
SETTLING THE LANGUAGE

Dictionaries and Language Change,
1490 to Today

Curated and Written by Grant Hurley

Featuring Dictionaries from the
H. Rocke Robertson Collection

Rare Books and Special Collections,
University of British Columbia

June 3 - August 15, 2015



This exhibition is given in recognition of the

DICTIONARY SOCIETY OF NORTH
AMERICA

and

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH
LANGUAGE

conferences held at the
UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

on the traditional, ancestral and unceded
territory of the hənq̓əmínəm̓ speaking

MUSQUEAM PEOPLE

June 5-7, 2015.



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INTRODUCTION.

When I started examining the dictionaries in the H. Rocke Robertson collection at Rare Books and Special Collections in preparation for this exhibition, I wanted to bring out the tensions and debates between the dictionaries in the collection by focusing attention on the greatest hits of lexicography and the lesser-known items in the collection. I was attracted to the classic issues of language purity, standardization and prescriptivism in the field as represented by dictionaries and wished to draw these issues across the water from the traditional language centres of England and France to a selection of dictionaries recording the Indigenous languages of Canada and the United States.

In the middle of my preparations, I took a trip to the island of Maui in Hawaii generously sponsored by my partner Christina in celebration of my upcoming graduation. We visited the former whaling town of Lahaina, once Hawaii's capital and centre of the whaling industry in the 1800s. During our visit we drove to the Hale Pa'i Museum, the site of the first printing press on Maui and the first newspaper on the islands called *Ka Lama Hawaii* (1834). Nestled up in the hills above the town, the print shop houses a replica of the original Ramage press imported by Protestant missionaries that was used to print many books, periodicals, maps and currency as part of the Lahainaluna Seminary School. Among the items featured was Lorrin Andrews' *A Vocabulary of Words in the Hawaiian Language* printed by the School in 1836, and the *Dictionary of the Hawaiian Language* printed in Honolulu by Henry M. Whitney in 1865. Andrews was the founder of the School and one of the first American missionaries to arrive on the islands.

As I travelled around Maui, it dawned on me that all of the spellings of the Hawaiian words, personal names, places and street names used by Hawaiians in conversation and print had been determined by missionaries like Andrews, who standardized Hawaiian orthography using Latin script in 1829. Though the spoken Hawaiian language had preceded the missionaries by centuries, the particular worldviews, biases, prejudices of the missionaries combined with their need to print using Latin type on an old Ramage press, also settled or fixed the language in such a way that it is used almost identically today. Native Hawaiians took advantage of their written language to

commit oral tales to printed record. David Malo, one of the seminary's first students and an important early Hawaiian scholar, participated in the production of *Mooleo Hawaii*, a classic text of Hawaiian history and traditions published by the School in 1838. At the same time, missionaries brought English to the Islands, and with the language came business interests that led to Hawaii's violent annexation to the United States in 1896. Two years later, the teaching and speaking of Hawaiian was banned in public schools. Today, the Hawaiian language is a source of identity for native Hawaiians as they re-learn their language and re-establish its use in daily life, and the early dictionaries of the language become the sourcebooks of the future.

These patterns are not unique. Indigenous communities in North America have undergone almost identical stresses on their languages, some of which are no longer spoken or severely threatened. Language as represented by dictionaries, grammars and other materials record identities by complementing, contradicting and reforming spoken language and memory. They are source texts of a culture's wisdom and knowledge, from whatever part of the linguistic tree the leaf may grow. Dictionaries are not value-neutral, and certainly not in relation to the development of the global languages of English and French, as the fighting words of dictionary authors over centuries attests. Their creation and circulation has material consequences for those whose language they represent, or for those whose languages face erasure.

This exhibit celebrates the many forms of dictionaries, from early Latin and polyglot dictionaries to the vital materials for Indigenous language revitalization, which all work in curious and contradictory ways to both fix, or settle a language, but also in discourse with one another to move the language about, for good and ill, and encourage change. Brought together by the immense work of H. Rocke Robertson and other donors to RBSC's collections, I hope you enjoy the complicated and fascinating tales these texts tell us about our languages, identities, and ancestors.

Grant Hurley
June 2015

CASE A. La Belle Langue: FRENCH DICTIONARIES.

WHILE English commentators such as Jonathan Swift and John Quincy Adams occasionally longed for their own English language academy like that of the French, the first dictionary of l'Académie Française stoked a fiery debate around the purity of the French language within France. Founded in 1635 by the charge of Cardinal Richelieu with the explicit aim of “donner des règles certaines à notre langue, et à la rendre pure, éloquent, et capable de traiter les arts et les sciences,” the Académie struggled to produce its dictionary according to these high standards (qtd. in Robertson 3). Work began in 1639, and by 1689 a preliminary issue of entries from A to N was completed. A complete first edition was finally produced in 1694 (item A1). Meanwhile, the Académie found a competitor in one of its own members: Antoine Furetière. Frustrated by the slow progress of his colleagues, he released his own preliminary sheets in 1684, much to the consternation of the Académie, who publicly accused him of plagiarism. His work would finally be posthumously published in 1690 (item A2). In comparison to the Académie, Furetière's work was groundbreaking. Rather than organize words by their roots, which readers of *Le Dictionnaire de L'Académie Française* found confusing, Furetière organized words alphabetically, included technical terms in common use, and provided comprehensive references for etymology and his sources.

In French Canada, similar debates were transplanted to Québec during the nineteenth century around maintaining French language, and therefore identity, in Canada. The chief concern of authors such as Arthur Buies (A5) and Raoul Rinfret (A7) was that French in Canada was being constantly eroded by the introduction of English words to the language. These fears were commonly expressed as English incursion into the territory of Québec via “chemins de fer” (railroads). Buies opposed the joining of Québec to Canada for his part, though he was comfortable with maintaining Québécois French as it then existed, while Rinfret argued nothing less than returning to the French as it was spoken in France, for fear that any leeway given would erode the language completely. In contrast, journalist Sylva Clapin argues in his *Dictionnaire* (A6) that language identity is explicitly connected with regional terms and borrowings from English and Indigenous languages, and these should be the source of a common identity.

Back in France, many dictionaries of the late eighteenth and nineteenth century, in addition to the encyclopaedic and detailed work of the dictionaries produced by Pierre Larousse and Émile Littré during the 1850s and 1870s, focused on the different dialects, slang words, and separate languages spoken by French speakers within France and globally. Dictionaries such as the anonymous *Dictionnaire du Bas-Langage* (1808) and Alfred Delvau's *Dictionnaire de la Langue Verte* (1866) treated slang within Paris, and *Dictionnaire Languedocien* (1756, A4) and *Les Acadiens Louisianais et Leur Parler* (1932, item A8) documented the many versions of French outside of the capital. Though the work of the Académie still holds sway today, the many contributors to the map of global French continue to challenge the politics of purity.

A1. Académie Française. *Le Dictionnaire de L'Académie Française*. Paris: Jean Baptiste Coignard, 1694. 40 cm. 2 v.

RBSC PE25 .R62 V. 1

Entries: 20,000. First edition. Engraved illustrations by J.B. Corneille.

The dictionary of the Académie Française is something of the urtext of this exhibition. The example it set in its work towards the codification of the French language will be cited again and again, both favorably and negatively, by other dictionary-makers. Though the Académie was not the first national organization to concern itself with prescribing language (the Italian Accademia della Crusca was founded earlier in 1583), they were arguably the most influential in their search for purity.

From the preface: “On dira peut-estre qu'on ne peut jamais s'asseurer qu'une Langue vivante soit parvenuë à sa dernière perfection; Mais ce n'a pas esté le sentiment de Ciceron, qui après avoir fait de longues reflexions sur cette matiere, n'a pas fait difficulté d'avancer que de son temps la Langue Latine estoit arrivée à un degré d'excellence où l'on ne pouvoit rien adjouster. Nous voyons qu'il ne s'est pas trompé, & peut-estre n'aura-t-on pas moins de raison de penser la mesme chose en faveur de la Langue Françoisé” (para. 1).

“Principe. s. m. Première cause. En ce sens il ne convient qu'à Dieu seul. *Dieu est le principe, le premier principe de toutes choses. Dieu est le principe de tout bien, le souverain principe, c'est le principe par lequel tout est produit, par lequel tout se meut.* ... Dans les Arts on appelle, *Principes*, Les premiers preceptes, les premières regles des Arts. *Il faut sçavoir au moins les principes des beaux Arts. il veut parler d'un Art dont il n'a pas seulement les principes.*”

A2. Furetière, Antoine. *Dictionnaire Universel*. La Haye et a Rotterdam: Arnout & Reinier Leers, 1690. 38 cm. 3 v.

RBSC PE25 .R62 V. 152

Entries: 40,000. First edition.

Posthumously published in 1690, the anonymous preface is attributed to philosopher and author Pierre Bayle, himself author of the *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* (1697). Seven pages in, he finally tackles Furetière's conflict with the Académie:

“On ne croit pas se tromper, si l'on s'imagine que le Lecteur attend icy avec quelque forte d'impatience, qu'on luy dise un mot touchant le Dictionnaire de L'Académie Françoisé. On va donc dire, qu'on ne pretend point faire de tort à L'Ouvrage de ce Corps Illustre, en publiant celui-ci. Ce sont deux Dictionnaires de différent ordre ... quel es le bu du Dictionnaire de l'Académie? C'est de fixer les beaux esprits qui ont un Panegyrique à faire, une piece de Theatre, une Ode, une Traduction, une Histoire, un Traité de Morale, ou tels autres beaux livres; c'est dis-je, de les fixer, lors qu'ils ne savent pas bien si un mot est du bel usage, s'il est assez noble dans une telle circonstance, ou si une certain expression n'a rien de defectueux” whereas Furetière's work was intended for writers “employe en parlant de Navigation, de Finance, de Commerce, d'Arts liberaux, ou mechaniques, & de telles autres choses” (p. 7 of the Preface).

“PRINCIPE. s.m. Le commencement, la source, l'origine de quelque chose. Dieu n'a point de *principe*, il est luy-mesme son *principe* & sa fin ... Se dit aussi de mouvement, de l'action qui cause les generations & les corruptions, qui change l'etre des choses. Le coeur est le *principe* de la vie.”

A3. Léon de Saint-Jean, Père. *La Politesse de la Langue Françoise Pour Parler Purement et Ecrire Nettement*. Lyon: V. Moulu, 1668. 15 cm. 1 v.

RBSC PC2070 .L4
Third edition.

Leon de Saint-Jean (1600-1671) was a Carmelite priest. He wrote extensively on Catholic theology, compiled an encyclopaedia, and ministered to Cardinal Richelieu during his final hours. *La Politesse* is an excellent example of an early French grammar and style guide. It includes a list of words with accompanying commentary on grammar and usage and an essay on French orthography. A small inscription on the inside cover records the book as for “L’usage des élèves de la Congregation de Notre-Dame,” which probably refers to the religious community devoted to the education of young girls founded in 1597 by Alix Le Clerc. Saint Marguerite Bourgeoys also established the Congregation de Notre-Dame de Montreal in 1658, one of the earliest schools in North America.

From the preface: “La parole, sille puî-naye de la raison, est sans doute le plus visible caractere, qui distingue les Hommes d’avec les Bêtes. Mais parler avec pureté; c’est ce qui fait *la difference* des Sages & les Ignorans, des Honetes Gens & du vulgaire” (1). Afterwards he worries that France is falling “à sa ruine,” and that the French language is destined for the same fate unless rules are established and speakers and writers observe “propriété, pureté, & elegance” by following the laws of grammar, dialect, and rhetoric; the rules of usage; and by observing “l’analogie” between French, Latin, Spanish and Italian (4-6).

A4. Boissier de Sauvages, Pierre-Augustin. *Dictionnaire Languedocien-Français*. Alais: J. Martin, 1820. 21 cm. 2 v.

RBSC PC3446 .S3
Third edition.

The lexicographer and naturalist Pierre-Augustin Boissier de Sauvages (1710-1795) first published this dictionary of the language spoken by the residents of the Languedoc region of southern France in 1756. Known generally as Occitan across Spain and Italy, the French version of the language includes many dialects, such as Provençal and Gascon. As de Sauvages notes in his preface, the work of the dictionary would have been too lengthy to include every single variation: “y en ayant beaucoup qui changent d’une ville à l’autre et quelquefois beaucoup plus près, il eut fallu recueillir les termes des plus petits villages et set jeter dans des détails infinis ... nous pouvons assurer que, quoique ce recueil ne contienne qu’un choix des termes de sept ou huit villes des principaux cantons du haut et du bas Languedoc et de Cevennes, il pourra cependant servir aux habitans du reste de la Province et des Provinces voisines” (xv).

“Règlo , s. f. Règle, instrument allongé, plat ou carré, en bois ou en métal, servant en traces les linges droites, et par extension, principe, maxime, loi; bon ordre, exempel, modèle, préceptes; statuts d’un ordre religieux.”

A5. Buies, Arthur. *Anglicismes et Canadianismes*. Québec: C. Darveau, 1888. 18 cm. 1 v.

RBSC PC3608 .B8

First Edition.

Buies (1840-1901) was an active Québec journalist who, among other things, advocated for educational reform in the Province and opposed Québec joining Canada. In the “Avant-Propos” Buies warns, “Anglicismes et canadianismes dont notre language et notre style fourmillent au point d’en perdre presque entièrement ... cela constitue pour notre nationalité un péril mortel” (3). Later, in his column of January 14, 1888, he comments, “Nous sommes infestés par l’anglicisme; l’anglicisme nous déborde, nous inonde, nous défigure et nous denature” (18). These comments are followed by a lengthy account of words, phrases and grammatical constructions that Buies sees as corrupt. Many of them are words derived from English, like “connexion” (24) or phrases grammatically rendered as in English, as in “tomber en amour” for “fall in love” versus “tomber amoureux” (44). He concludes by complaining that dictionaries do not really assist speakers in learning the language: “pour se servir de avec fruit des dictionnaires, il faut posséder la génie due la langue” (105).

A6. Clapin, Sylva. *Dictionnaire Canadien-Français*. Montréal: Beauchemin, 1894. 23 cm. 1 v.

UBC Koerner Library PC3628 .C6

First Edition.

Clapin’s dictionary is far less prescriptive than his contemporaries Buies and Rinfret: he values the unique features of Québécois French, including borrowings from English and First Nations languages, and this dictionary sets out to collect them all. Clapin (1853-1928) writes in the preface that those seeking absolutely purity based on “la langue de la bonne société moderne en France, surtout de celle de la bonne société de Paris ... ont dépasse le but et sont allés trop loin” (ix). At the same time, he is also invested in retaining the current state of the language. He does not want to see “tomber dans l’oubli un grand nombre de mots, qu’on ne trouve pas, il est vrai, dans le Dictionnaire de l’Académie, mais qui n’en sont pas moins, pour cela, essentiellement corrects au point de vue du génie de la langue et de la grammaire” (ix) but which would themselves be threatened by the incursion of English Canada. Note the descriptive approach of Clapin as opposed to the prescriptive tone of Raoul (A7) below in their definitions of the word “record.”

“Record, *s. m.*, de l’ang. *record*. Dossier, register, archives. Demeurer *de record*: Rester dans les archives. Mettre *de record*: Consigner aux archives.”

A7. Rinfret, Raoul. *Dictionnaire de nos Fautes Contre la Langue Français*. Montréal: Beauchemin, 1896. 20 cm. 1 v.

RBSC PC3608 .R5

First Edition.

Rinfret (1856-1926) was a civil engineer and Yukon goldseeker who seems to have also taken an active interest in the politics of the language. From the preface: “Il nous faut apprendre le français tel qu’il existe en France. Il ne peut être question pour nous de créer une langue spéciale ... Si nous commençons à nous écarter ... du véritable français, tel qu’il est parlé et compris de nos jours, en conservant nos archaïsmes, où nous arrêterons-nous?” (iii). The book comprises a dictionary containing the “faults” of word usage, spelling and pronunciation from “A” to “Voilà” and instructions on correct pronunciation and spelling.

“Record. – Est un ancien mot de jurisprudence. C’est un anglicisme de lui donner le sens de *register, archives, dossier*. Au lieu de *demeurer de record*, dites: *rester dans les archives*.”

A8. Ditchy, Jay K, ed. *Les Acadiens Louisianais et Leur Parler*. Paris: E. Droz, 1932. 26 cm. 1 v.

RBSC PC3680.U7 L73
First Edition.

This dictionary of Cajun French documents the incredible linguistic hybrid that gradually integrated between the Colonial French spoken in Colonial Louisiana and the language of the Acadians from the Maritime Provinces of Canada after thousands of Acadians were deported by the British from 1755-1765, and subsequently migrated to Louisiana in the 1780s.

From the preface: “L’acadien ... offre beaucoup de particularités à tous les égards. Le créole est du français transporté directement de France et gardé des contaminations par le soin qu’on a pris de parler correctement, par les excellentes écoles et académies où le français le plus pur était enseigné par les professeurs distingués, par le commerce ininterrompu avec la métropole et le fait qu’on envoyait beaucoup de jeunes gens en France faire leurs études. L’acadien, au contraire, est du français arrivé du Canada, ou il avait déjà subi certaines modifications, et auquel ont manqué des rapport continus avec la France” (10).

CASE B: Perfecting Use: Latin, Polyglot and Early ENGLISH DICTIONARIES.

THE tradition of English dictionaries follows the earlier, grand tradition of Latin and Greek lexicography, which itself was dates back to the earliest incarnations of recorded language in the cuneiform word lists of Mesopotamia. As Latin and French were the languages of religion and scholarship in England during the Middle Ages to the fifteenth century, word lists and translation dictionaries for Latin and French were the norm. Since English was still considered a “vulgar tongue,” debates about standardizing the language or retaining its “purity” were just beginning, particularly in desires to standardize spelling. William Bullokar published a 1580 work specifying a plan to reform English spelling, including the idea that “A dictionary and grammar may stay our speech in a perfect use for euer,” reflecting the same intentions of the French

Académie. For now, dictionaries were still describing a “Tongue [that] daily changes habit,” as Thomas Blount could claim in *Glossographia* (1656, B4).

The works in this case are all transitional in the sense in that they represent the path that English dictionaries took from Latin dictionaries onwards. Latin is represented by the later work of Italian humanist Junianus Maius (B1), whose dictionary inherits the ancient work of grammarians such as Marcus Terentius Varro (116-27 BC) and the Greek *Suda* or *Souda*, a collaborative work of unknown authorship produced during the tenth century. The incredibly influential Ambrosius Calepinus (or Calepino/Calepine) took up some of Maius’ work, among many others, in the preparation of his wildly popular *Dictionary* (B2) which first appeared in 1502. The first editions were in Latin only, but the work soon came to include many different languages as it was republished again and again into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Calepine is commonly cited as the forebear of English lexicography for his meticulous citation of sources, which acted as a “bridge to the past” between Latin and English as English slowly became a language worth documenting (Green 52).

As Calepine’s dictionary expanded in its inclusion of languages, it resembled the Latin-English and polyglot (multilingual) dictionaries being produced in England from the 1570s on to assist scholars in reading and translating works into the English vernacular, including Robert Estienne and John Vernon’s *Dictionary* (1552), the revised *Abecedarium Anglico-Latinum* (1572) by John Higgins, and Thomas Cooper’s monumental *Thesaurus Linguae Romanae et Britannicae* (1565). John Baret (B3) joined these ranks with his English, Latin and French *Alvearie* in 1573. His work announced the inclusion of “hard words,” that is, words that would be unknown to general readers, rather than a complete list of all words in the language. Many English dictionaries would use the same model into the next century, including Robert Cawdrey’s *A Table Alphabeticall* (1604), the first standalone English dictionary, which clocks in at an underwhelming 2500 headwords. Later contributors Thomas Blount (B4) and Edward Phillips (B5) might be considered the “climax” of hard word dictionaries anticipating the development of the more comprehensive dictionaries to come.

B1. Maius, Junianus. *De Priscorum Proprietate Verborum*. [Venice]: Ioannes Uercellensis [Joannes Rubeus Vercellensis], 1490. 33 cm. 1 v.

RBSC PE25 .R62 V. 231.

Entries: 23,000. Probably the sixth edition. Bound in the original wooden boards. The leather binding is contemporary.

This dictionary of Latin (roughly translated title: *The Ancient Property of Words*) was intended to restore the proper use of the language. Maius (also referred to as Giuniano Maio) taught at Naples University and was the personal tutor to the aristocratic Neapolitan families. The dictionary has long been forgotten, except that parts of it were taken up Calepine in the compilation of his extensive work (B2).

B2. Calepinus, Ambrosius. *Dictionum Latinarum & Graecarum Interpres*. Hagenoæ [i.e. Haguenau, France] : Impressi per Thomam Anshelmum Badensem, 1521. 30 cm. 1 v.

RBSC PE25 .R62 V. 81.
Entries: 20,000.

This is a later edition of Calepine's famous Latin dictionary first published in 1502. His work was enormously popular, running into 211 editions between 1502 and 1779, and to such an extent that "Calepine" became a synonym for "dictionary." For his part, the monk went blind from the effort to compile it, but his work set the basis for the many dictionaries that would follow for its careful attention to sources, etymology and pronunciation.

B3. Baret, John. *An Alvearie or Triple Dictionarie in Englishe, Latin, and French*. London: Henry Denham, 1573. 28 cm. 1 v.

RBSC PE25 .R62 V. 45.
Entries: 6,100. First edition.
Annotated with the names of the students who contributed to the work

John Baret's *Alvearie* is an excellent example of a polyglot dictionary commonly produced prior to English-English dictionaries. The first edition is in English, Latin and French; Greek was added in the 1580 edition. Baret (d. 1580) was a teacher. As writes in the preface to the *Alvearie*, "about eyghteene yeares agoe, having pupils at Cambridge studious of the Latin tongue, I vsed them often to write epistles and themes together, and daily to translate some peece of English into Latin, for the more speedy and easie attaining of the same. And after we had a little begunne, perceyuing what great trouble it was to come running to mee for euery word they missed ... I appoynted them certaine leaues of the same booke euery day to write the English before the Latin ... for the more ready finding them againe at their need" (para. 1). Later, Baret explains that "Alvearie," which meant "beehive," refers to the work of his students, who were like "diligent Bees in gathering their wax and hony into their Hiue" (para. 1). Unfortunately this early synonym for "dictionary" never caught on. Recently, booksellers George Koppelman and Daniel Wechsler have been arguing that Shakespeare relied heavily on Baret's work.

"657. A Principle, maxime, or general ground of any art. Axióma, ómatis, neut. gen. Principum, pij, n.g."

B4. Blount, Thomas. *Glossographia: or a Dictionary, Interpreting all Such Hard Words*. London: Thomas Newcomb, 1661. 18 cm. 1 v.

RBSC PE25 .R62 V. 51
Entries: 11,000. Second Edition.

Thomas Blount (1618–1679) first published this very comprehensive hard word dictionary in 1656. It includes many jargon terms from shopkeepers and traders, words "in the mouths of common people" and terms related to cookery and country affairs. It also offers etymologies, the

first of the English dictionaries to do so (Green 161). In the classic style of dictionary makers across time, Edward Philips (B5) would soon heavily plagiarize him.

From the preface: “In this design I met with two Objections; The first, that my labor would find no end; since our English Tongue daily changes habit; every fantastical Traveller and homebret Sciolist being at liberty, as to antiquate, and decry the old, so to coyn and innovate new Words ... Signifying that words in Common Tongues, like leaves, must of necessity have their buddings, their blossomings, their ripenings and their fallings ... This we grant, and confess it is impossible to keep Words of unlearned Tongues from falling and change in tract of time; which has even happened among the Latine writers themselves, when theirs was a spoken Tongue as ours now is ... So when any considerable Supplement of new English Words have legally pass'd the Mint and Test of our Virtuosi, the same liberty may be allowed this Word; not derogating at all from the use of it in the interim” (para. 26-27).

“*Standard* or *Estandard* (from the Fr. *Estandart*) an Ensign for Horsmen in War, and is commonly taken for that of the King, or Chief General. It is also used for the principal or standing measure of the King, to the scantling whereof, all the measures throughout the Land are, or ought to be framed.”

B5. Phillips, Edward. *The New World of English Words*. London: E. Tyler, 1671. 29 cm. 1 v.

RBSC PE25 .R62 V. 261

Entries: 14,400. Third Edition.

Edward Phillips' *A New World of Words* (1658) is distinguished as the first folio English dictionary. Like *Glossographia*, this is a hard word dictionary. And, his work is much like *Glossographia* in that many of the words here were borrowed directly from Blount. Blount would spill much public ink decrying Phillips through such publications as *A World of Errors Discovered in the New World of Words* (1673). Jonathan Green gives a great analysis of the case, arguing that despite the muddy issue of plagiarism, Phillips improved on the hard word tradition by including many more words in common use, therefore making the dictionary more useful to an audience of non-scholars. RBSC also has the first edition, but the lovely frontispiece was ripped out at some point, possibly by the family of the seventh Earle of Pembroke, its previous owner and Phillips' one time student.

Phillips' preface reveals his view of language as a set of representative signs: “The very Summe and Comprehension of all learning in general, is reducible to two grand Heads, *Words* and *Things*; and though the latter of these two be, by all men, without just cause, acknowledged the more solid and substantial part of learning; yet since, on the other side, it cannot be denied, but that without *Language* (which is, as it Were the *vehiculum*, or conveyancer of all good Arts) *Things* cannot well be expressed or published to the World, it must be necessarily granted, that the one is little lesse necessary, and an inseparable concomitant of the other” (para. 1).

“*Standard*, (*French*) the Chief ensign of an Army, belonging to the King, or General; also the standing measure of the King, or State, to which all other measures are framed.”

CASE C: Standardization and its Discontents: ENGLISH Heavyweights and Regional Lexicography.

IF the production of English dictionaries had a golden age, the period of the eighteenth century leading to the creation of the Oxford English Dictionary is probably the star candidate. Though computational lexicography may herald a second such era in the coming years, dictionary giants Samuel Johnson (C1) and Noah Webster (C3) produced correspondingly massive works recording thousands of words in the English language without the aid of computers, though the two could not have been more different in temperament. Johnson's tongue-and-cheek witticisms and faux self-deprecation make his dictionary a delight to read. As he writes in the *Plan of an English Dictionary* (1747) that preceded the work itself, "of all the candidates for literary praise, the unhappy lexicographer holds the lowest place" (2). Webster is frequently represented as a card-carrying member of the starched collar school of American religious Puritanism, the "cheerless loner" to Johnson's wit. His dictionary plays the part, as it is free of all slang and vulgar words, but his work launched the idea of a distinctly American English and remains a publishing force to this day. Despite their differences, both authors were interested in reforming aspects of the English language. Each of their prefaces recognizes the difficulties of standardization, but also promise that their works can be regarded as the new rule of law in the English languages.

The great size of the Johnson and Webster dictionaries did not prevent their reworking by subsequent word workers to produce very tiny dictionaries such as *The Little Lexicon*, an abridgement of Johnson's dictionary (and including a very flattering engraving of him opposite the title page) and *The Little Webster*. Miniature dictionaries were enormously popular for use in schoolrooms, for quick reference, and for travel, though the history of these objects as unique aspects of lexicographical and print culture remains to be written.

Flying in the face of national language standardization are several dictionaries invested in the dialects of England (C5), country and regional terms (C7), and the Welsh language (C6). The creation of these dictionaries resembles the same movement in France during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries towards examining the unique languages, dialects and usages in local and regional contexts. These works reveal something more than the "standard" English derived from the manner of speaking around London that slowly gained usage from the 1400s on to the nineteenth century to become the language of commerce, government and colonization. This case also includes the only early item in this exhibition written by a woman: Elizabeth Elstob's Anglo-Saxon grammar (C8). Her work reflects an interest in the roots of English when standard forms began to gain prominence: as regional markers disappeared into what David Crystal calls a "supra-regional" language such that "you cannot tell which part of the country it comes from," a related curiosity about the sources behind English emerged from authors like Elstob (353).

C1. Johnson, Samuel. *Dictionary of the English Language*. London: W. Strahan for J. and P. Knapton; T. and T. Longman; C. Hitch and L. Hawes; A. Millar, and R. and J. Dodsley, 1755. 41 cm. 2 v.

RBSC PE25 .R62 V. 179

Entries: 39,000. First edition.

Johnson claims in the 1747 *Plan* for his dictionary that the Académie had initially restricted itself too much; he did not want to “deprive the book of its chief use by scrupulous distinctions” between words used in different contexts. As a result, his dictionary is highly inclusive of common and slang terms (6). However, his writing in the *Plan* struggles with both the desire to reform the language, but also allow it to adapt to changing use. He writes that “inconstancy is in every case a mark of weakness, it will add nothing to the reputation of our tongue” but also remarks that “though art may sometimes prolong their duration, it will rarely give them perpetuity ... language is the work of man, of a being from whom permanence and stability cannot be derived” (10, 18). The preface to the dictionary itself contains the same tension. Johnson’s “dual perspective” is in large part responsible for the success of his dictionary, and his approach would directly influence the development of the Oxford English Dictionary, with its careful descriptive attention to actual usage, almost a century later.

Here is the man himself from the Preface: “When I took the first survey of my undertaking, I found our speech copious without order, and energetick without rules: wherever I turned my view, there was perplexity to be disentangled, and confusion to be regulated; choice was to be made out of boundless variety, without any established principle of selection; adulterations were to be detected, without a settled test of purity; and modes of expression to be rejected or received, without the suffrages of any writers of classical reputation or acknowledged authority” (p. 1 of the preface). Johnson also releases himself from some of this responsibility in the following section: “When we see men grow old and die at a certain time one after another ... we laugh at the elixir that promises to prolong life to a thousand years; and with equal justice may the lexicographer be derided, who being able to produce no example of a nation that has preserved their words and phrases from mutability, shall imagine that his dictionary can embalm his language, and secure it from corruption and decay” (p. 9 of the preface).

“STA’NDARD. *n.f.* [*estendart*, French.] ... 2. [from *stand.*] That which is of undoubted authority; that which is the test of things of the same kind. ... 3. That which has been tried by the proper test. ‘The English tongue, if refined to a certain *standard*, perhaps might be fixed for ever.’ *Swift.*”

C2. Maunder, Samuel. *The Little Lexicon, or, Multum in Parvo of the English Language*. London, Printed for the proprietor [by John Leighton], 1838. 8 cm. 1 v.

RBSC PE1628 .M3

Fifth edition.

Maunder (1785-1849) was a minor British author of many reference works. “Multum in parvo” translates roughly to “a great deal in a small space.” He writes with some hyperbole in the preface that “he has spared no pains in the endeavour to produce what must be considered a

desideratum - the greatest mass of useful information, in the smallest compass that ever yet appeared. That its size *might* have been still more diminutive, will not be denied; but to have made it so, one of its most important features would have been destroyed - its legibility” (2, emphasis in original).

“Stan'dard, s. an ensign in war; a fixed weight; a measure; undoubted authority.”

C3. Webster, Noah. *An American Dictionary of the English Language*. New York: S. Converse; New Haven: printed by Hezekiah Howe, 1828. 30 cm. 2 v.

RBSC PE25 .R62 V. 329

Entries: 66,700. First edition.

Like Johnson, Webster also desired to hit upon the “true principles of the language ... to purify it from some palpable errors, and reduce the number of its anomalies,” therefore rescuing it from “the mischievous influence of sciolists and that dabbling spirit of innovation which is perpetually disturbing its settled usages and filling it with anomalies” (page 1 of the preface). However, his emphasis on reflecting the usage of American authors and integrating American words and usage (though this integration was not as extensive as his preface implies) shows him to be both a harsh legislator of the language and open to its new possibilities.

Webster’s reading of the English language is filtered through the idea that language was the “immediate gift of God,” as he writes in his introduction, which was handed down by Noah and his sons to the ancient nations of the world (para. 5). As a result, his etymological sources were a disaster and were later revised by his publishers. Nevertheless, his response to the need for a dictionary reflecting American usage put his work in standard use across the nation.

From the preface: “It is not only important, but, in a degree necessary, that the people of this country, should have an American Dictionary of the English Language; for, although the body of the language is the same as in England, and it is desirable to perpetuate that sameness, yet some differences must exist. Language is the expression of ideas; and if the people of one country cannot preserve an identity of ideas, they cannot retain an identity of language” (page 2 of the preface).

“Standard: **3**. That which is established as a rule or model, by the authority of public opinion, or by respectable opinions, or by custom or general consent; as writings which are admitted to be the *standard* of style and taste. Homer’s Iliad is the *standard* of heroic poetry. Demosthenes and Cicero are the *standards* of oratory. Of modern eloquence, we have an excellent *standard* in the speeches of lord Chatham. Addison’s writings furnish a good *standard* of pure, chaste and elegant English style. It is not an easy thing to erect a *standard* of taste.”

C4. Jacob, Gerhard, ed. *The Little Webster*. New York : Miniature Dictionary Publishers, [1935]. Liliput dictionary series. 6 cm. 1 v.

RBSC PE1628 .W4 J32

Entries: 18,000.

This incredibly tiny dictionary is even more of a novelty for its size than *The Little Lexicon* (C2). I cannot find any information on its compiler, though he may be the same person as Ernst Gerhard Jacob, a German academic active during the 1930s to the 1950s. The dictionary contains extremely short definitions consisting mostly of synonyms for each usage. For example, “standard” is “test; model; flag.”

C5. Ray, John. *A Collection of English Words Not Generally Used*. London: H. Bruges for Tho. Burrell, 1674. 15 cm. 1 v.

RBSC PE25 .R62 V. 274.

Entries: 750. First edition.

John Ray (1627-1705) was a British naturalist and theologian. This work is considered the first published English dialect dictionary. It documents many regional terms from the North and South of England, plus lists of birds, fishes, and mining and metals terms. Ray clearly had some sympathies with the people from whom these words were collected and his work stands in opposition to the reformist attitudes of lexicographers like Benjamin Martin to come (C9).

From the preface: “I could not but take notice of the difference of Dialect and variety of local words ... in divers Counties ... I thought it might be worth the while to make a Collection of such words for my own use, and began first to set down those that occurred to me in common discourse. But making short staves in particular places, and conversing but with few persons, I found that what I could take notice of my self would be but an inconsiderable part of what were in use among the vulgar. Therefore I desired my friends and acquaintance living in several Countreys to communicate to me what they had observed each of their own Countrey words, or should afterwards gather up out of the mouths of the people; which divers of them accordingly did” (para. 1).

“A *Char*: a particular business or taske, from the word *charge*. *That Char is chard &c.* That business is dispatcht. I have a little *Char* for you, &c.,” from the section “North Countrey Words.”

C6. Jones, Thomas. *The British Language in its Lustre, Or a Copious Dictionary of Welsh and English*. Shrewsbury: Stafford Pryse, 1777. 16 cm. 1 v.

RBSC PE25 .R62 V. 204

Originally published in 1688, this Welsh-English dictionary by the Welsh publisher and author Thomas Jones (1648-1713) begins with an incredible preface describing language (and the need to preserve it) as the centre of Welsh identity (then also called “Britains”):

“And thus it pleased the Almighty to deal with us the Britains; for these many ages hath eclipsed our Power, and corrupted our Language, and almost blotted us out of the Books of Records: We know that we are, and that we had a beginning ... We are now as happy as any Subjects in the three Kingdoms, and want nothing but the perfection of our Original Tongue, and for that want, we may thank our selves: We had not known the want of it, had we kept it when we had it: We

have made too much use of new fashions (in our Speaking) to retain our Mother Tongue, which might before now extirpate our Antiquity, had not some faithful Lovers of our Language planted small Pillars of this Nature, to support it in times past” (5-7).

“Teuthydd, a linguist, an interpreter.”

C7. *Dictionarium Rusticum & Urbanicum: Or, a Dictionary of All Sorts of Country Affairs.* London: for J. Nicholson, 1704. 20 cm. 1 v.

RBSC PE25 .R62 V. 37
Entries: 2,500

The title page of this anonymous dictionary of country words records that the book includes terms relating to everything from “The whole art of gardening,” to “The Gentleman’s recreation; or the Arts of Hunting, Hawking, Fishing, Fowling, Ferreting, Cock-Fighting, &c,” and “The preparing of all sorts of *English* Liquors, common Eatables and Drinkables,” among terms relating to trade and manufacturing. This book was formerly attributed to Nathan Bailey, known for his *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (1721), an important work used by Johnson that represented the language including taboo words and slang. It was also attributed John Worlidge, a popular writer on such topics as animal husbandry and cider.

I absolutely love the definition for “Wine”:

“*Emetick*. The Vertue hereof is to restore lost Appetite, and is very useful for all sick Horses, and being mixed with good purging Remedies, has admirable success, tho’ it never purges when it is given by it self, it promotes the Operation of Purgatives, by opening the passages, and sometimes provokes Urine very powerfully, when Nature stands in need of such Evacuations,” which is followed by a recipe recommending the combination of white wine or Claret with “the powder which will serve a whole Year without losing its Vertue.”

C8. Elstob, Elizabeth. *The Rudiments of Grammar for the English-Saxon Tongue.* London: W. Boyer, 1715. 22 cm. 1 v.

RBSC PE135 .E47
First edition.

The illustrated letter on the open page is a portrait of Elstob.

Elstob (1683-1756) is now considered an early feminist for her pioneering scholarship on the Anglo-Saxon language. The title page contains a wonderful quotation from “a Right Reverend Prelate to the Author” acknowledging Elstob’s position as an authority on language: “Our Earthly Possessions are truly enough called a PATRIMONY, as derived to us by the Industry of our FATHERS; but the language that we speak is our MOTHER-TONGUE; And who so proper to play the Criticks in this as the FEMALES.” Elstob herself makes a similar comment regarding her aim in her preface: “considering the Pleasure I myself have gained from this Original of our Mother Tongue, and that others of my own Sex, might be capable of the same Satisfaction: I resolv’d to give them the Rudiments of that Language in an English Dress” (ii).

**C9. Martin, Benjamin. *Lingua Britannica Reformata: Or, a New English Dictionary.*
London: for J. Hodges, S. Austen, J. Newbery, J. Ward ... and B. Collins, 1749. 22 cm.
1 v.**

RBSC PE25 .R62 V. 234
Entries: 25,000. First edition.

Lingua Britannica Reformata predates Johnson very slightly. Martin (1704-1782) was a teacher, scientist and microscope-maker whose dictionary Jonathon Green calls “Britain’s first response to the Académie’s project (216). His work reached for a Dictionary that could efficiently “recast the language” (216). Though Johnson very quickly surpassed him, Martin’s great contribution was gathering all homonyms under a single headword and numbering them to indicate different senses, a common feature of dictionaries today.

From the preface: “The Article of English Dictionaries especially has been so far from any thing of a Progressive Improvement, that it is manifestly retrograde, and sinks from its low Apex; from bad, to very bad indeed” (iv). Martin then sets out his principles for a “Genuine English Dictionary:” universality (“a collection of all the words in use”); etymology; orthography (“a person should always be able ... to see how every word is wrote or spelt, according to the current usage of the most approved and polite Writers of the Age”); orthoepy (“the true Method of spelling and pronouncing words”); and “A critical and accurate Enumeration and Distinction of the several Significations of each respective word” (v-viii).

“Sta’ndard, 1: the chief ensign of a royal army or fleet. 2 a tree in the open air. 3 the standing measure of the king, to the scantling whereof all the measures of the land ought to be framed. 4 model, or rule.”

CASE D: Iyá:qt [to change]: INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES in North America.

THE materials in this case have been placed at the end of the exhibition because they highlight and reflect back on everything featured so far. The history of language in Indigenous communities is one where an incredible diversity of languages and dialects has been nearly erased from the linguistic map of the continent by the colonization of English and French. Missionaries writing in the late nineteenth century worked to understand Indigenous languages as a method for effective conversion, in the act recording these languages for posterity. However, they also participated in language extermination through their support and administration of residential schools, the network of boarding schools created and operated for Indigenous students in the US and Canada from the 1890s until as late as the 1990s. Students were removed from their families by force and severely punished for speaking Indigenous languages at the schools. The prefaces in the early Cree and Mi’Kmaq dictionaries by featured here (D4 and D5) by turns admire Indigenous languages for their melody, depth and complexity, but note that their authors’ goals in learning the language were intended primarily for religious conversion. Despite the

problematic views they present, these dictionaries remain incredibly useful for Indigenous speakers as source texts for the words of their ancestors.

The revitalization of Indigenous languages through the vibrant energies of such Nations as the Musqueam people of the Vancouver region does much to unsettle the primacy of English in local, regional and national contexts. English is but one language among 32 Indigenous languages in the province of British Columbia alone, and one among over 60 languages in Canada. Collectively referred to as Halkomelem, this regional language is spoken in three distinct but mutually understandable dialects extending from Vancouver Island to the Fraser River: *hənqəminəm* (downriver, spoken at Musqueam and Tsawwassen, among others), *Halqeméylem* (upriver, spoken by the Stó:lō), and *Hul'q'umín'um'* (island, spoken by the Cowichan, among others). At Musqueam, pioneering elders such as Arnold Guerin Sr. laid the groundwork for *hənqəminəm* orthography that has since been refined and developed into teaching materials for children and adults alike, including an upcoming *hənqəminəm* dictionary mobile phone app.

The Pacific Northwest was also where a more holistic view of Indigenous languages occurred in Chinook, a trade jargon or pidgin that was spoken during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries from San Francisco up to the Sitka and many points inland by Indigenous communities and settlers of Japanese, Chinese, European and even Hawaiian descent. The language originated in inter-tribal communications prior to white settlement, and was taken up by settlers as a means of breaking down language barriers. Settlers in turn added their own words, including English, French and Cree terms, though the majority of words come from the Chinookan family of languages and from the Nuuchahnulth (Nookta) language of Vancouver Island. The fact that its use was widespread (up to 250,000 speakers at its height) has led some commentators such as George Lang, in his engaging history of the language, to suggest that Chinook offered an alternative moment of inter-cultural collaboration and “escape from the constraints of culture, at least for purposes at hand” before this trade language was superseded by English as the dominant language in the Pacific Northwest (7).

D1. Guerin, Arnold and J.V. Powell. *Hunqum'i'num'* Musqueam Language Book 1. Musqueam: Musqueam Band, 1975. 27 cm. 2 v.

RBSC PM1975 .G839

First edition.

Musqueam elder Arnold Guerin Sr. (1910-1987) was one of the early champions of Musqueam language revitalization. He wrote this instructional manual with Jay Powell, another pioneer of Indigenous languages in British Columbia during the 1970s and 80s. Trained as a linguist, Guerin had a strong understanding of *Hulqumín'um'* (the island dialect) from his youth on Vancouver Island. He developed an orthographic system in the 1970s based on the representational ability of a standard typewriter keyboard so that the language could be easily accessed and disseminated among speakers. His extensive card catalogue of *hənqəminəm* words has been preserved and transcribed at Musqueam.

From the preface titled “Introduction for the Musqueam student”: “Your language is one of the most important aspects of your identity as an Indian and as a Musqueam. It will soon be extinct unless something is done ... not extinct in 100 years, but probably within 40. ... These lessons were prepared to help you take back your culture” (para. 1-2).

D2. *Hənq̓əminəm* Alphabet Cards. Musqueam: Musqueam Indian Band Language and Culture Program, 2011. Illustrated by *χaleq̓* (Ian Campbell). 18 x 18 cm. 57 cards.

On loan from Musqueam courtesy of Jill Campbell

These illustrated cards give examples of fifty-seven sounds in *hənq̓əminəm*. The orthography was revised from Arnold Guerin’s work by using the North American Phonetic Alphabet (NAPA), itself based on the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), an effort to standardize language transcription internationally.

D3. Shaw, Patricia A. and Jill Campbell, in consultation with respected Musqueam elders. *hənq̓əminəm ct ce? / We’re going to speak hənq̓əminəm!* Book 1. Vancouver: Musqueam Indian Band & UBC FNLG, 2014. 28 cm. 3 v.

On loan from Musqueam courtesy of Jill Campbell

Dr. Patricia Shaw, founder of UBC’s First Nations Languages Program, and Jill Campbell, Manager, Musqueam Language and Culture Department at Musqueam, initially developed this language lesson book in 1999. The FNLG program was initiated in 1997 in recognition of the linguistic diversity of British Columbia and the need to support communities in language revitalization efforts. The book, including the reformed orthography based on Guerin’s initial work, is used in language courses at UBC and Musqueam and teaches the new speaker the sounds of the language and some basic expressions.

From the Introduction: “Human languages are complex cognitive systems which are never static. Diversity within a speech community is simply a reflection of this fact of constant change. Diversity is a measure of evolution, vitality, and creativity within a language. ... In the past, most Coast Salish people were familiar with not only other dialects, but also with several other aboriginal languages of the Pacific northwest region. Many people speak of their grandparents and great-grandparents as having been fluent in three or four, or even more languages. For you to work towards learning *hənq̓əminəm* is a significant commitment of respect to these elders, and to the important role that multilingualism played in traditional Northwest Coast culture” (7-8).

D4. Lacombe, Albert. *Dictionnaire de la Langue des Cris*. Montreal: C.O. Beauchemin & Valois, 1874. 23 cm. 1 v.

RBSC PM988 .L3
First edition.

The Roman Catholic missionary Albert Labombe (1827-1916) published this dictionary from his work with Cree communities in Alberta and Saskatchewan. Though he demonstrates a great

appreciation for the Cree language, his prejudices are amply demonstrated by his establishment of an early residential school, the St Joseph's Industrial School at Dunbow, AB in 1884.

In the preface, Lacombe speaks negatively regarding what he regards as dilettante linguists of Indigenous languages: "Certains esprits, qui se croient capables de juger sur tout, en décidant des questions qui ne sont pas de leur compétence, ont bien mal apprécié les langues sauvages. Ce nouveau genre d'indianologues, après quelque temps passé au milieu des Indiens et après avoir recueilli un certain nombre de mots, souvent très-mal écrits, ont venus soutenir que ces dialectes ne sont que des sons inarticulés, que des débris tronqués et presque inintelligibles, et qu'ils ne sont pas des langues véritables. D'autres, au contraire, meilleurs appréciateurs et plus en état de juger (et nous mettons au premier rang les missionnaires), après de longues études et plusieurs années passés au milieu des tribus sauvages, ont reconnu que le pauvre enfant des prairies et des bois a une langue régulière, intelligible et non sans beautés, avec laquelle il peut transmettre à son semblable tout ce qui se passe dans son âme" (v-vi).

"AKAYÂSIMOWIN, a, (n. f.), langue anglaise."

D5. Rand, Silas Tertius. *Dictionary of the Languages of the Micmac Indians, Who Reside in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Cape Breton and Newfoundland.* Halifax: Nova Scotia Printing Co., 1888. 26 cm. 1 v.

RBSC PM1793 .R3
First Edition

A multi-lingual missionary of Nova Scotian birth, Rand (1810-1889) worked as a Baptist and sometime Evangelical among the Mi'kmaq of the Atlantic provinces of Canada with the Micmac Missionary Society, an anti-Catholic organization designed reconvert Mi'Kmaq into the Baptist faith. The Society dissolved due to lack of funds by 1870. By all accounts an eccentric and intense man as evidenced by his own reconversions within his faith, his dictionary works within the same framework as Lacombe. Written as a first step to Indigenous assimilation, these dictionaries have oddly similar statements in their prefaces:

Lacombe: "Dès mes premières années de missionnaire, j'ai senti que, pour évangéliser, il était absolument nécessaire de comprendre la langue de ceux qu'on veut christianiser. Tout d'abord, j'ai donc commencé à compiler tout ce que je pouvais recueillir de mots et de règles grammaticales" (vii).

Rand: "The compiler of the following work has been for more than forty years laboring as a Missionary among the Micmac Indians. He considered it as a matter of prime importance to make himself acquainted with their language, and early set himself to the task ... The compiler of this volume soon discovered, what many are now willing to admit, that the Indians are a very remarkable people, with most remarkable languages, traditions, customs and habits ... From all quarters of the civilized world there comes a demand for more information respecting these people and all that pertains to them" (iii).

Rand's dictionary is English-Mi'kmaq. He also writes in the preface that the Dominion Government funded his work. Note that the definition below has a different spelling in

contemporary Mi'Kmaq resources. For example, the dictionary at www.mikmaqonline.org gives “gesmi'sit” as the word for “speak in an odd and unusual way.”

“To speak a strange language, Pelooeese; Pelooōdooā.”

D6. Dictionary of the Chinook Jargon, or, Indian Trade Language of the North Pacific Coast. Victoria: T.N. Hibben, 1877. 22 cm. 1 v.

RBSC PM848 .D55
Second edition.

D7. Gill, John Kaye. *Gill's Dictionary of the Chinook Jargon, With Examples of Use in Conversation*. Portland, OR: Gill, 1902. 15 cm. 1 v.

RBSC PM848 .G6
Fourteenth edition.

D8. Shaw, George C. *The Chinook Jargon and How to Use it: a Complete and Exhaustive Lexicon of the Oldest Trade Language of the American Continent*. Seattle: Rainier Print. Co., 1909. 22 cm. 1 v.

RBSC PM848 .S5
First edition.

These three Chinook-English dictionaries were published at the height of the language's use in the Pacific Northwest. The first two are the products of local publishers, T.N. Hibben of Victoria British Columbia and John Kaye Gill of Portland, Oregon. The former dictionary is likely a reprint of George Gibbs's *Dictionary of the Chinook Jargon, or, Trade Language of Oregon* (1863) and was produced by the same company in many forms through to the 1930s. The 1931 edition is subtitled “For the use of Missionaries, Traders, Tourists and Others Who Have Business Intercourse With the Indians,” though it must have been a novelty by that point since the language had long fallen out of use. Gill's work is very similar, though its preface suggests it has been revised and made more uniform in comparison with prior dictionaries. Finally, Shaw's work is somewhat more comprehensive in approach with its citation of sources from “fifty or more editions of small vocabularies issued during a period of seventy years” (ix). Each gives the same definition for the word “la lang” (spelled in Gill “la long”): “the tongue; a language.”

D9. Williams, Guy. *Logger-Talk: Some Notes on the Jargon of the Pacific Northwest Woods*. Seattle: University of Washington Book Store, 1930. University of Washington Chapbooks 41. 19 cm. 1 v.

RBSC PE3727 .L8 W5
First edition.

Williams' work is an informal list of terms used by lumbermen, some of which were borrowed from Chinook. He writes that in “the preliminary notes I jotted for this commentary in a

bunkhouse of the Kesterson Lumber Company of Dorris, California, it was my painful necessity to delete several hundred phrases because of a saltiness which would strike some as sinful and in bad taste. Consequently you will find such questionable phrases as survive tucked about under a disguise of six-bit words (11).

“Chinook: Aside from the famous warm winds, the trade jargon of the old Pacific Northwest the basis of which was the language of the natives on Nookta Bay, Vancouver Island, in combination with English, French, and Spanish.”

D10. Sandilands, John. *Western Canadian Dictionary and Phrase-Book*. Winnipeg: Telegram Job Printers, 1912. 23 cm. 1 v.

RBSC PE25 .R62 V. 285.

Entries: 1,600. Stampede edition.

Sandilands' dictionary is an early contributor to Canadian English, as it contains many unique words used by immigrants to the Prairie Provinces. The book was originally intended to assist new arrivals, though this edition was produced as a souvenir of the annual Calgary Stampede. The following term is included as a citation in the OED for “B.S” (as in, “bullshit”).

“*B.S.*, the initials of a very vulgar but common ejaculation, describing a story as lies and nonsense.”

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In addition to the many helpful encyclopedias, bibliographies and dictionaries I read over the course of researching this exhibition, I relied heavily on, or quoted directly from, the following resources:

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Special mention should be made of two resources:

I owe much to Anne Curzan's *Fixing English: Prescriptivism and Language History* (New York: Cambridge UP, 2014) for situating me in the field. It is an excellent read too!

Secondly, I am indebted to the hard work that went into cataloguing and preparing the H. Locke Robertson collection at UBC by H. Locke Robertson, J. Wesley Robertson and Susan Andrews. Their work is contained in the catalogue *A Collection of Dictionaries and Related Works: Illustrating Some Aspects of the Development of the English Dictionary* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1989).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

Many splendid individuals contributed to this exhibition through inspiration, information, advice, materials, and getting everything arranged nicely:

at Rare Books and Special Collections

Felicia DE LA PARRA

Katherine KALSBECK

Anne LAMA

Chelsea SHRIVER

of the First Nations Languages Program and Musqueam

Jill CAMPBELL

Dr. Patricia SHAW

of the Department of English, UBC

Dr. Laurel BRINTON

Dr. Stefan DOLLINGER

Dr. Margery FEE

Additional thanks goes to the iSchool@UBC for supporting students through the LIBR 596 Professional Experience course credit.

Thank you for your invaluable help!

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