622–1700).

7.2 Recent contributions which appeared after Zimmermann (2004: 26) in his second category entitled “Estudios singulares sobre la aportación al conocimiento de las lenguas respectivas, logros y errores”. Two doctoral theses were defended at the University of Leiden, one about the Cholón (Huallaga valley, Andes) grammar of Pedro de la Mata (Alexander-Bakkerus 2005a) and the other about the Xinka language of Guatemala, based, among other sources, on the grammar of Maldonado (Sachse 2010).

7.2.1 *Phonology*: In 2003 Zimmermann published an important study devoted to orthography of Otomí. The second conference on Missionary Linguistics concentrated on Orthography and Phonology, organised in Brazil. The published volume (Zwartjes & Altman 2005)³⁰ contains two general articles on New Spain (Smith Stark 2005) and South America (Calvo 2005) and other studies dealing with particular languages, such as Tarascan (Monzón 2005, see also Ims 2005), Mochica (Hovdhaugen 2005) Cholón (Alexander-Bakkerus 2005b) and Japanese (Toyoshima 2005). Raini’s Ph.D. thesis (2010) is a very important contribution to the historiography of phonetics, phonology and Romanisation systems of Westerners describing Mandarin Chinese. The romanisations of the most important sources is analysed, such as Matteo Ricci (1522–1610), Nicholas Trigault (1577–1628), Francisco Díaz (1606–1646), Martino Martini (1614–1661), Jacob Golius (1596–1667), Michael Boym (1612–1659), and Francisco Varo (1627–1687).

7.2.2 *Morphosyntax*. Zwartjes (2000b) studies the tense-aspect-mood in several missionary grammars of South America, with particular focus on the so-called “mixed tenses” (see also Ridruejo 2007a). The third OsProMil conference held in Hong Kong-Macao had as its main topic Morphology, while the fourth in Valladolid, Spain (Zwartjes & Ridruejo) was dedicated to Syntax. The reason to split the topic of ‘morphosyntax’ into two was justified since we followed the traditional divisions found in the grammars under study. However, the two topics were published together in one volume (Zwartjes, James & Ridruejo

³⁰ Reviews: Esparza Torres (2006) and Daniels (2007) Gimenes (2007), Bonvini (2008) and Parodi (2008).

2007)³¹ with studies on the morphosyntax of several languages, such as Massachusetts (Swiggers 2007), Tarascan (Monzón 2007), Conivo-Sipibo (Christino 2007), Philippine languages (García-Medall 2007, Ridruejo 2007b and Sueiro 2007), Tamil (James 2007), Southern Mǐn Chinese (Hokkien) (Klötter 2007) and the syntax of the language of Yap (Hoyos Hoyos 2007). The first two volumes (Zwartjes & Hovdhaugen 2004 and Zwartjes & Altman 2005) contained studies related to the parts of speech, for example by Bae (2004). Hernández de León-Portilla (2008) deals with morphology and composition in the grammar of Alonso de Molina. In Schmidt-Riese (2005) nominal case is analysed in several missionary grammars of different languages and Villavicencio (2006a) devotes an entire monograph on the case system in Tarasco (Pur'épecha) in diachrony, starting with Maturino Gilberti (gylberti; 1498–1585) until the modern Pur'épecha. Earlier, Monzón published a monograph on spatial morphemes in the same language. Both monographs were elaborated versions of their Ph.D. thesis defended at CIESAS (2002) and UNAM (1998) respectively. Hervás y Panduro's methodology in describing morphosyntactic features in exotic languages is analysed in Brevi-Claramonte (1999b).

7.2.3 *Semantics*. Several papers at the Fifth OsProMil conference were dedicated to semantics, but no special studies have appeared on this subject so far.

7.2.4 *Lexicography*. An outstanding comprehensive volume on the History of Tamil Dictionaries has been published, written by James (2000), who also produced a work on this topic in 1991. This recent work has a special chapter dedicated to the missionary traditions: an indispensable tool for the study of Tamil and the history of Tamil linguistics. The Fifth OsProMil conference, held in Mérida, Mexico co-ordinated by Zwartjes & Arzápalo Marín, was dedicated to Lexicography (and semantics), although papers on this topic also appeared in the two first volumes, such as the contributions written by García-Medall (2004b) and Kishimoto (2005) analysing respectively Philippine languages and the *Dictionarium Latino Lusitanicum ac Iaponicum*. Twelve papers were selected for the fourth volume on Missionary Linguistics (Zwartjes, Arzápalo Marín, eds. et al. 2009).³² Smith-Stark's paper covers the entire region of New Spain (Smith-Stark 2009) and is an important tool for any

³¹ Reviews: Dietrich (2008), Bonvini (2008) and Parodi (2008).

³² Reviews: Calvo Pérez (2009b), Altman (2010a), Altman (2010b), Segovia Gordillo (2010) and Tomalin (2010).

future research on missionary lexicography. Arzápalo Marín's (2009) paper deals with the *Calepino de Motul*, Flores Farfán (2009) with Molina's dictionaries, Hernández (2009) with the Hispano-Mayan tradition, Máynez with Bernardino de Sahagún's (1499–1590) lexicographical project and Monzón's (2009) article analyses Tarascan sources lexicography. Lonsdale (2009), Alexander-Bakkerus (2009) and Gonçalves (2009) published about lexicography in the Americas (Lushootseed, Quechua and Tupinambá respectively) and in the section on Asian sources papers are included related to Ilocan (Fernández Rodríguez 2009), Tamil (James 2009) and Southern Min (Klöter 2009). Recently, a monograph Spanish lexicography in Asia has been published (García-Medall 2009b).

Other lexicographical studies which deserve to be mentioned are: Yáñez Rosales (2004), who published an article in a volume which gathers selected papers from the *Tercer Encuentro de Lingüística de Acatlán* and the *Primer Congreso de Historiografía Lingüística of the Sociedad Mexicana de Historiografía Lingüística* (SOMEHIL) Guzmán Betancourt et al. eds. (2004) concerning Meso-American lexicography, particularly the work of Cortés y Zedeño and Molina.

7.2.5 *Stylistic and pragmatic aspects*. Important studies appeared related to the phenomenon of topicalisation in Philippine and Chamorro languages (Ridruejo 2007b and Winkler 2007). Winkler sees these descriptions as “functional grammar” *avant la lettre*.

7.2.6 + 7.2.7 *Language variation, dialects, sociolinguistics*. An important contribution by Flores Farfán (2007 and 2009) explores this neglected topic in the field of missionary linguistics, namely the codification and study of the variable nature of language in relation to the socio-cultural, ideological, political and historical contexts. This includes, for example, the Nahuatl varieties of the ‘high’ speech (including the *Pillatolli*) and the “speech of the commoners” (*Macehuallatolli*). To this we can add another category, the study of discourse markers in missionary grammars, which has not been the specific topic of any publications, with the one exception of Hernández Sacristán (2000), who analysed discourse markers in Nahuatl.

7.3 *The pictographic script* of the Mayas has been described by Arzápalo Marín (2005).

7.4 *Methodology*. One of the main contributions to the methodology of Missionary linguistic research was by Zimmermann (2004). It deals with the

scope of missionary linguistics and establishes a practical framework for the methodology of future research. Esparza Torres (2010) contributes also on methodological aspects, when he compiled with Elena Battaner Moro, Vicente Calvo Fernández, Adrián Álvarez Fernández and Susana Rodríguez Barcia their *Bibliografía temática de historiografía lingüística española: Fuentes secundarias* in 2008.

7.5 Theory. Meta-linguistic innovations. These are studies that analyse the creation of new concepts and look at innovation versus ‘tradition’. Suárez Roca (2000) deals with the ‘glottal stop’ (‘saltillo’) whereas Ridruejo (2005, 2006, 2011) describes a hitherto less known terminological innovations in the Philippines, the introduction of the term ‘ligatura’, ‘cortadillo’, *facere facere*, ‘recomposición’, ‘protocompuesto’.

– *Reconstruction of language theory; Reconstruction of translation theory.* Zimmermann (2009) deals with cross-cultural communication problems and the cultural-idiosyncratic construction of the semantic part of the linguistic signs. In particular he looks at the rigorous use of Spanish religious terms in ethnographic and historic texts as well as in catechisms and vocabularies. A paper by Melià (2007) looks at the theory and practice of translation in a manuscript by the Jesuit Antonio Ruiz de Montoya (1585–1652), with particular focus on semantic transform in Guarani.

– *Influence of Spanish, Portuguese, etc. in a contrastive perspective.* Monzón (2000) describes the influence of Spanish meta-language on the missionary grammars of Tarascan and Nahuatl. Instead of using Latin meta-language for the tenses and moods of the verbs, these texts were based on Spanish terms, such as ‘tiempo pasado más que acabado’, “pasado no acabado por rodeo”, “venidero”, etc.

– *Influence or presence of other European languages; The influence of the Latin models of Nebrija, Alvares, etc.*

In Zwartjes (2002) we described the influence of Manuel Álvares (1526–1582) in the grammars of Brazilian languages. Esparza Torres (2007) analyses the influence of Nebrija and his great number of re-editions by others in the New World. In this context, works by Ponce de León Romeo in 2002 and 2003 are indispensable: in describing the Jesuit Latin grammars used in Portugal (2002) and the dealing with the diffusion of Latin-Portuguese grammars in Spain (2003). Pandžić (2005) gives an overview of Latin grammars that inspired the first Croatian grammar.

– *Missionaries’ attitudes towards indigenous languages.* A second edition of Mignolo’s book appeared in 2003. As far as I know, no systematic studies appeared, focusing on this particular topic.

7.6 *(Meta-)linguistic documentation in non-missionary sources, letters, histories.* It is interesting to study ‘colonial discourse’ and compare the Old-World authors with the New World missionaries. The prologues of the missionary grammars, dictionaries and catechisms offer a huge amount of historical material. Earlier studies on prologues are García-Medall (2010) and Esparza Torres (2006). Colonial ‘discourse’ related to European hegemony has been studied by Binotti (2000).

7.7 *Exchange of ideas: the formation of ‘schools’, reception among missionaries.* Two studies can be mentioned in this context. Smith-Stark (2000a, in Zwartjes 2000b) who compares two grammars of Nahuatl, written by Antonio del Rincón (1556–1601) and Horacio Carochi (1579–1662). In the same volume (Zwartjes 2000b), Calvo (2000) comments on the “school of Juli” in the Andes and the interchange of ideas in the tradition of Quechua grammars.

7.8 *Grammatization and standardization by missionaries and their impact.* No recent studies have appeared dealing with this topic.

7.9 *Reception.* Fuertes Gutiérrez (2004) describes the role of missionary sources in the sections dedicated to Asian languages in the work of Hervás y Panduro. Bossong (2007) dedicates a paper to the influence of missionary descriptions of Far Eastern Languages on Western Linguistic thought, referring to texts written by Tommaso Campanella (1568–1639) and Cristofori Borri (1583–1632), also commented earlier in Bossong (1992).

7.10 *Periodisation.* One important article written by Calvo (2005) is organised in this way, contrasting several periods in the descriptions of Quechua, Aymara, Mapuche, Chibcha, and Tupí-Guaraní.

7.11 *Comparisons between pre-modern missionary linguists and present missionaries’ linguistic activities.* No recent studies appeared with this particular topic, as far as we could trace.

Additional research topics would be:

— 7.12 *Methodology* of the study of Missionary sources, establishing a framework for systematical analysis, etc. (Zimmermann 2004)

— 7.13 *The influence of non-Western grammatical traditions*

— 7.14 *The influence of Christian sources in non-Western linguistic studies.*
 — 7.15. *Comparisons between Christian and non-Christian linguistic documentation.* The only publications to be mentioned here is Ostler (2004) and Zwartjes (2010c).

— 7.16 *Differences and similarities between sources of different religious orders,* Franciscans, Jesuits, Dominicans, Augustinians, Protestants, Moravians, Methodists, Lazarists, etc.

— 7.17 *Differences and similarities between sources from different nations,* regions or continents, written in different languages. In Koerner (2004) we find paragraphs dedicated to the French missions in Canada, and another to the English tradition. Carey (2004) and McGregor (2008)³³ focus on Australia, Gilmour (2004) on South Africa, etc.

— 7.18 *Missionary views on linguistic typology, language universals.* Oyanguren is one of the most important pioneers before Hervás y Panduro, comparing Asian languages (Chinese, Tagalog and Japanese) with Basque, Spanish, Latin, Greek, etc. (See Zwartjes 2010a). Hervás views on typology are studied in Brea Claramonte (2002).

— 7.19 *Didactics, pedagogy, teaching methods and practices.* In 1992, Sánchez Pérez published a comprehensive study on the teaching (and learning) of Spanish as a second language. There are no colonial counterparts to this study with the exception of a monograph by Sueiro Justel (2002b) which deals with the teaching practices in the Philippines. Levi (2007) describes the teaching methods in the Chinese grammars and dictionaries written by the Portuguese Lazarist Afonso Gonçalves (1781–1834) in Macao. An interesting topic is the influence of Jan Amos Komenský (Comenius, 1592–1670) and later Heinrich Gottfried Ollendorf(f) (1803–1865), in language studies and textbooks.

— 7.20 *Language policy.* Konetzke (1964) deals with this topic for the Spanish colonial world. Three monographs have appeared on this relatively neglected topic: Sueiro Justel (2002c), Mariani (2004) and Freire (2004). However, we need overviews of the role of the *Propaganda Fide Press* in language policy. It would be useful to compare the different national policies: French, Dutch and Portuguese, etc. In many protestant missions one of the central tasks was the translation of the Bible, but in the Catholic nations this was different. The Inquisition prohibited the translation of the Bible into the vernaculars. Their

³³ Kneebone (1998) published on the Dieri tribe in the Northern part of South-West Australia.

circulated many translations of the New Testament but in 1578 the Mexican Inquisition ordered to confiscate them. It has been argued that also political reasons lay behind this decision. If the Bible were translated into the Amerindian languages, the Catalans, Basques and Galicians could demand also Bible translations into their language, which was considered as a menace to the unity of the Spanish nation (Prien 1993: 63). Missionaries of the Catholic produced translations into the indigenous languages of mainly the *Doctrina cristiana* and the *catecismo*. Outside the Portuguese and Spanish territories, Catholic linguistic-missionary projects were organised by the *Propaganda Fide Press*. These outstanding linguistic works have not yet been studied at the International Conferences on Missionary Linguistics. An important initiative was an International Meeting organised in 1991 in Ferrara, Italy. In the second volume of this conference edited by Tavoni (1996) there is a section entitled “La linguistica misionaria/ Missionary Linguistics” containing papers on the Propaganda Fide Press (De Clerq, Swiggers & Van Tongerloo 1996), Piemontese (1996) on Arabic lexicography, Gallotta (1996) on Turkish, Orsatti (1996) and Jeremiás (1996) on Persian and Golvers (1996) on the *Elementa linguae tartaricae* by Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–1688). De Clerq, Swiggers & Van Tongerloo (1996: 455) provide an impressive list of grammars and dictionaries published by the *Propaganda Fide Press* in many languages, such as Arabic,³⁴ Ethiopian, Illyrian, Albanian, Aramese, Georgian, Hebrew, Kikongo, and Amharic, etc. In their conclusion, we read that “This is only a preliminary study of the linguistic production of the Propaganda Fide... We have tried to convey an idea of the interest of this documentation, which deserves an in-depth study by a team of linguistic historiographers and scholars trained in the exotic (and less exotic) languages described by the Propaganda Fide”. It is one of our main objectives to fill this gap in international scholarship.

— 7.21 *Interculturality, acculturation, otherness, etc.* Pharo (2007 and 2009), Zimmermann (2006) and Zimmermann (2009) have made considerable progress with their investigations on this topic.

— 7.22 *Comparison between works written in vernacular languages (Spanish, Portuguese) and those written in Latin.* No specific studies have appeared yet.

³⁴ For the importance of the Arabic inheritance of linguistic thinking in the *Propaganda Fide* grammars of Arabic, written in Latin by Franciscans, see Zwartjes (2007a and 2007b).

— 7.23 *Rhetorics*. The reception of Classical and Renaissance treatises on eloquence and rhetoric among missionaries has not been researched. Parallels to ‘soloecisms’ and ‘barbarisms’ have been found in the Spanish missionary grammars: ‘hebraísmos’, ‘mexicanismos’, ‘tagalismos’, or ‘japonismos’. Comparative research is an important goal for the future. The rhetorical figures presented by the missionaries are part of a long tradition and the descriptions and reception of them reveal important information concerning the specific sources they used. This offers the historiographer complementary material in addition to the pure grammatical and linguistic material.³⁵

— 7.24 *Poetry, poetics, music, dance*. Filippo Guadagnoli describes Arabic prosody, directly from Arabic sources, Bernardo de Lugo (fl. 1617) includes sonnets in his grammar of Chibcha/ Muisca, Thomas Guadalajara treats rhetoric figures quoting musical texts with reference to dance (1683: f. 35v) and Oyanguren’s grammar of Tagalog native poetical genders are mentioned in tagalog (1742: 219) sonnetten van Lugo, whereas other use the final section of their grammars illustrating ‘frasis’, metaphors, translation problems and theories, etc. A systematic study of these final sections of grammars is very much needed, since they apparently are not mainly derived from European models, offering interesting information related to the indigenous cultures.

8. *Bibliographies*

The most important reference is the BICRES which appeared in four volumes (Niederehe 1994, 1999, 2005) and Esparza Torres & Niederehe (2012). Apart from this huge amount of bibliographical information, some bibliographies deserve to be mentioned in this context.

Barriga Villanueva (update 2009) in collaboration with Mariana Rodríguez and Hermelinda Mendoza Filio compiled the *LingMex: Bibliografía lingüística de México desde 1970*, which is available on internet.³⁶ Previous overviews are Bartholomew, et al. (1994). Although it has not a specific focus on historiography, the two volumes contain important references concerning missionary sources, whereas Guzmán Betancourt’s (2004) bibliography concentrates more on the historiography of linguistics.

9. *Recent publications 2002–2012: An overview*

³⁵ Smith-Stark’s paper presented at the III International Conference on Missionary Linguistics in Hong Kong was dealing with the term ‘phrasis’ in missionary grammars (Smith-Stark 2005b).

³⁶ <http://lingmex.colmex.mx>

Table 1. Here follows an update of Zimmermann's (2004: 26–28) table published in the proceedings of the First International Conference on Missionary Linguistics, containing a selection of the most important publications from the period until 2012.

Tasks	Recent Publications 2002–2012
1. Text editions	<p><u>(Re-) discovery of manuscripts:</u> Hanxleden's <i>Grammatica Grandonica</i> (Van Hal, Vieille & Muller (2012), Aranha & Dolcini (2012), Pytlowany (Ketelaar's <i>Instructie</i>)³⁷</p> <p><u>New editions:</u> Arabic (González 2005[ca. 1705]), Aymara (Bertonio 2006[1612]), Bisaya (Méntrida 2004[1637]), Chayma/ Cumanagoto (Tauste 2002[1680]), Chinese (mandarin) (Varo 1703 and Varo 2006[between 1677–1687]), Chinese (Mandarin) Martini 2011[c.1652]), Chiriguano (León de Santiago 2005[18th century]), Cholón (Pedro de la Mata 2007[1748]), Guarani (Restivo 1996[1724]), "Guatemalico / kakchiquel" (Flores 2002[1753]), Hindi (Ketelaar 2009[1698]), Ilocan (F. López 2009[1627]; Vivar 2008[c.1765]), Japanese (Oyanguren de Santa Inés 2009[1738], 2010[1738], Katío (Cayo Atienza 2002[1936]), Kimbundu (Dias 2006[1697]) Konkani (Ribeiro 2005[1626]), Machiguenga (Aza 2005[1924]), Mapudungun (Valdivia 2007[1607]), Náhuatl (Molina 2001[1555], 2001[1571]), Náhuatl (Rincón 2007[1595]), Quechua (Anonymous [Ricardo], 2009[1586]), Southern Min (<i>Arte de la lengua chio chiu</i>, 2011[seventeenth century]), Tarahumara (Guadalajara 2010[1683]), Tarascan (Gilberti 2004[1558]), Teguima (Ópata) (Lombardo 2009[1702]), Xinca (Maldonado de Matos 2004[c.1770])</p>
2.1. Phonology	Zwartjes & Altman (2005), Raini (Mandarin Chinese, 2010)
2.2. Morphosyntax	Monzón (spatial morphemes, 2004), Estrada Fernández (adjective in <i>névome</i> or <i>pima bajo</i>)

³⁷ <http://bc.library.uu.nl/node/195>, see also

<p>2.3. Semantics</p> <p>2.4. Lexicography</p> <p>2.5. Stylistics, pragmatics</p> <p>2.6. Language variation, etc.</p>	<p>de Sonora, 2004), Schmidt-Riese (Case system, 2005), Villavicencio (Noun in Tarscan, 2006a), Altman (articles and pronouns in Tupi, 2007), Zwartjes et al. (2007), Ridruejo (Verb in Millcayac, 2009), Sueiro Justel (Adverb in Phillipine languages, 2009), Bossong (typology, syntax in Tupi-Guarani, 2009), Swiggers (Delaware, 2009), Rojas (Adjective in Zapotec, 2009), , Zwartjes (Aspect and Tense in Bantu, 2009c)</p> <p>Pharo (2009)</p> <p>James (2000), Máynez (2002), Smith-Stark (2003), Yáñez (2004), Villavicencio (2006b), Hernández (2006), Villavicencio (2009), Zwartjes et al. (2009), García-Medall (2010) Fernández Rodríguez (2011), Wolff (2011), Fernandez Rodríguez (2012),</p> <p>Ridruejo (2007), Winkler (2007) Flores Farfán (Nahuatl, 2007, 2009, 2010), Merma Molina (Quechua, 2009), Dakin (Nahuatl, 2010), Zwartjes & Woidich (2012)</p>
<p>3. Pictographic script</p>	<p>Romero Frizzi (2003), Rodríguez Cano (2004), Arzápalo Marín (2005), Yáñez (2010)</p>
<p>4. Methods of field work, education, formation</p>	<p>Lourido Díaz (2006)³⁸, Villoria & Villoria (2012)</p>
<p>5. Theory</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Meta-linguistic innovations – Reconstruction of language theory – Translation – Influences, Nebrija, Alvares, Caramuel y Lobkowitz, Calepino, etc. 	<p>Ridruejo (2005), Zwartjes (2011a: 14–17), Ridruejo (2006) Ridruejo (2011)</p> <p>Rafael (2001), Aarvig Paulsen (2004), Zimmermann (2005), Kishimoto (2006)</p> <p><u>Nebrija</u>: Esparza Torres (2007), Pacheco Ávila (2008)</p> <p><u>Álvares</u>: Zwartjes (2002), Ponce de León (2002), Ponce de León (2003), Pandžić (2005)</p> <p><u>Caramuel y Lobkowitz</u>: Ridruejo (2004), Paternicò (2008).</p>

³⁸ Zimmermann (ibid.) mentions in his table López-Austin (1974) who describes the questionnaires of Sahagún. Lourido Díaz (2006) gives an overview of the teaching practices of the Franciscans in the Middle East. For the education of Jesuits in Europe, see Grendler (1989: 363–390).

–Missionaries’ attitudes towards languages and language variation	<u>Calepino</u> : Kishimoto (2005), Villavicencio (2006b) Levi (2009), Zwartjes (2011a: 10–14), Zwartjes & Woidich (2012)
6. Historical sources, etc., non-linguistic sources	Máynez (2002), Gonçalves & Murokawa (2009)
7. Exchange of ideas, specific features of each religious order, etc. Reception (of Mexican works in the Philippines)	Koerner (2004), Lourido Díaz (2005), Ridruejo (2005), Sueiro Justel (2005), Ridruejo (2007), Sueiro Justel (2007), García-Medall (2007), James (2007) Ridruejo (2003) García-Medall (2009b)
8. Grammaticalisation, standardization	Freire & Rosa (2003), Freire (2004), Brevia-Claramonte (2008), Rodríguez-Alcalá & Horta Nunes (2008), Smith Stark (2010)
9. Reception of missionary works – in Europe – In Latin America (19th century)	Brevia Claramonte (1999a) Zwartjes (2011b and c) Cifuentes (2002)
10. Periodisation	
11. Comparison between Protestants and Catholic traditions	Gray (2000)

Grammars and dictionaries which have not been reprinted³⁹

Arabic: Cañes 1775, Cavallero & Encarnación 1709, Cavallero & Encarnación 1710, Aquila 1650, Germanus 1639, Germanus 1640, Guadagnoli 1642, Martelottus 1620, Obicini 1631, Valle Flemmarum 1687, Baptista 1774, de Sousa 1795.

Aymara: Bertonio 1603a, Bertonio 1603b, Bertonio 1612, Torres Rubio 1616

Bengali: Assumpçam 1743

Chinese (Southern Min, chiochio/ Zhāngzhōu/ lengua sangleya): Chirino 1604, Nieva c.1600–1650, Rodriguez (18th century).

³⁹ This list is far from comprehensive. For reasons of space, a huge great number of sources, particularly from the Philippines have not been included here. See for more details Sueiro Justel (2003). For the *Propaganda Fide* works written in Latin see De Clerq, Swiggers & van Tongerloo (1996) and for the grammars of European languages see Auroux (1992b: 53–56). See also Marsden (1796). Not included are most works composed in Latin (Georgian, Albanese, Ethiopian, Coptic, Persian, etc.) and grammars written in French, English, Dutch, Danish, etc. The extant grammars and dictionaries are of course a small part of what has been produced in the colonial period. I refer to Foertsch’s (1998a: 61–72) tables of languages studied by the Jesuits, 34 in Asia, excluding South-East Asia, 32 in South-East Asia, 32 in Africa, 46 in North and Meso-America and 59 in South America. Wendt (1998) and Foertsch (1998) used mainly Streit & Dindinger’s (1916–1974) *Bibliotheca Missionum* and the *Monumenta Missionum Societatis Iesu* as their source (cf. Schlieben-Lange 1996b: 40–45).

Chiquitano: (Anonymous 1718)⁴⁰
 Gran Chaco: Lule and Tonocoté: Machoni 1732⁴¹ (several sources)⁴²
 Greek (colloquial, Cypriotic): Fuentes 1775
 Greenlandic: Egede 1760
 Guarani: Pretovio (=Restivo) 1696
 Hindi: Anonymous 1778a
 Ilocan: Vivar (Bibar) c.1765
 Kikongo: Brusciotto 1659
 Konkani (Canarim): Esteuaõ (Stephens) 1640
 Marastta: Anonymous 1778b
 Mixe: Quintana 1733
 Mochica: Carrera 1644
 Morocosí: Anonymous 1699
 Nahuatl: ⁴³ Ávila 1717, Aldama y Guevara 1754, Cortés y Zedeño 1765, Galdo
 Guzmán 1642, Pérez 1713, Vetancurt 1673
 Pampango: Bergaño 1729, Coronel 1621
 Pangasinán: López, A. 1690
 Pukina, Mochica, etc.: Oré 1607
 Quechua: Anonymous 1733, Roxo Mexia 1648
 Sambal (also Zambal): Anonymous 1601
 Sami: Leem 1748
 Sena: Anonymous (17th century)
 Sinhalese: Rüell 1700
 Tagalog: San Buenaventura 1613, Magdalena 1679, San Augustin 1787[1703],
 de los Santos 1794[1703]
 Tarahumara: Tellechea 1826

⁴⁰ Not consulted. The *Arte de la lengua Chiquita* and the *Bocabulario* are in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris (Américain 19 and 20). According to Falkinger (2006), there exist anonymous dictionaries (Archivo de Concepción). Two Jesuits wrote grammars of chiquito/chiquitano: Joaquin Camaño (Biblioteka Jagiellonska, Krakau) and Ignacio Chomé (1760, Universidad Mayor de San Andrés, Biblioteca Central).

⁴¹ Digital version on: <http://archive.org/stream/arteyvocabulario00mach#page/n3/mode/2up>

⁴² Klein & Braunstein (2003) mention descriptions of several languages of the Gran Chaco, most belonging to the Guaykuran family, such as Abipón and Toba by Alonso de Bárcena (late 16th cent.), Mbayá/Eyiguayegi (José Sanchez Labrador, 1760), Mocoví (Florian Paucke, mid 18th cent), Abipón (Martin Dobrizhoffer, 1784), and others to smaller families, such as Zamuco (Ignacio Chomé, mid 18th cent., Zamuco family), Lengua (Amancio González, late 18th cent. Mascoy family), and Vilela (Juan Pelleschi, late 19th cent. Lule-Vilela family). A monograph covering the sources from this region has still to be written.

⁴³ Many works are available on Clásicos Tavera (cd-rom), but most still wait for being republished with accompanying introduction or study.

Tzeldal: Ara (c.1571)

Tupi (língua geral): Anonymous. 1750, Figueira 1621

Turkish: Romero 1799

Vietnamese: Rhodes 1651

Xebero: Anonymous manuscript, (to be published by Alexander-Bakkerus [in preparation])

10. *Conclusion*

As we have demonstrated, there is no need to repeat that the historiography of missionary linguistics has been neglected. International Conferences have been organized, monographs on specific tradition are available now, and several projects aim at the diffusion and digitalization of missionary sources. Nevertheless, much work has still to be done. Particularly the publication of a great number of missionary sources is very much needed, particularly those which are only extant in the form of manuscripts in libraries all over the world. International collaboration is very much welcome. It will be highly interesting to combine several existing digitalization projects and individual projects of scholars working on data bases, with the aim to compile a world-wide compilation of all the sources available, accompanied by a critical bibliography which enables the researchers to search on a specific meta-language, language described, author, period, religious order, country, region, grammatical terminology, or references to other sources.

The missionary linguists' contribution to the study of language is acknowledged today, but attitudes still need to change further and much research still needs to be done. It has been surprising that contributions on the historiography of linguistics are still under-represented outside the Missionary Linguistics conferences, and we hope to have been able to suggest several 'additional research topics' in order to inspire those scholars of the Societies of the Historiography of Linguistics to make more advances in this fascinating field of research.

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⁴⁴ – – indicates the omission of the name of the author, avoiding repetitions. I decided to do this since many old editions do only have the name somewhere in the middle of the title, and when arranged alphabetically, I extract the name from the title, leaving an empty trace indicated with – –.

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⁴⁵ In the colophon we read that the work was finished in 1710.

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SUMMARY

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